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**New Research on Old Tibetan Studies
Proceedings of the Panel Old Tibetan Studies VI
– IATS 2019**

Edited by

Emanuela Garatti, Lewis Doney, Quentin Devers



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he articles presented here form a selection of the many rich papers presented throughout the two-and-a-half-day Old Tibetan Studies VI panel, which took place during the 15th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies held in Paris in July 2019. Bringing together scholars working on such diverse topics as philology, linguistics, history, and Buddhist studies, this proceedings volume will hopefully provide you with a snapshot of research taking place in Old Tibetan studies today.

We, the editors of this proceedings issue, would like to express our gratitude to all the panel presenters, the contributors to this volume, the reviewers that contributed to the peer-review process and the *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* for accepting the proceedings for publication and seeing it through the digital press.

As scholars working on Old Tibetan studies, we wish to dedicate these proceedings to the memory of Dr. Helga Uebach (1940–2021) and Prof. Tsuguhito Takeuchi (1951–2021), who both contributed so much to pave the way for future generations in Old Tibetan studies. We hope that this volume acts as one expression of our deeper remembrance and appreciation of them both.



Kinterms: New Potential Indicators for Dating Old Tibetan Documents¹

Joanna Bialek

(Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

arious dating indicators have been used in previous studies of Old Tibetan (OT) documents. We can roughly divide them into two groups: I. Content indicators (e.g., historical events and persons mentioned in a document); and II. Formal indicators (punctuation, orthography, codicology, and palaeography of a document). An attempt at a typology of OT manuscripts and their dating was undertaken by Fujieda, Scherrer-Schaub, and Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani.² In addition, a comprehensive overview of codicology, orthography, and palaeography of chosen documents is supplied in the publication of Dotson and Helman-Ważny.³ Takeuchi applied a set of distinctive text-internal features that included titles, letter formulas, and palaeography to date official documents composed in Central Asia.⁴ Heller, on the other hand, used art historical analysis of carvings accompanying the Brag lha mo, Ybis khog, and Ldan ma brag inscriptions in order to date the latter.⁵ Moreover, aspects such as paper analysis,⁶ palaeography,⁷ punctuation and orthography,⁸ or phraseology⁹ were also addressed in previous studies. However, a methodological study on dating of Old Tibetan records remains a desideratum. The majority of publications have concentrated on manuscripts and not all of their conclusions can be applied to inscriptions.¹⁰

¹ I would like to acknowledge financial support provided by grant BI 1953/1-1 of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in the years 2017–2020.

² Fujieda 1966; Fujieda 1970; Scherrer-Schaub 1999; Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2009.

³ Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016.

⁴ Takeuchi 2004.

⁵ Heller 1997.

⁶ Helman-Ważny and van Schaik 2013.

⁷ Dalton, Davis, and van Schaik 2007; Uebach 2010; van Schaik 2014.

⁸ Walter and Beckwith 2010; Beckwith and Walter 2015; Dotson 2016; Zeisler 2016.

⁹ Walter and Beckwith 2010; Beckwith and Walter 2015.

¹⁰ Of these, punctuation and orthography in particular are very controversial indicators that can lead to oversimplification; see Zeisler 2016. The relevant question is not whether a sign (e.g., double *cheg*, reversed *gi gu*, or *da drag*) is used or not, but

The present paper puts forward yet another content indicator that has not been discussed so far: kinterms. Formally speaking, kinterms are nouns that in many languages can also be used as forms of address. Kinterms that will be analysed in this paper as forms of address are identical with kinterms that occur in reference in other OT sources. Their common characteristic is that they belong to the honorific register. Kinterms are a very special subgroup of vocabulary in every language; they contain hints at the social organisation of the language speakers and are relational, meaning they encode relations between (prototypically) two individuals.¹¹ It follows that a kinterm can be understood only in relation to its counterpart (e.g., *mother—father* or *mother—child*) and it always evokes two individuals bound to each other by a unique relationship. Therefore, the use of a particular kinterm in a text allows us to unambiguously relate the person to their kin and to determine the reference point (*ego*) for the kinterm. This in turn, I believe, can help us in identifying the regnal period in which a document was composed, by relating the royal kinterms to the already established chronology of succession of Tibetan *bcan pos*.¹² In fact this approach seems to have been tacitly applied by other scholars in their attempts of dating OT documents, but, to the best of my knowledge, was never formulated as a methodological premise. In order to fill this gap, this paper seeks to establish a secure dating method based on the evaluation of kinterms used with respect to the royal family in official nomenclature of the Tibetan Empire.

The survey is restricted to historical documents that either stem from central Tibet (inscriptions) or can be unambiguously shown to have their origins in this region (the *Old Tibetan Annals*, OTA). Historical sources from the period of the Tibetan Empire—being more

if its usage follows an identifiable pattern, in other words whether there is a coherent system in the application of various signs in the respective document. Statistical assessments of their occurrences are likewise difficult to interpret because the vast majority of OT texts are too short and so do not contain enough material to deliver a sound basis for such an analysis. Only revealing a system according to which ‘archaic’ features were applied (or demonstrating its lack) can contribute to a better understanding of the language and thus to the more secure dating of the documents. Even then, however, every text has to be treated separately and with due caution because, as demonstrated by Zeisler 2016, various ‘archaisms’ were also readily used in much later works.

¹¹ See Dahl and Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2001: 201.

¹² In a forthcoming work, I present a revised line of succession to the Tibetan throne which is also accepted in this paper; see Bialek, forthcoming b. The historical line of succession includes only those rulers who were verifiably bestowed with the title *khri* (regnal years are bracketed): Khri Sroñ rcan (–649), Khri Mañ slon mañ rcan (649–676), Khri Ydus sroñ (685–704), Khri Lde gcug rcan (712–754), Khri Sroñ lde brcan (756–797), Khri Lde sroñ brcan (797–815), Khri Gcug lde brcan (815–841), Khri Yod sruñs brcan (?).

authoritative and of privileged position in the bulk of written OT records—should be surveyed before one turns to other textual sources of the period. It is assumed that these sources more strictly followed official protocols related to the royal family and therefore constitute a more fundamental corpus for the present study. This in no way means that other records are less valuable in this regard but only that they need to be evaluated against the backdrop of the linguistic and formulaic standards set in official documents.

Apart from the introduction and conclusions, this paper consists of four major parts. In the first part the OTA are analysed in order to reveal conventions governing the application of kinterms to the royal family in official documents. The established patterns are subsequently compared with those retrieved from imperial inscriptions in the second part of this paper. By way of cross-checking of the results arrived at in the first two parts, a few post-imperial documents are then analysed, paying special attention to the use of kinterms: the *Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa* (part 3), and the imperial edicts preserved in the *Mkhas pa dgay ston* (part 4). Both the *Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa* and the edicts go back to records that were originally composed at the end of the 8th and beginning of the 9th century and, it is assumed, should accord with the authorised nomenclature of the period.¹³

1. Kinterms in the OTA

The OTA are an important source for our understanding of the usage of kinterms regarding the royal family in the Tibetan Empire. Since the entries of the OTA can be dated and the ruling dates of particular *bcan pos* are established (at least approximately for most of the rulers), the analysis of kinterms is expected to reveal a pattern that governed their application in official documents. In the following presentation, I shall proceed by keeping closely to the chronology of events as witnessed by the OTA.¹⁴

¹³ The Tibetan script is transliterated according to the principles put forward in Bialek 2020. If not otherwise stated, passages quoted from OT sources have been transliterated by myself on the basis of scans made available on the IDP and Gallica. The OT orthography is strictly followed. The 'reversed *gi gu*' is transliterated as *ī*. No distinction is made between a single and a double *cheg* in the transliteration. The passages from Tibetan texts have been translated by myself. Tibetan transliterations of quoted works have been adapted to the system followed in this paper.

¹⁴ Kinterms denoting affinal relationships are not relevant for the present analysis and are thus excluded. The compound *lha sras*, lit. "deity's son", is not a kinterm but a title, and as such has been omitted in the following discussion. A more

(1) (undated passage)

bcan po gčen sroñ rcan dañ / gčuñ bcan sroñ gñīs nold nas / (PT 1288: 8)

Both the *bcan po*, the elder brother Sroñ rcan, and the younger brother Bcan sroñ fought.

Sroñ rcan is the birth name of *bcan po* Khri Sroñ rcan who is called by his full name in line 6 of the same document. The separate usage of the kinterms *gčen* and *gčuñ* (instead of the compounded form *gčen gčuñ*) and the application of the title *bcan po* only to the first one, leave no doubt that the elder brother Sroñ rcan was the *bcan po*.¹⁵

(2) 650/1

(17) // *khy[ī]* lo la bab ste / *bcan po myes khrī sroñ rcan gyī spur phyīñ bayī riñ khañ nay riñ*¹⁶ *mkhyud čhīñ* (18) *bžugste / bcan po sbon khrī mañ slon mañ rcan mer ke na bžugs* (PT 1288)

In the dog year, the body of the *bcan po*, the grandfather Khri Sroñ rcan, while being swathed in the mortuary of Phyīñ ba, stayed [there]; the *bcan po*, the grandson Khri Mañ slon mañ rcan, abided in Mer ke.

bcan po Khri Sroñ rcan died in 649. Due to the premature death of his son, Khri Sroñ rcan was followed to the throne by his grandson (*sbon*)

general discussion of the relationships within the Tibetan royal family and their impact on politics can be found in Dotson 2009: 25ff.

¹⁵ Bialek 2018a (s.vv. *rje dbyal* and *rjes ybañs*) demonstrated that in (1) *gčen* has to be interpreted as an apposition to *bcan po* and does not form one word with it; see Richardson's translation "the elder brother king", 1967: 18, n. 7. As against Beckwith's suggestion (2011: 224ff.), there was only one rightful ruler called *bcan po* at a time. If the discourse required it, additional relative terms (e.g., kinterms) could be used in order to address the particular relationship between the *bcan po* and his relative(s). Thus, we encounter phrases like, *bcan po sras*, *bcan po yab*, *bcan po myes*, and so forth. Beckwith's assumption that "there was typically a *bcan po gčen* and a (*bcan po*) *gčuñ*" (2011: 225) is unjustified and does not find any support in documents. For a discussion of the OT phrase *bcan poyi sras* and its relation to the apposition *bcan po sras*, see the end of section 1 below.

¹⁶ The second *riñ*, which directly precedes the verb *mkhyud*, should be elided; see:

[*bcan po myes khrī sroñ rcan gyī spur*]_{ABS} [*phyīñ bayī riñ khañ nay*]_{INESS} *riñ mkhyud čhīñ bžugste* (PT 1288: ll. 17–18)

[*bcan po yab gyī spur*]_{ABS} [*ba lam na*]_{INESS} *mkhyīd čhīñ bžugste* (IOL Tib J 750: l. 69)

[*bcan po yab gyī riñ*]_{ABS} [*ba lam na*]_{INESS} *mkhyīd čhīñ bžugste* (IOL Tib J 750: l. 71)

[*bcan po yab khrī ydus sroñ gyī dpur*]_{ABS} [*mer keyi riñ khañ na*]_{INESS} *bžugs* (IOL Tib J 750: ll. 152–53)

[*bcan po yab gyī dpur*]_{ABS} [*mer ke na*]_{INESS} *bžugs* (IOL Tib J 750: l. 156)

In the first passage *riñ* was arbitrarily added in a slot directly preceding the verb—a slot actually reserved for a locative adjunct (see *riñ khañ na*, *ba lam na*, *mer ke na*) as the remaining clauses demonstrate.

Khri Mañ slon mañ rcan. The kinterms (*sbon* “grandchild” vs *myes* “grandfather”) mirror the relationship of the actual ruler, Khri Mañ slon mañ rcan, to his immediate predecessor, Khri Sroñ rcan. In the following year, Khri Sroñ rcan is again called *bcan pho myes* (l. 19). This practice recurs in the OTA each time a *bcan po* dies – a kinterm (which reflects the relationship to the currently ruling *bcan po*) is used until the funeral rituals have been completed.

(3) 676/7

bcan pho sras khrī ḡdus sroñ / sgreḡs gyī lha luñ du bltam / (IOL Tib J 750: l. 67)

The *bcan po*, the son Khri ḡdus sroñ, was born at Lha luñ of Sgreḡs.

Khri ḡdus sroñ was born shortly after his father had died in the same year (see IOL Tib J 750: ll. 66–67). For this reason his father Khri Mañ slon mañ rcan is referred to as *bcan po yab* only in the notes concerning his funeral and not before – he was not a father (*yab*) to an heir when still alive; see:

(4) 677/8

bcan po yab gyi spur ba lam na mkhyīd čin bźugste / (IOL Tib J 750: l. 69)

The body of the *bcan po*, the father, while being swathed in Ba lam, stayed [there].

(5) 678/9

bcan po yab gyī riñ / ba lam na mkhyīd čin bźugste / [...] bcan pho ñen kar na bźugs šīñ / yab btol (IOL Tib J 750: ll. 71–73)

The body of the *bcan po*, the father, while being swathed in Ba lam, stayed [there]. [...] While the *bcan po* was staying in Ñen kar, [one] *btol* the father.¹⁷

(6) 679/80

pyiñ bar bcan pho yab gyī mdad btañ (IOL Tib J 750: l. 74)

At Pyiñ ba, [one] organised the funeral for the *bcan po*, the father.

Similarly, the term *yum* only denoted a woman who gave birth to an heir:

(7) 700/1

yum khrī ma lod yon čaṅ do na bźugs (IOL Tib J 750: l. 134)

¹⁷ For a detailed analysis of the *btol* rite, see Bialek, forthcoming c.

The mother Khri ma lod abided in Ḣon čaḥ do.

This is the first mention of Ḣbro Khri ma lod in the OTA. She was the mother of *bcan po* Khri Ḣdus sroḥ (see PT 1286: ll. 64–65) who died in 704. Until her death in 712/3 she recurs regularly as: *yum khri ma lod*, *yum*, *pyi khri ma lod*, and *p(h)yi*. The change in her appellation from *yum* to *p(h)yi* occurs following two important events: the birth of the heir to the throne (8) and the death of his father, the son of Ḣbro Khri ma lod (9).

(8) 704/5

dpyīd kho braḥ cal du rgyal gcug ru bltam / dbyard bcan po yab rma grom gyī yo (147) *tī ču bzaḥs na bḗugs śḥḥ / yum khri ma lod yar ybrog gī yo daḥ na bḗugste /* (IOL Tib J 750)

In the spring, Rgyal gcug ru was born in Kho braḥ cal. In the summer, while the *bcan po*, the father, was abiding in Yo ti ču bzaḥs of Rma grom, the mother Khri ma lod was abiding in Ḣo daḥ of Yar ybrog.

In this passage, the ruling *bcan po* Khri Ḣdus sroḥ is called *bcan po yab* immediately after the birth of the heir to the throne, his son Rgyal gcug ru *alias* Khri Lde gcug rcan (IOL Tib J 750: ll. 185–86). Ḣbro Khri ma lod is still called “mother” because the point of reference is the actual *bcan po*, in other words her son Khri Ḣdus sroḥ.¹⁸ Only after the death of her son, she becomes “grandmother”; again, with reference to the actual ruler who is now her grandson Rgyal gcug ru. Before that happens, she is once again referred to as “mother”:

(9) 704/5

dgun bcan pho čhab srīd la mywa la gśegs pa las / dguḥ du gśegs / yum khri ma lod lhas (149) *gaḥ cal na bḗugste /* (IOL Tib J 750)

In the winter, the *bcan po*, upon going on a military campaign against Mywa, passed away. The mother Khri ma lod was abiding in Lhas gaḥ cal.

Both events, the death of the *bcan po* and the whereabouts of Ḣbro Khri ma lod, are reported during the same season of the year, the winter. We can speculate that they were recorded independently on separate

¹⁸ Compare the identical phrasing in Dx 12851v: l. 5: *yum khri ma lod kyī po braḥ yo daḥ na bḗugs* (trslr. after Iwao 2011: 249) “The court of the mother Khri ma lod abided in Ḣo daḥ”. The clause concerns the same events from the year 704/5 that are related in (8).

wooden tablets by royal annalists and only later combined into one document.¹⁹ That could explain the continued usage of the kinterm *yum* with regard to ʻBro Khri ma lod after the death of her son. The next year brings about a change in the nomenclature:

(10) 705/6

bcan po sras rgyal gcug ru dañ / pyī khrī ma lod dron na bžugs / (IOL Tib J 750: l. 150)

The *bcan po*, the son Rgyal gcug ru, and the grandmother Khri ma lod abided in Dron.

Both persons are also mentioned together later in the document (ll. 153, 156, 166, 168, 171, 172, 175, 179, 184, 185–86), but then Rgyal gcug ru is only called *bcan po* and not *bcan po sras*, whereas ʻBro Khri ma lod is always specified as *p(h)yi* “grandmother”.²⁰ An exception concerns the

¹⁹ There can be little doubt that the records were annually updated and thus remained roughly contemporaneous with the events they concerned; see Uray 1975: 158; Dotson 2009: 9. The practice of writing records on wooden slips and later transferring them to paper is mentioned in later sources, see: *khod drug ni / bod kyi khod kyi śod śo ma rar byas / khod śom mkhan mgar stoñ bcan gyis byas te / śiñ bu dañ rdeyu yan čhad brcis nas / śog bu mjo khal loñs pa la bris pas [...]* (Mkhas pa ldeyu 2010: 257, fol. 152r) “Concerning six means (*khod*), [one] prepared the means of Tibet at Śo ma ra [of] Kyi śod (= Skyi śod; OT *skyī śo ma ra*). The one who prepared the administrative arrangements (*khod śom* = OT *mkho śam*) was Mgar Stoñ bcan (OT: Mgar Stoñ rcan yul zuñ). After [one] had calculated on wooden slips and pebbles, [he] wrote [them] on six *mjo* loads of paper” (for a slightly different translation see Dotson 2009: 11, n. 5). This is doubtless an allusion to the events described in PT 1288: ll. 27–29. But a similar practice is mentioned in the OTA: *bcan po bkas khram dmar po śog śog ser po la spos* (IOL Tib J 750: l. 299) “Upon *bcan po* [’s] order, [one] transferred red tallies (i.e. red accounts kept by means of tally sticks) to yellow paper”. As suggested by Dotson, single annual entries were most probably first written on wooden slips (explaining their laconic character) and later committed to paper; Dotson 2009: 11 and 75. We find a hint of this practice in IOL Tib J 750: l. 202 (the entry for the year 716/7), where four lines are left empty (most probably due to a single missing wooden slip) and were apparently to be filled in later; Dotson 2009: 75. This practice would also explain the existence of different versions of single entries; not only might single years have been written on separate wooden slips but also events of a single year may even have been first committed to single wooden slips and only later connected in one entry; see “Les rubriques étaient rédigées probablement à la fin de chaque année, mais il se peut que la rédaction ait eu lieu à chaque fin de semestre ou même plusieurs années plus tard”. (“The rubrics were probably written at the end of each year, but it may be that the writing took place twice a year or even several years later”.), Uray 1975: 163.

²⁰ The omission of the apposition *sras* when referring to Rgyal gcug ru is made possible by the fact that his father was already dead but also because his father is addressed *bcan po yab* in the funeral preparations:

bcan po yab khrī ydus (153) *sroñ gyī dpur / mer keyi rñ khañ na bžugs /* (IOL Tib J 750; year 705/6)

single occurrence of the compound *phyi sbon*:

(11) 707/8

phyi sbon *lhas gañ cal na bžugs* / (IOL Tib J 750: 1. 163)

The grandmother and the grandson abided in Lhas gañ tsal.

The compound is formed according to the age-hierarchy, in other words the constituent denoting an elder person is given priority; the term for ‘grandmother’ precedes the term for ‘grandson’,²¹ even though it is the *bcan po* who is always mentioned first when the kinterms occur independently, see (10).

A puzzling element is added to the system of the royal nomenclature in the following clause:

(12) 705/6

poñ lag rañ du bcan po gčen lha bal pho rgyal sa nas phab / (IOL Tib J 750: 1. 152)

At Poñ lag rañ, [one] overthrew the *bcan po*, the elder brother Lha bal pho, from the throne.

On the one hand, we have here the kinterm *gčen* “elder brother” (for possible interpretations, see below); and on the other hand, Lha bal pho is also called *bcan po*. The words *bcan po gčen lha bal pho* were correctly interpreted by Petech as forming one phrase.²² To support this reading, we may quote from the same text the phrase *bcan po gčen sroñ rcan* (PT 1288: 8) that likewise consists of three elements: 1. the title *bcan po*; 2. a kinterm; and 3. a proper name. We know from Chinese sources that the succession to the throne after the death of Khri Ṭdus sroñ was disputed among the rival heirs and their supporters.²³ History was more favourable to Rgyal gcug ru who eventually became

The body of the *bcan po*, the father Khri Ṭdus sroñ, stayed in the mortuary of Mer ke.

bcan po yab gyi dpur mer ke na bžugs (IOL Tib J 750: 1. 156; year 706/7)

The body of the *bcan po*, the father, stayed in Mer ke.

dgun phyiñ bar bcan po (159) *yab gyi mdad btañ* / (IOL Tib J 750; year 706/7)

In the winter, [one] organised the funeral ceremony for the *bcan po*, the father, in Phyiñ ba.

²¹ Compare the compounds *gčen gčuñ*, *yab sras* or *yum sras*. In *yab myes* and *yum phyi* (see OTDO), the postulated age-hierarchy of kinship compounds is reversed: the first constituent refers to a younger person than the second one. Here a proximity-principle might have played a role: taking *ego* as the reference point, which is not included in any part of the compound (as against *phyi sbon* in (11)), *yab* refers to a relative more closely related to the *ego* than *myes*.

²² Petech 1988a: 275; Petech 1988b: 1085.

²³ Bushell 1880: 456; Pelliot 1961: 12.

the next *bcan po*. The very letter of (12) demonstrates that, on this point, the OTA contain contemporary information and were not re-edited anachronistically in order to delete the name of the 'intruder' to the throne's succession.

(13) 706/7

pyī mañ pañs noñs / (IOL Tib J 750: l. 159)

The grandmother Mañ pañs passed away.

(14) 707/8

ston phyī mañ pañs gyī mdad btañ / (IOL Tib J 750: l. 162)

In the autumn, [one] organised the funeral ceremony for the grandmother Mañ pañs.

Since all kinterms are used in the OTA with reference to the *bcan po*, we can assume that it was also the case with *p(h)yi* Mañ pañs. *p(h)yi* was the feminine equivalent of *myes*. The latter term could denote grandfather but also great-grandfather, great-great-grandfather, and so forth. By analogy, *p(h)yi* might have referred to grandmother and great-grandmother, and so on. However, as already observed by Uebach, none of the names of the heir-mothers quoted in PT 1286 can be identified with Mañ pañs.²⁴ One can venture two hypotheses:

1. Mañ pañs was the mother of Lha bal pho – the elder brother of Rgyal gcug ru²⁵ and the true heir to the throne – who was deposed

²⁴ Uebach 1997: 57. Without providing any arguments, Tucci identified Khon čo Mañ mo rje khri skar, the mother of Khri Mañ slon mañ rcan (PT 1286: ll. 63–64), with Mañ pañs; Tucci 1947: 317.

²⁵ The hypothesis that Lha bal pho was an elder brother of Rgyal gcug ru was upheld in Petech 1988b: 1086, Vitali 1990: 21, Kapstein 2000: 216, n. 41, and Dotson 2009: 103. The *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 contains an account that seems to support this interpretation: "The son of the first queen and the sons of the other wives fought for the throne" (Petech 1988b: 1086). Kapstein based himself on the *Rgya bod kyi čhos ybyuñ rgyas pa* by Ldeyu jo sras, who states that Khri Lde gcug brcan had an elder brother Pa chab cha Lha bal po, a younger brother Lod ma(/po) lod, and a son Ljañ cha Lha dbon; Ldeyu jo sras 1987: 120ff. Neither Mkhas pa ldeyu (284, fol. 169r) nor Dpay bo Gug lag yphreñ ba (1962: 70v6–7) mention any brother of Khri Lde gcug brcan. The validity of Ldeyu jo sras's account is questionable, for we know that Lhas bon was born as the heir to the throne (see (17)–(19) below) and as such he could not have been a son of a foreign princess (see n. 31) as indicated in his title *ljañ cha*, lit. "descendant of Ljañ (OT Yjañ)".

In 703 Tibetans sent a request to the Chinese for a matrimonial alliance, which was agreed to; Bushell 1880: 456; Pelliot 1961: 12. In the next clause, the *Jiu Tangshu* reports on a war campaign led by the Tibetans against the Mywa, during which Khri Ydus sroñ died (IOL Tib J 750: l. 148). The circumstances make it unclear

in favour of the minor Rgyal gcug ru. The use of the kinterm *p(h)yi* “grandmother” with reference to Mañ pañs would mean by that time Lha bal pho had already become father and was dead,²⁶ so his son (and Mañ pañs’ grandson) could have been perceived as the rightful heir to the throne. Since Mañ pañs died in the winter of 706/7, both Khri Ḳdus sroñ (born 676) and Lha bal pho would have had to become fathers at the age of about 15 – a rather implausible scenario.

2. Lha bal pho was the elder brother (*gčen*) of Khri Ḳdus sroñ, born to Khri Mañ slon mañ rcan and Mañ pañs. The usage of the kinterm *gčen* in the year 705/6 might have been justified by the fact that Khri Ḳdus sroñ was buried one year later (IOL Tib J 750: ll. 158–59) and until then could have remained the point of reference in the nomenclature; Rgyal gcug ru is called *sras* (with reference to his already deceased father) in 705/6. If Lha bal pho was the elder brother of Khri Ḳdus sroñ, then one could expect that his mother, Mañ pañs, would have been older than Khri Ḳdus sroñ’s mother Ḳbro Khri ma lod. The latter died in the winter of 712/3 (IOL Tib J 750: l. 186), 6 years later than Mañ pañs. In this hypothesis, Lha bal pho must also have become father (before being deposed from the throne) and had died, so then Mañ pañs could officially be addressed as *p(h)yi* “grandmother”. In this scenario, Lha bal pho usurped the throne after the death of his younger brother Khri Ḳdus sroñ in 704, taking the opportunity that the legitimate heir was not born yet or still in his infancy.

Dotson’s argument that *phyi* could refer to “a great aunt, that is, one of Khri Mañ slon’s junior queens who did not bear a *bcan po*, one of Khri Mañ slon’s sisters, a sister of Ḳbro Khri ma lod, or perhaps more to the point, a maternal grandmother”,²⁷ is misguided in so far as the OTA only record kins in the direct ascending line of *bcan pos*.²⁸ Taking all of the above data into account, I consider the second hypothesis more convincing, although the textual evidence at hand is insufficient to allow for ultimate conclusions.

(15) 721/2

yum bcan ma tog noñs (IOL Tib J 750: l. 223)

whether the Chinese princess should have married Khri Ḳdus sroñ, his yet unborn son Rgyal gcug ru, or any other son, for instance, Lha bal po.

²⁶ He could have been killed immediately after being deposed from the throne.

²⁷ Dotson 2007a: 61, n. 69.

²⁸ Chang’s suggestion that Mañ pañs was a queen of Guñ sroñ guñ rcan is more than improbable; Chang 1959: 124.

The mother Bcan ma tog died.

(16) 723/4

yum bcan ma thogī mdad btañ / (IOL Tib J 750: 1. 229)

[One] organised the funeral ceremony for the mother Bcan ma thog.

According to PT 1286: ll. 65–66, Khri Lde bcug rcan (OTA: Khri Lde gcug rcan) was the son of Ḥdus sroñ mañ po rje (OTA: Khri Ḥdus sroñ) and Mčhims za Bcan ma thog thog steñ. This is confirmed in (15) and (16) by the use of the kinterm *yum* “mother”. Bcan ma t(h)og was the mother of Khri Lde gcug rcan, who was the ruling *bcan po* in 721/2 and 723/4.

(17) 739/40

sras lhas bon dron na bźugs / *bźugs* (282) *pa las noñs* / (IOL Tib J 750)

The son Lhas bon, upon abiding in Dron, passed away.

Two elements of the sentence could suggest that Lhas bon was not the heir to the throne: 1. he is called *sras* and not *bcan po sras* (but see (19)); and 2. the verb *noñs* is used instead of the metaphorical phrase *dguñ du gśegs*. However, the clauses immediately following state:

(18) 739/40

bcan po yab dgun bod yul du slar gśegs / *bcan mo kīm šeñ khoñ čo noñs* (IOL Tib J 750: 1. 282)

In the winter, the *bcan po*, the father, returned to the Bod land. *bcan mo* Kim šeñ khoñ čo passed away.

Thus, Khri Lde gcug rcan became father (most probably to Lhas bon) but the mother was not *bcan mo* Kim šeñ khoñ čo, otherwise she would have been called *yum*. This observation is confirmed by the next passage:

(19) 741/2

bcan po sras lhas bon dañ / *bcan mo khoñ čo gñīs gyī* (288) *mdad btañ* / (IOL Tib J 750)

[One] organised the funeral ceremony for both the *bcan po*, the son Lhas bon, and *bcan mo* Khoñ čo.

Here, the fact is stated: Lhas bon was the heir to the throne, since he is called *bcan po sras*.²⁹ Kim šeñ khoñ čo is referred to as *bcan mo* but again

²⁹ There is no possibility that, as maintained by Beckwith, Lhas bon was the same person as Lha bal pho; Beckwith 2003 [1983]: 276 and 1993: 69ff. The former is

without the kinterm *yum*. The lack of *yum* is not accidental; three women, of whom we know (from other sources) that they gave birth to the heirs of the throne, are always called *yum* in the OTA; compare (7)–(9), (15)–(16), and:

(20) 742/3

bcan po sroñ lde brcan brag mar duy / (292) bltam / yum mañ mo rje noñs (IOL Tib J 750)

bcan po Sroñ lde brcan was born in Brag mar. The mother Mañ mo rje passed away.

According to PT 1286: ll. 66–67, Khri Sroñ lde brcan (OTA: Sroñ lde brcan) was the son of Khri Lde gcug brcan (OTA: Khri Lde gcug rcan) and Sna nam zay Mañ mo rje Bži steñ (OTA: Mañ mo rje). I assume that the kinterm *sras* was accidentally omitted by the scribe in (20) and the full form of his title should be: **bcan po sras sroñ lde brcan* “the *bcan po*, the son Sroñ lde brcan”.

(21) 755/6

yab gyi khor pha dag dmag myis phab / (Or.8212/187: l. 12)

Soldiers overthrew father’s retinue.

From the context we can infer that *yab* refers to Khri Lde gcug rcan, but the entry is only partly preserved; its initial part is missing.

(22) 760/1

bcan poyī sras bltam (Or.8212/187: l. 39)

bcan po’s son was born.

The phraseology of this short clause (HON *sras* and *bltam*) suggests that an heir to the throne is meant. The clause uses an unusual (for the OTA) phrase *bcan poyī sras* instead of the ubiquitous *bcan po sras*. The former was an HON equivalent of ‘X_{GEN} bu’ “the son of X”, whereas the latter formed part of an official title. The HON verb *bltam* (also used elsewhere in the OTA) suggests that *bcan po sras* was intended and so we may suspect a scribal error, in which Or.8212/187 abounds.

On the basis of the above survey, a few important conclusions can be made concerning the usage of the kinterms in the OTA:

referred to in the OTA as *gčen* “elder brother” with reference to either Khri Ydus sroñ or Khri Lde gcug rcan (see the discussion concerning examples (13) and (14)), whereas the latter is addressed as *sras* “son” of Khri Lde gcug rcan; see also Kapstein 2000: 218; Dotson 2009: 24. I assume that Lhas bon was the son of *jo mo* Khri bcun (for details, see Bialek. In Preparation).

1. The point of reference for kinterms (*ego*) was always the currently ruling *bcan po*.
2. When used alone, the term *bcan po* always referred to the current ruler.
3. Only two persons were entitled to use the title *bcan po*: the currently ruling *bcan po* and the deceased *bcan po*.³⁰
4. The title *bcan po* acquired the apposition *yab* "father" as soon as an heir to the throne was born.
5. Only the mother of the heir was given the appellation *yum*.³¹
6. *yum* referred to the mother of the ruling *bcan po*, as long as no heir was born to the latter.
7. *yum* was replaced by *phyi* when the heir to the throne was born and his father had died.
8. The heir could be referred to as *sras* "son" or *dbon* "grandson" as long as his father / grandfather (or grandmother) was alive and, after their death, until the final funeral ceremonies had been completed.³²

³⁰ In the majority of cases, the deceased *bcan po* is the father of the currently ruling *bcan po*. There is, however, one exception: *bcan po sras lhas bon*, the son of Khri Lde gcug rcan, who died earlier than his father; see (17).

³¹ None of the Chinese princesses sent to marry Tibetan *bcan pos* is ever called *yum*. They are addressed with the title *bcan mo*; see also Uebach 1997. On the other hand, none of the women called *yum* in the OTA (Khri ma lod, Bcan ma t(h)og, Mañ mo rje) ever acquires the title *bcan mo* (*bcan mo* Mañ mo rje mentioned in the year 696/7 cannot be identical with *yum* Mañ mo rje from the year 742/3). It follows that Khon čo Mañ mo rje khri skar (mother of Khri Mañ slon mañ rcan according to PT 1286: ll. 63–64) cannot be identified with the Chinese princess, Mun čaň koň čo (in OT documents, the Chinese title *k(h)on / khoň čo* is always postposed to a proper name and Mañ mo rje khri skar is a typical Tibetan, not Chinese, name; see also Richardson 1998c : 60ff.) and that *yum* Khri ma lod is a distinct person from *bcan mo* Khri mo lan (as against Tucci 1947: 317; Chang 1959: 124; Uebach 1997: 56; Dotson 2009: 83, n. 132). There is no other example in the OTA of such a severe scribal error concerning the spelling of proper names: Khri mo lan > Khri ma lod. Moreover, PT 1286: ll. 63–64 also agrees on the spelling Khri ma lod for the consort of Khri Mañ slon mañ rcan.

An analogous change of a title to *yum* is known from the history of Sa skya: the wife of the lineage head is called *bdag mo*, but this is replaced by *bdag yum* if the first-born child is female, and to *rgyal yum* if it is a boy; see Wylie 1964: 235.

As an aside, because neither of the princesses was a daughter of a Chinese emperor (see Pelliot 1961: 13, 83, 95–6 and Yamaguchi 1969: 152, n. 37) the terms *zań đbon* and *đbon* *zań* cannot be taken to indicate that the Chinese princesses gave birth to the Tibetan heir to the throne. Kinterms used to refer to political relations had a purely classificatory function.

³² Another important observation is that an heir to the throne was treated as the reference point for the kinterms right after the burial ceremonies of his father had been completed and disregarding the fact that his own enthronement might have come later. This is true of Khri Ÿdus sroň who was enthroned in 685 (IOL Tib J 750: ll. 92–93) and for Khri Lde gcug rcan enthroned in 712 (IOL Tib J 750: ll. 185–86).

2. *Kinterms in Central Tibetan inscriptions*

Traditional methods of dating inscriptions on the grounds of historical facts mentioned therein have contributed considerably to establishing a relative chronology for the majority of the Central Tibetan inscriptions.³³ The generally accepted dating of the Central Tibetan inscriptions agrees with the one proposed by Richardson:³⁴

Khri Sroñ lde brcan (756–797):	Žol, Bsam, Bsam Bell, Yphyoñ
Khri Lde sroñ brcan (797–815):	Žwa W, Žwa E, Rkoñ, Skar, Khra, Khri
Khri Gcug lde brcan (815–841):	Lčañ, Treaty, Yer ³⁵

In a recent paper, Lha mčhog rgyal discussed a newly discovered bell inscription from Dgay ldan byin čhen which he dated to the reign of Khri Lde gcug rcan (712–754).³⁶

The comparison of the conventions used in the OTA with those of the inscriptions allows us to present new arguments for more reliable dating of some of the inscriptions. Because the system used in all examined Central Tibetan inscriptions is internally coherent (and in agreement with that of the OTA) we can also extend our conclusions to those inscriptions which do not use kinterms but are consistent with the remaining inscriptions in other aspects of the titulature. Two most general remarks concerning the usage of the popular structure ‘*bcan po* + NAME’ in the Central Tibetan inscriptions are:

- A. Inscriptions in which the structure ‘*bcan po* + NAME’ can be proven to refer to the actually reigning *bcan po* on other grounds include: Žol, Bsam Bell, Rkoñ, Skar, and Treaty.

³³ Compare Richardson’s remark on the chronological order of the Central Tibetan inscriptions followed in his book: “[The inscriptions] are arranged in groups, one for each of the three reigns *to which they relate*” (Richardson 1985: v; emphasis added). The datings proposed in OTI are “determined by dates explicitly given in the text, historical figures and events mentioned in text, and the paleographic form of letters” (OTI: viii). Dating methods are never directly addressed in Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987 but we may assume that the authors followed Richardson’s approach. It is however true that, as long as no reliable rubbings or photographs are available, even the most careful philological study of inscriptions remains provisional and highly hypothetical; see Walter and Beckwith 2010: 293.

³⁴ Richardson 1985.

³⁵ This chronology was also accepted by Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 29ff., Table II. As an exception, Walter and Beckwith 2010 challenged the generally accepted opinion that all of the above inscriptions were composed during the Tibetan Empire. However, their arguments are untenable and have already been criticised in Zeisler 2016 and Doney 2014: 77, n. 65.

³⁶ Lha mčhog rgyal 2011.

- B. Inscriptions in which no other indications (apart from '*bcan po* + NAME') allow for identification of the currently ruling *bcan po* are: Yphyoñ, Khra, Žwa W and E, Khri, Lčañ, Khrom F, and Khrom R.

As can be gathered from the table presented in the Appendix, there are only three particular cases in which the structure '*bcan po* + NAME' does not refer to the contemporary ruler: 1. Žol S ll. 1–2,³⁷ but the same inscription makes it clear that Khri Lde gcug rcan is the father of the actual *bcan po*; 2. Khri l. 1 and Treaty E l. 5 contain the phrase *bcan po* Yo lde spu rgyal which addresses a legendary person; and 3. Treaty E ll. 22–26 contains a short historical narration counting a few previous *bcan pos*. Therefore, a 'weak rule' can be proposed: if an inscription from group B contains the structure '*bcan po* + NAME' in which the element NAME always denotes the same person, this inscription can be ascribed to the reign of that very *bcan po*.³⁸ Eight out of fifteen Central Tibetan inscriptions are dated by applying the 'weak rule' only, that is according to the structure '*bcan po* + NAME' in which case the given inscription is ascribed to the period of the *bcan po* addressed under NAME.

If we complement the arguments put forward by previous scholars with the new observations gained in the present paper, we acquire a new dating for some of the Central Tibetan inscriptions:

Khri Lde gcug rcan (712–754):	Dgay
Khri Sroñ lde brcan (756–797):	Žol, Bsam, Bsam Bell, Rkoñ, Yphyoñ
Khri Lde sroñ brcan (797–815):	Skar, Khra, Žwa W, Žwa E
Khri Gcug lde brcan (815–841):	Khri, Treaty, Lčañ, Khrom F, Khrom R ³⁹

In order to secure the results of the dating by means of the weak rule, a supplementary criterion will be considered as well. I have demonstrated that the postpositions *riñ la* and *sku riñ la* were used according to a strict pattern in Central Tibetan inscriptions: *riñ la* was used to denote the regnal period of a past or currently ruling *bcan po* and can be translated as "during the reign", whereas *sku riñ la* referred

³⁷ See: (1) // *bcan pho khri lde gcug* (2) *rcañ gyi riñ lay* // (3) *ñan lam klu khoñ gis* // (4) *glo ba ñe bayi rje blas byas* // (Žol S) "During the reign of *bcan pho* Khri Lde gcug rcan, Ñan lam [stag sgra] klu khoñ performed duties of a loyal one".

³⁸ It seems that this was likewise the tacit assumption made in Richardson 1985 and Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987.

³⁹ The regnal years are those established in Bialek, forthcoming b.

to “heirs before their official accession to the throne, but after they had obtained an official status, and most probably already had taken over some of the official duties”.⁴⁰ I proposed translating the latter as “during the lifetime”. Below I comment on the usage of kinterms and the postpositions *riñ la* and *sku riñ la* whenever the latter might throw more light on the proposed dating. The table in the Appendix (organised according to the proposed chronology) summarises the information gathered from all inscriptions (including a few located outside of Central Tibet).⁴¹

Žol. The Žol inscription calls the contemporary ruler *bcan po* Khri Sroñ lde brcan (S ll. 41–42, N l. 5), and only when juxtaposed with his father—*bcan po sras* Khri Sroñ lde brcan. The kinterms *yab* and *sras*, used with respect to Khri Lde gcug rcan and Khri Sroñ lde brcan respectively, are applied only in one passage that narrates events that either led to the death of *bcan po* Khri Lde gcug rcan or occurred shortly afterwards (S ll. 5–20). The actual ruler, Khri Sroñ lde brcan, is addressed as *bcan po sras* because the narrated events of his life are juxtaposed with, and result from, the events that brought about the death on his father, *bcan po yab*.

Bsam/Bsam Bell. Walter and Beckwith assumed that the Bsam inscription is contemporary with the Žol inscription, in other words it might have been created as early as about 764.⁴² Richardson, on the other hand, dated the inscription to the period between 779 and 782.⁴³ Khri Sroñ lde brcan is addressed in Bsam Bell (l. 8) with the apposition *yab sras stans dbyal*. The compounds *yum sras* (Bsam Bell, ll. 1–2) and *yab sras* suggest that by the time the inscription was composed, *jo mo* Rgyal mo brcan had given birth to the heir to the throne. The OTA inform us that in the year 760/1 an heir to the throne was born; see (22). The name of the heir is not mentioned in the inscription.

Rkoñ. In my opinion, and at variance with previous studies, the Rkoñ inscription was created during the rule of Khri Sroñ lde brcan, not long before his son Lde sroñ (later Khri Lde sroñ brcan) took over the reign.⁴⁴ Three arguments speak for this interpretation: 1. the son is

⁴⁰ Bialek 2018b: 402.

⁴¹ The survey includes all of the inscriptions transliterated in OTI.

⁴² Walter and Beckwith 2010: 303.

⁴³ Richardson 1985: 27.

⁴⁴ See Richardson 1985: 64ff.; Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 29 and 193; Dotson 2015: 9. In an earlier paper, Dotson expressed the opinion that the Rkoñ inscription pillar “was erected when Khri Sroñ lde bcan ruled jointly with Lde sroñ, and therefore dates to c. 798–c. 800” (Dotson 2007b: 14). Likewise Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987:

never called by his accession name (unlike in inscriptions from his own reign);⁴⁵ 2. he is never individually referred to as *bcan po*; and 3. the postposition *sku riñ la* is used instead of the regnal *riñ la*.⁴⁶

Yphyoñ.⁴⁷ The only ruler addressed by name in the Yphyoñ inscription is (*yphrul gyi lha bcan po* Khri Sroñ lde brcan who, in the last part of the document, acquires an additional title: *yphrul gyi lha* Byañ čhub čhen po. This resembles the appellation *bcan po byañ čub sems dpay* Khri Sroñ lde bcan from the Brag lha mo A inscription.⁴⁸ The question arises

208 took notice of the unusual name Lde sroñ but nevertheless dated the inscription to the reign of the latter: "The absence of the honorific syllables Khri-----brcan in the name may indicate that the text of this inscription was composed before the actual accession of Khri Lde sroñ brcan". Uray 1960: 207 called Lde sroñ "Prinz-Regent", suggesting that he likewise does not recognise him as an actual ruler.

⁴⁵ Compare the remark in Richardson 1985: 64ff.: "[...] Khri Sroñ lde brcan is given the title Khri, that is not applied to his son Lde sroñ. It is possible that this might imply that the latter was not fully established on the throne when the inscription was written; but too much need not be made of that. Feudatory princes may not have been so meticulous in matters of protocol as were the kings and their ministers. Lde sroñ is described as *rje* and is in a position to be asked for and to grant a valid edict". I can't agree with this argument. The wording of the inscription leaves no doubt that it was the ruler of Rkoñ po who looked to the Tibetan *bcan po* to confirm and secure his previously established rights. To ignore diplomatic protocols when in the position of a petitioner is surely not the most effective strategy. I assume that Lde sroñ was not yet the ruling *bcan po* but nevertheless had jurisdictions over some issues related to governance.

⁴⁶ Walter and Beckwith were probably the first to speak of Rkoñ *inscriptions*, arguing that "the supplemental edict beginning at l. 12 is clearly marked out by larger lettering", Walter and Beckwith 2010: 314. This idea was later developed by Dotson who described the inscription as "ostensibly the faithful publication in stone of two paper documents issued to the ruler(s) of Rkoñ po", Dotson 2013: 97. It is undoubtedly true that the inscription contains two documents and that they are distinguished typographically; see images in Uebach 1985: 77–79. However, the design of the inscription with the careful parting of the stone into two halves, prepared apparently exactly for the length of two texts, indicates that both documents were written together on one occasion. The inscription has one 'title' (l. 1) that towers over both documents. As far as I understand its contents, l. 12 recalls an earlier edict made during the reign of Khri Sroñ lde brcan, but I do not find any traces of this document in the inscription. Concluding, the inscription quotes two documents (an earlier petition and an edict) and refers to yet another, earlier edict, but as such constitutes one historical document created and published during the reign of Khri Sroñ lde brcan.

⁴⁷ Richardson dated the inscription to the period 795–800; Richardson 1985: 36.

⁴⁸ Khri Sroñ lde brcan is also called *yphrul gyi lha byañ čhub čhen po* in the Khri inscription. According to Dotson, in the latter case "we are dealing to some extent with a king's self-representation, and the posthumous refiguration of this self-representation in eulogy. In other words, it may be the posthumous name this king selected for himself, or it may be one created by other means, perhaps even by the eulogy's final redactor. Or perhaps it is, as the eulogy states, a name offered by popular acclaim, that is, by the proverbial 'all men'". (Dotson 2015: 15).

whether Khri Sroñ lde brcan did not resign from the throne in favour of his son and became a monk. In ṽphyoñ he is also called *čhos rgyal čhen po* (l. 11). The inscription could have been created after the Rkoñ inscription to commemorate and glorify the *bcan po* who had just renounced worldly affairs in order to devote himself to the religion.⁴⁹ Alternatively, as suggested by Richardson and maintained by Walter and Beckwith, ṽphyoñ could have been a funerary inscription on a pillar erected at the tomb of Khri Sroñ lde brcan—a plausible explanation for the titulature used therein.⁵⁰ The ṽphyoñ inscription is also chronologically (according to the proposed dating) the oldest inscription that uses the title *yphrul gyi lha*.⁵¹

Skar.⁵² The inscription uses kinterms extensively (see the Appendix) and does so in complete accordance with the pattern revealed by the OTA. The only ruler to whom the structure '*bcan po* + NAME' is consistently applied is Khri Lde sroñ brcan. Any other *bcan po* acquires a kinterm. Besides Žwa W (see below), the Skar inscription is another in which a *bcan po* is referred to by a personal pronoun, here plural *ñed*. Interestingly, the pronoun is used in apposition with *yab sras*, meaning "we, father and son"; its referent is clearly plural. This indicates that the father, Khri Sroñ lde brcan, was still alive when the inscription was composed, for otherwise the kinterm *sras* could not have been used

⁴⁹ On the abdication of Khri Sroñ lde brcan, see Bialek, forthcoming b.

⁵⁰ Richardson 1985: 36–37; Walter and Beckwith 2010: 301ff.

⁵¹ The titles *yphrul gyi lha* and *lha sras* are found in a complementary distribution in the inscriptions. The former is attested in: ṽphyoñ, Skar, Žwa W and E, Treaty, Dun 365, whereas the latter in: Rkoñ, Khri, Lčañ, Khrom F, Lho, and Lijiang. One and the same *bcan po* can be called *yphrul gyi lha* in one inscription but *lha sras* in another from the same regnal period (see the Appendix). It is therefore apparent that neither of the titles belonged to the official nomenclature; they were merely expressions of courtesy.

⁵² Walter and Beckwith underlined the derivative character of the Skar inscription, which in their opinion is based on the Bsam inscription; Walter and Beckwith 2010: 305ff. On this point I agree with Doney's remark, "the Skar čuñ inscription's dependence on the Bsam yas inscription does not give me reason to view the former as a 'forgery'. [...] The changes that Walter and Beckwith's excellent systematic analysis uncovers could be explained as the evolution of religious terminology, court language and chancery phraseology within a generation from the time of the Bsam yas edict [...]". (Doney 2014: 77, n. 65). From the *Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa* (see example (24) below) we learn that the first language regulations towards standardisation were undertaken during the reign of *bcan po* Khri Sroñ lde brcan. The same 'Classical orthography' (*kyi(s)*, *kun*, *kyañ*, etc.) as in the Skar inscription is also encountered, for instance, in the Treaty, ṽphyoñ, or Bsam Bell inscriptions, just to mention those recognised by Walter and Beckwith as 'genuine imperial'.

with reference to Khri Lde sroñ brcan.⁵³ Since Skar is the only inscription from the reign of Khri Lde sroñ brcan which addresses the *bcan po* with *sras*, this inscription preceded all of the other inscriptions of this regnal period and, as the only one, must have been composed before 804—the year of Khri Sroñ lde brcan's death. These findings are confirmed by the Skar čhuñ edict (see below).⁵⁴

Khra. The Khra inscription only mentions *bcan po* Khri Lde sroñ brcan. In accordance with the weak rule, I date it to the reign of this *bcan po*. The bell was dedicated by *jo mo* Byañ čhub (ll. 10–11), presumably the same person as *jo mo* Byañ čhub rje (alias Rgyal mo brcan) from the Bsam Bell inscription,⁵⁵ who was the step-mother of Khri Lde sroñ brcan.

Žwa W. The West inscription at Žwayi lha khañ⁵⁶ mentions *γphrul gyi lha bcan po* Khri Lde sroñ brcan and his elder brother Mu rug brcan, who is omitted from the East inscription.⁵⁷ The inscription begins with

⁵³ This finding contradicts Doney's opinion that "[t]he summary of Khri Sroñ lde brcan's greatest achievement in the Skar čuñ and Ḥphyoñ rgyas inscriptions represent reappraisals of his life. *Such reassessments are only possible after his death*" (Doney 2014: 77; emphasis added). Alternatively, one could argue that the phrase *ñed yab sras* (l. 44) referred to Khri Lde sroñ brcan and his son, in other words Khri Gcug lde brcan, who must have already been born because he took over the reign in 815. According to this hypothesis, the kinterm *yab* would have been used for two persons: Khri Sroñ lde brcan and Khri Lde sroñ brcan. This is of course not possible in one text.

⁵⁴ With this new dating the question arises: why does neither the inscription nor the edict (see below) mention Mu rug brcan? One possibility is that the fights between him and his father still continued and so he was not invited to participate in the ceremony at the Skar čhuñ temple. Uray argued to the contrary; he interpreted the absence of Mu rug brcan from the Skar inscription as evidence for the latter being younger than the Žwa W inscription; Uray 1989: 13.

⁵⁵ See KhG *ja* 98v1–2; Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 338 and 341.

⁵⁶ Dated in Richardson 1985: 44 to c. 804/5.

⁵⁷ Compare the respective passages:

gčen mu rug brcan dañ / jo mo mched dañ (49) *rgyal phran rnam dañ / čhab srid kyi blon po man čad / zañ lon che phra kun kyañ* (50) *mnaś bsgagste /* (Žwa W) "[I] bounded by oath [all] downward from the elder brother Mu rug brcan, [my] lady-sister(s), petty kings, and councillors of the realm – all the major and minor aristocrats".

jo mo (36) *[m]ched dañ / rgyal phran dañ / čhab srid kyi blon po rnam dañ / zañ* (37) *lon phra mo thams čad kyañ brnan te / mnaś bsgags nas /* (Žwa E) "All, lady-sister(s), petty kings, councillors of the realm, and minor aristocrats, being present, were bound by the oath".

Žwa E deliberately omits the elder brother Mu rug brcan. By comparing information on highest dignitaries (mentioned in the Žwa W inscription) in the edict – issued by Khri Lde sroñ brcan on the occasion of founding the Skar čuñ temple – and in the *Sgra sbyor*, Uray concluded that the Žwa inscription must have been

the words *gnam lhab kyi rgyal po yphrul gyi lha bcan po khri lde sroñ brcan* (ll. 1–2) “the king of the vast sky, deity of magical powers, *bcan po* Khri Lde sroñ brcan”.⁵⁸ This suggests that the inscription was created during the reign of *bcan po* Khri Lde sroñ brcan, an interpretation accepted by previous scholars.⁵⁹ The title *gnam lhab kyi rgyal po* beside *yphrul gyi lha* and *bcan po* (l. 1) indicates that *bcan po* was the official title of Tibetan rulers who, however, could have been bestowed with additional titles as well, in this case: *gnam lhab kyi rgyal po* and *yphrul gyi lha*. The inscription uses kinterms on several occasions. In l. 5 we read *yab yum gyi go* “place of father and mother” that should probably be understood metaphorically. It attests to a very intimate relationship between the future ruler and Tiñ ñe yjin, who apparently acted as a spiritual teacher of the former. Equating one’s own parents with the monk is exceptional in Central Tibetan inscriptions and proves the significance of Tiñ ñe yjin for the personal life of the ruler. The familiar language of the inscription and the likewise unusual usage of the personal pronoun *ña* “I” (l. 4) can be explained as resulting from this very status of the monk.⁶⁰ From *Žwa W* ll. 9–13 we learn about fights between the father (*yab*) of Khri Lde sroñ brcan and his elder brother (*gčen*). The elder brother is identified as *Mu rug brcan* in l. 48 of the same inscription.

Žwa E. The *Žwa E* inscription was created a few years after *Žwa W*. The new edict was proclaimed for *ban de Myañ Tiñ ñe yjin* in “the later dragon year” (*ybrug gi lo phyi ma*, ll. 22–23), which could only be 812 if we agree that the inscription was created during the reign of Khri Lde sroñ brcan.⁶¹ *Žwa E* addresses the *bcan po* by two additional titles: *myiyi*

composed before the edict and the *Sgra sbyor* (1989: 12ff.) because it is the only document that mentions *Mu rug brcan*.

⁵⁸ The term *gnam lhab* used as an element of the *bcan po*’s title is not an error (as assumed in Walter and Beckwith 2010: 310) but a compound of the underlying structure **gnam lhab lhub*. For details, see Bialek 2018a: vol. 2, 233ff.

⁵⁹ See Richardson 1985: 43ff.; Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 261ff.

⁶⁰ The assumption that “[t]he emperor does not refer to himself in the first person” (Walter and Beckwith 2010: 294) is made *a priori* and results in this circular argument: because the emperor does not refer to himself in the first person in ‘authentic imperial’ inscriptions (which are defined, among others, as those in which such pronouns are not used), the inscriptions which use this pronoun are not authentic. What’s more, *ña* is not “the humble first person pronoun” (Walter and Beckwith 2010: 296) but the unmarked pronoun, the humble equivalent of which is *bdag*; Hahn 1996: 112. See Hill 2010: 550ff. for a detailed analysis of first person pronouns in OT. The usage of the pronoun *ña* indicates that the first-person narrator of the inscription perceived himself on a par with *ban de Tiñ ñe yjin*.

⁶¹ Richardson 1952: 150 and 1985: 44. Contrary to previous authors (see, e.g., Petech 1939; Haahr 1960; Richardson 1985; Dotson 2007b and 2015: 9), I argue that Khri

rgyal po lhas mjad pa and *yphrul gyi lha*.⁶²

Khri. It seems logical that the sepulchral inscription of Khri Lde sroñ brcan should be dated after his death.⁶³ The title *lha yphrul* occurs only twice in the inscriptions in Treaty E l. 34 and Khri l. 13 – each time referring to Khri Lde sroñ brcan. Because no other inscription created indisputably during his reign uses the title, we can presume that *lha yphrul* was an official title bestowed posthumously on Khri Lde sroñ brcan. Thus, the inscription was composed after the death of Khri Lde sroñ brcan, in other words during the reign of Khri Gcug lde brcan.

Treaty. The Treaty inscription can undoubtedly be dated to the year 822/3.⁶⁴ The only kinterm occurring therein is *yab* in *bcan po yab lha yphrul khri lde sroñ brcan* (E l. 34) “the *bcan po*-father, the supernatural deity Khri Lde sroñ brcan”. Khri Lde sroñ brcan was the father of Khri Gcug lde brcan during whose reign the treaty with China was signed in 821/2 and the stone pillar commemorating this event (i.e. the Treaty inscription) erected in Lhasa. The inscription also mentions other Tibetan rulers: *yphrul gyi lha bcan po* ཡོལ་ལཱ་ལྷ་མོ་ (E l. 5), *yphrul gyi lha bcan po* Khri Sroñ brcan (E ll. 22–23), *yphrul gyi lha bcan po* Khri Lde gcug brcan (E ll. 25–26), and the contemporary *bcan po* is addressed as *yphrul gyi lha bcan po* Khri Gcug lde brcan (W ll. 12–13; E ll. 1 and 51) and *bcan po dbon* (E l. 42; in relation to the Chinese ruler, *rgya rje žaṅ*). The past rulers are all mentioned in one single passage that narrates a glorified history of the Tibetan Empire and its history of international relations with neighbouring countries, most importantly China. This retrospective narrative has a distinct focus: the history of the Tibetan Empire and not the genealogy of the ruling family. The Treaty inscription can be unequivocally dated on historical grounds and the analysis of its phraseology also supports the accepted dating. The only

Lde sroñ brcan immediately followed Khri Sroñ lde brcan to the throne; see Bialek, forthcoming b. Consequently, 800 could well have been the first dragon year of his reign and 812 was accurately called *ybrug gi lo phyi ma*.

⁶² Beckwith's statement that “the Žwayi lha khañ inscription repeatedly refers to the *bcan po* as an ordinary *rgyal po* ‘king’” (Beckwith 2011: 227, n. 16) is inaccurate insofar as each of the Žwa inscriptions mentions the term *rgyal po* only once, each time in contexts that leave no doubt that the term was part of additional official titles of the *bcan po* and was not meant to replace the latter.

⁶³ Concerning the date of the inscription, Li Fang Kuei and Coblin propose “815 or soon thereafter” (Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 237) and Richardson “between 815, the year in which Khri Lde sroñ brcan died, and 817 by when the burial would have taken place” (Richardson 1998a: 270). In a later paper, Richardson argued for 817 as the year in which the *bcan po* died; Richardson 1998b: 278.

⁶⁴ Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 35; Pan Yihong 1992: 143ff.; OTI: 32.

historical *bcan po* addressed without a kinterm (and not in a historical narrative) is Khri Gcug lde brcan. His father is called *bcan po yab lha yphrul* Khri Lde sroñ brcan.

Lčañ. The Lčañ inscription has to be dated by the weak rule: the only ruler mentioned is *bcan po (lha sras)* Khri Gcug lde brcan.

Khrom F and Khrom R. By the weak rule, both inscriptions should be dated to the reign of Khri Gcug lde brcan.

Lho. The Lho inscription uses the titles *bcan po* and *lha sras* but without supplying any name. Thus, no dating for this inscription can be proposed based on the criteria put forward in the present work.

It is not certain to what extent the inscriptions from outside of Central Tibet followed the system used in the Central Tibetan inscriptions and in the OTA. Their evaluation causes problems because, for the most part, they are too fragmentary and do not contain enough linguistic material. For the sake of completeness, I include in this discussion those inscriptions that contain the relevant linguistic material (even if scanty). Needless to say, their chronology can only be deemed preliminary.

Dgay. In 2011, Lha mčhog rgyal published a text of a newly discovered bell inscription from the temple Dgay ldan byin čhen in the Gansu province.⁶⁵ The passage relevant for the discussion is: *(bod) kyi lha bcan po khri lde gcug brcan mče(d kyi sku yon du bsñoste)*⁶⁶ “dedicated as an offering to a sibling, the deity of Tibetans, *bcan po* Khri Lde gcug brcan”. According to the weak rule this inscription should be dated to the reign of *bcan po* Khri Lde gcug brcan and thus be the oldest known inscription. The title *bod kyi lha* is otherwise not attested in the inscriptions. We find it again in PT 1287: l. 519, in a chapter devoted to Khri Ÿdus sroñ. Thus, it might have been an earlier official title.⁶⁷

Brag A. The Brag A inscription contains the phrase *bcan po byañ čub sems dpay khri sroñ lde brcan*.⁶⁸ A very similar title was given to Khri

⁶⁵ The inscription is also sometimes referred to as Dpay ri Bell inscription.

⁶⁶ I have bracketed elements that are not legible on the attached photos.

⁶⁷ The phrase *bod kyi lha* is also found in PT 16/IOL Tib J 751 but this is not a historical document. In a forthcoming paper I examine the usage of *lha* as an official royal title; see Bialek, forthcoming a.

⁶⁸ The available transliterations read *bcan* (Heller 1997: 389; OTI: 58) but the reproduction in Heller 1997 (Plate 2) in fact shows *brcan*; the letter *c* is located too far below the middle line which can be determined by comparing the letter *č* in *čub*

Sroñ lde brcan in the Yphyoñ inscription: *byañ čhub čhen po*.⁶⁹ Since the phrase *byañ č(h)ub* is not used with any other *bcan po*, we can assume that it was a part of the official title. In addition, the occurrence of this title in two unrelated inscriptions that both mention *bcan po* Khri Sroñ lde brcan is a strong indicator that they should be dated to his reign. The inscription uses the postposition *sku riñ la*⁷⁰ with reference to *bcan po* Khri Sroñ lde brcan, which could be another hint that the *bcan po* retired and the inscription stems from the time after his abdication. If both elements (the title *bcan po* with a throne-name in *khri-* and the postposition *sku riñ la*) co-occur, it could only mean that the Brag A inscription referred to the period when Khri Sroñ lde brcan was not a reigning ruler anymore but was still alive. However, it is uncertain whether the non-Central Tibetan inscriptions adhered to the same conventions as those from Central Tibet.⁷¹

Ldan 2. The Ldan 2 inscription contains the phrase *mcan po khri sde sroñ brcan riñ la* (l. 2).⁷² By the weak rule, I date it to the reign of Khri Lde sroñ brcan. It also contains a dating formula: *spreyu gi loyi dbyar*,⁷³ “the summer of the year of the monkey”, which was identified with the year 816 by Heller⁷⁴ and by Richardson in the addendum to the reprint of his paper,⁷⁵ but must be corrected to 804⁷⁶—the only monkey year in the reign of Khri Lde sroñ brcan.⁷⁷

earlier in the same line. The hook at the upper right corner is placed below the upper line indicating the existence of a superscript, the upper horizontal line of which is likewise visible in the picture.

⁶⁹ Doney discussed religious titles bestowed on Khri Sroñ lde brcan in other texts as well; Doney 2014: 76.

⁷⁰ Actually *skuyi riñ la*, l. 1; *apud* OTI: 58.

⁷¹ The inscription and the carved images were also dated to the reign of Khri Sroñ lde brcan in Heller 1997: 386.

⁷² OTI: 61.

⁷³ OTI: 61.

⁷⁴ Heller 1997: 391.

⁷⁵ Richardson 1998b: 278.

⁷⁶ See also OTI: 61.

⁷⁷ See also Imaeda 2012: 115. Almost all early Tibetan historiographers state that Khri Lde sroñ brcan died in a hen year, which can only be 817, but Ldeyu jo sras 1987: 137 and Mkhas pa ldeyu 2010: 340, fol. 201r speak of a sheep year, in other words 815. The latter was unquestionably the first year of the reign of Khri Gcug lde brcan (Treaty N 59 and Bialek, forthcoming b). Because the Ldan 2 inscription mentions peace negotiations between Tibet and China (l. 9), Richardson concluded that the monkey year must be that of 816 because the negotiations started in 810; Richardson 1998b: 278. However, the exchange of envoys already started in 803 and in the next year a delegation of 54 persons visited the Tang court; Bushell 1880: 510–11 and Pelliot 1961: 67. This might have been the event alluded to in Ldan 2.

Ybis 2. This is the first inscription that does not conform to the established Central Tibetan nomenclature: *bcan po khri lde srañ bcan gyī sku riñ la* (ll. 2–3). Khri Lde sroñ brcan died in 815 and was succeeded by his son Khri Gcug lde brcan in the same year.⁷⁸ The inscription is dated to the dog year (l. 1) which can only be 806.⁷⁹ It contains the phrase *bcan po yab sras* (l. 9) but refers to the actual ruler without using a kinterm. The inscription uses the postposition *sku riñ la* (ll. 2–3). According to the nomenclature of the Central Tibetan inscriptions and the OTA, one should have used the postposition *riñ la* until the death of Khri Lde sroñ brcan. The possible explanations for this inconsistency are: 1. the official nomenclature was not as strictly followed as in Central Tibet; 2. the difference between *riñ la* and *sku riñ la* had already become blurred (maybe after the introduction of the formula *sku che riñ la?*); or 3. the inscription Ybis 2 is a much later and inaccurate duplicate of the original inscription that was written on a cliff⁸⁰ and the copist added *sku* to the original *riñ la*.⁸¹

Dun 365. In the Dunhuang cave no. 365 inscription we read: *yphrul gyi lha rcan* (OTI: [*b*]rcan) *pho khri gcug lde brcan sku riñ la* (l. 1). This seemingly contradicts the established pattern by joining the title of a reigning ruler with the postposition *sku riñ la*, but could be explained by the later date of the inscription and the shift in terminology that occurred by that time. According to Uray, the chapel in which the inscription is written was founded in 832/3 and consecrated in 834/5⁸²—both dates fall within the reign of Khri Gcug lde brcan.

The pattern of applying kinterms in Central Tibetan inscriptions perfectly matches the one disclosed for the OTA:

1. The point of reference for a kinterm (*ego*) was always the currently ruling *bcan po*.
2. The title *bcan po* acquired the apposition *yab* “father” as soon as the heir to the throne was born.
3. The mother to the heir was given the appellation *yum*.
4. The heir could be referred to as *sras* “son” as long as his father was alive.

⁷⁸ See the notes on the Ldan 2 inscription above and Bialek, forthcoming b.

⁷⁹ Heller 1997: 390; OTI: 55.

⁸⁰ OTI: 55.

⁸¹ We encounter a similar problem with the edicts preserved in the *Mkhas pa dgay ston* (see below); they all use the postposition *sku riñ la* although the Skar inscription has *riñ la* (the Bsam and Bsam Bell inscriptions do not contain the phrase).

⁸² Uray 1984: 350–51.

Both systems are internally consistent and essentially identical. No difference could be discerned between inscriptions the dating of which is established beyond doubt (e.g., Żol, Bsam, Bsam Bell, Treaty) and those the authenticity of which has sometimes been challenged (e.g., Rkoñ, Skar, Żwa).⁸³

3. Dating Formulas in the *Sgra sbyor*

The *Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa* (hereafter: *Sgra sbyor*) contains the discussed formulas and has been unambiguously dated to the reign of Khri Lde sroñ brcan. It begins with the clause:

(23)

*rtayi lo la bcan po khri lde sroñ bcan pho brañ skyiḡi ḡon čaḡ do na bźugs*⁸⁴

In the horse year, *bcan po* Khri Lde sroñ bcan abided in the residence ḡon čaḡ do of Skyi.

Khri Lde sroñ brcan reigned until 815. Scholars previously studying the *Sgra sbyor* have agreed that the said horse-year should be identified with the year 814/5 of the Western calendar.⁸⁵ Later, the text reads:

(24)

sñon lha sras yab kyi riñ la / ācāryabodhisattoa daḡ / ye śes dbaḡ po daḡ / žaḡ rgyal ñen ña bzaḡ daḡ / blon khri bźer saḡ śi daḡ / lo cā ba žñānadevakoṣa daḡ / lče khyi ḡbrug daḡ / bram ze ānanda la sogs pas [...] kha čig čhos kyi gźuḡ daḡ / vyākaraḡayi lugs daḡ mi mthun te / mi bčos su mi ruḡ ba rnams kyaḡ bčos /

Earlier, during the reign of the Divine Son, the father, Ācāryabodhisattva, Ye śes dbaḡ po, Žaḡ rgyal ñen ña bzaḡ, councillor Khri bźer saḡ śi, lo cā ba Jñānadevakoṣa, Lče khyi ḡbrug and Bramin Ānanda, among others, revised some (words) that, not being in agreement with the core of the *dharma* and with the grammatical tradition,

⁸³ See Walter and Beckwith 2010.

⁸⁴ The citations are generally based on Ishikawa 1990 but my readings disagree with Ishikawa on a few minor points.

⁸⁵ See Uray 1989: 13 and Panglung 1994: 161. I agree with Panglung that the Tabo version of the *Sgra sbyor* is based on an earlier redaction than the canonical one. The latter author proposed the dates 783 or 795 (during the reign of Khri Sroñ lde brcan) for the composition of the Tabo version. I deem it premature to date the Dunhuang manuscripts (PT 843, PT 845, IOL Tib J 76), because the dating formula has not been preserved in the latter.

should not remain unrevised.⁸⁶

Here the adverb *sñon* underscores the past time of the events. According to the interpretation proposed in the present paper, *yab* refers to Khri Sroñ lde brcan, the father of Khri Lde sroñ brcan. In (24) we see the pattern repeated from the OT inscriptions to use kinterms, the reference point of which is the contemporary *bcan po*. The passage additionally attests to a posthumous usage of *riñ la*.

I argued for a pragmatic shift in the usage of the formulas *riñ la* and *sku riñ la* that seems to have occurred during the reign of Khri Gcug lde brcan.⁸⁷ Yet another facet of this shift is attested in the *Sgra sbyor*:

(25)

sñon lha sras yab kyi spyan sñar mkhan po dañ lo cā ba mkhas pa ychogs pas / dharmma dkon mchog sprin dañ / lan kar gśegs pa bsgyur te /

Earlier, in front of the Divine Son, the father, masters and skilful *lo cā bas*, who gathered, translated the *dharmma* texts [of] *Ratnamegha* and *Lañkāvatāra*.

The formula *sñon lha sras yab kyi spyan sñar* is the equivalent of *gžan ni yab myes kyi sku riñ la* from the Tabo edition of the *Sgra sbyor*.⁸⁸ We find the phrase *yab myes kyi sku riñ la* attested only once in OT, in the Lčañ inscription (l. 5). The usage of the formula *sku riñ la* together with the unspecified *yab myes* “fathers and grandfathers” indicates the more general meaning of *sku riñ la* as compared with *riñ la*.⁸⁹ In OT inscriptions the latter consistently occurred with a name of a concrete person.⁹⁰

4. The Imperial Edicts in the *Mkhas pa dgay ston*

In his groundbreaking study, Tucci convincingly argued for the historical validity of imperial documents as preserved in the *Mkhas pa*

⁸⁶ Lit. “those that were not suitable not to be unrevised”. This passage contradicts the assumption that the revision of translated works began first under Khri Lde sroñ brcan; see e.g., Uray 1989: 17.

⁸⁷ Bialek 2018b.

⁸⁸ See Panglung 1994: 170.

⁸⁹ The use of the formula *yab myes kyi sku riñ la* in the Tabo version is somehow perplexing; the clause concerns translations of two Buddhist texts: *Ratnamegha* and *Lañkāvatāra*. The Tabo version lets us believe that generations (*yab myes*) were needed in order to translate these two texts.

⁹⁰ See the Appendix and Bialek 2018b: 401ff.

dgay ston (hereafter: KhG) of Dpaṅ bo Gcug lag yphreñ ba.⁹¹ Tucci noted that the texts of the Central Tibetan inscriptions have been accurately copied by Dpaṅ bo Gcug lag yphreñ ba and so one might assume that also the edicts (*bkay gcigs*) are rather faithful copies of the imperial documents which have not been preserved.⁹²

1st edict (KhG ja 108v2–10r3)⁹³

The phraseology of the first edict of Khri Sroñ lde brcan resembles much the phraseology of the Bsam inscription. We find there expressions like *bcan po yab sras dañ sras kyi yum* (109r1) and *bcan po yab sras* (109r4).⁹⁴ The edict mentions only *bcan po* Khri Sroñ lde brcan (108v2) by name.

2nd edict (KhG ja 110r3–11v2)⁹⁵

The text begins with the phrase *bcan po khri sroñ lde bcan gyi sku riñ la* (110r3) which agrees with the established weak rule: only the currently reigning *bcan po* can be addressed with the title and the name alone. Further, the second edict says *bcan po bži mes khri sroñ bcan gyi riñ la* (110r4–5) “during the reign of the grandfather Khri Sroñ bcan”⁹⁶ and

⁹¹ Tucci 1950: 43ff.; see also Richardson 1980: 62.

⁹² Uray, in 1967, argued for the dependency of the *Mkhas pa dgay ston* on earlier post-imperial historiographical sources, so that it may be that Dpaṅ bo Gcug lag yphreñ ba himself did not have any access to the original documents. For instance, we observe that the edicts preserved in the KhG all use the postposition *sku riñ la* interchangeably with *riñ la* despite the fact that the Skar inscription as well as the inscriptions from the reign of Khri Sroñ lde brcan use *riñ la* to refer to the reign of a *bcan po* – another hint at a later redaction of the edicts.

⁹³ The close relationship between the first two edicts and the Bsam inscriptions may be assumed from the fact that in the KhG the edicts are followed by a copy of the pillar inscription which Dpaṅ bo Gcug lag yphreñ ba states contained a summary (*mdor bsdus*) of the edicts (KhG ja 111v2–3). Richardson 1980: 63 dated the edicts to the period between the completion of Bsam yas (either 767 or, more probably, 779) and 782. As an aside, neither the Bsam inscriptions, nor the edicts, mention Sāntarakṣita, who was allegedly crucial to the construction of Bsam yas.

⁹⁴ Richardson was partly right in maintaining that it “is not certain whether *sras* and *yum* in the edict refer specifically to one son and one mother or to sons and mothers” (Richardson 1980: 64). However, he overlooked the conventionalised nomenclature of imperial Tibet that included only the heir to the throne and his mother in official documents.

⁹⁵ As noticed in Richardson 1980: 63, the second ‘edict’ is referred to as *bkay mchid* at the end of the first edict (KhG ja 110r2).

⁹⁶ The phrase *bcan po bži* is ambiguous. Tucci 1950: 47 and 98, followed by Richardson 1980: 66 and Coblin 1990: 170, read *bzan* (sic) *po bži* “the fourth ancestor”; Coblin 1990: 166 confirmed the reading *bcan*. If we follow Tucci in reading “the fourth *bcan po* [counted back from Khri Sroñ lde brcan]” we arrive at a reckoning that would exclude Guñ sroñ guñ rcan, the son of Khri Sroñ rcan. This would indicate that the later tradition did not recognise him as a legitimate *bcan po*, although he must have

bcan po yab khri lde gcug brcan gyi riñ la (110r5) “during the reign of *bcan po*, the father Khri Lde gcug brcan”. Both phrases follow the OT convention of taking the currently reigning *bcan po* as the reference point for the kinterms, confirming that the edict was composed during the rule of Khri Sroñ lde brcan. *sku riñ la* in the first phrase juxtaposed with *riñ la* of the two other phrases suggests a later revision, maybe by Dpay bo Gcug lag yphreñ ba.

3rd edict (KhG ja 128v1–30v5)

The third edict accompanied the creation of the Skar inscription and was composed during the reign of Khri Lde sroñ bcan. It is the most revealing of the edicts. We find there the following expressions:

	<i>sras</i>	<i>khri lde sroñ bcan</i>		128v1
<i>bcan po</i>		<i>khri lde sroñ bcan</i>		128v2
	<i>yab</i>	<i>khri sroñ lde bcan</i>		128v3, 5, 7
	<i>mes</i>	<i>sroñ bcan</i>		128v4
<i>bcan po</i>		<i>khri lde sroñ bcan</i>	<i>ña</i>	128v5–6
	<i>mes</i>	<i>khri lde gcug bcan</i>		128v6
			<i>ñed</i>	129r2
			<i>ña</i>	129r5
<i>bcan po</i>	<i>dbon sras</i>			129r7
<i>ñed</i>	<i>yab sras</i>			129v4
	<i>yab mes dbon sras</i>			129v5

The phrase *bcan po khri lde sroñ bcan ña* unambiguously identifies the author of the edict and the currently reigning *bcan po* as Khri Lde sroñ bcan. The edict also uses the phrase *ñed yab sras* that likewise occurs in the Skar inscription. I have argued that this phrase indicates that the father Khri Sroñ lde brcan was still alive. This hypothesis is confirmed by the unique form of address at the beginning of the edict: *sras khri lde sroñ bcan*. This convention is in agreement with the observation that the kinterms *myes*, *yab*, and *sras* were used as long as the (grand-)parent was still alive and until the end of funerary ceremonies after his death. Because of the active role of the agent referents of *ñed* in the inscription and in the accompanying edict, we can conclude that Khri Sroñ lde brcan was alive and possibly present at the erection of the

been enthroned after his father Khri Sroñ rcan had abdicated. Unfortunately, OT sources remain silent on this period of early Tibetan history. Alternatively and in agreement with the syntax, *bcan po bzi* can be read as “the fourth *bcan po* [ever]”, meaning that the tradition counted Ybro Mñen lde ru as the first *bcan po*.

pillar. On the other hand, the formulation *bcan po dbon sras* suggests that an heir to the throne (*dbon* "grandson") was already born to Khri Lde sroñ bcan.

The consistency between the use of kinterms in the original OT documents and the edicts confirms the historical value of the latter and additionally supports the hypothesis that the use of kinterms in imperial documents was conventionalised and followed a strictly regulated pattern.

Conclusions

During the imperial period, the administrative vocabulary, nomenclature and, last but not least, the official titlature all evolved in a natural way and this is mirrored in the inscriptions. This paper has focused on kinterms, demonstrating that a consistent system of nomenclature relating to reigning *bcan pos* and the royal family existed that can be used to tentatively ascribe particular inscriptions to a reign of a concrete ruler. However, even this system was changing as the empire grew and new administrative means were introduced. The language had to be adjusted to the changing social and political circumstances as well. In another paper, I have demonstrated that such natural semantic changes occurred with respect to the term *rin* and the postposition *rin la* based on it, as well as in the title *rgyal po*.⁹⁷

It should be stressed that dating an inscription to the reign of a particular *bcan po* is not the same as saying that it is written or ordered by that very ruler, nor in his name. The acting authority behind creating an inscription could have been any person or institution (lay or clerical) in power and possessing enough financial means.⁹⁸ This, as well as diverging purposes for which single inscriptions were created, contributed to the variety in lexicon they display. It may also explain

⁹⁷ See Bialek 2018b.

⁹⁸ There is a widely accepted assumption that the so-called Central Tibetan inscriptions were composed during the imperial period. If one wishes to dismiss this view, it would be necessary to point to persons or institutions that could have had not only (propagandic) interest but also financial means to have these monuments erected in post-imperial times. This has not been done so far. Also, compare the comment by Richardson concerning the Bell of Yer pa: "[...] it is improbable that at the time of the Phyi-dar there would have been either a patron with the means to have so large a casting made or craftsmen with the skill to carry out the work", Richardson 1985: 144. On the other hand, no stone pillars of comparable significance in form and content are known to have been erected in post-imperial times. Therefore, as long as no alternative historical context has been offered and convincingly argued for, the traditional view, dating the inscriptions to the imperial period, has to be preferred.

the fact that each inscription contains some hapax legomena (lexemes or phrases) not encountered in other OT documents.

The dates arrived at for the Central Tibetan inscriptions in this paper were achieved by using specific linguistic criteria. Doubtlessly, more detailed philological studies will reveal additional features that could be used in future to specify the periods more accurately or to establish a relative chronology for the inscriptions created within one regnal period. Here I have concentrated on the kinterms and their usage in Central Tibetan inscriptions in order to demonstrate that they were applied according to a coherent system. This new approach to dating OT inscriptions has allowed me to present a trustworthy relative chronology for most of the inscriptions. However, some of the inscriptions could only be dated according to the proposed weak rule that deduces the time of their creation from a *bcan po* addressed in that very inscription. Needless to say, these datings are especially vulnerable to criticism and require further evidence.

Even though the method of dating documents on the grounds of the kinterms used therein could be shown to have value on its own, it would be unwise to rely only on this method and disregard traditional approaches. Nonetheless, this method has yielded results in accordance with the established facts in the cases of already unambiguously dated inscriptions. By applying the same approach to the inscriptions, the dating of which has been much debated and remains uncertain, I argue that the method can be conceived of as an auxiliary means in borderline cases. The single most valuable finding of the survey concerns the fact that, in historical documents, the reference point for kinterms (*ego*) was always the currently ruling *bcan po*.

Abbreviations

Ybis	Ybis khog inscription
Yphyon	Yphyon rgyas inscription
ABS	absolute
Brag	Brag lha mo inscription
Bsam	Bsam yas inscription
Bsam Bell	Bsam yas Bell inscription
Dgay	Dgay ldan byin chen inscription
Dun 365	Dunhuang Mogau cave no. 365 inscription
E	east-facing inscription
GEN	genitive
HON	honorific
IDP	International Dunhuang Project (see Internet Sources)
INESS	inessive

KhG	Dpay bo Gcug lag yphreñ ba 1962
Khra	Khra ybrug Bell inscription
Khri	inscription at Khri Lde sron brcan's tomb
Khrom	Khrom čhen inscription
Lčañ	Lčañ bu inscription
Ldan	Ldan ma brag inscription
Lho	Lho brag inscription
N	north-facing inscription
OT	Old Tibetan
OTA	<i>Old Tibetan Annals</i>
OTDO	Old Tibetan Documents Online (see Internet Sources)
OTI	Iwao et al. 2009
PT	Pelliot tibétain
Rkoñ	Rkoñ po inscription
S	south-facing inscription
Skar	Skar čuñ inscription
Treaty	Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription
trslr.	transliteration
W	west-facing inscription
Yer	Yer pa Bell inscription
Žol	Žol inscription
Žwa	Žwayi lha khañ inscription

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Appendix

The occurrence of the sole title *bcan po* has not been included in the table. Inscriptions from outside of Central Tibet are coloured dark grey. Table cells coloured light grey mark references to the contemporary *bcan po* of the respective inscription as dated in the present paper. The dates of the inscriptions provided with a question mark are tentative.



Reigni ng <i>bcan</i> <i>po</i> (life years)	Inscri p.	Dat e	Lin e	Title(s)	Pronou n	Kinter m	Titl e	Nam e	Titl e	Collecti ve kinterm	Postpositi on	Regn al years			
Khri Lde gcug rcan (704– 754)	Dgay		1	<i>bod kyi lha</i>				Khri Lde gcug brca n				712– 754			
Khri Sroñ lde brcan (742–804)	Žol S	764	1–2	<i>bca n pho</i>				Khri Lde gcug rcan			<i>riñ la</i>	712– 754			
			8	<i>bca n pho</i>			<i>yab</i>	Khri Lde gcug rcan							
			11	<i>bca n pho</i>			<i>sras</i>	Khri Sroñ lde brca n				756– 797			
			16	<i>bca n pho</i>			<i>sras</i>	Khri Sroñ lde brca n							
			21– 2	<i>bca n pho</i>				Khri Sroñ lde brca n			<i>riñ la</i>				
			41– 2	<i>bca n po</i>				Khri Sroñ lde brca n							
			Žol N	5	<i>bca n pho</i>				Khri Sroñ lde brca n				756– 797		
				12	<i>bca n po</i>			<i>sras dbon</i>							
			Bsam			11	<i>bca n po</i>			<i>yab sras</i>					
						18	<i>bca n po</i>			<i>yab sras</i>					
Bsam B			7–8	<i>lha bca n po</i>			Khri Sroñ lde brca n		<i>yab sras</i>		756– 797				
Rkoñ			1	<i>lha bca n po</i>			Khri Sroñ lde brca n				756– 797				

									Lde sroñ		<i>yab sras</i>	<i>riñ la</i>	797– 815
		12		<i>bca n po</i>	<i>lha sras</i>				Khri Sroñ lde brca n			<i>riñ la</i>	756– 797
		13			<i>lha sras</i>				Lde sroñ			<i>sku riñ la</i>	797– 815
		19– 20			<i>lha sras</i>		<i>yab</i>						
		20			<i>lha sras</i>				Lde sroñ			<i>sku riñ la</i>	797– 815
Yphyo ñ	post 797	1	<i>lha</i>	<i>bca n po</i>			<i>yab myes</i>						
		5	<i>lha</i>	<i>bca n po</i>					Khri Sroñ lde brca n				756– 797
		16– 7	<i>yphr ul gyi lha</i>	<i>bca n po</i>					Khri Sroñ lde brca n				
		33– 4	<i>yphr ul gyi lha</i>		<i>bya ñ čhu b čhe n po</i>								
Brag A	797 – 804	1		<i>bca n po</i>	<i>bya ñ čub sem s dpa y</i>				Khri Sroñ lde bcan			<i>skuyi riñ la</i>	756– 797

Khri Lde sroñ brcan (?-815)	Skar	pre-804	1-2	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Lde sroñ brcan		<i>riñ la</i>	797-815
			4-5	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>			<i>myes</i>		Khri Sroñ brcan		<i>riñ la</i>	-649
			7-8					<i>myes</i>		Khri Ydus sroñ		<i>riñ la</i>	685-704
			10					<i>myes</i>		Khri Lde gcug brcan		<i>riñ la</i>	712-754
			12-3					<i>yab</i>		Khri Sroñ lde brcan		<i>riñ la</i>	756-797
			15-6	<i>lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Lde sroñ brcan		<i>riñ la</i>	797-815
			22-3	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>			<i>yab</i>		Khri Sroñ lde brcan		<i>riñ la</i>	756-797
			44				<i>ned</i>	<i>yab sras</i>					
			52		<i>bcan po</i>			<i>yab sras</i>					
			56					<i>yab</i>					<i>riñ la</i>
Ldan 2	804	2		<i>mcan po</i>					Khri Sde sroñ brcan		<i>riñ la</i>	797-815	
Ybis 2	806	2-3		<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Lde srañ bcan		<i>sku riñ la</i>	797-815	
		9		<i>bcan po</i>			<i>yab sras</i>						
Khra		4		<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Lde sroñ brcan			797-815	
Žwa W	pre 812	1-2	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Lde sroñ brcan			797-815	
		48					<i>gčen</i>		Mu rug brcan				
Žwa E	812	1-2	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Lde sroñ brcan			797-815	
Khri Gcug lde brcan (794?-841)	Khri	815	1		<i>bcan po</i>	<i>lha sras</i>				Yo lde spu rgyal			
			6			<i>lha sras</i>				Khri Lde sroñ brcan			797-815
			13		<i>bcan po</i>	<i>lha sras</i>				Khri Lde sroñ brcan	<i>lha yphrul</i>		
	Treaty W	822/3	1-2	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>								
			12-3	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Gcug lde brcan			815-841
	Treaty E		1	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Gcug lde brcan			815-841
			5	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Yo lde spu rgyal			
			16	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>								
			22-3	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Sroñ brcan			-649
			25-6	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Lde gcug brcan			712-754

		34		<i>bcan po</i>			<i>yab</i>	<i>lha yphrul</i>	Khri Lde sroñ brcan			797–815
		51	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Gcug lde brcan			815–841
Lcāñ S		5		<i>bcan po</i>	<i>lha sras</i>		<i>yab myes</i>				<i>sku riñ la</i>	
		10–1		<i>bcan po</i>	<i>lha sras</i>				Khri Gcug lde brcan	<i>yphrul</i>		815–841
		21		<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Gcug lde brcan			
Khrom F		3			<i>lha sras</i>							
		4–5		<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Gcug lde brcan			815–841
		31–2		<i>bcan po</i>					Khri Gcug lde brcan			
Khrom R		1–2		<i>bcan po</i>				Khri Gcug lde brcan			815–841	
Dun 365	832–5	1	<i>yphrul gyi lha</i>	<i>rcan pho</i>					Khri Gcug lde brcan		<i>sku riñ la</i>	815–841
Lho		1		<i>bcan po</i>	<i>lha sras</i>							

Text, Act and Subject: A Proposed Approach to the Future Study of Old Tibetan Prayer¹

Lewis Doney

(ERC Project *BuddhistRoad*, Ruhr-Universität Bochum)

1. *The Problems and Possibilities of Prayer*

The question of what ‘prayer’ might be is a slippery subject but would be helpful to address in Buddhist studies and Tibetan studies today. The study of prayer-like activities should be a *desideratum* as part of the analysis of any large religious tradition and can be a useful tool in comparative religious studies, due to the widespread occurrence of prayer phenomena in the world. Further, a substantial portion of our written evidence for early Tibetan cultural practices contain what *seem* to be prayer, even following a shared intuitive notion of the meaning of the English word. However, scholars of Old Tibetan studies who were faced with this uncertain territory have understandably avoided making grand claims about the wider vista of prayer as a whole and instead focused on individual examples or traditions of what they have sometimes called prayer. Unfortunately, this research has often been conducted from quite limited perspectives that reflected the concern of Old Tibetan studies with theology, history or linguistics. This has meant that the term ‘prayer’ has been applied to a broad array of Tibetan words, genres of literature, rituals and wider actions without much critical debate taking place over the term’s scope and contextual meanings.²

However, the study of prayer sheds light on early Tibetan Buddhism and has the potential to illuminate later traditions too. Many Tibetan-language documents dating from the Tibetan imperial period

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² Below, the term ‘prayer’ should mentally be placed in scare quotes, except when more general theories of prayer are proposed—wherein I assume that the term has been chosen deliberately.

(c. 600–850 CE)³ contain terminology that point to their being examples of, instructions on, or discussion of prayer. Further, later traditions defining themselves as Rnying ma Buddhism show strong signs of being dependent on, or standing in positive dialogue with, prayer-like phenomena cognate to those found in the eighth- to 11th-century documents (the situation of so-called Gsar ma Buddhist traditions is more complicated). Lastly, Tibetan studies scholarship has largely concluded that G.yung drung Bon po prayers, ritual actions and connected doctrines bear some relationship to Buddhist correlates, especially those of the Rnying ma pa-s.⁴ Thus, study of the earliest extant manifestations of Tibetan prayer may uncover the foundations of an important part of the religious writings, teachings and daily life of those who define themselves as Tibetans—as well as non-Tibetan people practising Tibetan Buddhism and Bon down to the present.

Given its importance, how should we begin to study such early Tibetan prayer? Tibetan and Buddhist studies are not alone in a general lack of self-reflexivity towards the term. Addressing the wider field of religious studies, Sam Gill wrote in 1987 that “the general study of prayer is undeveloped and naive. The question of the universality of prayer has yet to be seriously addressed to the relevant materials”.⁵ In 2005, this analysis was not deemed worthy of amendment.⁶ Gill warns that “the theories, as well as the intuitive understandings of prayer have been heavily influenced by Western religious traditions” and he instead proposes a broad working definition of prayer as “the human communication with divine and spiritual entities”.⁷

This definition places prayer within a concept of ‘religion’ as defined by Melford Spiro: “An institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman [or supernatural] beings”.⁸ It also mirrors the later definition proposed by Luis Gómez from the perspective of Buddhist studies: “Thus, I would suggest that the term *prayer* be used to mean an intentional verbal act used as a way of interacting with a sacred presence. In these verbal acts—public or private, uttered or silent—the performer addresses a transcendent presence to effect a sacred transformation, express an attitude,

³ For a recent, brief introduction to this period from a larger historical perspective, see Doney 2020a.

⁴ Kværne 1996: 12–13.

⁵ Gill 1987: 489.

⁶ Gill 2005: 7367.

⁷ Gill 2005: 7367.

⁸ Spiro 1966: 196. I do not advocate Spiro’s definition, or for any one definition, of religion necessarily. Instead, I find this a useful oversimplification of more complex realities that may act here as a heuristic device to connect Religious studies with Tibetan speaking or writing communities (with their shared language and attendant cultural beliefs and practices) within the Old Tibetan period.

or seek a desired outcome through language".⁹ As Marta Sernesi notes: "This definition applies of course to a wide array of other Buddhist genres".¹⁰ Such a broad definition limits what we can say concretely about early Tibetan varieties of such prayer towards a future typology, and below I shall advocate for beginning such work with specific sub-categories of prayer that correspond to Tibetan terms, such as *smon lam*, 'aspiration', or (*b*)*stod pa* 'eulogy'.¹¹ However, keeping our sights in some sense on prayer as described above, or even under the common English usage of this word, allows for more comparative work to be done in the future—beyond cataloguing Tibetan usage and perhaps linking it to the application of cognate technical terms in other languages in which Buddhist literature is written.

Gill further proposes a three-fold structuring principle for the study of prayer that would work for the early Tibetan context and for other rituals such as sacrifices and divination too. This way of approaching prayer-related data is distinct from the typology of prayer categories that I shall explore below and, although it has largely gone unnoticed since 1987, is actually more useful than a strict definition of prayer and will form the structuring principle for this article:

First, prayer will be considered as *text*, that is, as a collection of words that cohere as a human communication directed toward a spiritual entity. Second, prayer will be considered as *act*, that is, as the human act of communicating with deities including not only or exclusively language but especially the elements of performance that constitute the act. Finally, prayer will be considered as *subject*, that is, as a dimension or aspect of religion, the articulation of whose nature constitutes a statement of belief, doctrine, instruction, philosophy, or theology.¹²

These three *foci*, fields of source material or perspectives from which to consider prayer help to split the work of analysing prayer-related data found in certain contexts into more manageable parts. Further, if followed more widely in religious studies, philology etc., this would allow for easy comparison of like with like once that context-specific analysis work is done.

In distinguishing and exploring these three ways in which prayer

⁹ Gómez 2000: 1038.

¹⁰ Sernesi 2014: 144, n. 8.

¹¹ These translations are based on Sernesi 2014: 143–44.

¹² Gill 2005: 7367. Gill further points to an exemplary study of early Jewish prayer that applies the same three-fold distinction, Zahavy 1980. This approach is also taken up in Geertz 2008. Both of these works have also been of great help in my own thinking on the same topic in the Tibetan-language sphere.

can be understood, it is necessary to be open to contributions to the debate that could come from different disciplines or sub-disciplines—since linguistics, ethnology, biology and various fields of history, philology and religious studies should be involved in these discussions—and to be aware of their attendant assumptions and drawbacks.¹³

Before beginning the main discussion, it may be worth questioning the worth of a typological distinction between public and private prayer often made within older scholarly literature. Gill already intimates the overshadowing influence of Euro-American theology to the exclusion of other disciplines in the quote above, and letting this distinction dictate a future typology risk bringing the biases of Protestant-influenced religious studies scholarship into Old Tibetan studies. Gill elsewhere notes how psychology also loomed large in early comparative studies of prayer, often leading to the assumption that the intentions or interpretations of those who pray are more important than the bodily positions or gestures they adopt, prayer's textual instantiations or its connections with the society in which it is (in a double sense) performed. He goes on to describe the resulting incongruity that stymied early scholars studying prayer cross-culturally, who conceived of the highest exemplars (following their traditions) as “free and spontaneous” but who found almost exclusively rote-learned and repetitive formulas in the textual sources that they studied.¹⁴ In our context, it is still important at the outset to make a similar distinction between what is sometimes called ‘public’ (formulaic) and ‘personal’ (extemporaneous) prayer.¹⁵ However, making these two types the basis of a categorization promises little benefit within Old Tibetan studies. Examples of the latter, ‘personal’ type of prayer (that I assume existed in great number in practice) are hardly evident in the data,¹⁶ so this distinction

¹³ Zahavy 1980: 46.

¹⁴ Gill 2005: 7368. Gill humorously notes that the *locus classicus* of prayer studies, Heiler 1932, “was a failed effort from the outset in the respect that he [Heiler] denigrated his primary source of data for his study of prayer, leaving him wistfully awaiting the rare occasion to eavesdrop on one pouring out his or her heart to God”. Gill 2005: 7368. See Schopen 1997: 1–22 for an analysis of similar problems arising from privileging ideals and textual sources in the field of Buddhist studies.

¹⁵ See, more recently, Penner 2012: 1–3. Jeremy Penner goes on to divide his “Review of Scholarship” into three sections (perhaps following Gill though in a different order), first covering scholars focused on “textual history”, Penner 2012: 3 and 5–19, then those emphasising “descriptions of prayer practices and the act of praying”, Penner: 4 and 19–24, and finally “non-textual aspects of praying, such as location, gesture, and times set aside for prayer”. Penner 2012: 4 and 25–28.

¹⁶ One possible exception comprises the jottings of Buddhist praises and aspirations in margins and on discarded folios, panels of manuscripts connected to the imperial copying project around Dunhuang, Dotson 2013–2014 (2015). Another source are the scribes’ “writing boards” (*glegs tshas*), on which see Takeuchi 2013 (though

can only serve to remind us that we only have a partial view of the range of early Tibetan ritual acts. On a more positive note, it seems that even ‘private’ (spontaneous) prayer is generally dependent on social forms of ritual, rather than vice versa.¹⁷ Thus, a study of the more formal, liturgical forms of early Tibetan prayer are a fitting starting point and offer plenty of scope for structured comparison with regions and traditions beyond the Tibetan plateau, not to mention being the subject about which we can say most!

2. *Prayer as Text*

2.1. *Texts*

‘Prayer’ is a term for a category, one encompassing a number of different forms. There is no single Tibetan-language equivalent of this categorical term,¹⁸ and the terms I discuss below that could be included under this category may themselves be categorical terms. The entire history of works in Tibetan that could fall under these categories is huge, and so needs to be sectioned off into manageable corpuses. Evidence stemming from the imperial and early post-imperial period (no later than the 9th century) occurred to me to offer a bounded corpus of

he does not mention the term “prayer”). Dotson 2015: 121 points out that such impromptu scribbles “are possibly as unguarded and authentic an expression as the written medium can produce”. This is a subject to which I hope to contribute in a future study.

¹⁷ See Mauss 2003 [1909]: 34, quoted favourably in Geertz 2008: 124–25, and Gill 2005: 7368: “A person praying privately is invariably a person who is part of a religious and cultural tradition in which ritual or public prayer is practiced”. The context of this quote suggests that Gill equates ‘ritual’ with ‘social’. Although my use of ‘ritual’ in this article is more generic and includes ordered series of acts within a religious context that can be performed individually and alone, I concur with Gill to the extent that the order of the acts and what constitutes the religious context is usually social before it is individual (especially in the Old Tibetan evidence), and so in that sense liturgy probably influence spontaneous prayer more than vice versa. Yet, my emphasis on the social primacy of prayer should not be misinterpreted as espousing a functionalist view that all ritual (or even all social ritual) acts to only reinforce social bonds. See section 3.3. for more discussion and an example of socially determined ritual prayer.

¹⁸ Heinrich August Jäschke’s Tibetan-English dictionary has added to it an English-Tibetan dictionary, which states: “Pray vb. n. *ṣol-ba, zu-ba*”, followed by “Prayer *ṣol-ba*”, Jäschke 1881: 650, col. 2; both *ṣol ba* and *zhu ba* can be translated “petition/request” and *ṣol ba* ‘debs often connected to the Sanskrit *adhyeṣaṇā* or *yācanā*, Sernesi 2014: 144. For the modern period, Goldstein and Narkyid’s English-Tibetan Dictionary privileges *smoṅ lam* (“aspiration”) as the relevant Tibetan term under the entries “pray”, “prayer” and “prayer book”, Goldstein and Narkyid 1984: 235, col. 2, and gives ‘*dod pa byed* for “aspire”, Goldstein and Narkyid 1984: 22, col. 2—literally “to act [towards] one’s wish/desire”.

texts that could be connected with identifiable communities speaking or writing Tibetan (whether in central Tibet or around Dunhuang on the northeast edge of the Tibetan Empire). These documents include epigraphy (on stone and bronze), text on wooden slips from the southern Silk Routes and the earliest datable literary and artistic material from Mogao Cave 17 near Dunhuang.¹⁹ However, for now I exclude 10th-century works because they are harder to connect to an identifiable contemporaneous Tibetan-speaking community of religious practitioners and are perhaps more strongly influenced by other forces than by the Tibetan Empire—not all Tibetan texts in Mogao Cave 17 reflect the practices of central Tibet, or even those of speakers of Tibetan languages or dialects.²⁰ Since it is difficult to refer to this eighth- to 9th-century corpus in a simple way, I have chosen the term ‘Old Tibetan’, despite the linguistic debate over what Old Tibetan is (especially in relation to translated literature) and the fact that a few of the prayer-related texts that I shall cover below are transliterated from Indic languages rather than translated. I rejected the term ‘imperial Tibetan’, referring to prayers in Tibetan (rather than, say, Chinese) from the (Tibetan) imperial period, since this could be confused with the term ‘Tibetan imperial’ which refers to a time span and could be misinterpreted as meaning only prayers emanating from the court of the Tibetan Empire.

Some of this Old Tibetan material contains non-Buddhist rituals and mythologies, but these undoubtedly complex and connected ‘pools of tradition’ were, engulfed and to some extent destroyed by a tidal wave of Buddhist literature entering Central Tibet through translation.²¹ The influx of these traditions meant that many diachronically

¹⁹ Marcelle Lalou catalogued the Pelliot tibétain collection of Mogao Cave 17 documents held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. She preferred to use Tibetan or Sanskrit terms in her categorization of the texts but does use some functional descriptions such as “*prière*”, for example Lalou 1939: xi. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, in 1962, catalogued the Stein collection of documents kept in the India Office Library and did not distinguish “prayers” as a separate category.

²⁰ Not only did the Tibetan Empire establish/impose the use of standardized Tibetan writing across ethnic groups who spoke different Tibetan languages, Dunhuang provides a prime example that this written language became a *lingua franca* used for administration and religion after the end of Tibetan control of the region, see Doney 2020a: especially 194–95 and 213–17. Jacob Dalton and Sam van Schaik, in 2006, catalogued the tantric material from the same collection now housed in the British Library, much of which dates to the 10th century and is difficult to link to a ritual community comprising members speaking a Tibetan language as their mother tongue. Dalton and van Schaik used the term “prayer” in their catalogue, from which they appear to have excluded the term *dhāraṇī* (although the latter may just have been more a specific term, familiar to the book’s audience, and so able to use without further discussion).

²¹ The notion of a ‘pool of tradition’ drawn on by oral-literary registers of expression (including in Old Tibetan) is taken from Honko 2000 via Dotson 2013.

laid-down *strata*, comprising ritual texts created within various sects and monastic lineages of Buddhism over the centuries, became a synchronic collection in the Tibetan imperial libraries.²² Some liturgies among this mass of texts proved more popular than others at court and in Tibetan temples, and recent trends in surrounding Buddhist regions may have had an impact on this (the situation remains unclear). Nevertheless, Tibetans continued to process the rich traditions they had inherited in numerous ways, as the literature found in Mogao Cave 17 attests.

In addition, imperial-period categorization of the newly translated texts exists today, referred to as the *Lhan kar ma* (or *Ldan dkar ma*) and *Phang thang ma* catalogues. Both of these can be considered an Old Tibetan source in my sense of the term, despite the fact that it only exists in later manuscripts, but here I shall only analyse the former. It is clear that the *Lhan kar ma* represents a library catalogue, the inventory of a literary storehouse or the official register of the imperial holdings, rather than the ‘table of contents’ of some ‘proto-canon’ whose order (say, where each item is found among the ‘library shelves’) is necessarily reflected in the ordering principle of the *Lhan kar ma* text. As Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt discusses in the Foreword to her presentation of this ‘work’ (made up of exemplars showing several changes during the imperial period and afterwards), the *Lhan kar ma* further “represents a cross-section of what was available for translation in the period from about the beginning of the eighth to the first third of the 9th century of Buddhist literature in Tibet ... [and] a cross-section of the most important Buddhist literature of its time”.²³ Texts that may fall within the category of prayer are provided together in the *Lhan kar ma* catalogue and in its prologue (of uncertain date). The latter describes the translation of the *dharma* in the region of Tibet (*bod khams*), specifically “*sūtra*-s of the large and small vehicles, long and short spells (*dhāraṇī*), the ‘one hundred and eight names’ (*nāmāṣṭaśataka*), eulogies (*stotra*), aspirations (*praṇidhāna*), benedictions (*maṅgalagāthā*), the *Vinaya-piṭaka* ...” and so on.²⁴ Thus, the prologue introduces what Gill describes in a more general context as a “typology that contains a

²² A similar process in Tibetan art is described in Linrothe 1999: 23.

²³ I have translated this from the German, which reads: “Zum zweiten stellt die *Lhan kar ma* einen Querschnitt dessen dar, was in dem Zeitraum etwa vom Beginn des 8. bis zum 1. Drittel des 9. Jh. an buddhistischer Literatur in Tibet zur Übersetzung zur Verfügung stand, – in einem Land, das auf breiter Basis Interesse an allen Aspekten buddhistischer Kultur zeigte. Sie bietet damit auch einen Querschnitt durch die wichtigste buddhistische Literatur ihrer Zeit”. Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: i.

²⁴ According to the critical edition at Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 1, the *Lhan kar ma* reads: *theg pa che chung gi mdo sde dang / gzungs* (variant: *gzugs*) *che phra dang / mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad dang / bstod pa dang / simon lam dang / bkra shis dang / 'dul ba'i sde snod dang / ... la sogs pa bod khams su chos 'gyur ro.*

number of classes, all easily distinguished by their descriptive designations".²⁵ Between the *sūtra*-s and the *Vinaya* stand three categories of text that 'sound like prayer'—eulogy, aspiration and benediction—and two more that, we shall see below, both conform in some ways with the definitions of prayer given above but also usefully problematise these definitions—*dhāraṇī* and *nāmāṣṭaśataka*.

The classes of textual categories and the order in which they are given in the prologue reflect those of the catalogue itself.²⁶ The catalogue provides further information on the texts within each category, not only as physical objects consisting of words on folios with titles and extents measurable in stanzas/ lines of verse (*śloka*; *tshigs*) and fascicles (*bam po*) but also as 'works' that were translated into Tibetan from other languages—in both cases discussing them as *text*.

2.2. Verbs

The three most 'natural' prayer categories described in the *Lhan kar ma* include different texts, which themselves may contain stanzas conforming to other types of communication, and these texts are described using categorical terms: eulogies (nine entries),²⁷ aspirations (12 entries),²⁸ and benedictions (seven entries).²⁹ The former two terms are based on verbs, *bstod pa* ('to praise') and *smon(d) pa* ('to desire') respectively.³⁰ These verbs occur in some form within the titles and/ or bodies of the texts included in each of these sections, and so the categories

²⁵ Gill 2005: 7368.

²⁶ See Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 181–276 and the discussion below. Paul Harrison summarises the contents of the *Lhan kar ma* thus: "The *sūtras* are followed by a small number of treatises, then by *tantras* (*gsang sngags kyi rgyud*) and *dhāraṇīs* (*gzungs*), [*nāmāṣṭaśataka*-s are not mentioned here,] hymns of praise (*stotra*, *bstod pa*), prayers (*praṇidhāna*, *smon lam*) and auspicious verses (*maṅgalagāthā*, *bkra shis tshigs su bcad pa*). Next comes the *Vinaya*-pitaka..."; Harrison 1996: 73, with only the words in square brackets added. Note that Harrison splits the *tantra*-s from the *sūtra*-s and only reserves the term 'prayer' for aspirational *smon lam*-s, which may be following the modern Tibetan usage (as in Goldstein and Narkyid 1984, cited above) or a result of equating aspiration-as-petition as closest to the traditional meaning of the English term 'prayer'.

²⁷ Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 258–66, entries 455–463. Alexander Zorin provides a very good introduction to what he calls "hymns" (ГИМНЫ; *bstod pa*) as *text*, in Zorin 2010. He usefully surveys earlier scholarship on South Asian Buddhist eulogy in Zorin 2010: 1–18, before studying in depth how the Tibetan tradition has carried on and expanded on the Indic tradition and proposing a detailed classification of hymns by theme (corresponding what I call 'addressee' below; Zorin 2010: 19–79).

²⁸ Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 267–72, entries 464–75.

²⁹ Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 267–72, entries 464–75.

³⁰ Geertz 2008: 137, Table 1a provides a useful classification of the content of prayers as *text* by means of nominalised verbs:

1. Petition

seem fitting. However, a cursory survey of the use of these and related verbs in Old Tibetan documents highlights the challenges involved: firstly, in identifying examples of these types outside of the *Lhan kar ma*; and secondly, in accounting for seemingly prayer-like verbs and categories not found there.

The reason for the first challenge is the use of these verbs of praise, aspiration, and so forth in contexts that are not necessarily prayer. For example, Old Tibetan private letters (mainly exchanged between officials and monks but also with kings) contain honorific praises and aspirations similar to those found in prayers,³¹ while petitions to living but semi-divine Tibetan emperors that also use such verbs further blur the boundaries between a prayer to a supernatural power and a request to a human addressee following Spiro.³² Within this grey area stands the Buddhist-oriented inscription on a bell at Bsam yas Monastery.³³ There, one of the queens of Khri Srong lde brtsan (r. 755–*circa* 800) praises his construction of Bsam yas and aspires for his enlightenment:

Queen Rgyal mo brtsan, mother and son, made this bell as an offering to the Three Jewels of the ten directions. And [they] pray that, by the power of that merit, *Lha btsan po* Khri Srong lde brtsan, father and son, husband and wife, may be endowed with the harmony of the sixty melodious sounds, and attain supreme enlightenment.³⁴

-
2. Invocation
 3. Supplication
 4. Intercession
 5. Thanksgiving
 6. Adoration
 7. Dedication
 8. Benediction
 9. Penitence
 10. Confession

³¹ Takeuchi 1990: 181–89, studies these documents and categorizes them into subtypes based on their literary form of greeting.

³² See the petition found nested within the so-called Rkong po Inscription, transliterated and translated in Richardson 1985: 66–71; Li Fang-Kuei and Coblin 1987: 198–226 and transliterated in Iwao et al. 2009: 15–16, where other references to this inscription can be found.

³³ Transliterated and translated in Richardson 1985: 32–35; Li Fang-Kuei and Coblin 1987: 332–39. See Iwao et al. 2009: 70 for a further transliteration and a list of other references. This ‘inscription’ is actually moulded into the bell itself and the whole process reflects the aesthetics, wealth and cosmopolitanism of the Tibetan court; Doney 2020b: 126–29 contains a more recent discussion of this bell within the context of such transregional flows of material culture in Buddhist Asia.

³⁴ The panels around the Bsam yas bell read: *jo mo rgyal mo brtsan yum* (panel 2) *sras kyIs phyogs bcu’I* (3) *dkon mchog gsun la* (4) *mchod pa’I slad du cong* (5) *’di bgyis te // de’i bso-* (6) *-d nams kyI stobs kyis* (7) *lha btsan po khrI srong lde b-* (8) *-rtsan yab sras*

The inscription begins with a statement that the bell was commissioned as an 'offering' (*mchod pa*) to the Three Jewels (Buddha, *dharma* and *samgha*) of the ten directions.³⁵ The second part expresses an aspiration (ending in *smond to*) also found in other bell inscriptions.³⁶ However, the whole text could be read as a report of the commissioning and the hope that stood behind it, rather than as a prayer itself.

With regard to the second challenge, note that the term 'offering' (*mchod pa*) has no place among the categories of the *Lhan kar ma*. Yet, certain works that one may wish to place within the category of 'prayer' use this term a great deal, as well as others that could be connected together into a nexus of Old Tibetan Buddhist terminology.³⁷ One is the incomplete work that Sam van Schaik names "a prayer for Tibet" and that is contained in the three-folio manuscript IOL Tib J 374.³⁸ It invokes the *jina*-s, *bodhisattva*-s, *arhat*-s, gods of the form and desire realms, the Four Great Kings and the ten local protectors to come and clear away the obstacles of Tibet, for which they are presented unsurpassed offerings (*bla myed mchod pa 'di phul bas l*).

Another text using the term *mchod pa* and partially fitting into this nexus is the *Rgyud chags gsum* worship text that dates to the late-9th century but whose core content was perhaps first written, translated or compiled towards the end of the Tibetan imperial period.³⁹ This work praises a similar cast of superhuman characters, contains phrases found in the Bsam yas Bell Inscription and others contained in the "prayer for Tibet". Like the inscription, it also combines offerings with aspirations that take up its final part.⁴⁰ A different verb is also used in

stangs dbya- (9) *-l gsung dbyangs drug* (10) *cu sgra dbyangs dang ldan te* (11) *bla na myed pa'l byang chub* (12) *du grub par smond to //*.

³⁵ This odd and rare Old Tibetan phrase is discussed in Doney 2018. The translation of *mchod pa* as "offering" follows Makransky 1996: 312.

³⁶ If the bell described in Lha mchog skyabs 2011 and Doney 2020b: 124–26 predates this one, then perhaps the authors of the Bsam yas Bell Inscription drew on this source (which also uses a similar aspirational future construction) or wider such precedent, in writing their text.

³⁷ Doney 2018 explores this theme in more detail.

³⁸ For a discussion, translation and transliteration of the "prayer for Tibet" portion of the manuscript, see van Schaik's blog: <https://earlytibet.com/2009/05/22/a-prayer-for-tibet/> (posted 22nd of May 2009; accessed 28th of February 2021), updating the account given in Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 108–109. IOL Tib J 374/1 ends by calling it "the chapter of collected offerings" (*/\$ // mchod pa bsdus pa'I le'u rdzogs+ho l*) and with a colophon attributing the "chapter of offerings" to the monk Dpal brtsegs (*dge slong dpal brtsegs gyi mchod pa'I le'u <g>lags s+ho / / : / l*), which may or may not mean the famous eighth-9th century translator, Ska ba Dpal brtsegs, Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 108.

³⁹ On this work, see Dalton and van Schaik 2006, 209–12; van Schaik and Doney 2007, 195–96; Dalton 2016: 207–209; Doney 2018.

⁴⁰ IOL Tib J 466/3, column 11, ll. 15–21; Doney 2018: 91.

this text, one of reverential petition (*gsol ba*), for example: “May all the powerful [and?] ascetics who rule/control all the world cause supreme happiness and the teachings to spread [throughout] the entire world!”⁴¹ Apart from these final expressions of aspiration and hope, the *Rgyud chags gsum* mostly offers praise.⁴² Thus, the use of the nominalised verb *mchod pa* (and *gsol ba*) is indicative of a prayer context but is not a categorical term found in the *Lhan kar ma*, whereas the term *smon lam* is used for a category of prayer in the latter work but verbs related to *smon(d) pa* show the porous borders surrounding this term.

However, in other ways this text does not fit an imperial-period nexus of terminology. For instance, the *Rgyud chags gsum* (as it is extant in IOL Tib J 466/3, column 11, ll. 1–4) praises Khri Srong lde brtsan as a “spiritual friend” (*kalyāṇamitra*)—a term that refers instead to imperial preceptors during the imperial period—and as a fully enlightened teacher. The Bsam yas Bell Inscription (above) records a prayer that Khri Srong lde brtsan will attain enlightenment. The *Rgyud chags gsum* prayer states that, like his royal Indian predecessors, Khri Srong lde brtsan has now gone to *nirvāṇa*. This raises the possibility of one way to distinguish between the various exemplars of offering (*mchod pa*) literature: focusing on the addresser, the addressee, and the person/thing that is a beneficiary of the (speech-) act of offering. Between the inscription on a bell hung in a central Tibetan temple and the slightly later *Rgyud chags gsum* found in Mogao Cave 17 on what was the edge of the empire,⁴³ the Tibetan emperor has tellingly shifted position from beneficiary to addressee.

Beyond ‘worship’ and ‘reverential petition’, there exist other forms of Buddhist ritual action that, for example, Gómez identifies as prayer forms: the fortnightly confession and recitation of the monastic code (or its Mahāyāna equivalent, the *bodhisattva* vow), the ‘dedication of merit’ of a gift (physical or mental) given without wish for reward, ‘protection’ rites, etc.⁴⁴ These are almost certainly buried within texts catalogued elsewhere in the *Lhan kar ma*, for example the *sūtra*-s and *śāstra*-s,⁴⁵ without any effort made on the part of the cataloguers to isolate *parts* of texts and reclassify them within a section close to the above

⁴¹ IOL Tib J 466/3, column 11, ll. 14–15: ‘jIḡ rten kun la ‘ang mnga’ mdzad pa’I / / mthu chen drang srong thams cad kyls / / ‘jig rten mtha’ dag mchog tu skyid pa dang / bstan pa rgyas par mdzad du gsol /.

⁴² See section 3.4. below on the *dhāraṇī* that IOL Tib J 466 contains.

⁴³ See section 3.4. below and Doney 2018: 75 for a discussion of the date of IOL Tib J 466/3.

⁴⁴ Gómez 2000: 1038–39.

⁴⁵ Scherrer-Schaub 1999–2000: 220–21 describes the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* and the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* as respective examples of each genre, though not in the context of a discussion of the *Lhan kar ma*. To these, we may add the many examples of narratives in which relate agents praising (living or departed) Buddha(s), among others,

prayer texts. Thus, the *Lhan kar ma* displays an obvious limit to what its compilers considered a single discrete data point: a single whole text. This unit is perhaps natural to librarians the world over and throughout bibliographic time.⁴⁶ For the current investigation, however, this means that the relatively bounded corpus of texts that I conceived of starts to split open and reveal a plethora of parts of single texts that could be included in any future study.

2.3. Spells

There are two *dhāraṇī* sections in the *Lhan kar ma*: one consisting of the texts of the “Five Great Spells” (*Gzungs chen po lnga*) collection and the other comprising “*dhāraṇī* [works] of various length” (*che phra sna tshogs*).⁴⁷ Perhaps the latter description alludes to the fact that the *dhāraṇī* texts in this section are arranged from longest to shortest.⁴⁸ Yet, it is interesting to note that the criterion used to order these texts again concerns a *textual* quality, one of length (rather than, say, efficacy or theme). The genre of *dhāraṇī* texts has long held a problematic position within Buddhist studies. As Paul Copp notes in his study on Tang Chinese exemplars and practice of the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī*:

Dhāraṇī, in fact, turns out to be a term overloaded with refer-

see for example, Makransky 1996: 313–14. This is distinct from the genre of supplicating a deified figure to remain in the world (on which, see Cabezón 1996: 344–46) but both add another layer to our considerations of prayer as *subject* by raising the issue of whether conversations with superhuman beings or more formal communication with gods in human form as related in narratives count as prayer. For instance, Zorin 2010: 352 identifies the *Upāli-sūtra*, a praise of the Buddha by his disciple Upāli, as the model for the *nāmnāṣṭasataka* genre—perhaps along with “critical remarks directed towards gods of the Hindu pantheon in comparison with the Buddha”. See also Newman 1999: 5–7 for a discussion of a similar issue in a non-Buddhist context.

⁴⁶ See section 4.2. below on the *Lhan kar ma* as a work that treats prayer as *subject*.

⁴⁷ Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 181–249, entries 329–436. Items 329–333 are texts of the *Gzungs chen po lnga* collection, probably an alternative name for the *Pañcarakṣa* although there is only some overlap in its parts, see Skilling 1992: 138–44. Its five texts are nonetheless catalogued as single works in descending order of length from 700 to 140 *śloka*-s, and then the next section begins with another text in 700 *śloka*-s (item 334). The collection is thus counted as a section, rather than being described as a single text or having its five works scattered among the general *dhāraṇī* section according to their individual lengths.

⁴⁸ See Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 184–249, entries 334–436. Only this section is mentioned in the prologue, quoted above, which omits the adjective *sna tshogs* and thus leaves *che phra* to be interpreted either as “long and short” or according to its secondary meaning as “of various lengths”. In contrast, *sna tshogs* is used alone in the catalogue’s section titles to describe eulogies, aspirations, Mahāyana *sūtra*-s and Mahāyana *śāstra*-s, Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 42, 258, 267 and 365.

ents and complexly constructed by its uses within various traditions. The apparent unity of the word is simply an illusion. Things could hardly have been otherwise for a signifier whose history was shaped in part by the transformations attendant upon the spread of Buddhism across Asia Our knowledge that the Sanskrit word *dhāraṇī* and its cognates stand behind the range of terms used to render its various senses (incantation, grasp, *tuoluoni*) casts something of a unifying spell over our understanding.⁴⁹

At times, *dhāraṇī*-s act very much like prayer, when they evoke and praise the deity with which they are associated, are consecrated by it and harness its power for the benefit of their reciters.⁵⁰ At others, they appear to require neither verbal incantation nor the presence of the deity to ensure their efficacy.⁵¹ Gómez includes *dhāraṇī*-s within his discussion of prayer, as an example of how “the language forms of prayer themselves push the verbal act beyond its function as conveyor of meaning or instrument”.⁵² He also mentions the well-known similarity of *dhāraṇī*-s first to *mantra*-s (the latter tending to be shorter) and second to “the Indian tradition of invoking the sacred names of bodhisattvas and deities” (i.e. *nāmāṣṭaśataka*-s).⁵³

Indeed, these forms are found either side of the *dhāraṇī* category in the *Lhan kar ma*. Immediately preceding the section on *dhāraṇī* is a subsection of the loose *sūtra* category (which also includes *śāstra*-s, *bstan bcos*)⁵⁴ that describes *tantra*-s containing secret *mantra*-s.⁵⁵ Within the subsequent *nāmāṣṭaśataka* section (19 entries),⁵⁶ we find a couple of the texts that within the imperial period are accompanied by *dhāraṇī mantra*-s (or *dhāraṇī*-s and *mantra*-s) according to their titles and some that

⁴⁹ Copp 2014: 13. Copp proceeds to unpack the densely complex web of meanings up until the Tang, Copp 2014: 13–28, and the rest of his book describes different Tang period perspectives on the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* that in some ways also addresses it as *text*, *act* and *subject* in turn.

⁵⁰ See Copp 2014: 118–29 and 188–96, as well as the discussion of Max Müller’s opinions at Copp 2014: 1–2.

⁵¹ See the references in section 3.4. below.

⁵² Gómez 2000: 1040.

⁵³ Gómez 2000: 1039.

⁵⁴ Note that the *śāstra* section also includes a text given the Tibetan title *Sbyin pa’i rabs* and the extended Indic title *Dānānvaya-praṇīdhāna*, Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 170–71, item 313. These titles appear to make it a prayer text, but this requires further investigation.

⁵⁵ Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 172–80, entries 316–28. Tantric texts are also found within the *nāmāṣṭaśataka*, the *stotra* and most often the *dhāraṇī* category; see Herrmann-Pfandt 2002: 138–40.

⁵⁶ Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 250–57, entries 437–55.

are, at a later date, classified within *dhāraṇī* collections (*Gzungs 'dus*).⁵⁷ It does not seem to be a coincidence that *mantra*-s precede *dhāraṇī*-s just as the latter precede *nāmāṣṭaśataka*-s, followed by eulogies (seemingly closest to *nāmāṣṭaśataka*-s among the three following categories).⁵⁸ Yet, I am here moving into the territory of prayer as *subject* and it is important not to let what people say about their prayers outside of the texts themselves determine (though it may inform) our analysis of prayer as *text*, and so shall return to this categorization in section 4.2. below.

The *Lhan kar ma* is one of three catalogues of Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan by the 9th century (along with the *'Phang thang ma* and *Mchims phu ma*). In addition, we possess similar but expanded catalogues from later centuries (including those of the various collections of the *Bka' 'gyur*, *Bstan 'gyur* and *Rnying ma rgyud 'bum*) and countless lists in religious and historiographical works down to the present day.⁵⁹ Matching the titles and content of the imperial catalogues with these later lists, it is clear that many of the imperial-period prayers survived.⁶⁰ Furthermore, they were joined by others—whether due to indigenous innovation or developments in surrounding Buddhist regions—that expanded not only the corpus but also the number of terms used for these communications.⁶¹ Such later approaches to categorization could constitute a fertile field for further digging into the

⁵⁷ The *Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das 'khor byang chub sems dpa' bryad dang bcas pa'i mtshan brgya rtsa bryad pa gzungs sngags dang bcas pa* is so-named in the *Lhan kar ma* and slightly later *'Phang thang ma* catalogue, Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 250, entry 437; the *'Phags pa lha mo sgrol ma'i mtshan brgya rtsa bryad pa* is named the *'Phags pa sgrol ma'i mtshan brgya rtsa bryad pa gzungs sngags dang bcas pa* in the *'Phang thang ma*, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 253–54, entry 439. See references to the *Bka' 'gyur's Gzungs 'dus* section in various places over Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 250–57, entries 437–55.

⁵⁸ In fact, this liminal status, and many Tibetan canon creators' subsequent decisions to include most *dhāraṇī*-s within their *tantra* sections led Herrmann-Pfandt 2002; Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: viii and xxxv to classify *dhāraṇī*-s under *tantra* in relation to the imperial period. In contrast, Pagel 2007 places *dhāraṇī*-s within the context of Mahāyāna texts (focused on the *bodhisattvayāna* rather than the *vajrayāna*) as they were incorporated into other Tibetan imperial sources on bibliography and translation terminology. Dalton and van Schaik 2006: xxi discusses this problem and the authors' pragmatic solution to include most *dhāraṇī* texts within their catalogue of "tantric manuscripts from Dunhuang".

⁵⁹ Herrmann-Pfandt 2002; Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: i and xiv–xxvii. See also Martin 1996 for a general introduction to Tibetan catalogues (*dkar chags*).

⁶⁰ See the excellent such comparative work evidenced in Herrmann-Pfandt 2008.

⁶¹ Among a number of different possible directions for further study, see Schwieger 1978 and Halkias 2013 on *smon lam*-s related to the Pure Land(s); Makransky 1996 on *mchod pa*, "offering" (the description of which may not completely fit Old Tibetan usage); Cabezón 1996 on *zhabs brtan*, "supplication to remain in the world"; Zorin 2010 on *bstod pa* in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism generally; Schwieger 1978,

changing uses of these forms of ritual text.

3. *Prayer as Act*

3.1. *Acts*

The preceding section of this article has been the longest, in part because texts constitute our primary source for Old Tibetan prayer. However, even text betrays the performative power of language, and can thus shed some light on prayer as *act*. Sam Gill provides an in-depth discussion of this aspect of prayer communication in his encyclopaedia entry.⁶² He describes how these acts of speech take on some performative aspects of speech acts, gestures, bodily positions and times when such communication is appropriate and not. These physical aspects accompany the speech of petition, persuasion, expressing penitence and so forth in non-religious contexts just as much as they do in the same speech acts addressed to non-supernatural beings.⁶³ Further, for Gill the “performative power of language” includes the power to “transform the mood of the worshippers”.⁶⁴ Not only do the lexical items, literary forms or ordering principles of prayer as *text* inform the participant’s doctrinal, moral and other beliefs, but they also mark entry into, journey through and release from the ritual sphere and the experience one has within it. The process brings forth the supernatural, whether as a disciplining figure (in confession) or liberative presence (in eulogy), with concomitant changes in the relationship of the participant to themselves and the other.

Such aspects of prayer as *act* have not incontrovertibly survived from the Old Tibetan period down to today. Archaeological evidence

Sernesi 2014 and Doney 2019 on *gsol 'debs*, encompassing *inter alia* “homage” and “reverential petition”.

⁶² Gill 2005: 7368–70.

⁶³ Geertz 2008: 138, Table1b provides a classification of the content of prayers as *act* by means of verbs:

1. Invoke
2. Name
3. Commit
4. Promise
5. Declare
6. Affirm
7. Persuade
8. Intend
9. Command
10. Move

⁶⁴ Gill 2005: 7369.

for such activities is also largely lacking and will likely grow increasingly difficult to find in the future.⁶⁵ However, they *are* available to glean (in a limited way) from textual sources.⁶⁶ Here, it helps to look first at the surface level and at obvious connections between texts and between terms, rather than attempting to chart 'the Tibetan mind' or speculating on the intention of the person who may have recited, or practised according to, the text 1000 years or more ago.⁶⁷ Here I shall set out a few of these connections.

3.2. Society

Who can and who cannot pray in certain contexts? The Bsam yas Bell Inscription is telling here, since it takes pains to state that the lord (*stangs*) is Khri Srong lde brtsan *qua* husband in relation to his queen (*dbyal*), just as he is father (*yab*) in relation to his son (*sras*). These two phrases and the tenor of the whole inscription suggest that the queen and her son are only able to pray using the royal and abiding medium of inscription on a large bronze temple bell because they stand in a privileged relation to the emperor (*btsan po*).⁶⁸

Once one is allowed to praise, there then arises the issue of the order in which those who are praising may do so. The so-called "Prayer of De ga g.yu tshal Monastery", which commemorates the founding of De ga g.yu tshal's "Temple of the Treaty-Edict" (*gtsigs kyi gtsug lag khang*) during the reign of Khri gTsong lde brtsan, may prove instructive in this context.⁶⁹ Matthew Kapstein, who has published a series of in-depth studies on this text,⁷⁰ shows that the prayer consists of a series of "benedictions", seven of which survive (with the sources of five of these being identifiable).⁷¹ Kapstein notes "the apparent arrangement of the collection according to descending hierarchical rank-order".⁷²

⁶⁵ The novel possibilities of such an option for early Jewish prayer are explored well in Zahavy 1980: 48–52.

⁶⁶ See the discussion of speech act, materiality and explication with regard to the prayers of Hopi Indians in Arizona, USA in Geertz 2008: 128–32.

⁶⁷ I am guided here by the approach to the study of ritual espoused in Smith 1987: 211.

⁶⁸ See Li Fang-Kuei and Coblin 1987: 338, note to panels 8–9. Compare with the similar Khra 'brug bell and its inscription discussed in Li Fang-Kuei and Coblin: 340–46 and other sources provided in Doney 2018: 129–34.

⁶⁹ See Kapstein 2009: 65, n. 47. The text was written on a single *pothī* manuscript of 20 folios that is now divided into two parts, PT 16 (fols. 22–34) and IOL Tib J 751 (fols. 35–41) with 4 lines on each side. It has been the subject of many other studies within Tibetology, for references to which see Doney 2018: 79–81.

⁷⁰ Kapstein 2004; Kapstein 2009; Kapstein 2014.

⁷¹ Kapstein 2009: 31–33.

⁷² Kapstein 2009: 32.

This important insight into the social constraints placed on these “benedictions”, at least as *text*, might be taken further in future with regard to where in the order of standing, as well as geographically, these addressers stood.

3.3. Ritual

Gill also suggests that socially-acceptable, even if antinomian, physical actions performed while praying can constitute not only a natural human accompaniment to prayer speech—like body language communication while in conversation—but also a necessary part of its perceived efficacy:

In other words, a prayer act, to have effect, to be true and empowered includes not only the utterance of words, but the active engagement of elements of the historical, cultural, and personal setting in which it is offered.⁷³

In this vein, I would like to note the evidence of chanting in the *Rgyud chags gsum* text discussed in section 2.2. above. It is an important work since, unlike the two prayers just discussed, it offers a rare insight into regular monastic (and perhaps lay) ritual practice within the Tibetan Empire. The ritual contained in the text may have been practiced privately, but certain indications within the manuscript itself suggest a liturgy that was to be performed in a communal context.⁷⁴ IOL Tib J 466/3 begins: “This is the first *rgyud chags*, recite without melody”.⁷⁵ The opening statement distinguishes the first section of IOL Tib J 466/3 (column 3, l. 1–19) from a middle part (*rgyud chags bar ma*; column 3, l. 19–column 11, l. 15) and a final one (*rgyud chags tha ma*; column 11, ll. 15–21). The opening instruction, which is repeated at the start of the final section (column 11, l. 15), indicates that the first and last section were to be recited without melody. However, the middle section (by far the longest of the three) was to be accompanied by melody, according to the instruction that heads that part (column 3, l. 20: *dbyangs dang sbyar ba / : /*).

This sung or chanted *Rgyud chags gsum* (*pa*) work is mentioned in

⁷³ Gill 2005: 7369.

⁷⁴ See Ding Yi 2020 for a recent classification of Chinese and Tibetan liturgies from Mogao Cave 17 dating to around the period under discussion in this article that I wasn’t able to incorporate into this article. Ding Yi: 96, n. 1 categorizes the *Rgyud chags gsum* as a liturgy connected to the monastic and lay *poṣada* ritual (with the proposed new reconstruction **Tritantra*, “Three Essential Parts”, rather than the earlier **Tridaṇḍaka* followed by most scholars including myself).

⁷⁵ IOL Tib J 466/3, column 3, l. 1 reads: \$ / : / *rgyud chags dang po ste / dbyangs tang myl sbyor bar klags /*.

Buddhist canonical material, but no Indic Buddhist example has been found so far.⁷⁶ As a work set to melody, it was mentioned in the *Vinaya* as an exception to the general prohibition against monastic music-making, whether or not this held true in practice. Gregory Schopen informs us that this prayer was to be recited with a “measured intonation”, but that the *Vinaya* suggests this discipline was not always adhered to.⁷⁷ It appears from IOL Tib J 466/3 that not even the whole of the *Rgyud chags gsum* was to be accompanied by music, only the middle praise part. Thus, the appropriateness of chanting held a historical social connotation among the monastic community (at least rhetorically).

Such connotations seem to have been carried over into an Old Tibetan context. The only explicit indications of subsections in IOL Tib J 466/3 are a circle at the end of the opening prayer to each of the Three Jewels (l. 11) and a rubricated vertical double circle 15 *rkang pa*-s later after the prayer to all Three Jewels together (l. 16). Perhaps the rubrication is intended as ornamentation or to mark off what should not be said out loud at all, in other words the instructions at the start (e.g. column 11, ll. 15–16), and the ending phrase: “The *Rgyud chags* is finished” (l. 21). This would indicate a text to be actually recited, rather than a text that was merely copied and stored away.

As I made clear in section 2.2., the *Rgyud chags gsum* contains mostly praise. There may be some connection between this fact and the instruction to only recite that section together with a melody. According to the *Vinaya*, the only other liturgical text (or type of oral prayer) allowed to be recited by the monastic community accompanied by music was the “Proclamation of the Qualities of the Teacher” (*śāstrguṇasaṃkīrtta*; *ston pa'i yon tan yang dag par bsgrag pa*) praising the Buddha.⁷⁸ Linking this fact with the Old Tibetan terminology and melodious elements that the *Rgyud chags gsum* shares with the Bsam yas Bell Inscription,⁷⁹ raises the intriguing possibility that the latter's text references this rare sung prayer, which could have entered Tibet from any number or combination of Buddhist lands surrounding it during the imperial period. If so, it would be especially fitting because the epigraphy is on a sound-emitting bell and consists of sixty syllables meant to reflect the sixty melodious sounds of the Buddha mentioned

⁷⁶ See Schopen 1997: 231–33, n. 62 on the *Cīvara-vastu* and the *Vinayakṣudraka-vastu* of the Buddhist *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*.

⁷⁷ Schopen 2010: 118, n. 35. See also Liu Cuilan 2013 for further historical, cultural, and personal elements of chanting in the Buddhist world.

⁷⁸ Schopen 2010: 118.

⁷⁹ See Doney 2018: 85 and again section 2.2. above.

in the inscription itself.⁸⁰ Alternatively, IOL Tib J 466/3 may refer to the Bsam yas Bell Inscription, or merely form part of the general genre of Buddhist prayer with a shared Old Tibetan vocabulary. Yet, the above discussion points towards the role that melody played in ensuring the efficacy of praise and reflecting or evoking the enlightened status of the Buddha that was part of the goal of aspirations prayer within an Old Tibetan context.

3.4. Supports

Similar ritual aspects of Old Tibetan prayer as *act* can be seen even in the material supports for prayer texts themselves—be they wood, stone, bronze, brick or paper. One example is the Yer pa bell, which probably dates to the late imperial period.⁸¹ Its inscription includes part of a popular *smon lam*, the *Āryabhadracaryā-praṇidhana* (*'Phags pa bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam*; see section 4.1. below), along with a transcription of the famous *ye dharmā* formula in an Indic script, yet a curious feature of the epigraphy moulded into the bell opens a window on another aspect of imperial-period Buddhist practice too. The inscription is arranged in four panels and, while the script is written left to right (as normal), the epigraphy only makes sense when reading the panels from right to left. This suggests that the text of the inscription should be read, or more properly recited, while walking around the bell with one's right shoulder facing it (as Buddhist monuments are generally circumambulated).

Further, this fact offers a clue to how this bell was most likely physically situated, if we widen our focus to encompass other parts of Buddhist Asia. Contemporaneous large temple bells from East Asia are either hung close to the ground (as in Korea) where they resonate into the earth, or designed to be hit on their striking points and thus hung with their middles at around chest height (often in high towers so that the sound would travel, as in China).⁸² We cannot be sure about the original hanging position of any of the imperial-period Tibetan temple bells, which rank among the earliest extant exemplars of the form in Asia, and in the 20th century they were mostly found hung above head height.⁸³ However, the fact that they had epigraphy moulded into them *suggests* that their prayer texts were meant to be read and/or recited, as in the case of the Yer pa bell. Given that the epigraphy tends

⁸⁰ Richardson 1985: 35, n. 3. The Prayer of De ga g.yu tshal claims that the Buddha possesses the sixty-two-melodied voice of Brahmā (PT 16, 30r2–3: *gsung tshangs pa'I dbyangs drug cu rtsa gnyls dang ldan bas*).

⁸¹ Richardson 1985: 144–47; Doney 2020b: 134–36.

⁸² Price 1983: 36; Doney 2020b: 111–12.

⁸³ Doney 2020b: Figures 12–18.

to be placed towards the top of the bells—and here the Yer pa bell epigraphy is no exception—the bells would have been best placed at chest height, like Chinese exemplars (though for different reasons).

Such an attention to surface detail may help to reframe the Tibetan temple bells as not merely the bearer of a text to be mined for its historical value alone, but also as containing Old Tibetan prayer texts and partaking in imperial-period ritual practice. Further, contextualising Tibetan imperial temple bells within the wider aesthetic context of Buddhist Asia, its art and material culture, would also aid the wider study of choices made and not made in the incorporation of physical instantiations of prayer forms within Tibetans' practice.

Focusing on the *paper* supports of manuscripts can complement this analysis, for example in identifying the milieu (and perhaps the date) of each exemplar's creation, and help problematise our identification of Mogao Cave 17 documents solely with practices in central Tibet. This is true of IOL Tib J 466/3, again, whose paper apparently had been recently discarded or left over from the imperially patronised copying of the *Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra* (*Tshe dpag tu med pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*) around Dunhuang of the early 9th century, and which was found by Aurel Stein together with copies of these *sūtra*-s.⁸⁴ Such evidence (as well as its script style) closely connects this exemplar of the *Rgyud chags gsum* (and its creator) with the Sino-Tibetan scribal community during or shortly after the Tibetan imperial period rather than *necessarily* with rituals at the central Tibetan court.⁸⁵

Before this text, someone has added another panel of paper containing an unidentified prayer (IOL Tib J 466/1) and the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* spell (*Gtsug tor rnam par rgyal ba gzungs*; IOL Tib J 466/2)—in effect broadening the ritual collection (and perhaps its practice) by the addition of a piece of paper.⁸⁶ Paul Copp has studied the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* in a contemporaneous Chinese context written on paper supports in the form of rituals, amulets and *maṅḍala*-s and on stone pillars in a manner that resembles later Tibetan prayer flags.⁸⁷ He notes there that the writing of *dhāraṇī*-s not only preserved an oral communication whose utterance was its primary form, but was also an important *act*

⁸⁴ See Doney 2018: 75.

⁸⁵ My thanks to Prof. Carmen Meinert for this suggestion. Note too, that this prayer and a number of others discussed in this article are not catalogued in the *Lhan kar ma*.

⁸⁶ See Dalton and van Schaik 2006, 209–10; Doney 2018: 82–83 on the first panel of IOL Tib J 466.

⁸⁷ See Copp 2014: 29–196; Kuo Liying 2014: 366–71 shows evidence for the popularity of pillars (under the name “banner poles”) in Mogao cave paintings spanning the entire period of Tibetan rule over the area.

that was described as efficacious and gave rise to many practical traditions.⁸⁸ The truth of this statement can be seen in the thousands of imperial copies of the *Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra*, itself a *dhāraṇī-sūtra* as well as a *nāma-sūtra*, which make up a large proportion of the texts from Mogao Cave 17.⁸⁹ Comparing the details of these Sino-Tibetan modes of production may in future enrich our knowledge of the context in which such physical remnants of prayer activity were made, held, safeguarded and *perhaps* used in practice around Dunhuang during and after the period of Tibetan rule there.

4. Prayer as Subject

4.1. Subjects

Above, I argued that how prayer texts work is a different focus of study than how prayers are practised. In this section, it is just as important to distinguish those two *foci* from how prayer was perceived (rhetorically or really) in writings about it outside of the prayer texts themselves. Studied in its own right, the prayer as *subject* can be compared to and inform other studies on the same theme in the wider field of religious studies.⁹⁰

Data on the discussion of prayer activities and texts as *subject* in Old Tibetan texts range from complex and theologically charged tantric

⁸⁸ Copp 2014: 29–30. This insight acts as a corrective to the tendency to focus on the oral nature of Buddhist prayer, including *dhāraṇī*, as in Gómez 2000: 1039–40.

⁸⁹ See, for example, Dotson 2013–2014 (2015); Dotson and Doney Forthcoming.

⁹⁰ Sam Gill's discussion of this aspect of the study of prayer is the least satisfying part of his encyclopaedia entry, since it is largely anecdotal and focused on Europe and dependent colonial discourses; see Gill 2005: 7370–71. The classification in Geertz 2008: 137, Table 1c is also not so helpful for the field of Old Tibetan prayer, because it tends towards Christian categories and is not particularly detailed (missing narratives and catalogues of text for example and only extending to 8 types). However, I include it here for the sake of completeness:

1. Philosophical discussions
2. Theological discussions
3. Doctrinal discussions
4. Sermons
5. Devotional guides, liturgies
6. Descriptions of prayer methods
7. Prescribed ways of worship
8. Prescribed ways of life

Another important source missing here are discussions outside of the religious sphere itself, for example legal texts (identified as a useful source *within* religious traditions in Zahavy 1980: 52–55). For an important study of legal texts evidencing the recitation of *inter alia* prayer texts (as *act*, though dating after the imperial period) around Dunhuang, see Liu Cuilan 2018.

commentaries to pragmatic and simple requests for requisite items. At one extreme lie the commentaries on esoteric Buddhist rituals that contain praise, offerings and *dhāraṇī*-s.⁹¹ At the other extreme are found some of our oldest sources on evidence of non-Buddhist rituals in Tibet, wooden slips. One of these describes a verbal ritual focused on deities called *yul lha yul bdag* (literally ‘place god-place master’) and *smān* (sky dwellers and probably the owners of wild animals).⁹² As Sam van Schaik points out, this construction also appears in a non-Buddhist ritual manual from Mogao Cave 17, PT 1042.⁹³ Another *textual* corroboration of such actions comes from a Buddhist context, our old friend the *Rgyud chags gsum*. Three of the types of deity are praised in one stanza of this text, *yul bdag*, *smān* and perhaps *yul lha*.⁹⁴ In this

⁹¹ Examples from Mogao Cave 17 are covered most thoroughly in Dalton and van Schaik 2006 (though many postdate the period under discussion here). See also Dalton 2016 for a recent discussion of the relation between *dhāraṇī* and *tantra* in the context of commentaries.

⁹² See Thomas 1951, 395; improved in van Schaik 2013: 246. This wooden slip is pictured in van Schaik 2013: 246 and its text transliterated in van Schaik 2013: 246, n. 39: “IOL Tib N 255 (M.I.iv.121): \$/yul lha yul bdag dang/ smān gsol ba’i zhal ta pa/ sku gshen las myi[ng] b[sgrom] pa/ gy-d [-] zhal ta pa/ gsas chung lha bon po/ blo co [com] [rno]/ -m pos sug zungs/ la tong sprul sug gzungs/”. van Schaik 2013: 247 and van Schaik 2013: 247, n. 42 transliterates another, similar wooden slip: “IOL Tib N 873 (M.I.xxvii.15): \$:/yul lha yul bdag dang smān gsol ba’i zhal ta pa/ dang sku gshen dpon yog/ /:blon/ mān gziḡs blon māo bzang”. Again, see also Thomas 1951: 395. Although Thomas was wrong to translate *smān* as physician, probably based on its similarity to the Classical term that means medicine or remedy, the etymology of the category of deity referred to on these wooden slips is still obscure. For descriptions of these deities as owners in documents from Mogao Cave 17, see Dotson 2019.

⁹³ van Schaik 2013: 246.

⁹⁴ IOL Tib J 466/3, column 11 ll. 4–8; Doney 2018: 89–90. This stanza praises the deities (*lha rnam*s) of Tibet (*bod yul*), or perhaps the local gods (*yul gyi lha rnam*s) of Tibet (*bod*)—just as the immediately preceding stanza (above) praises the “spiritual friends” of Tibet:

Praise to the deities of Tibet, such as King of the Gandharvas [and] ‘One with Five Top-Knots’, father and son. To all the awesome local gods (*yul bdag gnyan po*), such as the powerful *lha* and *smān* deities who [cause to] arise the jewels of men and of treasure in the iron, silver, gold, crystal and snow mountains surrounding [Tibet] and practice the good religion and way of heaven, I grasp the method of venerating [with] respect, and offer substances of pure auspiciousness, such as good fragrance, incense (or fragrant incense, *dri spos*) and flowers.

/ drI za’I rgyal po gtsug pud lnga pa {yab} (SHAPE: y+b) sras lastogs pa / : / bod yul gyi lha rnam la mchod pa / / lcags rI dngul rI gser gyi ri / / shel rI gangs rI khyad kor na / / myl dang nor gyi dbyig ’byung zhIng / / chos bzang gnam lugs spyod pa yI / / mthu chen lha dang smān <ma> lastogs / / yul bdag gnyan po thams cad la / / rje sa rI mo’i tshul bzung ste / drI spos men tog bzang lastogs / / bkra shis gtsang ma’I rdzas rnam ’bul /.

stanza, *smān* and perhaps *lha* deities seem to be subclasses of *yul bdag* rather than separate types of deity. By triangulating between prayer as *text* and as *subject* in both of these contexts, we can gain glimpses of Old Tibetan prayer as *act*, from the simple to the highly complex, that are otherwise lost to the ages.

Somewhere in the middle lies the commentarial tradition on a particularly popular *smān lam* work with deep roots in Indic Buddhism, the *Āryabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna(rāja)* also found on the Yer pa bell that I discussed in section 3.4.⁹⁵ Cristina Scherrer-Schaub identifies this as “la prière mahayanique par excellence”, which she states provided an influential Indic Buddhist model for Tibetan *smān lam*-s, along with the **triskandhaka* (*pung po gsum pa*) prayer of the three accumulations.⁹⁶ Richard K. Payne and Charles D. Orzech provide an outline of the *Saptavidhā-anuttarapūjā*, the “sevenfold supreme worship” that apparently acted as a model for other forms in Buddhist discussions of the subject, though they are quick to add the *caveat* that not all worship texts actually strictly adhere to this structure.⁹⁷ The *Āryabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna* exerted great influence on early Tibetan Buddhist practice and literature, and commentaries on the *smān lam* are evidenced in the *Lhan kar ma* and Dunhuang library.⁹⁸

Another mode of treating prayer as *subject* is narrative. Both during its early life in South Asia and in its continuing existence in East Asia, the virtues and benefits of the *Āryabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna* are extolled

The translation of this stanza is tentative and may be updated in a planned study of non-Buddhist deities.

⁹⁵ This text is titled ‘*Phags pa bzang po spyod pa’i smān lam gyi rgyal po* in the *Lhan kar ma*, Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 269–70, entry 470. Among the later canonical versions, see for example Peking 716 and Peking 1038.

⁹⁶ Scherrer-Schaub 1999-2000: 218–20; Sernesi 2014: 144.

⁹⁷ According to Payne and Orzech 2011: 135–36: “The seven elements of the *saptavidhā-anuttarapūjā* are praise (*vandanā*), worship (*pūjanā*), confession (*deśanā*), rejoicing (*modanā*), requesting the teaching (*adhyesaṇā*), begging the buddhas to remain (*yācanā*), and transfer of merit (*nāmanā*)”. One example showing the later continued use of these elements to structure prayer-like practice is Yönten 1996, within the important genre of *guru yoga*.

⁹⁸ Four commentaries on the *Āryabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna*, apparently translations from an Indic language, are listed in the *Lhan kar ma*, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 317–19, entries 559–62), together with one mnemonic (*brjed byang*) drawn from four different commentaries by Ye shes sde, Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 319, entry 563. Only the text catalogued under entry 561 was lost before it could find its way into the *Bstan ’gyur*, whereas the commentary ascribed to Bhadrapaṇa and translated by Jñānagarbha and Dpal brtsegs (entry 562) is also found among the Dunhuang documents, in IOL Tib J 146; Peking 5515. These could prove to be useful mines of information on this *smān lam*, the wider genre and approaches to these forms as *subject*.

by exemplary stories, as in the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra*.⁹⁹ PT 149 describes the origin, translation, proper practice (as *act*) and benefits of the *Āryabhad-racaryā-praṇidhāna* by means of a compelling narrative full of miraculous events caused by the *smoṅ lam*.¹⁰⁰ This genre bears comparison with narratives surrounding *dhāraṇī*-s and extolling their efficacy, both in general and in works found in Mogao Cave 17.¹⁰¹ PT 149 ends by intertwining a later part of the prayer itself with an account of two of the protagonists achieving the supernatural aims that the prayer aspires (*smoṅ*) to achieve:

Master Dpal byams (*sic*) recited his commitments.

When the time of my death comes

When he recited this, [they all] spoke in one voice.

Then by purifying all my defilements

As they recited this, they ascended [into the sky].

When I directly perceive Amitābha

As they recited this, accomplishments such as rainbows arose, just like the signs that had [previously] arisen for the two masters, and they cast off the shackles of the body.

May I go to the land of Sukhāvati

Having arrived there, they recited these prayers and departed.¹⁰²

Thus, this narrative treatment of a *smoṅ lam* prayer as *subject* also contains parts of the prayer as *text* itself. The document PT 149 probably dates to the 10th century, outside the period considered in this study.

⁹⁹ See Osto 2010 for a discussion and translation of the Sanskrit text of the *Āryabhad-racaryā-praṇidhāna* and its relation to the *Gaṇḍavyūha sūtra*.

¹⁰⁰ van Schaik and Doney 2007: 185–86.

¹⁰¹ See Copp 2014: 158–66 for generally popular Chinese narratives surrounding the *Uṣṇīṣavijaya-dhāraṇī* and Copp 2014: 143 on Dunhuang manuscripts containing invocations (*qīqīng wen* 啟請文) sometimes recited before that text in rituals and occasionally including narratives.

¹⁰² Translation following van Schaik and Doney 2007: 206–207. The lines in italics are equivalent to verse 57, towards the end of the *smoṅ lam*. PT 149, *verso* ll. 4–6 (with parenthetical indications of the received tradition of the *smoṅ lam*), reads: *slobs dpon dpal byams thugs dam 'don pa las / bdag ni chi ba'i* [l. 5] *ba'i dus byed gyur pa na /* (Received version: *bdag ni chi ba'i dus byed gyur pa na /*) *gsung tsam na gsung lan gcig chad / de nas sgrib pa thams cad ni phyir bsal te /* (Received version: *sgrib pa thams cad dag ni phyir bsal te /*) *gsung tsam na / gcung tsam yang 'phags / mngon gsum snang ba' mtha' yas de mthong na gsung tsam na /* (Received version: *mngon sum snang ba mtha' yas de mthong nas /*) *slob dpon gnyis kyi sku ltas la byung ba bzhin du gzha' tshon la bsogs pa' dngos grub byung nas / lus gdos pa' can* [l. 6] *bor nas / bde ba can gyi zhing der rab du 'gro /* (Received version: *bde ba can gyi zhing der rab tu 'gro/*) *der song nas ni smoṅ lam 'di dag kyang / zhes zlos shing gshegs so / de yan cad ni son gi gleng gzhi 'o // :://*.

Yet this later treatment of imperial-period *smon lam* practice is still instructive, since it forms a bridge between actual imperial-period discussions of prayer as *subject* and the voluminous Tibetan religious histories and biographies of the second millennium that include details of prayer occurring as Buddhism was introduced during an increasingly idealised imperial period.¹⁰³

4.2. Categorization

The *Lhan kar ma*, discussed in section 2.2. above as an indicator of indigenous concepts of Old Tibetan prayer as *text*, is itself (in part) *about* prayer. It therefore falls into the third group of sources from which to glean information about prayer. I argued in section 2.3. that the classification of texts in the *Lhan kar ma* evidences not only a collecting principle but also a logic to the ordering of the texts that views *mantra*-s as similar to *dhāraṇī*-s, and *dhāraṇī*-s as connected to the *nāmāṣṭasaṭaka*-s, but the latter as closer to *dhāraṇī*-s (and eulogies) than *mantra*-s are to it. The categories of eulogy, aspiration and benediction may likewise be purposefully ordered, though here by the order in which such ritual actions should/usually occur. To return briefly to prayer as *text*, IOL Tib J 466/3 offers us evidence of a similar but not identical ordering principle. The first part of the *Rgyud chags gsum* in some ways follows the ‘seven elements’ described above in this section, but this praise-heavy text also includes a *dhāraṇī* near the beginning—itsself described as a spell of praise.¹⁰⁴ It ends with a *smon lam* and so is in fact a collection of literary forms that to resemble prayer and its order seems to lead one through the stages of a ritual journey, like a liturgy. Although we cannot be certain that all of the elements of IOL Tib J 466 were performed in that order, in the spirit of comparison we may draw a parallel between at least the *Rgyud chags gsum* part and how complex

¹⁰³ See van Schaik and Doney 2007: 175–78. Of these later narratives, one immediately thinks of the *smon lam* of brothers in South Asia to be reborn as key protagonists in the spread of Buddhism in Tibet found in both Buddhist and Bon po literature from at least the 12th century, Blondeau 1994; Kværne 1996: 22.

¹⁰⁴ The beginning of this prayer, IOL Tib J 466/3, ll. 1–17, comprises three parts: The Three Jewels (*dkon mchog gsum*), i.e. the Buddha, *dharmā* and *saṃgha*, are prayed to in the first part, all three as a whole in the second part, and in the last part is recited the *Pūjāmegha dhāraṇī* that suffuses the Buddha fields of the ten directions—addressed to the first of the Three Jewels (though perhaps synecdochically all three). Lines 16–17 describe the *Pūjāmegha dhāraṇī* as “the *dhāraṇī* for the clouds of offerings arising in all the Buddha fields of the ten directions” (*phyogs bcu’I sangs rgyas kyi’l zhlng thams cad du // pa’I sprIn byung ba’I gzungs*). The *Pūjāmegha dhāraṇī* is often found together with the *Āryabhadracaryā-praṇidhāna* in Dunhuang ritual collections, van Schaik and Doney 2007: 185. See Dalton 2016: 206–208 on this aspect of the *rGyud chags gsum*. As I mentioned in section 3.4. above, immediately before this text the *Uṣṇīṣaviṣaya-dhāraṇī* spell is added, IOL Tib J 466/2.

Christian prayers, such as the Lord's Prayer, include invocation, supplication and petition as a series of speech acts that serve to persuade the addressee to aid the addresser, among other things.¹⁰⁵ The categories in the *Lhan kar ma* follow a similar order—and they are not arranged simply by number of texts in each category and so merely coincidentally similar. It may be that the ritual ordering principle of doing one act before another also inspired not only the sequence in which these speech acts appear in ritual collections but also the order of the categories in the *Lhan kar ma* catalogue itself.

Yet, even here we find a complication in the fact that the *Lhan kar ma* itself begins with a 'laud' of salutation/prostration to "the omniscient one", presumably the Buddha.¹⁰⁶ This very short verse is both a prayer as *text* and as *act* (of salutation/prostration) within a work that addresses *inter alia* prayer as *subject*.¹⁰⁷ This points towards a wider truth: that prayers are not only framed as prayers but may also be used to frame other texts as religiously motivated.¹⁰⁸ Perhaps this prayer was never said out loud, but this should not matter for the ritual frame that it adds to the *Lhan kar ma's* administrative catalogue.¹⁰⁹ The cate-

¹⁰⁵ See the discussion of the Lord's Prayer as *text* and as *act* in Geertz 2008: 126–28. Aspiration may also follow confession, as in Or.15000/379 that contains the title *The Prayer of Repentance and Aspiration* ('*Gyod tshangs dang smon lam*). Takeuchi 1998: 159, no. 491 describes this work and provides a list of other Dunhuang documents falling into this category: "VP [de La Vallée Poussin 1962] 208.2, 209–10, 247, 452.2; P[T] 17, 18, 24, 175–177".

¹⁰⁶ According to Herrmann-Pfandt's critical edition, the opening line of the *Lhan kar ma* (after the title) reads: *thams cad mkhyen pa la phyag 'tshal lo /*; Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 1. The translation 'laud' for *phyag 'tshal ba* (*vandanā*) comes from Sernesi 2014: 144.

¹⁰⁷ In itself, this one-sentence speech-act raises a couple of interesting questions that future analysis should take into account. First, what is the minimal extent of a prayer as *text*? Would a laudatory declaration stating "I prostrate to all *buddha-s*; I prostrate to all *bodhisattva-s*" (**sangs rgyas thams cad la phyag 'tshal / lo byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo /*) constitute two prayers, in contrast to "I prostrate to all *buddha-s* and all *bodhisattva-s*" (**sangs rgyas thams cad dang / byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo /*)? Second, should the answers to the above be altered or even dictated by the action that accompanies it? At first glance, it would appear not. Yet, since these statements are speech-acts and so maintain a quasi-narrative status (narrating one's own act of obeisance), perhaps this is more complex situation to assess than I assume.

¹⁰⁸ See Bielefeldt 2005: 233–34 for this point made in another context. In contrast, some eulogies contain introductory lines that define the object of their praise, the addressee, and the importance or necessity of creating the eulogy itself (Zorin 2010: 354). Here, the *subject* frames the eulogy (as *text*) and may affect the way in which the addresser perceives of and performs it (as *act*).

¹⁰⁹ Again, see Bielefeldt 2005: 241 for a discussion of this idea. From another perspective, the extent to which texts were actually recited matters a great deal, since it can raise useful distinctions between how prayers, say, existed and functioned in

gory 'laud' is not found in the *Lhan kar ma* but was obviously considered an acceptable form of communication with the Buddha whenever it was included in the work as we now have it. Bear in mind that the *Lhan kar ma* is a text-oriented work that catalogues complete works as discrete whole rather than analysing them into their constituent parts. As such, it can be only a partial witness to categories and categorizations of Old Tibetan prayer, among other subjects.

5. Conclusion

We return to the problems and possibilities of section 1, hopefully a little more deeply enmeshed in the problems if not any closer to solutions. The reader is hopefully at least more conscious of the problems and pitfalls that we unknowingly face when either describing Old Tibetan prayer unreflectively or relying on foreign universalizing classificatory systems (which are still all too common in the study of religion today) by approaching prayer from a Euro-American scholarly perspective.

The above approach to prayer first focuses on the individual emic terms instead of simply (and artificially) reducing this multiplicity down to a singular etic concept that we then call 'prayer' or privileging one of these terms as the best correlate of the English word 'prayer'.¹¹⁰ One could make a 'strong' argument for including *dhāraṇī*-s under the category of prayer, following the definitions provided by Gill or Gomez above. Yet, a 'weak' version of this argument is that including *dhāraṇī*-s helps to once again problematize the hard distinction between 'prayer' and 'spell', which is shown to be less significant than it was considered in older scholarship on Buddhism and Tibet.¹¹¹ Returning to the *Lhan kar ma* classification of spells (*dhāraṇī*), the 'one hundred and eight names' (*nāmāṣṭaśataka*), eulogies (*stotra*), aspirations (*praṇidhāna*) and benedictions (*maṅgalagāthā*), I have intended that these terms actually offer fertile ground for comparison and contrast. The *Lhan kar ma* categorizes different types of prayer as separate but related whereas, outside of this text, we have seen that similar social cues and hierarchies can be found in the practice of prayer that cut across the genres of aspiration and praise. We can begin to think of

multiple copies, in canons and in real communities. This is a theme that I hope to explore in future with regard to *dhāraṇī* literature from Mogao Cave 17 as a reflection of actual Buddhist practices around Dunhuang.

¹¹⁰ Sam Gill makes this point in the conclusion to his entry on prayer: "The term gains definitional precision when seen as any of dozens of terms used in specific religious traditions as articulated in practice or in doctrine"; Gill 2005: 7371.

¹¹¹ Gill 2005: 7369–70 even brings Buddhism into the discussion while making a similar point.

what connects an aspiration for some specific change in the world through the mediation of a superhuman being and a spell whose efficacy is ensured through supernatural means (beyond their shared metaphysics of *karma* and merit [*punya*; *bsod nams*]); or how a eulogy and bringing to mind the names of a deity both evoke that being, 'in the room' as it were, and how they differ in the manner of that evocation. Unpacking such similarities and differences requires applying linguistic and semantic disciplines to a series of divergent literary contexts, and could result in a typology of addresser, addressee and beneficiary that would serve to make connections across and beyond the above categories in ways that a top-down approach could not.

Thus, there exist genres catalogued together in Tibetan-language sources of the imperial period and shortly after that could correspond to Gill's notion of "human communication with divine and spiritual entities" but also resemble mnemonics (another way of viewing *dhāraṇī*-s) or historical accounts (an alternative reading of the Bsam yas Bell Inscription). Context-specific analysis and heuristic comparison may help to identify the fuzzy borders in these examples and more. Further, there exist prayer-like actions, texts and terminology that are not contained in the above catalogues but that need to be included in the analysis and comparison of Old Tibetan prayers. The proposal of this article is to borrow a method of organising the data, which has gained some favour outside of Tibetan studies, to work towards identifying a matrix similar to prayer and therefore in future comparable with it.

Above, I structured my analysis according to the *foci* of the data, first as *text*, then *act* and finally *subject*. However, another way of addressing these sources would be to focus on eulogy as evidenced in data treating it as *text*, *act* or *subject* (and noting the fault lines between these different types of representation), before turning to do the same for benediction and so forth. This could shine a different but equally illuminating light on the subject, once a typology of prayer genres has been established. For now, following Gill's structuring principle makes the job of identifying a matrix and typology of early Tibetan prayer easier and brings Old Tibetan studies more closely into dialogue with scholars of other places and times (and their religious traditions) around the world—while shedding unnecessary baggage associated with the loaded term 'prayer'.

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The Envoys of Phywa to Dmu (PT 126)

Nathan W. Hill

(Trinity College Dublin)

ew are the texts which offer a glimpse into Tibet's religious traditions as they existed before the adoption of Buddhism as the state religion in 762. With the exception of stone inscriptions¹ the earliest extant texts in the Tibetan language come from the library cave at Duhuang. Among those extant texts valuable for the study of the indigenous religion, which include descriptions of funerary rituals and Buddhist texts aimed at discouraging more ancient practices, mythological texts *per se* are quite rare. The *Envoy of Phywa to Dmu* (Pélliot Tibétain PT 126), a narrative describing the doings of gods in a mythical past, is consequently of paramount importance as evidence for the ancient Tibetan religion.²

For most of the twentieth century the difficulty of the texts and their physical availability significantly constrained the study of Old Tibetan texts. The research of scholars like Stein and Macdonald generally treated a number of Dunhuang texts at once, without providing detailed studies of individual texts. The increasing understanding of the Old Tibetan language and increasing availability of editions of the texts now allows for more systematic study; the text treated here is no exception to this pattern. The text is treated in passing in French³ and

¹ Iwao et al. 2009.

² I began to study this text in the summer of 2007 on the basis of Ishikawa 2001, while a student of Japanese at Middlebury College's summer school. In the autumn of 2011 a stay as visiting researcher at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München proved essential in improving my understanding of this text. I read the document in a weekly seminar together with Brandon Dotson, Gergely Orosz and Lewis Doney. Although for the sake of readability I do not acknowledge each suggestion of these three colleagues, to whatever extent this study is an improvement over previous treatments of the text can be credited to my colleagues in Munich. I would thank Hou Haoran for his help with reading Chu Junjie (1990). I read the first half of the text with a class at UC Berkeley in Autumn 2015. I was lucky to have Meghan Howard, my old classmate from Harvard, among the students, who kindly gave me a copy of Drikung (2012). I have worked on incorporating his ideas, both during that class in Berkeley and while reading through the complete text with Tsering Samdup back at SOAS in Autumn 2018. A project of such long gestation will doubtless be out-of-date already at its appearance, but I hope it will nonetheless be helpful to those interested in this text.

³ Stein 1961: 62, 64; Macdonald 1971: 305–06, 369–73.

brief passages are treated in English,⁴ but more recent detailed study of the document is only available in Japanese⁵ and Chinese⁶. Western Tibetology does not pay sufficient attention to Japanese and Chinese scholarship on Tibet. In Old Tibetan studies the bulk of scholarship is now produced in these languages. This study relies in particular on the two essays of Ishikawa,⁷ which provide a complete transliteration, translation and discussion of contents and the first complete translation of this text by Chu Junjie.⁸ I consult previous literature in a supplementary manner as appropriate. When a complete version of this study was already prepared, I gained access to Drikung,⁹ and have incorporated its findings as seemed appropriate.

1. A Historical Marriage of Two Clans?

Various previous authors understand this text to report the marriage of two clans.¹⁰ For the sake of clarity it is useful to separate this claim into two: (1) that Phywa and Dmu are clans, and (2) that the text describes a marriage. Doubtless the reason why some have considered the Phywa and Dmu two tribes is that the Dmu are listed as such in various traditional lists of the early Tibetan clans.¹¹ The Dmu are however not a historic ethnic group. Stein specifies that he knows “aucun exemple historique de l’emploi de ce mot, comme nom ethnique, alors que tous les autres noms de cette liste se retrouvent dans la nomenclature ethnique réelle [no historic example of the use of this word as an ethnic name, even though all of the other names in this list are found in actual ethnic nomenclature]”.¹² The Phywa are not even reported in the lists of prehistoric clans; there is no reason to understand them as a tribe.

To describe Phywa and Dmu as clans suggests that PT 126 should be, or at least intends itself to be, understood as historical. Yamaguchi is the scholar to construe this understanding in the most strictly historical terms.¹³ His interpretation has been taken for granted by others.¹⁴

⁴ Bellezza 2005: 11–12, 342; Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 325.

⁵ Yamaguchi 1983: 171–72, 211; 1985: 546–49; Ishikawa 2000; 2001.

⁶ Chu Junjie 1989, 1990.

⁷ Ishikawa 2000, 2001.

⁸ Chu Junjie 1990.

⁹ Drikung 2011.

¹⁰ Stein 1961: 62; Yamaguchi 1983: 166–99; Nagano 1994: 105; Ishikawa 2000; 2001.

¹¹ Stein 1961: 6, 8, 18.

¹² Stein 1961: 55.

¹³ Yamaguchi 1983: 166–99.

¹⁴ See for instance Nagano 1994.

But even Ishikawa, who specifically argues against an historical interpretation in favor of a mythological one, still speaks of the marriage of two clans.¹⁵ To describe the Dmu and the Phywa as clans is a mistake, which predisposes one to think of them historically.

The temptation to see an historical event behind the narrative of this text stems from a belief that mythological texts are relevant primary sources for historical research. The relationship between mythology and history has been the subject of debate since classical times; the understanding of myths as misrepresentations of historical facts, Euhemerism, has historically been a widespread school of mythic interpretation.¹⁶ Because a certain element of a myth can be established as historical only when there is corroborating non-mythological evidence, this method of interpretation is useless as an approach to historical research and useful for mythological explication only when corroborating historical evidence is available. In the case of this text there are no relevant historical texts and a euhemeristic approach is fruitless. A more valuable task than chasing after the historical origins of this myth is to approach the function of the myth at the time it was told. This text acknowledges itself as an etiological story; consequently, an etiological approach, although by no means the only or the best approach to mythic interpretation,¹⁷ will be the most revealing for this text.

The second component of the received interpretation, that this text describes a marriage, like the understanding of Phywa and Dmu as tribes, arose on account of later Tibetan texts. Stein discusses a version of such a story in the *Gzer-myig* referring to the ancestry of the founder of the Bon religion Ston-pa Gšen-rab.¹⁸ Yamaguchi treats another version appearing in the *Dar rgyas gsal-baḥi sgron-ma*.¹⁹ Karmay notes further marital intertwining among the Phywa and Dmu.²⁰ It is a mistake however to use these later sources as guides to understanding the text at hand. While the myth contained in this text is related to these stories and a full account of the history of the mythology of the relationship between the Phywa and Dmu would trace the development of the story from the version appearing in PT 126 to that known from later texts, it must be emphasized that there is no ground to assume that elements of similar stories found in later texts are at play in this early version of the story. There is no marriage in PT 126; marriage is never discussed by either party in the text.

There are structural parallels between the *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu*

¹⁵ Ishikawa 2000.

¹⁶ Graf 1993: 16 et passim.

¹⁷ Graf 1993: 39–40.

¹⁸ Stein 1961: 56.

¹⁹ Yamaguchi 1983: 170–71.

²⁰ Karmay 1975: 576, n. 81.

and Tibetan marriage rituals. In the course of a Tibetan marriage, it is not uncommon for a group of envoys to discuss with the Bride's family the circumstances of her handing over. Reluctance to relinquish her is part of the formal procedure of these practices. For example, in the wedding protocols at Ruthog an "honest gentleman"²¹ brings a scarf to the family of the bride on behalf of the bridegroom's family. If this scarf is favorably received the gentlemen returns accompanied "by the boy's parents and some older relatives".²² This party formally requests the young lady's hand and negotiates the date of the ceremony. A group of people from the family of the groom or representing his family making a request to the bride's parents, presumably foremost to the bride's father, may remind one of the groups of Phywa envoys making a request of the lord of Dmu.

In Dingri the bride's party is expected to interrupt in an antagonistic manner the *mopön*, who sings wedding songs and acts as master of ceremonies representing the interests of the groom's party.²³ An antagonistic conversation between one person and a group, representing two separate families who are preparing to bind their fates, in some ways parallels the scenario for the *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu* (PT 126). There are however significant differences. Unlike the bride's party at a Dingri wedding, the envoys of Phywa are always polite and deferential toward the lord of Dmu. Also, the lord of Dmu and the envoys of Phywa are engaged in dialogue; questions are posed and answered. This is not a monologue with occasional interruptions as found in the case of Dingri wedding songs.

One may also note a possible specific ritual parallel between marriage ceremonies and the ritual preparations that begin toward the end of the extant version of the *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu*. In Both in Dingri and Ruthog an arrow is prominently displayed within the course of the ceremony.²⁴ A particular parallel might be seen in the decorated arrow demanded by the lord of Dmu and that in Ruthog, where "the arrow is decorated with the cloths of five colours and other objects, such as *gzi*, turquoise, *mchoñ*, mirror, spindle, *sre-loñ* and yarn thread, etc. are placed in the priest's hand followed by the songs in praise of the arrow".²⁵ An interest in the ritual use of arrows is however probably more indicative of Tibetan folk religion in general than marriage per se.²⁶

²¹ Shastri 1994: 758.

²² Shastri 1994: 758.

²³ Aziz 1985: 127.

²⁴ Aziz 1985: 120; Shastri 1994: 757–59.

²⁵ Shastri 1994: 759.

²⁶ The word *phywa* occurs in Shastri's description of the Ruthog wedding: "when a girl gets married and is about to leave her home, her family members perform the

The two parties in the story are the lord of Dmu and the envoys of Phywa. A marriage between one lord, and several envoys, all of whom are probably male, seems unlikely in the extreme. One could understand that the envoys of Phywa are negotiating a marriage between some member of the Phywa clan and the lord of Dmu, but no evidence within the text suggests this. The envoys of Phywa explain quite clearly their two goals: one is to worship the god of Dmu (ll.113–14 et passim) and the second is to convince the lord of Dmu to descend to the earth on behalf of man (ll.111–12). No marriage occurs in or is implied by this text.

Marriage is one species of fictive kinship. In Ruthog, when a bride arrives at the family of the groom, a *lha-hdog* ceremony binds her to the deity of her new family.²⁷ This binding to a new family's gods is parallel to the envoy's first goal of worshiping Dmu's god. Although no marriage is performed, a bond of kinship is forged between the Phywa and Dmu. The creation of fictive kinship is made clear by the switch from the exclusive pronoun *ned* to the inclusive pronoun *ho-skol* at line 165 in the discourse of the lord of Dmu addressing the envoys of Phywa, and such explicit statements as "*khyed ho-skol-la dbyar myed-pas* [there is no difference between you and us]" (l.167). The total absence of any mention of a bride or groom in PT 126 makes it difficult to see it as a part of a wedding. The most one can conclude is that the ceremony reflected in PT 126 has certain structural parallels with some Tibetan wedding ceremonies. A more apt comparison of the envoys of Phywa in their role as go-between is with the figure Skar-ma Yol-lde who, in the *yo ga can* account of the first emperor in the *Mkhas pa ldehu chos hbyun*, serves as a go-between to negotiate on behalf of men for the descent of the first emperor.²⁸

2. The Land of Dmu

The understanding of PT 126 as describing a marriage is not universal. Uebach and Zeisler refer to the text as "a funerary rite".²⁹ Perhaps they follow here the suggestion of Ishikawa that the land of Dmu is the land

rite to invoke the deities, the rite to secure *phywa*, the rite to secure *gyang* and the rite to release the girl from the bonds of her family patron deity" (1994: 760). However, his usage suggests that it is *phywa* 'good fortune' as a common noun which is under discussion. Shastri presumably meant *g.yang* 'wellfare' and not *gyang* 'wall'.

²⁷ Shastri 1994: 760.

²⁸ Mkhas-pa-ldehu 1987, 2003: fol. 131b–32b.

²⁹ Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 325.

of the dead.³⁰ The lord of Dmu describes his lands at the text's beginning; there is no day and night; it is encircled by mountains; no birds fly above and no mice creep below (ll.105–07). The land of Dmu is south east of the land of Srin (l.122). It is guarded by various wild animals (ll.126–27) and armored horsemen (l. 133). The men of Dmu, perhaps just the lord himself, look good, sound good, and smell good (ll.123–24). The lands of Phywa and of men are known in Dmu, but are far away. Dmu can be reached by horseback from Phywa (l.138).

Ishikawa cites the lack of day or night, birds or mice, as indication that time does not pass in Dmu; the non-passage of time is what suggests to him the land of the dead.³¹ The failure of dawn to break or dusk to fall is also tied directly to death in the ritual narrative PT 1285.

// Ḥol dug khu ser ma / Ṃa-luñ lhen-moñ brgyaḥ / las / bskus-paḥḡ gan-du mchis / yab-kyI gan-du mchis / Ṃa-luñ lhen-moñ brgya žig phaḡi phyag-du phul / Ḥol rje Zin-brañ-gis / gsol-ba / sku-ru gsol / lañs-pa dug-du lañs / Ḥol dug khu ser sku ma gdiñs-su lañs / « ha na na yis nam / myi nañs / hu tshu tshu ḥis ñin myi nub » /

[She rubbed the putrid sappy Ḥol poison on one hundred Nya-luñ lhen-moñ and it went near, went near, went near to her father. She offered one hundred Nya-luñ lhen-moñ to her father. Ḥol-rje Zin-brañ ate it, ate it in his body. He took it, took the poison. He took the putrid sappy Ḥol poison into the depths of his body. [He cried] “Ha-na-na, the day won't dawn! Hu-tshu-tshu, the sun won't set”.] (PT 1285, ll. 107–10).³²

In contrast to Ishikawa's suggestion that Dmu yul is the land of death, Stein suggests that “le pays des *dmu* [...] semble bien être situé au Ciel, quelque part où le soleil ne se lève, ni ne se couche (c'est-à-dire où il est toujours ?) [the land of Dmu appears to be situated in the sky, where the sun never rises or sets (i.e. where it always is?).]”.³³ The word ‘Dmu’ is cognate with words for sky in various Tibeto-Burman languages.³⁴ Among the Rawang, the *Dmø* ‘spirits of the upper realm’.³⁵ These parallels suggest that the understanding of the Dmu as gods of the sky is very ancient. The interpretation of Dmu as the heavens is of course not inconsistent with its interpretation as the realm of the dead. A better reason than its strange meteorology to identify the

³⁰ Ishikawa 2000: 176–97.

³¹ Ishikawa 2000: 176–79.

³² See Lalou 1958: 184–85; Karmay 1998: 344 §20.

³³ Stein 1962: 64.

³⁴ Stein 1961: 63–64; Coblin 1987.

³⁵ LaPolla and Poa 2001: 13.

land of Dmu with heaven is the overall place of this tale in Tibetan mythology.

Remembering that the envoys' two goals are to worship the god of Dmu (ll.113–14 et passim) and to convince the lord of Dmu to descend to the earth on behalf of man (ll.111–12), it becomes clear that the *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu* (PT 126) is an etiological tale, which explains the origin of the *sku-bla* ceremony. This myth is a vignette from a cycle of mythological components which together narrate the Tibetan emperor's divine descent from heaven to earth. The narrative of divine descent is referred to directly or indirectly in a number of Tibetan texts, often signaled by a single phrase such as “*gnam-gyī lha-las myīhi rjer gśegs-pa//* [came down from the gods of heaven as lord of men]” (Inscription at the tomb of Khri Lde-sroñ-brtsan, circa 815)³⁶ or “*myīhi mgon-du sa-la gśegs-nas* [come to earth as lord of men]” (Fragmentary Tablet at Žwa-baḥi lha khañ).³⁷ The pervasiveness of references to this myth (cf. PT 1287, ll. 62–63, PT 1286, ll. 31–35, India Office Library IOL Tib J 0751, l. 1) makes clear that it is a keystone of the ideology of the Tibetan empire.³⁸

As an etiological myth, the *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu* (PT 126) is a companion piece to the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287). The former describes how the lord of Dmu reluctantly agrees to descend to the earth in order to rule over men and explains the origin of the *sku-bla* ceremony; the latter describes how the Tibetan emperor lost the ability to travel bodily to heaven at will, and explains the origin of the funerary rites of the Tibetan emperor. Using the standard terminology of later Tibetan historiographical literature, the *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu* (PT 126) tells the story of the first emperor Gñah-khri btsan-po and the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287) tells the story of the seventh emperor Gri-gum btsan-po. The first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287) accounts for the physical death of the emperor and the institution of royal funerals. The *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu* (PT 126) accounts for the arrival of the emperor and the institution of the *sku-bla* ceremony. This parallel suggests that the *sku-bla* ceremony would have been used in a coronation rite.

A negotiation between representatives of the men of earth with a god imploring his descent to rule over man, broadly paralleling the *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu*, is attested in a number of later Tibetan mythological texts. The *Ldeḥu chos byung* (dating to after 1261) cites a text called the *Yo ga (yi ge) lha gyes can*, in which three origin stories for the

³⁶ Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 241, 246.

³⁷ Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 274.

³⁸ See Hill 2013.

dynastic line are discussed.³⁹ The second of these, referred to as the secret Bon tradition (*gsaṅ ba bon lugs*), contains one such parallel story,⁴⁰ in which a group of Tibetans decide they need a ruler. They ask the god of the ribs (*rtsibs kyi lha*), Skar-ma yol-lde, for assistance. Skar-ma yol-lde, like the messengers of Phywa, asks the lord of Dmu to descend to the earth in order to rule mankind. After a prolonged negotiation, his relatives give him a number of magical accoutrements to take with him on his voyage. His father gives him a garment, seven bodyguards, an ox with white horns, and the following self-deploying military equipment: a self blowing conch-shell, self arming bow, self shooting arrow, self donning coat of mail, self shielding shield, and self spearing spear; he also gives his son a cook and two priests. The uncle gives a partly overlapping set of military items, which are, like in most post-dynastic texts, themselves called Dmu; they include the Dmu coat of mail, the Dmu helmet, the Dmu spear, the Dmu shield, the Dmu sword, the Dmu ladder, and the Dmu cord.⁴¹ The mother provides her son with self-deploying household items: a piece of turquoise, fire, water, a mill-stone, a pan, a plate, and a loom.

In the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287), when Dri-gum-bstan-po challenges his horse groom Lo-ñam to combat, the servant insists that the emperor abandon a certain number of divine implements (*lhaḥi dkor*, l. 10) as a prerequisite for their combat; these are a spear, a sword, armor, and a shield, all of them self-deploying. When meeting Dri-gum-bstan-po in the field he further requests that the emperor cut his 'head braids' (*dbuḥ-ḥbreṅ* l. 14) and overturn his 'head ladder' (*dbuḥ-skas* l. 15). Aside from differences in order, the absence of the helmet, and replacing 'braids' with 'cord', the objects Lo-ñam demands are the same as the gifts from the uncle in the *Yo ga (yi ge) lha gyes can*. Although these accoutrements are nowhere referred to as Dmu in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287) they are structurally identical. Lo-ñam insists that Dri-gum-bstan-po abandon these devices precisely because they are what make the emperor more than a man. Dri-gum-bstan-po's ability to return bodily (*mñon-bar dguṅ-du gśeḡs-pa*, PT 1287, ll. 6–7) to heaven is what caused his haughtiness in the first place. In his confrontation with Lo-ñam, it is precisely this feat which he is fatally unable to perform, having relieved himself of his divine implements. Thus, it is clear that these tools are what enabled his ability. The gifts given by the uncle of the first emperor in the one story end up in the hands of the regicide horse groom in the other.

Although the story of divine descent in the *Yo ga (yi ge) lha gyes can*,

39 These three versions are broadly parallel to three versions of the origin of the dynasty recounted in PT 1038 and in several post dynastic historiographical sources.

40 Karmay 1998 [1994]: 299–300.

41 Karmay 1998 [1994]: 300.

in which an intermediary convinces the lord of Dmu to descend to earth for the betterment of mankind, is cognate with the *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu* (PT 126), there is no straightforward parallel for the transfer of divine gifts to the lord of Dmu in the latter. Two possibilities present themselves. The first possibility is that such a transfer is made in the section of the text which is no longer extant. The text we have mostly concerns the desire of the envoys of Phywa to worship the *sku-bla* of Dmu, only one of their stated goals. This section may have been followed by a further section where the descent of the lord of Dmu to become the lord of men is discussed in equal detail. The other possibility is that the gifts which Dmu demands of the envoys of Phywa are cognate with the gifts he receives from his relatives in the *Yo ga (yi ge) lha gyes can*. The gifts which the lord of Dmu demands from the envoys, and which they seem to have come prepared with, are bamboo, a divine arrow, gold, a skin garment, grains, seeds, vegetables, roasted meat, milk, a divine sheep, a divine horse, a divine female yak, and a divine male yak. Notably absent are divine military technologies. The arrow and garment could parallel gifts of the father in the *Yo ga (yi ge) lha gyes can*. The predominance of animals and foodstuffs in the list of the *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu* perhaps indicates that these gifts are not enticements for the lord of Dmu to come to earth as a lord, but rather are the material requisites for performing the *sku-bla* cult. The divine animals (sheep, horse, female and male yak) parallel almost exactly the psychopomp horse, sheep, male yak, and dzo of the funeral rites.⁴² Together with Ishikawa's observation that the land of Dmu mirrors the land of the dead⁴³ this suggests that the *sku-bla* rites, related to coronation, may have also paralleled the imperial funeral rites.

3. The Manuscript

The manuscript is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France with the shelfmark PT 126. I have not consulted the manuscript in person, but have consulted the high-resolution colour scans of it, via the Artstor homepage. Subsequently high-resolution scans have also become available for free consultation at gallica.bnf.fr. The scroll contains two texts. The Buddhist sūtra *Hphrul-kyi byig śus phyi ma la bstan paḥi mdo* takes up the first 103 lines of the text. This text is written with a larger more formal hand. The *Envoys of Phywa to Dmu* takes up the final 64 lines of the scroll (ll.104–68) as it exists today. Both the beginning and end of the scroll are missing.

⁴² Orosz 2003: 26.

⁴³ Ishikawa 2000: 176–79.

There are two *svasti* symbols which divide the Envoys of Phywa to Dmu into two discreet sections. The first section covers lines 104–51. The second section begins in line 151 and continues to the end of the scroll (l.168). Both sections consist of dialogue. In the first section the interlocutors are named as the envoys of Phywa (*phywahi pho ña*), the lord of Dmu (*Dmu rje*), and in a short passage near the beginning there are also some water carriers (*chu chun*). The second section does not name the interlocutors as clearly.

The fact that both the first section and the second section look a bit like the beginnings of texts might incline one to believe that they are altogether separate texts. The first section begins with a ‘once upon a time’ formula and even gives the text a sort of title in the phrase *Dmu-dañ Phywa gñen-baḥi ḥtshé*. The second section seems like the beginning of a new text, in particular because it includes a letter opening formula (ll.151–52, *ža sñā-nas ... mchid gsol-pa*).⁴⁴ Nonetheless, the phraseology of the two sections of the text is very similar; in both parts a group of people discuss being allowed to see a god. The definitive reason that one has to analyze the first part and the second part as sections of the same text is because of parallel passages in the two sections.

ll.138–39

*de sku-bla myi mthar myi g.yo-baḥi lha yon-tsam ḥbul-du mchis-na /
lha žal mtho-ziñ phyag chud-pa tsam-du gci gnañ?*

Now we have come merely to offer a gift (to) the god, the unbridled unwavering *sku-bla*.

Grant that we see the face of the god and touch (?) his hands.

ll.164–65

*bdag-cag ñan-pa yang lha žal tsam mthoñ /
lha bkaḥ tsam ñan-ciñ mchis-na /
bkaḥ stsal-pa tsam-du ci gnañ?*

Even we vulgar fellows saw merely the face of the god,
and heard merely the voice of the god,
please grant an order.

The grammatical structure of the two passages is parallel. The envoys state a precondition which motivates their request, ending in *mchis-na*, and state their request, ending in *ci gnañ*. The request of the first passage ‘to see the face of the god’ has become the precondition of the second passage. This means that the envoys have seen the face of the god during the lapse in the dialogue (ll.150–51). This analysis is further confirmed by a grammatical change from *-du mchis* to *-ciñ mchis* in the

⁴⁴ See Takeuchi 1990: 183.

statement of the prerequisite of the request.

The two passages present a clear 'before' and 'after' scenario with respect to seeing the face of the god. It is therefore necessary that the second section be regarded as a continuation of the narrative of the first section. With it established that the two sections belong to one text it is generally not difficult to identify which passages in the second section are addressed by the envoys and which by the lord of Dmu.

4. Editorial Conventions

I use a modified version of the former Library of Congress transliteration system. I add various formatting to the transliterated text to facilitate comprehension of the text on its own without the aid of the translation. Word breaks are indicated, names capitalized, and sentence punctuation such as quotations marks, question and exclamation marks are added. These editorial interventions are uncommon in the editing of Tibetan texts, but are taken for granted in the editing of Greek or Latin texts, where they have proven their utility. Following another convention taken from the Classics, the notes are anchored to the original text itself and not the translation. In this way maximum aid is provided to the comprehension of the original text, and the translation is a stand-alone text free from interference that can be employed for those ignorant of Tibetan.

In his first study of this text Ishikawa divides the text into 16 sections, and provides a summary of each section.⁴⁵ I have followed these divisions in my text and translation. I adjust the notice of line breaks so that they do not interrupt words.

5. The Text

Opening

(104) \$ / / gnaḥ-daṅ-po / gḥe thog-ma / Dmu-daṅ Phywa gñen-baḥi
ḥtshe / Phywa-ḥi pho-ña Dmu-ḥi [tha]d-du mchis-paḥ [...] /

1 (II, 105–07)

(105) Dmu-ḥis bkaḥ stsal-pa /
“ñed-kyi Dmu yul ḥdi dag-na /
dgaḥ lha byed ni nam myi naṅs-la /
dro ñi ḥod-kyis (106) ni /
mun myi sros-paḥi sa yul ḥdi dag ni /

⁴⁵ Ishikawa 2000.

g.yaḥ mthaḥ ni gañs-kyis bskor /
 mthiñ mthaḥ ni dag-gyis (107) bskor-te /
 mtho-ste bya myi ldiñ-la /
 dmaḥ-ste byi myi zul baḥi gra gru ḥdi dag-na / /"

2 (II, 107–09)

chu chun [noñ] bu dag (108) sbron-du ḥoñs-paḥi mchid na-re /
 "pho-brañ khab sgo-na /
 bañ-ñe-buñ-ñe se-ru loñ-loñ /
 neḥu bun-bun-po /
 myi-cuñ po-ka (109) tsam-la /
 rta-cuñ lgo-ba tsam kha-cig gdaḥ-ḥo" skad-na / /

3 (II, 109–10)

"myi ni su-ḥi myi? /
 byon ni gañ-nas byon? /
 don no su-la (110) gñer? /
 drag-du rmed-pas /
 žib-du sprinś-śig!" / / / /

4 (II, 110–15)

pho-ñas lan btab-paḥ /
 "bdag-cag (111) ni Ḥphywa-ḥi ḥbañs /
 Phywa-ḥis bkaḥ stsald /
 "rje ni žu phud-nas /
 mgo nag ḥgreñ-la rje myed . (112) rje skos-la /
 rñog chags ḥdud-la khram thob-cig!" ces bkaḥ stsald-pa /
 ḥdebs-śiñ mchi-baḥi (113) śul ka-na / bab
 Dmu yul-du bab-ste /
 dgaḥ ni lha byed /
 dro ni gñen byed /
 yar ni lha mchod /
 mar ni [sri] (114) gnon-baḥi thad-kar bab-ste / /
 bdag-cag ñan-pa yañ lha-la ni yon ḥbul /
 Dmu rje-la ni bkod tsam (115) ḥbul-žin spyañ-ñar mchis / /-
 paḥi pho-ña lags". / / /

5. (II, 115–17)

Dmu rjes bkaḥ stsald /-paḥ / /
 (116) "myi khyod-cag-kyi bkaḥ mchid-la /
 g.yo-sgyus bsnan-paḥi śo-ge dag rab-du che-bas /
 śul nor-par byon-ba (117) ḥdra /
 nor tshabs dag rab-du che-bas /
 śnar-gi śul gañ lags-pa de-kho zuñ-la slar gśegs-śig!" / /

6 (II, 117–25)

pho-ñas (118) lan btab-paḥ / /
 “Rtsaṅ smad mdo-nas tshur mchis-na /
 śul yaṅ nor /-te / /
 ri roṅ ni stsub /
 chu rdzab (119) ni che /
 myi-daṅ mjal-pa-las /
 skra ni ḥkham-pa
 dmyig ni ser-ba /
 skad ni ḥdzer-ba /
 rka lag ni khyor-ba (120) cig-daṅ mjal-te /
 “su-ḥi myi?” źes bdag-cag-la ḥdri-ḥo /
 bdag-cag-kyis kyaṅ / draṅ-por smras-te /
 “Dmu-ḥi yul-du (121) Phywa-ḥi pho-ñar mchi.” źes bgyis-na
 /
 kho-ḥi mchid-nas /
 “ḥo-na khyod-cag nor-par ḥoṅs-te /
 yul ḥdi ni (122) srin-gi yul-gis / /
 Dmuḥi yul ni śar lho-ḥi tshams-na yin-bas /
 de-ltar / soṅ!” skad-nas śul (123) bstan /-te /
 da-ltar Dmuḥi yul ḥdab-du ḥphebs-na /
 myi-daṅ mjal-na /
 myi mgon-po-bas legs (124)
 skad mdaṅs ni ḥbrug skad-pas che-la sñan /
 dri-gsuṅ ni spos-kyi dri-bas gdaḥ-ḥo. /
 da rje-ḥi spyar-ñar sku-bla-la (125) yon ḥbul /
 Dmu rje-la bkod tsam ḥbul-źiṅ źal mthoṅ-bar ci gnaṅ?” / / /
 /

7 (II, 125–29)

Dmu rjes (126) bkaḥ stsald-pa /
 “ñed-kyi yul ḥdi dag-na /
 sa ḥtshams-kyi stag ḥphreṅ khri skugs dag-na /
 gles-pa stag-daṅ (127) gzig / dom-daṅ dred las bstsoḡs-pa
 maṅ-por mchis-na /
 de kun gcig-daṅ yaṅ ma phrad-na /
 khyed-cag gnam-nas ḥoṅs-na (128) ni /
 phur-baḥi ḥdab śog myed-la /
 sa-las ḥdzul-te ḥoṅs-na ni
 byi-ba ma yin-na /
 khyed-cag-gi tshig-la zol maṅ-bas (129) slar gśeḡs-śig!” / / /
 /

8. (II, 129–32)

pho-ñas lan btab-pa /

“bdag-cag ñan-pa-la sgyu-dañ zol ma mch[is] /

(130) Dmu rje-ñi stag phrañ gzig phrañ-na /

gles-pa stag gzig-dañ yañ mjal /

dom-dañ dred-dañ yañ mjal /

(131) la-la ni btsas phul. /

myi-la ni yon phul-nas /

bdag-cag ñan-pa-la śul bstan-nas /

Dmu rje-ñi spyā-ñar mchis-pa (132) lags” / / / /

9. (II, 132–35)

Dmu rjes bkañ stsal-pa / /

“khyed-cag-gi tshig-la yon zol yod-pas /

ñed (133) Dmu-ñi gcan-pa gles-pa lcags-kyi myi rta źub

rluñ ltar ni phyo-la /

glog ltar ni myur-ba /

lcags-kyi ri-boñ-la lcags-kyi (134) khra bkye-ste /

ste len-du len-ba dag kyañ yod-na /

de kun gcig-dañ yañ ma phrad-na /

khyod-cag-kyi tshig yañ brdzun-dañ zol mchis-par / (135)

slar gśegs-śig” / / / /

10 (II, 135–39)

pho-ñas lan btab-pa / /

“bdag-cag ñan-pa-la rdzun-dañ zol ma mchis /

lcags-kyi myi (136) rta źub

lcags-kyi khra bkye-ba

glog ltar myur-ba-dañ yañ mjal-te /

lcags-kyi thur-ma-la /

lcags-kyi ri-boñ gtur-nas bsreg (137) śa bgyid-pa-dañ yañ mjal

/

mdzo-mo dkar-mo źig bśas-te /

mźug-ma ma bcad-pa-dañ yañ mjal-nas /

de kun-la yañ (138) Phywañi bkañ-rtags-dañ skyes rañs phul-

te /

rta / rgal-nas mchis-na /

da sku-bla myi mthur myi g.yo-bañi lha yon tsam ħbul-du

(139) mchis-na /

lha źal tsam mtho-źiñ phyag chud-pa tsam-du gci gñañ?” / /

/ /

11 (II, 139–50)

Dmu rjes bkañ stsal-pa / /

(140) "ho-na Phywa-ḥi pho-ña ñed-kyi sku-bla-la mchod gsol-
 du ḥoñs-na /
 mchod-paḥi rkyen ci yod? /
 Hjañ smyug mchod-la (141) /
 thañ-kar yug-gyis bsgron-ba lha mdaḥ yod-dam myed? /
 lha mdaḥ-ḥi rkyen Rgya dar ris phran yug-kyis (142) btags-pa
 yod-dam myed? /
 gser kha ma blañs-pa yod-dam myed? /
 g.yu-ḥi slag cen yod-dam myed? /
 sñon-mo (143) ḥbru bdun-la khal dgu yod-dam myed? /
 sñon-mo ḥdiñ diñ ḥbras-kyi khu khal dgu yod-dam myed? /
 mthud goñ (144) goñ-mo tsam mchis-saṃ ma mchis? /
 mar-gi sreg śa sreg-pa tsam mchis-sam ma mchis? /
 ^o-maḥi (145) gdar bre-kha tsam mchis-sam mchis? /
 lha lug ño mar mchis-sam mchis? /
 lha rta sñan kar mchis-sam (146) ma mchis? /
 lha ḥbri zal mo mchis-sam ma mchis? /
 lha g.yag śam-po mchis-sam ma mchis? /
 (147) Dmu rje-la yañ skyes rañs rdzogs-par mchis-sam? /
 Dmu blon-la yañ skyes rañs rdzogs-par mchis-na /
 (148) ḥdron-po dag kyañ dguñ mthaḥ skor skor ni /
 rgod-po mthaḥ zags-la /
 dog mthaḥ skor bskor ni mtshal-ba (149) thil rdol /
 myi ni chad rta ni ñal-na yañ /
 ra-maḥi ḥdab tsam-du gdab-du gñañ /
 sku-bla-la yañ yon ḥbul-du (150) gñañ-ño" / / /

12 (II, 150–51)

žu-ba nam ḥga sñan-du žus-te /
 bkaḥ gñan-pos luñ-du stsal-te gñañ-ba (151) /
 gtañ-rag spyi-bo gtsug-gyis ḥtshal-žiñ mchis-so / / /

13 (II, 151–59)

\$ / / sku-gñen phyogs-kyi (152) ža sña-nas / Mañ-žam ñid-kyis
 mchid gsol-pa / /
 "bdag-cag ñan-pa lta-śig mchis-pa /
 bus-ba ñan-pa (153) ḥga žig rkañ riñs-te skyes-na /
 khyed-kyi žam-ḥbriñ ḥdab-du /
 riñ-baḥi ni srab-mdaḥ ḥdzin-pa-ḥam /
 thuñ-baḥi (154) baḥi ni yob-cen-gi rten tsam-ḥam /
 mtshan-mo ni g.yañ-mo-ḥi mthaḥ skyoñ-ba tsam-du ḥbul-bar
 bsamñs-te (155) /
 rko-loñ nam ḥga tsam žus-na / yañ / rko-loñ-du ma brtsis-te
 /

bkaḥ chad-kyis ma bkum /
 (156) gśegs-su gnañ-ba glo-ba dgaḥ / /
 de-ḥi rjes-la myi-dañ ḥdra-baḥi gdan tshab-ḥam? /
 gsol-du ruñ-baḥi (157) bśos skyems ni ci yañ ma ḥbyor lags-
 na yañ /
 byeḥu tshañ-du rgyal gśegs-pa-dañ mtshuñs-te /
 gdugs (158) tshod ma khoñs-paḥi thog-du /
 grañ-mo źal-bu re re źig sku-la dmyigs-śiñ mchis-na /
 chuñs-kyis (159) bkaḥ myi ḥbab / bźes-pa tsam-du ci gnañ?"
 / / / /

14 (II, 159–62)

"bdag-cag ñan-pa mchis-pa (160) yañ deñ-gi gdugs-la /
 ḥdi ḥdra-baḥi bkaḥ luñ gñan-po g.yar-du stsal-pa yañ /
 g.yar tshod ma (161) mchis / /
 bdag-cag-kyi yab-khu dag kyañ ma rdzogs / /
 yab-khu dag-dañ bkaḥ gros bgyis-la (162)
 de-nas khyed-cag-la bkaḥ luñ dag sbyin gis" / / / /

15 (II, 162–65)

sku gñen ḥphrul-gi źa śna-nas / (163)

"deñ-gi gdugs-la gor-bu-ḥi źabs tshogs-la ma gźigs-te gdan
 gśegs-su gnañ-ba glo-ba (164) dgaḥ /
 bdag-cag ñan-pa yañ lha źal tsam mthoñ /
 lha bkaḥ tsam ñan-ciñ mchis-na /
 bkaḥ (165) stsal-pa tsam-du ci gnañ" / / / /

16 (II, 165–68)

"de lags khyed ḥo-skol mchis-pa yañ /
 phu ni stoñ sde /
 (166) mdaḥ ni rgya sde /
 rje gcig-gi ḥbañs-la
 yul cig-gi ni myi /
 sa cig-gi ḥbras /
 ri cig-gi (167) rdo /
 khyed ḥo-skol-la dbyar myed-pas /
 khyed-kyis [---b]-nas kyañ ceḥu-yag-dañ log-men dag ltos! /
 ruñ-źiñ (168) śis-par gyur-na /
 bdag-cag [---] bkaḥ-gros dag [b]gyis-la /
 khyed-la bkaḥ-luñ dag sbyin-gis /"

6. Apparatus

O: Old Tibetan Documents Online (accessed June 2007)

I: Ishikawa (2001)

C: Chu Junjie (1990)

B: Bellezza (2005)

D: Drikung (2011)

104 OIC: gže, D: gži

105 OCD: dag na /, I: dag na

105 OID: dgaḥ lha, C: lha

106 gañs, OIC: g.yaḥ, D: g.yaḥ

106 dag-gyis: Ishikawa has a footnote pointing out that Yamaguchi (1983: 171, 194) reads rog gyis.

107 OID: mtho ste, C: mthoñ ste

107 OIC: byi, D: byeḥu

107: OD: zul baḥi, IC: ḥzul baḥi

107: OID: noñ bu, C: nor bu

108 OID: sgo na, C: sgro na

108 OID: loñ loñ, C: loñ lo

108 OID: myi cuñ po, C: myi chuñ po

109 OID: rta cuñ, C: rta chuñ

110 OID: gñer /, C: gñer

110 OD: rmed pas, IC: smed pas

110 OID: sprinḥ śig, C: sprinḥ [i]b

110 OI: lan btab paḥ, C: lan bdab paḥ, D: lan btab pa

112 ID: rñog chags ḥdud, O: rñog chags dud, C: rjog chag ḥdud

112 OID: bkaḥ stsald pa, C: bkaḥ stsald ba

113 O: lha byed / dro, I: lha byed da re, C: lha byed bdro, D: lha byed / ḥdre

113 OC: sri, I: dri, D: omit

116 OD: myi khyod cag, IC: myi khyed cag (Either *khyod cag* or *khyed cag* are defensible readings. The second stroke of the o vowel is quite short and may be a result of ink filling a natural crevice in the paper. Note however that the word *khyod cag* does appear unambiguously at lines 121 and 134.)

116 OD: śo ge dag, CI: śo ge dañ

116 śul nor par byon ba, OD: śul ner bar byon ba, I: śul noñ par byon, C: omit

117 OI: nor tshabs, C: nor chabs, D: nor tshab

117 gśegs (the first g- is written below the line.)

119 OID: ḥkham pa, C: ḥkham pa dañ

119 OC: rka lag, ID: rkañ lag (Either reading is defensible.)

119 OD: khyor ba, IC: khyor ba /

- 121 OD: kho ʰi mchid, IC: kho ʰo mchid
 122 OID: yin bas, C: yin baḥ
 123 OI: myi dañ mjal na /, C: omit
 127 gnam-nas (nas is written below the line.)
 127 OCD: gnam nas, I: gnam nañ
 128 OID: ḥdzul te, C: ḥdzul te /
 132 OID: yod pas /, C: yod bas /
 133 OID: lcags kyi ri boñ, C: lcags kyi ri bo
 134 OD: khyod cag, IC: khyed cag
 134–35 ID: zol mchis par / slar, O: zol mchis pas / slar, C: zol mchis
 par / gir
 135 O śig / / / /, IC: śig //, D: śig
 136 OID: rta źub, C: da źub
 138 OID: phywaḥi, C: phywa ʰi
 138 OD: ḥbul du, IC: ḥbul du /
 139 OD: chud pa tsam, I: mchod pa tsam, C: bchud ba tsam
 139 IC: du gci gnañ, OD: du ci gnañ
 139 OICB: stsal-paḥ, D: stsal-pā
 141 OICD: bsgron ba, B: bsgron pa
 141 the first lha mdaḥ is written below the line
 141 the syllable ri is crossed out between rkyaen and Rgya
 142 OICD: btags pa, B: btag pa
 143 OID: khal dgu, C: khal dñu
 143 OCD: ḥdiñ diñ, I: ḥdiñ ḥdiñ
 144 OICD: mar gi, B: mar gyi
 145 OID: bre kha tsam mchis sam mchis /, C: omit mchis sam mchis,
 B: mchis sam ma mchis
 145 OIC: lha lug ño mar mchis sam mchis, B: mchis sam ma mchis, D:
 lha lug ño mar mchis sam ma mchis
 145 OICD: sñan kar, B: sñan kar
 146 The ma of the first (?) ma mchis is written below the line
 146 OCD: zal mo mchis sam ma mchis, I: zal mo mchos sam ma
 mchis, B: zal mo mchis sam mchis
 147 OCD: skyes rañs, C: skyes rasañ (an obvious typo)
 148 OID: rgod po mthaḥ zags la /, C: omit mthaḥ
 150 OD: źu ba rnam ḥga, I: źu ba rnam bag, C: ñu ba rnam bag
 150 O: luñ du, ICD: luñ ñu.
 152 mchid, OICD: mchod. The reason why people read o, is because
 of a crease in the paper.
 153 I: ḥga źig rkañ, C: ḥga źig rgañ, O: ḥga[h] źig rkañ, D: ḥgaḥ źig
 rkañ
 153 OID: ḥdab du, C: bdab du
 153–54 OIC baḥi baḥi, D: baḥi
 154 OID tsam ḥam, D: tsam mam

- 154 OD: bsam̄s, I: bsams, C: bas
 155 rko loñ, I: rko -- rnam, O: rko [--] [rnam?], C: rko [ba] rnam, D: rko rnam. Indeed, the *loñ* is difficult to read. However, the *na-ro* is quite clear and even the *la* and *ña* can be seen. One can compare this writing of *rko loñ* with the writing of the same word a few words later.
 155 IC: ḥga tsam źus na /, O: ḥga[h] tsam źus na /, D ḥgaḥ tsam źus na
 155 OD: bkum, IC: bgum
 156 OID: gśegs su gñañ, C: [g]śe las gñañ
 157 OID: skyems, C: skyesm (C is orthographically correct, but the reading of OI is clearly what is intended.)
 157 OD: gdugs, IC: gdubs,
 159 IC: gci gnam, OD: ci gñañ
 159 OID: mchis, C: mchis /
 161 OID: yab khu dag dañ bkaḥ gros, C: yab khu dag kaḥ gros
 163 OD: gdugs la, IC: gsugs la,
 163 OD: tshegs la ma gzig, IC: tshegs las gzig
 165 OIC de lags khyed, D: de lags / khyed
 165 OD: ḥo skol mchis, IC: ḥo skol ma mchis
 167 OID: log men dag ltos, C: log men d[]śa ltos
 C ends at line 167
 168 OIC: gyur na /, D: gyur na
 168 O: [b]gyis la, I: ?gyis la, D: gyis la
 168 OD: sbyin̄ gis /, I: sbyin̄ gis //

7. Translation

Opening (II, 104)

The first long ago, the beginning of before last (*gže*), at the time of the befriending of Dmu and Phywa, the messenger of Phywa came before Dmu.

1 (II, 105–07)

(105) Dmu decreed:

“In these our lands of Dmu,
 the god makes joy; dawn does not break (*nañs*).
 These lands are a place where (106)
 the sunlight [makes] warmth;
 night does not fall.
 The slate end is encircled by glaciers.
 The end of the depths is perfectly (*dag gyis*) encircled.
 (107) In these *gra gru*, above, the birds do not fly about (*ldiñ*)
 and, below, the mice do not burrow”.

2 (II, 107–09)

The servants, water carriers, came to announce, saying:

“At the palace door
The small yellow ripe crops ripple,
The small meadows swirl.
There are some small men, tall as a midriff,
and some small horses, tall as goas (*lgo-ba*)”.

3 (II, 109–10)

[Dmu decreed]:

“As for these men, whose men are they?
As for their coming, whence do they come?
As for their goal (*don*), on whose behalf are they acting (*gñer*)?
I question strictly, convey detailedly!”

4. (II, 110–15)

The messengers answered:

“We are the subjects of Phywa.
Phywa decrees:
“Request of the ruler, after having met him.
The upright black headed (i.e men) have no lord; appoint a
lord [for them]!
For the maned (*rnog chag*) and bent (i.e. animals) draw up a
ledger!”
[We] fell in the path which sows (*hdebs*) and goes (*mchi*);
[we] fell to the land of Dmu.
Where the god makes joy,
friendship [makes] warmth,
above the gods are worshiped,
below the demons conquered,
to your presence (*thad-kar*) [we] fell.
We vulgar fellows,
come before [you] merely offering an oblation to the god
and offering governance to the lord of Dmu, are messengers”.

5. (II, 115–17)

The lord of Dmu decrees:

“As for this speech of you men,
because [your] falsehoods which are heaped with deceits are
very great,
it appears [you] have arrived mistaking (*noñ*) the way.
Because [your] mistake (*nor*) is very great,
whichever was [your] previous path, take that, and go back!”

6 (II, 117–25)

The messengers reply,

“When we came thither from Rtsañ-smad-mdo
we lost the way.

The mountains and valleys are rugged.

The rivers and marshes are vast.

We met with a man, but

one [whose] hair is brown

[whose] eyes are yellow

[whose] voice is husky

[whose] legs and arms are bent we met with.

[He] asked us “Whose men are you?”

We answered him straight;

when [we] said “[we] go as messengers of Phywa to Dmu”,

He said: “In that case you have come mistakenly;

this [is] the land of Srin, but

since the land of Dmu is at the South East border

go that way!”. Having said this, he showed us the path.

When [we] came in that way to the vicinity of Dmu,

when we met a man,

he is more noble than a lord of men,

we heard the melody of his voice, greater than a dragon’s
voice (thunder),

his fragrance is [better] than the smell of incense.

Now, will you grant that we give an oblation to the *sku-bla*

in the presence of the lord,

offer an appointment to the lord of Dmu and regard his face?”

7. (II, 125–29)

Dmu decrees:

“In these lands of ours

in the *skugs* defiles of ten thousand tigers

the are many including *gles-pa* tigers and leopards, bears and
red bears.

If [you] have not met with one of them all

although you had come from the heavens

[you] have no wings of flight

although [you] had come scurrying across the earth

[you] are not mice.

Since there are many lies in your words, go back!”

8. (II, 129–32)

The messengers answer:

“We vulgar fellows have no deceit or lies.
 On the lord of Dmu’s tiger defile, on the leopard trail
 we met with the *gles-pa* tigers and leopards;
 we met with the bears and red bears.
 To the mountain passes we offered cairns.
 To men we offered presents,
 and [they] showed us vulgar fellows the way,
 and we arrived in the presence of the lord of Dmu”.

9. (II, 132–35) Dmu decrees:

“In your words there are still lies.
 The *gles-pa* scouts of our Dmu, the armored horsemen of iron,
 bound like the wind
 as fast as lightning.
 Falcons of iron set on hares of iron.
 There are also those carrying axes.
 If you have not met one of all these
 since your words are deceit and lies
 go back!”

10 (II, 135–39)

The messengers reply:

“We vulgar fellows have no deceit or lies.
 [We] have met with the armored horsemen of iron,
 the pouncing (*bkye*) falcons of iron,
 [both] as fast as lightning.
 We met with someone preparing roasted meat, who had
 skewered an iron hare upon an iron skewer.
 We met with someone who had slaughtered a white dzo, and
 had not cut the tail.
 To all of them [we] presented the seal of Phywa and perfect
 presents.
 Crossing over [on] horse, [we] came.
 Now we have come merely to offer a gift [to] the god, the
 unbridled unwavering *sku-bla*.
 Grant that we see the face of the god and touch (?) his hands”.

11 (II, 139–50)

The lord of Dmu decrees:

“Well, if you messengers of Phywa have come to offer an
 oblation to our *sku-bla*
 what do you have as an oblation?
 Do [you] offer Hjañ (Nanzhao 南詔) bamboo;
 do [you] have or not have a divine arrow fletched with

lammergeier feathers?
 As divine arrow, do you have or not one fastened with fabric
 of various Chinese silk designs?
 Do you have or not have unwrought gold?
 Do you have or not have a great garment of turquoise?
 Do you have or not nine loads of (*la*) seven greens and grains?
 Do you have or not nine loads of greens and *hdiñ diñ* rice?
 Is there or not a ball of *mthud*, the size of a grouse?
 Is there or not a buttered pheasant, the size of roasted meat?
 Is there or not *gdar* of milk, in the amount of one *bre-kha*?
 Is there or not the divine red-faced sheep?
 Is there or not the divine white eared horse?
 Is there or not the divine speckled dri?
 Is there or not the divine white (?) yak?
 Are there perfectly sufficient presents for the lord of Dmu?
 If there are perfectly sufficient presents for the ministers of
 Dmu
 [You, my] guests,
 circling at the edge of the heavens,
 the vulture drops (to) the edge;
 circling at the edge of the earth;
 vermilion spreads (across) the base.
 [Your] men are tired; [your] horses are tired.
 I grant that you draw near to around the side of the enclosure
 I grant that you offer an oblation to the *sku-bla*".

12 (II, 150–51)

[The messengers] offered their various petitions to be heard; with an awesome edict [Dmu] granted their petition, and they offered thanksgiving with the crowns of their heads and approached.

13 (II, 151–59)

To the presence of the side of the relatives Mañ-žam offered this discourse.

"Regarding we vulgar fellows, [we] have come.
 If some bad boys are born with long legs
 in the retinue of your servants
 they think "shall [we] take the reigns which are long, or
 shall [they] merely the support of the stirrup which is short, or
 shall he be offered as guardian of the edge of sheep at night?"
 if [we] offered any annoyance
 [you] did not count it as annoyance
 the order was not executed
 we are happy that you have deigned to come.

After that, will you be a substitute place for those similar to men?

Even though we were unable to procure [for you] any food and drink suitable to offer

Equal to a king come to a small bird's nest

in addition to not being able to fill the noon meal

each cold cup watches over [your] body

do not hand down a command because of something small please deign merely to accept [these gifts]".

14 (II, 159–62)

[Dmu says]:

"We vulgar fellows also at noon today

although this edict has been granted as a loan

there are no terms for the loan

Our paternal relatives have not yet assembled

after having consulted with the paternal relatives

[I] will grant you the commands".

15 (II. 162–65)

The sacred relatives say:

"Today at noon without regarding the weary legs of the cushion,

you deigned to go to the seat [we] were happy.

Even we vulgar fellows saw merely the face of the god,

and heard merely the voice of the god,

please grant an order".

16 (II 165–68)

[The response of Dmu.]

"You are we.

Above a myriarchy

Below, a hecatontarchy (reading *brgya* for *rgya*)

As subjects of the one ruler

men of one land

grain of one earth

stone of one mountain

you are not distinguished from us

After you have [---], look to the *ceḥu-yag* divination and the *log-men* divination.

If the outcome is appropriate and auspicious

we will deliberate

and grant you an order".

8. Commentary

104 gže: Bsam Gtan defines *gže-niñ* as 'the year before last'.⁴⁶ Since *na-niñ* is 'last year', *niñ* must mean 'year' and *gže* must mean 'before last'.

105–106 dro ñi ḥod-kyis ni / mun myi sros-paḥi sa yul ḥdi dag ni: The overall syntax suggests a translation "these lands are a place where hot sunlight does not warm the darkness", taking *ḥod* 'light' as the ergative agent of the transitive verb *sros* 'heat' whose patient is *mun* 'darkness'. Ishikawa translates this phrase along these lines as "暖かい日のために、日が暮れないところ [a place where because of the hot sun night does not fall]".⁴⁷ However, because adjectives follow their heads in Tibetan it is not possible to translate *dro ñi ḥod* as 'hot sunlight', which would be *ñi ḥod dro*.

The parallelism of the structure and the form of its repetition in the mouths of the envoys (ll.113–14) leads me to understand the passage as if it said *dgaḥ lhas byed ni nam myi nañs-la / dro ñi ḥod-kyis byed ni / mun myi sros-pa*, i.e. moving *lha* from the absolutive to the ergative and supplying a verb for *ḥod*. The parallel of *dgaḥ lha byed ni* (l.105) to *dro ñi ḥod-kyis ni* permits the conjecture that *lha* should be treated as though it were *lhas*. On the other hand, the parallel of *dro ñi ḥod-kyis ni* (l.105–06) to *dro ni gñen byed* (l.113) allows one to supply *byed* in *dro ñi ḥod-kyis ni* (l.105–06) amending to *dro ñi ḥod-kyis byed ni*.

There is a chiasmus formed by the phrase *yul ḥdi dag* 'these lands' and the two weather patterns. This figure can unfortunately not be captured in English. The wider meaning of this odd weather is discussed above.

106 gañs: Previous editors have read *g.ya*. Ishikawa translates this word as 岩山 'rocky mountain'⁴⁸ and Chu Junjie as 岩石 'boulder'⁴⁹. Both appear to understand *g.ya* as *g.yaḥ* 'slate'. That *gañs* is the correct reading can be confirmed by examining the way the 'ñs' is written in the word *hoñs* (e.g. l. 108).

107 gra gru: Ishikawa understands the quotation as ending with *myi zul ba*. he write: "gra gru を sgra 「音声」の反復表現とすれば、gra gru 'di na は「うんぬんしていた時」と解せず。[If *gra gru* is a reduplicated expression for *sgra* 'sound' *gra gru ḥdi na* can be understood as

⁴⁶ Bsam Gtan 1979.

⁴⁷ Ishikawa 2001: 151.

⁴⁸ Ishikawa 2001: 151.

⁴⁹ Chu Junjie 1990: 29.

‘when saying this and that’]’.⁵⁰ However, quotations generally ends with the converb *žes* or the terminative of the verbal noun,⁵¹ not the genitive as occurs here. In addition, the parallel ending in *ħdi dag-na* of the opening and closing line of the lord of Dmu’s speech is clearly an intentional poetic device.

Nag dbaň tshul khirms defines *gra-gru* as “*rgya khyon-gyi miñ-ste* [expanse]” and offers an enigmatic quotation from the *Rgya bod yig tshañ*; ⁵² citing the same passage Drikung defines *gra-gru* as “*sa-chañm yul-gru* [place, district]” ⁵³. The phrase *gra-gru* also occurs in PT 1052 (recto, l. 137), in a context which is hard to make sense of. The parallelism of the structure *Dmu yul ħdi dag-na* (l.1–5) ... *gra-gru ħdi dag-na* (l.107) argues in favour of *gra-gru* meaning something akin to *yul* ‘land’. I am tempted to connect it to the word *grwa|gru* ‘corner’.

107 chu chun noñ bu: PT 1068 has an analogous tale in which the hero, Lheħu btsan pa first meets with the *chab chun* ‘water carrier’ of Bya-za-thin-tsun. The water carrier then acts as go-between negotiating Lheħu btsan pa’s entrance to the palace (ll.5–13). I leave *noñ-bu* untranslated.

107 dmaħ-ste byi: This explicit association between ‘rats’ and the depths may provide an etymology for the pronoun *ma-byi* ‘the thing down there’ (e.g. *Rama A*, IOL Tib J 0737/1, l. 35). In classical Tibetan this becomes *ma-gi*. This explanation may appear weak since it would not account for *ya-byi* ‘thing up there’. However, one should note the variation in IOL Tib J 0738 between *ya byi* (folio 3, verso, l. 37) and *ya bya* (folio 3, verso, l. 91). One is entitled to speculate that an original opposition between *ya-bya* ‘bird above’ and *ma-byi* ‘rat below’ became grammaticalized as *ya-byi* and *ma-byi* and through subsequent sound change then *ya-gi* and *ma-gi*.⁵⁴

108 bañ-ñe-buñ-ñe se-ru loñ-loñ / neħu bun-bun-po /: The key to understanding this phrase is the parallel construction. Both *se-ru* and *neħu* are diminutives. This parallel ensures that what is before these two words is parallel and what is after these two words is also parallel. Thus, *bañ-ñe-buñ-ñe se-ru* is parallel to *neħu* and *loñ-loñ* is parallel to *bun-bun-po*.

⁵⁰ Ishikawa 2001: 151, 156, n. 3.

⁵¹ See Schwieger 2006: 193–201.

⁵² Nag dbaň tshul khirms 1997.

⁵³ Drikung 2011.

⁵⁴ On the change of -b- to -g- between vowel see Hill 2011.

Although the dictionary of such expressions⁵⁵ does not include it, *bañ ñe buñ ñe* is an expressive reduplicated phrase.⁵⁶ The first syllable in such constructions is usually the root. A search of the dictionaries for *bañ* yields 'run'⁵⁷ and *bañ phyin* which Nag dbaň tshul krhims gives as 'messenger'.⁵⁸ One might suggest for *bañ ñe buñ ñe* the meaning 'hurriedly like a messenger'. Chu Junjie translates "馬羽風起雲湧 [horse-feathers (?) surging]".⁵⁹ Ishikawa prudently leaves the latter part of line 108 and the early part of line 109 untranslated.

Keeping in mind that *bañ-ñe-buñ-ñe se-ru* must be somehow parallel to *nehu* 'little meadow', leads one to identify *bañ ñe buñ ñe* with *phañ ñi phuñ ñi* which Zhang defines as "1) *śiñ hbras lo tog sogs legs par smin pañi rnam pa/ ... 2) lañ liñ ñam/ hbar hbur du g.yo tshul/* [1) well-ripened fruit, crops etc. ... 2) drifting, sinuous, swinging or uneven motion]".⁶⁰ I employ the translation 'ripe crops'.

The word *se-ru* would then need to modify the noun 'ripe crops'. Zhang gives *se-ru* as an archaic word for 'yellow',⁶¹ which one could also arrive at by removing the diminutive suffix *-u* to yield *ser* 'yellow'. In contrast, Chu Junjie offers the translation "好似犀牛抖擻, 青草拂动 [shaking like a rhinoceros, blowing through the grass]",⁶² apparently understanding *se ru* as *bse ru* 'rhinoceros'.

The parallel between *loñ-loñ* and *bun-bun-po* is more straightforward. Both are reduplicated adjectives meaning respectively 'billowing' and 'swirling', i.e. with obviously parallel meanings.

Drikung translates 'there is a yellowish man running to and from all in a hurry'.⁶³

108–109 myi-cuñ po-ka tsam-la / rta cuñ lgo-ba tsam kha-cig gdaḥ-ḥo » skad-na / /:

Chu Junjie translates the passage "有幾個木樁般大的小人, 黃羊般大的小馬跑過來啦! [There come several small men about the size of wooden peg and the small horse about the size of zeren!]"⁶⁴ Drikung translates 'he comes up only to the chest of a man equal to him in age,

⁵⁵ Mgon po dbaň rgyal 2004.

⁵⁶ Uray 1955: esp. 233–35; Zhang Liansheng 1985.

⁵⁷ See for example Jäschke 1881.

⁵⁸ Nag dbaň tshul krhims 1997: 528.

⁵⁹ Chu Junjie 1990: 29.

⁶⁰ Zhang Yisun 1985.

⁶¹ Zhang Yisun 1985.

⁶² Chu Junjie 1990: 29.

⁶³ Drikung 2011: 39.

⁶⁴ Chu Junjie 1990: 29.

and he is riding a small horse the size of a gazelle'.⁶⁵ Ishikawa prudently leaves the passage untranslated.

I was for a long time tempted to segment *myi cun-po ka tsam-la*, seeing *ka* as the word *kha* 'mouth'. One reason for this is the similarity with *myiḥu chuñ ka ma che śig! rteḥu cuñ kha ma drag* 'Little man don't be a big mouth, little colts don't have fierce mouths' in the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287, l. 030); similar phrases also occur in divination texts. In addition, the chiasmus formed by *ka tsam* and *tsam kha* appears intentional. However, the parallelism with *rta-cuñ lgo-ba tsam* makes clear that *myi-cuñ po-ka tsam* is the correct segmentation. Drikung's identification of *po-ka* with *pho-kha* 'stomach, chest'⁶⁶ is accurate and his translation conveys the intended meaning well.

The dictionaries lack a word *lgo-ba*. In Old Tibetan texts it clearly refers to a part of a yak, e.g. *da g.yag śa ni lhu ru gśogs-śig g.yag lgo ni rasu dros-śig* [Now, cut off in slices the yak meat; cut in *ras* the yak *lgo*!]" (IOL Tib J 731 recto, l. 116), "*phyi mdaḥ dbaṅ-pa ṅ g.yon lbags-gyi rtsib-maḥi lgo-pa-daṅ khrag phyed-daṅ* [As for the distribution for the latter arrows, they receive the *lgo-pa* of the ribs of the skin on the right, half the blood, ...]" (IOL Tib J 1072, ll. 179–80). This meaning does not seem relevant here.

Chu Junjie identifies *lgo-ba* with the 黃羊 *zeren* (*procapra gutturosa*)⁶⁷ and Drikung identifies *lgo-ba* with *rgo-ba* 'goa (*procapra picticaudata*)'.⁶⁸

108 khab: A word for 'house', which appears to be used typically in the context of marriage. Compare: *khyod-kyi bo-mo yañ yid-daṅ ḥṥhad-pa žig-pas // khab-du bžes-su gnañ-ño* [Your daughter is pleasing, I consent to take her home.] (PT 981, Rama E, ll. 49–40), *Kha-gan-gyi khab-du // Mug-lden-ha-rod-par-gyi bu-mo //* [The daughter of Mug-lden-ha-rod-par to the house of the Qayan] (IOL Tib J 1368, *Annals of Ḥaža principality*, l. 49), *Kim-šhñ kong-co // btsan-poḥi khab-du blaṅs-nas* [Princess Jincheng was taken to the home of the emperor] (Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription of 821–822, East face, l. 28).

109 no: The context suggests that *no* should be understood as a mistake for *ni*. Certainly, *ni* would be expected here whereas *no* would have no apparent significance. Unfortunately, the text quite clearly has *no*.

⁶⁵ Drikung 2011: 39.

⁶⁶ Drikung 2011: 38, n. 36.

⁶⁷ Chu Junjie 1990: 29.

⁶⁸ Drikung 2011: 34.

111 rje ni źu phud-nas: Ishikawa offers the translation “王をあえてお願いした後 [after being able to meet the king, to request of him.]”⁶⁹ and Chu Junjie has “向大王献上礼物后 [After presenting a gift to the King]”.⁷⁰ For *źu* ‘to ask, request’ there is no difficulty. However, the second word *phud* is difficult to interpret. Nag dbań tshul khirms writes that it is “*chań-gi min-ste/ ji skad-dul gser skyems gtsań-ma phud-kyi mchod-pa ħdi* [a word for barely beer; thus it is said ‘this offering of *phud*, a pure libation]”.⁷¹ Deriving the noun from the verb *ħphud* ‘spare, save, set aside’, Jäschke offers “a thing set apart, used particularly of the first-fruits of the field, as a meat- or drink-offering, in various applications”.⁷² Although contextually it may make sense for the envoys to offer the lord of Dmu a libation or first fruits, here *phud* is a verb, so these definitions are not satisfactory. I do not have a solution to propose.

111 mgo-nag: The phrase *mgo-nag* as an epithet for human beings occurs in several Old Tibetan texts, usually tied directly or indirectly to the descent of a god to rule over men, cf. *Old Tibetan Annals* (IOL Tib J 0750, l. 306 [746–747]), *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287, ll. 62, 330, 343, and 448), *Prayers of the foundation of the De ga g.yu tshal monastery* (PT 16, ll. 33v3, 34v1 and IOL Tib J 0751, ll. 35v2), *The Decline of the Good Age* (IOL Tib J 733, l. 47), *Žol* inscription (South, l. 13, East, l. 14).⁷³

112 khram: Ishikawa writes “人間を管理する rje 「王」に対応する家畜を管理するものとして khram 「帳簿」. Khram は古代において木簡帳簿を指する場合もあった. *Khram* (register) is something which rules cattle like a *rje* (king) rules men. There were also situations in the ancient period where *khram* indicates wood slip register”.⁷⁴ There is however no need to see in this context a meaning other than ‘wood slip register’. By keeping track of yaks, a wood slip register does to them what a king does to men.

113 dro ni gñen byed: Ishikawa translates this phrase “今や婚姻をむすび [to contract a marriage now]”.⁷⁵ I do not see how *dro* can mean ‘now’. My objections to *gñen* as ‘marriage’ are discussed above. The line is parallel to the line *dro űi ħod-kyis* (ll.105–106), which puts *gñen*

⁶⁹ Ishikawa 2001: 151.

⁷⁰ Ishikawa 1990: 26.

⁷¹ Nag dbań tshul khirms 1997.

⁷² Jäschke 1881.

⁷³ For discussion of these passages consult Hill 2013.

⁷⁴ Ishikawa 2001: 151, 156, n. 4.

⁷⁵ Ishikawa 2001: 151.

‘friendship’ parallel to *ñi-ḥod* ‘sun light’. The possibility is worth considering that *gñen* is simply a mistake for *gñi* ‘sun’. However, the correct solution is probably more ingenious and respects the text as it is.

113 sri: Ishikawa reads this word as (*h*)*dri* which he amends to (*h*)*dre* ‘demon’.⁷⁶ This amendment is not necessary if the text is read *sri* ‘demon’.

115 spyān ṅar: For *spyān sṅar*.

114 bkod: The noun *bkod* is derived from the past stem of the verb *ḥgod*. Because the messengers have said they are looking for a lord of men, and the verb *ḥgod* can mean ‘rule, govern’,⁷⁷ I take this noun as ‘governance’; an etymological relationship with the verb *sko* ‘appoint’ (l.112) is not unlikely. Ishikawa instead suggests that since the main meaning of *ḥgod* is ‘put’ “この場合は置くべき物、すなわち「貢ぎ物」を意味するかと思われる [in this situation it is an object to be given, thus one can suppose it means ‘tribute’]”.⁷⁸

116 śo-ge: Ishikawa understands *śo-ge* as from *śog* ‘paper’ and compares both its meaning and morphology to *yi-ge* ‘letter’ from *yig* ‘id.’ His suggestion that “チャの使者はムへの謁見が許されていないので、彼らはムの臣下を介して、文書で問答したのであろう [because the messengers of Phywa have not received an audience with Dmu perhaps the questions and answers are being done in paper through one of Dmu’s subjects]”⁷⁹ is implausible. Instead, *śo-ge* should be seen as a variant of *śo-be* ‘falsehood’. For the alternation of *-b-* and *-g-* compare *ri-boṅ* and *ri-goṅ* ‘hare’.⁸⁰ Chu Junjie’s translation “你們這些人所說的話中有許多詭詐成份 [there are many deceits in these words you speak]”⁸¹ may tacitly accept this solution; Drikung explicitly identifies *śo-ge* with *śo-pe*, translating ‘lies’.⁸²

117 sṅar-gi śul gaṅ lags-pa de-kho zuṅ-la. I understand this as a relative correlative construction, with *gaṅ* as the relative and *de-kho* as the correlative. Ishikawa translates this passage as “前の道程がどうでござ

⁷⁶ Ishikawa 2001: 151, 156, n. 5.

⁷⁷ Jäschke 1881.

⁷⁸ Ishikawa 2001: 151, 156, n. 6.

⁷⁹ Ishikawa 2001: 151, 156, n. 7.

⁸⁰ See Hill 2011.

⁸¹ Chu Junjie 1990: 30.

⁸² Drikung 2011: 39.

ざいいまして、必要な物を取ってお戻り下さい [Whatever the previous distance please take what you need and return]".⁸³ He appears to take *gañ* as an indefinite pronoun, and *de* as a semifinal converb. Ishikawa explicitly equates *kho* with *mkho* '需要 [demand]'⁸⁴ citing Yamaguchi⁸⁵. This proposal can be broken into two separate claims. First, that *kho* here is to be identified with *mkho* and second that *mkho* means 'demand'. Yamaguchi's argument in favor of 'demand' as opposed to 'institution, administration' is unconvincing.⁸⁶

118 Rtsaṅ smad mdo: Stein sees this as 'vallée basse du Fleuve [valley at the base of a river]'⁸⁷ but I think it refers to Tibet. Rtsaṅ is a region of central Tibet, the location of Tibet's second city Shigatse (Gzi ka rtse). The phrase *smad mdo* refers to the eastern region of Amdo. The Phywa are also connected to Rtsaṅ in PT 1060: "*Rtsaṅ stod Rtsaṅ-gyi dño mkhar-gyī nañ-naḥ / lha rtsaṅ la-ḥi byeḥu / rje rtsaṅ rjeḥi Phywaḥ / /* [inside a castle (at) the edge of the Rtsaṅ (river) in upper Rtsaṅ, is the Phywaḥ, lord of Rtsaṅ, a little Phywa⁸⁸ who is among the Rtsaṅ gods]" (1.74). In two other texts the name of the lord of Rtsaṅ suggests a relationship with the Phywa: *rtsaṅ rje pwa ḥa* (IOL Tib J 0734, folio 7, ll. 292, 294, 298), *rtsaṅ rje phwa sñun* (PT 1286, recto, ll. 186)

119 rka lag: Chu Junjie identifies *rka lag* with *rkañ lag*⁸⁹ and translates 手脚 'hand and feet'.⁹⁰ Ishikawa similarly translates 手足 'hands and feet'.⁹¹ Another instance of a missing *-ñ* in this text occurs at line 139, where *mthoñ* 'see' is written *mtho*.

122 srin: Ishikawa has the following note:

srin は 2 系統の神靈を指して言うように思われる。一つは、Dgri, ḥdri, ḥdre といった死の顕現あるいは怨霊を意味する語（注 5 参照）と類縁関係にある sri 語で指し示されるような、地中の死魔 (Hoffmann 1950, pp.161–62 参照) か、その類、もう一つはインドの羅刹である、ここでは後者の意味で用いら

⁸³ Ishikawa 2001: 151.

⁸⁴ Ishikawa 2001: 151, 156, n. 8.

⁸⁵ Yamaguchi 1983: 898–99, n. 114.

⁸⁶ See Uray 1972: 18–19, and Tucci 1956: 76, n. 1 and 90 and, n. 1.

⁸⁷ Stein 1961: 64.

⁸⁸ For *byeḥu* as the diminutive of Phywa see Stein 1985: 105 note 50; McKeown, trans. 2010: 150 note 50.

⁸⁹ Chu Junjie 1990: 38, 43, n. 3.

⁹⁰ Chu Junjie 1990: 30.

⁹¹ Ishikawa 2001.

れており、インドの説話にあるランカー島の羅刹などように、異界の恐るべき住人として登場しているように思われる。敦煌チベット古代ボン教文献は8C来～9C前半の敦厚チベット支配期にはほぼ成立したとみられているが、もうすでにこの時期にはインド系の主教思想がチベット人の間に浸透しており、この種の文献にインドの神話が影響を与えるのは不思議ではない。

Srin seems to indicate two types of spirits. On the one hand it could be a subterranean death demon (Hoffmann 1950, pp.161–62) such as is indicated with the word *sri* in a similar relationship to words such as *gri*, *ḥdri*, and *ḥdre* which mean the manifestation of death or a vengeful spirit (note 5) or on the other hand it could be an Indian Rakṣasa, here used in the meaning of the latter as they appear as a fearsome inhabitant of another world like the Rakṣasas of Laṅka island in Indian mythology. Dunhuang Tibetan ancient Bon religious literature was mostly formed during the period of Tibetan rule in Dunhuang from the 8th century to the early half of the ninth century. Already at this time religious thought of Indian origin was permeating among Tibetans. It is not surprising that this kind of literature is influenced by Indian myth.⁹²

I do not see the need to necessarily infer an Indic influence behind *srin*.

122 tshams: For *mtshams* ‘border’.

123 ḥdab: For *ḥdabs* ‘vicinity’.

124 mdañs: For *gdañs* ‘melody’.

124 dri-gsuñ: For *dri-bsuñ* ‘fragrance’.

124 sku bla: The phrase *sku-bla-la yon ḥbul / Dmu rje-la bkod tsam ḥbul-ziñ* (ll.124–25) is parallel to *lha-la ni yon ḥbul / Dmu rje-la ni bkod tsam ḥbul-ziñ* (ll.114–15). This repetition of the envoys’ intentions, by identifying *sku-bla-la* and *lha-la*, disproves Walter’s contention that the *sku-bla* are not gods.⁹³

⁹² Ishikawa 2001: 152, 156, n. 9.

⁹³ Walter 2009: 99–100; see Hill 2010a.

126 stag ḥphreñ khri skugs: The context, *sa ḥtshams kyi ... dag-na* 'in the Xs of the border', dictates that this phrase taken altogether must refer to a place or type of place. Both Chu Junjie and Ishikawa treat it accordingly. Chu Junjie gives *stag ḥphreñ khri skugs* as the name of a 'red stūpa': "赤古塔 (虎關萬道彎) [the red stūpa (tiger-frontier-10,000-winding-path)]".⁹⁴ This suggestion is unmotivated. Ishikawa translates *stag ḥphreñ khri* phrase "虎の群れ万匹 [herd of 10,000 tigers]"⁹⁵ but because *khri* '10,000' follows *ḥphreñ* it must mean '10,000 *ḥphreñ* of tigers'.

The phrase *stag phrañ gzig phrañ-na* (l.130) in the Envoys' reply permits one to identify *stag ḥphreñ* with *stag phrañ*. This phrase also further confirms that *phrañ* is a type of place. More importantly it establishes that *stag phrañ* and *gzig phrañ* are lexical units. The dictionaries offer *ḥphreñ* 'row, rosary' and (*h*)*phrañ* 'narrow path, defile'. The two words, sharing a notion of something long and thin, are probably etymologically linked.

The identification of *ḥphreñ* with *ḥphrañ* permits the discovery of a further parallel; in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287). The Chinese general Ḥwoñ-ker-žañ-śes opens his taunting letter to Mgar khri-ḥbrñ btsan-brod, saying "*Bod-kyi dmag / / stag ḥphrañ g.yag ḥphrañ-du bgrañs-pa-ḥñ grañs kyañ ña-la yod-do* [I have the number which reckons up the *stag ḥphrañ* and *g.yag ḥphrañ* of the Tibetan army]" (l.498). This context makes clear that *stag ḥphrañ* must refer to a type or unit of soldiers, at least in this context.

Ishikawa translates *skugs* as 潜伏地 'hiding place' and suggests that "skugs は skuñs 「隠蔽」の異綴りと考えた [*skugs* is an alternate spelling of *skuñs* 'hidden grove']".⁹⁶ This explanation can be objected to on phonetic and narrative grounds. Variation between 'g' and 'ñ' is not the sort of variation that one usually sees in Old Tibetan, such as differences of aspiration or choice of prefix. More importantly, the significance of these wild animals is precisely that they are easy to find.

126 dag: The plural suffix *-dag* Ishikawa probably correctly understand to indicate that there are several similar places, and not necessarily several places called *stag ḥphreñ khri skugs*.⁹⁷

126 gles-pa: In line 133 *gles-pa* modifies *gcan-pa* 'scout'. Although the syntax is strange, in line 126 *gles-pa* must be an adjective modifying

⁹⁴ Chu Junjie 1990: 30.

⁹⁵ Ishikawa 2001: 152.

⁹⁶ Ishikawa 2001: 152, 156, n. 12.

⁹⁷ Ishikawa 2001: 151.

one or more of the animals. Without additional context one might conjecture that it means ‘fierce, scary’ or the like. The syllable *gles* also occurs in PT 1283, l. 328, but this is probably a different word. Ishikawa translates *gles-pa stag* as “傭兵の虎 [mercenary tigers/tigers of mercenaries]⁹⁸ and suggests that *gles-pa* be understood as *glas-mi* 雇い人 ‘hired hand’.⁹⁹ Chu Junjie does not translate *gles-pa*.¹⁰⁰ Drikung uncom-
fortably agrees to the identification of *gles-pa* with *bor-ba* in the *Bod kyi bdra skad ming gzhi gsal ston gyi bstan bcos*; it is translated ‘wild’.¹⁰¹

130 phrañ: Ishikawa translates *phrañ* as 群れ ‘herd’ like he had *hphreñ* in line 126. He adds 潜伏地 ‘hiding place’ in brackets to repeat the *skugs* of line 126. Although he is correct to link *hphreñ* and *phrañ*, his reading relies on a strained interpretation of *skugs* and an ellipsis, and is consequently untenable. The word *phrañ* defined by Jäschke “foot-path along a narrow ledge on the side of a precipitous wall of rock”¹⁰² fits the grammar and narrative context perfectly. Whether or not the text intends *stag hphreñ* (l.126) and *stag phrañ* (l.130) to refer to the same thing or not is difficult to say. It is clear that the military meaning of *stag hphrañ* found in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1297, l. 498) informs this passage, even if it is not directly called upon. Nonetheless, the lexical meaning of *phrañ* is satisfactory here. Karmay suggests that the “gorges full of tigers and leopards” are an example of “certain echoes of Ḥol-mo luñ-riñ”,¹⁰³ the mythical land which is ultimate origin of the Bon religion according to its own traditions.

132 yoñ zol: Chu Junjie¹⁰⁴ and Drikung¹⁰⁵ identify *yoñ* with *yañ*. Two passages from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287) help to confirm this proposal: *mañ-ñuñ-gñ khar myi dor-ro* // ‘we should not verbally spar over number’ (l.501), *che-cuñ-gñ khar yoñ myi dor-ro* // ‘we should also not verbally spar over size’ (l.517). The syntax of the second passage requires that *yoñ* is an adverb, and the context precludes any interpretation except ‘also’. In addition, the use of *kyoñ* in place of *kyañ* just a few words previous (*Bod-kyi spu-rgyal ni ñi-ma-dañ hdrañ* // *Rgya rje ni zla-ba-dañ hdra-ste* // *rgyal-po ched-por hdrañ mod kyoñ*, the king of Tibet is like the sun, the lord of China is like the moon, both are similarly great kings. See l. 516. Also cf. PT 1285, verso, l. 92.) further argues in

⁹⁸ Ishikawa 2001: 152.

⁹⁹ Ishikawa 2001: 152, 156.

¹⁰⁰ Chu Junjie 1990: 30.

¹⁰¹ Drikung 2011: 38, n. 41.

¹⁰² Jäschke 1881.

¹⁰³ Karmay 1975: 576, n. 81.

¹⁰⁴ Chu Junjie 1990: 39, 43, n. 9.

¹⁰⁵ Drikung 2011: 35.

favour of seeing *yoñ* as equivalent to *yañ*. One should compare this use of *yoñ* with its function beginning discourses and meaning 'thus', pointed out by Stein.¹⁰⁶

134 ste len-du len-ba dag kyañ yod-na: My translation follows Ishikawa's translation 斧を手に手に携えるゆえ [because each carries an axe];¹⁰⁷ Drikung similarly has 'carry hatchets'.¹⁰⁸ It is unclear to me whether Ishikawa intends this phrase to modify *khra* 'falcons'; I do not think it does. Presumably 手に手に 'each' is Ishikawa's way to capture the reduplicated structure of *len-du len-ba*. In general, reduplicated verb phrases have an iterative or imperfective sense¹⁰⁹ which is the reason for my translation 'carrying'. This specific construction, with the terminative between the two stems of a reduplicated verb, however, deserves further study. Chu Junjie's translation “即便是抓取鷂子，也有抓取的辦法 [if a falcon is taken, there is also a way of taking]”¹¹⁰ is hard to make sense of. He omits *ste*, presumably understanding it to be a mistaken copying of *ste*, the immediately previous semifinal converb, which Ishikawa, Drikung, and I have translated as 'axe'. Chu Junjie's 即便 'if' translates the converb *-na*. There is no need for this translation however, because in Old Tibetan *-na* did not have an exclusively condition function. I am unable to follow what analysis of grammar can countenance Drikung's "iron rabbits that sport coats of iron spikes";¹¹¹ his emendation of *khra* 'falcon' to *gra* 'corner' is unmotivated.

136 gtur: A verb *gtur* is unknown to the dictionaries. Ishikawa suggests it is an alternate spelling of *gtul* いぶる 'to smoke'.¹¹² This equation faces phonetic and semantic obstacles. On the phonetic side, Ishikawa does not give parallel examples of *-r* varying with *-l* in Old Tibetan. On the semantic side the verb *gtul* is generally given as intransitive and associated with incense.¹¹³ Of course this does not preclude it being used transitively with animals but weighs against it. Even if the verb did mean 'smoke' it seems unlikely that one would first smoke meat and then roast it. Chu Junjie leaves *gtur* untranslated: “在火箸上架起

¹⁰⁶ Stein 1983: 160–61; see McKeown, trans. 2010: 16–18.

¹⁰⁷ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

¹⁰⁸ Drikung 2011: 40.

¹⁰⁹ Uray 1955: 188–90.

¹¹⁰ Chu Junjie 1990: 31.

¹¹¹ Drikung 2011: 40.

¹¹² Ishikawa 2001: 153, 156, n. 14.

¹¹³ See for example Zhang Yisun 1985.

鐵（一般）的兔子做烤肉也見過 [We have also seen (someone) roasting a rabbit made of iron on a spit]".¹¹⁴ Drikung's solution 'over an iron grate'¹¹⁵ is forced; iron is not mentioned here again and the dictionary definition he cites from Zhang of *gtur* as 'pouring vessel such as a net bag' (*dra phad lta buhi dnos po hjug snod*) is quite distinct from a grate.¹¹⁶

The context indicates that *gtur* is something that one can do to a rabbit on a skewer before roasting it. The meaning 'stick, impale' suggests itself. The stem of the verb *gtur* is clearly shared with the noun *thur-ma* 'skewer' (l.136); 'to skewer' is thus an appropriate translation of *gtur*.

137 mżug-ma: Not only is this word unrecorded in the dictionaries but it should be a phonological impossibility. Ishikawa suggests it has the meaning of *gzug* "屠った家畜の身体の4分の1 [one quarter of a butchered animal]".¹¹⁷ This suggestion fits the context perfectly, however would be difficult to explain phonetically. A better solution is to understand *mżug-ma* as a variant of *mjug* 'tail', as is implicitly reflected in Chu Junjie's translation 尾巴 'tail';¹¹⁸ Drikung similarly identifies it with *gżug-ma* 'tail'.¹¹⁹ Not only do the semantics of this word fit the context, but variation between 'ż' and 'j' is well attested. Just as according to Conrady's law **hżug* > *hjug*¹²⁰ one would also expect **mżug* > *mjug*. Consequently, the word *mżug* here can be seen as an archaic retention.

138 rañs: Ishikawa leaves *rañs* 'whole, entire, all' untranslated.

138 rgal: Ishikawa adds 山を 'mountains'¹²¹ in brackets as the patient of *rgal* 'cross'. I think the text is deliberately vague. The messengers themselves have already mentioned the mountains and rivers they had to cross. They may well have crossed other ethereal boundaries.

139 sku bla myi mthur: Chu Junjie appears to translate this phrase 不倒 'un-inverted, upright'.¹²² Ishikawa translates as 錯乱せず 'without

¹¹⁴ Chu Junjie 1990: 31.

¹¹⁵ Drikung 2011: 40?

¹¹⁶ Zhang Yisun 1985.

¹¹⁷ Ishikawa 2001: 157, n. 16.

¹¹⁸ Chu Junjie 1990: 31.

¹¹⁹ Drikung 2011: 35, 40.

¹²⁰ See Hill 2014: 168.

¹²¹ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

¹²² Chu Junjie 1990: 31.

confusion'.¹²³ I do not understand the reasoning behind either translation. Bellezza regards *sku bla myi mthur* as the name of a deity, he writes:

In the Bon tradition, *Sku-bla myi-thur* (although the name is spelled slightly differently) is one of the many deities in the circle of the *yi-dam* *Ge-khod*. In the text *Ge khod kyi sman bskañ yod* (New Collection of Bon *bkaḥ brten*, *Ge khod sgrub skor*, vol. 121 (*stod-cha*), nos. 1249–1252), no. 1251, lns. 5, 6, it reads: “We satisfy the desires of *Sku-bla mu-thur* from the blazing deity castle of the fiery mountain of the southwest by medicines.” (*lho nub me ri ḥbar baḥi gsas mkhar nas / sku bla mu thur thugs dam sman gyis bskañ /*)¹²⁴

The equation of *myi mthur* with *mu-thur* is not compelling. The word *mthur* means ‘bridle’ and a translation of *myi mthur* as ‘unbridled’ poses no difficulty. Although Drikung accepts *mthur* as ‘bridle’ he translates *myi mthur* ‘neither turn toward another’,¹²⁵ which is forced.

139 mtho: Chu Junjie identifies *mtho* with *mthoñ*¹²⁶ and translates 瞻仰 ‘gaze upon’.¹²⁷ Ishikawa similarly translates 拝見 ‘see’¹²⁸ and Drikung ‘beholding’.¹²⁹ Another instance of a missing *-ñ* in this text occurs at line 119, where *rkañ* ‘foot, leg’ is written *rka*.

139 phyag chud-pa: In the dictionaries one finds *chud-pa* as ‘enter’,¹³⁰ a meaning which is inappropriate here. The verb must indicate something which the envoys can do to the hands of the gods. Chu Junjie translates this phrase 獻上供品 ‘present the gifts’¹³¹ and Ishikawa 供物を献上する ‘present an offering’.¹³² These seem preferable to Drikung’s ‘take our requests to heart’.¹³³

140 thañ-kar yug-gyis bsgron-ba lha mdaḥ yod-dam myed?: Chu Junjie translates “有没有嵌有雕尾条纹箭 [do you have a divine arrow

¹²³ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

¹²⁴ Bellezza 2005: 342, n. 496.

¹²⁵ Drikung 2011: 40.

¹²⁶ Chu Junjie 1990: 40, 43, n. 13.

¹²⁷ Chu Junjie 1990: 31.

¹²⁸ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

¹²⁹ Drikung 2011: 40.

¹³⁰ See for example Jäschke 1881.

¹³¹ Chu Junjie 1990: 31.

¹³² Ishikawa 2001: 53.

¹³³ Drikung 2011: 40.

fledged with eagle tail stripes?]"¹³⁴ Ishikawa offers “タンかで飾ったもの、すなわち神の矢はあるのか [do you have something adorned with *thañ-ka*, i.e. a divine arrow?]"¹³⁵ Bellezza translates “a divine arrow decorated by a perfect lammergeier feather”,¹³⁶ which suggests that he thinks *thañ-kar yug* means ‘perfect lammergeier feather’. The dictionaries give *thañ-dkar* as a type of eagle¹³⁷ and *yug* as ‘a piece of cloth’¹³⁸. Since one does not make cloth form lammergeier there appears to be no better strategy than to understand *yug* in this context as indicating ‘feather’.

A chiasmus is formed with the two place names Hjañ and Rgya and the two occurrences of the phrase *lha mdaḥ*.¹³⁹

142 gser kha ma blañs-pa: Ishikawa explains “kha 「へり」を ma blañs-pa 「削り取っていない」 gser 「金」 [gold (*gser*) whose edge (*kha*) has not been worked away (*ma blañs-pa*)]”.¹⁴⁰ He cites Jäschke where *kha len pa* is defined as ‘to become sharp’ (尖る).¹⁴¹ Bellezza similarly translates ‘unworked gold’.¹⁴²

142–43 sñon-po ḥbru bdun: Bellezza translates ‘prized blue grain’¹⁴³ with a note that *ḥbru-bdun* “appears to denote a special type or quality of barley hence, the word ‘prized’”.¹⁴⁴ I do not see why *bdun* can not simply mean ‘seven’. Bellezza’s translation treats *sñon-po* as if it modified *ḥbru-bdun*, but it does not; adjectives in Tibetan follow the nouns they modify. Thus, *sñon-po* must be a *dvandva* compound ‘greens and seven grains’ or ‘seven greens and grains’. Chu Junjie translates “青緑七谷 [greens and seven grains]”¹⁴⁵ and Ishikawa similarly “青物七穀

¹³⁴ Chu Junjie 1990: 31.

¹³⁵ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

¹³⁶ Bellezza 2005: 342.

¹³⁷ See for example Goldstein 2001.

¹³⁸ See for example Jäschke 1881.

¹³⁹ John Pickens draws my attention to the phrase *dar sna mdaḥ dar gser gyus brgyan* “the silk ribbon *mda’ dar* is decorated with gold and turquoise”. in the collected works of Nag dbañ dpal bzañ and further writes “that the first items on the list are exactly what are used to make a *mda’ dar* in some contemporary Nyingma communities: namely, the bamboo, fleched with a particular type of feather, decorated with silks, and [attached] with unworked gold and a piece of (large) turquoise” (*per litteras* 19 Nov. 2015).

¹⁴⁰ Ishikawa 2001: 153, 157, n. 18.

¹⁴¹ Jäschke 1881: 35.

¹⁴² Bellezza 2005: 342.

¹⁴³ Bellezza 2005: 342.

¹⁴⁴ Bellezza 2005: 342, n. 499.

¹⁴⁵ Chu Junjie 1990: 31–32.

[greens and seven grains]"¹⁴⁶. Drikung omits *ñon-po* translating 'seven grains'.¹⁴⁷

143 khu: My translation omits this word. Bellezza has "liquid offering of blue grain beer".¹⁴⁸ It is hard to imagine measuring liquid in *khal*.

143 mthud goñ: Bellezza identifies with *thud* and translates "cheese-cake".¹⁴⁹ Chu Junjie agnostically translates "一类的东西 [something]".¹⁵⁰

144 goñ-mo: I offer 'grouse' on the basis of Jäschke's 'ptarmigan, white grouse',¹⁵¹ by which he presumably means the rock grouse (*lagopus muta*). It is probably also relying on Jäschke that Ishikawa offers 雷鳥 'rock grouse (*lagopus muta*)'.¹⁵² In contrast, Chu Junjie offers 雪雞 'snowcock'¹⁵³ and Bellezza 'pheasant'.¹⁵⁴ Compare the phrase *bya goñ-mo* 'goñ-mo bird' (PT 1285, recto, l. 142).

144 sreg: a bird, I translate 'pheasant' but Bellezza gives as 'partridge'. Bellezza's translation "Do you have or not meat roasted in butter as large as a partridge"¹⁵⁵ is not grammatically possible; following the syntax the translation must be 'do you have or not have a pheasant/partridge of butter as large as roast meat'.

A chiasmus is formed by the two birds and the two food stuffs. *thud goñ goñ-mo sreg śa sreg-pa*. There is an obvious pun between *sreg* 'pheasant' and *sreg* 'burn'.

144 ^o-ma: There appears to be no possibility other than 'milk' although this word is properly spelled *ho-ma*. Chu Junjie translates 乳汁 'milk';¹⁵⁶ Ishikawa translates バター 'butter'.¹⁵⁷

145 lha lug noñ mar: Bellezza identifies *mar* with *dmār* 'red' and translates 'with a red face', a suggestion which I accept. He adds a note:

¹⁴⁶ Ishikawa 2001.

¹⁴⁷ Drikung 2011: 40.

¹⁴⁸ Bellezza 2005: 342.

¹⁴⁹ Bellezza 2005: 342.

¹⁵⁰ Chu Junjie 1990: 32.

¹⁵¹ Jäschke 1881.

¹⁵² Ishikawa 2001: 153.

¹⁵³ Chu Junjie 1990: 32.

¹⁵⁴ Bellezza 2005: 342.

¹⁵⁵ Bellezza 2005: 342.

¹⁵⁶ Chu Junjie 1990: 32.

¹⁵⁷ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

“sheep with reddish faces are customarily offered to the *lha* and *btsan*, even by the contemporary ‘brog-pa of Upper Tibet. This type of sheep is called *lha-lug/btsan-lug dmar žal* or *dmar-rtsa*”.¹⁵⁸ Chu Junjie translates “真正的神羊 [true divine sheep]”,¹⁵⁹ which I fail to see the motivation for. Ishikawa prudently leaves *noñ mar* untranslated.¹⁶⁰

145 *lha rta sñan kar*: Bellezza reads the text *sñan dkar* ‘white ears’,¹⁶¹ a suggestion which I accept. Chu Junjie provides the translation “暴烈的神馬 [a violent divine horse]”,¹⁶² which I fail to see the motivation for. Ishikawa prudently leaves *sñan kar* untranslated.¹⁶³

146 *hbri zal-mo*: Bellezza notes that in “contemporary Upper Tibet, *hbri-zil-mo/hbri-zil-mo* designates female yaks with highly prized physical characteristics. Such yaks are offered to the *lha-mo* (white) and *klu-mo* (bluish) by the *hbrog-pa*”.¹⁶⁴ Presumably what he means is that nomads sacrifice certain white female yaks to goddesses (*lha-mo*) and these same nomads also offer certain bluish female yaks to the *nāginī*. Blue yaks seem rather extraordinary.

Jäschke defines *zal-mo* as “young cow, heifer”.¹⁶⁵ Goldstein gives *zal-po* as “multicolored (for animals)” and *zal-mo* as “female cattle with white fur along the back”.¹⁶⁶

146 *g.yag śam-po*: Bellezza suggests that this kind of yak is “related to *g.yag-žol-po*, the special type of male yak offered by the *hbrog-pa* to the indigenous deities. It must have long hair, especially under its belly”.¹⁶⁷ He does not specify how the *g.yag śam-po* is related to the *g.yag žol-po* any linguistic relationship is entirely opaque.

The name *śam-po* refers to a mountain in the Yarlung valley. Gyalbo et al. discuss the history of this region.¹⁶⁸ At *Myaṅ-ro śam po* the groom *Lo-ñam* fights and kills the emperor *Dri-gum* in the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (PT 1287, ll. 13, 24, 54, 55). It is common to identify a mountain god *Śam-po*, as the tutelary deity and *sku-bla* of the Tibetan emperor. However, I know of no Old Tibetan data which supports this

¹⁵⁸ Bellezza 2005: 342, n. 502.

¹⁵⁹ Chu Junjie 1990: 32.

¹⁶⁰ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

¹⁶¹ Bellezza 2005: 342.

¹⁶² Chu Junjie 1990: 32.

¹⁶³ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

¹⁶⁴ Bellezza 2005: 342, n. 503.

¹⁶⁵ Jäschke 1881.

¹⁶⁶ Goldstein 2001.

¹⁶⁷ Bellezza 2005: 342, n. 504.

¹⁶⁸ Gyalbo et al. 2000.

hypothesis. Chu Junjie notes that in the *Bkañ-thañ-sde-lña* Padmasambhava subdued the mountain deity Śam-po in the form of white yak, which further bolsters the association of the white yak with the mountain.¹⁶⁹ Drikung translates *śam-po* as 'shaggy' without elaboration.¹⁷⁰

148 ḥdron: Chu Junjie equates *ḥdron-po* with *ḥgron-po* 'guest'.¹⁷¹ Ishikawa and Drikung accept this equation but reports it as *mgron-po*.¹⁷²

148 zags: Note that the verb *ḥdzag*, *zags* is characteristic of the downward movement of liquids (drip, trickle). This choice of words probably anticipates the following *mtshal* 'vermillion' (= blood).

148–49 mtshal-ba thil rdol: Regarding *mtshal-ba* 'vermillion' Drikung notes *khrag la go zhing / 'dir lus kyi zungs khrag zad zad du phyin pa'i don* 'understand as blood, here the meaning is that the vital force of the body has become exhausted'.¹⁷³ In the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* PT 1287 (ll.46, 50) mourners attending the obsequies of the Tibetan emperor are expected to rub themselves with vermillion. Tsering Samdrup draws my attention to the fact that *thil* (for *mthil*) here puns on the meanings 'sole of the feet' and 'base'. Parallel to the vultures descending in exhaustion from circling the sky, the envoys have bloody feet from having circled the earth to the point of exhaustion.

149 chad: Ishikawa suggests *chad* is for *thañ-chad* 'tired'.¹⁷⁴

149 ra-ma: This word would appear to mean 'shegoat', and this is how Chu Junjie, Ishikawa, and Drikung understand it.¹⁷⁵ Chu Junjie points to a notice in the *Xintangshu* that the Tibetans worship a ram (羴羴) as a great god.¹⁷⁶ However, a shegoat is a non sequitur. Presumably if the *sku-bla* is a shegoat this would have already been mentioned. I prefer to understand the word as 'court'. However, although this meaning is well known for *ra* and *ra-ba*, I am unfamiliar with another instance in which *ra-ma* means 'court'.

¹⁶⁹ Chu Junjie 1990: 32, 34, n. 8.

¹⁷⁰ Drikung 2011: 41, n. 65.

¹⁷¹ Chu Junjie 1990: 41; 43, n. 16.

¹⁷² Ishikawa 2001: 153, 157, n. 19; Drikung 2011: 36.

¹⁷³ Drikung 2011: 38, n. 52.

¹⁷⁴ Ishikawa 2001: 153, 157, n. 20.

¹⁷⁵ Chu Junjie 1990: 32; Ishikawa 2001: 153; Drikung 2011: 41.

¹⁷⁶ Chu Junjie 1990: 32, 34, n. 9.

150 *žu-ba rnam ḡga sñan-du žus-te* /: I take *rnam ḡga* as a binome for *rnam ḡgaḡ*. Both *rnam* and *ḡgaḡ* mean ‘some’, ‘several’. Ishikawa in contrast reads *bag sñan-du žus-te* and offers the following note:

bag sñan du žus の *bag* が「心」を意味し、*sñan* が「聞き心地が良い」の意味であるから、「心地よく」の意味であろう。*bag sñan* と動詞過去形 *žus* 「お願いした」「申し上げた」の間にある助詞 *du* は *de-ñid* であり、*bag sñan* で *žus* の意味が限定されるから (Yamaguchi 1990 参照), *bag sñan du žus* は「心地よく申し上げた」の訳となる。

Because the *bag* of *bag sñan-du žus* means ‘heart’, and *sñan* means ‘the feeling of hearing is pleasant’, perhaps the meaning is ‘agreeably’. The morpheme *du* between *bag sñan* and the past stem verb *žus* ‘request, implore’ is a *de-ñid*. Because the meaning is limited to *bag sñan-ly žus* (cf. Yamaguchi 1990), *bag sñan-du žus* is translated ‘agreeably implored’.¹⁷⁷

Miller has convincingly rejected Yamaguchi’s account of *de-ñid*.¹⁷⁸

150 *luñ du stsal*: Ishikawa reads *luñ ñu stsal* but still understands it as *luñ du stal*. He describes this usage of *-du* as *de-ñid*,¹⁷⁹ but Miller has convincingly rejected Yamaguchi’s account of *de-ñid*.¹⁸⁰

151 *sku-gñen phyogs*: Ishikawa writes “この表現からすでにここでチャの使者は姻戚の一員とみなされていることがわかる [from this expression here one knows that the messengers of Phywa can already be seen to be members of the relatives by marriage]”.¹⁸¹ I object that there is no mention of marriage and it is not clear in any case who the bride would be. But whatever this change of nomenclature indicates it is Dmu’s agreement that initiates their change of status. It is allowing them to worship the *sku-bla* that makes them relatives.

151–52 *sku gñen phyogs-kyi ža sña-nas Mañ-žam ñid-kyis mchid gsol-pa*: The phraseology *A-ža sña-nas B-mchid gsol-pa* “to the presence of A the letter of B is hereby presented” is a formulaic start to a letter.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁷ Ishikawa 2001: 154, 157, n. 21.

¹⁷⁸ Miller 1993: 198–220.

¹⁷⁹ Ishikawa 2001: 154, 157, n. 22.

¹⁸⁰ Miller 1993: 198–220.

¹⁸¹ Ishikawa 2001: 154, 157, n. 23.

¹⁸² Takeuchi 1990: 183.

Takeuchi notes that it is odd for the ablative *-nas* to have the meaning 'to' rather than 'from' and attempts to account for this usage.¹⁸³

152 Mañ-žam: Ishikawa makes the following interesting observation:

“マンシャム *mañ žam* はケン *mkhan*、すなわち、それによって人物を知りうるような称号的名称の一つである (Richardson 1967, pp. 11–12, 14). 敦煌文献『年代記』『編年記』でマンシャムと呼ばれた人物は皆、宰相 (*blon chen*) 位にあるから、これは宰相に対するケンとして、よく使用されたのかもしれない。そうであれば、チャの使者たちの代表はチャの國の宰相ということになるうか。

Mañ žam' a *mkhan* is a title-like name by which a person can be known (Richardson 1967, 11–12, 14). Because in the Dunhuang documents the *Old Tibetan Annals* and *Old Tibetan Chronicle* all of the people called by the name *mañ žam* are at the rank of prime minister (*blon chen po*), this *mkhan* is probably used with respect to prime ministers. If so, the messengers of Phywa are represented as the prime ministers of the land of Phywa.¹⁸⁴

Chu Junjie identifies *mañ-žam* with *ma žaṅ* and translates 母舅亲 'mother and maternal uncle'.¹⁸⁵ This suggestion takes too many liberties with the text.

152 bdag-cag ṅan-pa lta śig mchis-pa: Ishikawa correctly translates “私たち卑しくございます者は [we are vulgar fellows]”¹⁸⁶ with *mchis* as 'be' rather than 'come'. Here *lta śig* is a variant form for *lta žig*, which as Uebach remarks “kommt nach Personalpronomina und Namen vor in dem Bedeuteung 'was - betrifft' [appears after personal pronouns and names with the meaning 'with regard to']”.¹⁸⁷ Uebach's comment regards the phrase *bdag-cag lta žig /* in lines 8–9 of the Rkoṅ-po inscription. She suggests comparison with PT 1032, but without giving reference to a line number. Unfortunately, I am currently unable to consult PT 1032. The phrase *bdag lta žig mchis pa* occurs in version A of the Rama story (IOL Tib J 737.1, l. 5).

¹⁸³ Takeuchi 1990: 183, n. 14.

¹⁸⁴ Ishikawa 2001: 154, 157, n. 24.

¹⁸⁵ Chu Junjie 1990: 32, 43, n. 17.

¹⁸⁶ Ishikawa 2001: 154.

¹⁸⁷ Uebach 1985: 69, n. 104.

Chu Junjie's version is “我等小人來看看 [we little fellows have come to take a look]”.¹⁸⁸ This version appears to understand *lta* as a noun, *śig* as an allomorph of *cig* ‘a, one’, and *mchis* as ‘come’. However, if *lta śig* is a noun phrase it would be governed by a verb, which it is not.

153 rkañ riñs: Uebach and Zeisler discuss *rkañ riñs* as an example of a compound word ending in *-riñs*.¹⁸⁹ They discuss this instance and a further attestation from the Ladakhi version of the Gesar epic. For this passage they translate “if [to us humble people] humble boys having long legs would be born, if [the legs] are long, would they be admitted in your retinue as holder of the stirrups, if [the legs] are short ...?”.¹⁹⁰ In the *Jo sras Ldeḥu chos ḥbyuñ* the *rkañ riñs* appear as the second in a list of five types of soldiers.¹⁹¹ Dotson translates *rkañ riñs* as ‘fleet-footed’.¹⁹² Chu Junjie reads *rgañ* but identifies this with *rkañ* ‘foot, leg’.¹⁹³

153 žam-ḥbrin: Nag dbaṅ tshul khirms defines this word ‘*žabs-ḥbrin ṅam g.yog-po* [servant]’.¹⁹⁴ Ishikawa similarly translates it ‘侍従[chamberlain]’ citing Yamaguchi’s remark that *ža ḥbrin pa* “文成公主に関する『編年紀』に (TLT, II, pp. 8–9)見れると“*žam riñ*” (ll. 12, 25) 同じく、今日 “*žabs ḥbrin*” と記すもの [is seen in the *Annals of Hazha Principality* related to Wencheng Gongzhu (文成公主) (Thomas 1951, vol. II, pp. 8–9) as is “*žam riñ*” (ll.12, 25), what today is written “*žabs ḥbrin*” i.e. chamberlain]”.¹⁹⁵

154 yob-cen-gi rten: Ishikawa suggests that this expression is “鐙を鞍から吊り下げる綱のことであろう [perhaps a kind of rope which suspends stirrups from a saddle]”.¹⁹⁶

154 g.yañ-mo: Zhang gives *g.yañ-mo* as ‘*lug* [sheep]’.¹⁹⁷ Ishikawa translates this term as “深淵 [abyss]”,¹⁹⁸ which is the meaning that Jäschke

¹⁸⁸ Chu Junjie 1990: 32.

¹⁸⁹ Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 325.

¹⁹⁰ Uebach and Zeisler 2008: 325.

¹⁹¹ Dotson 2006: 281–82.

¹⁹² Dotson 2006: 281.

¹⁹³ Chu Junjie 1990: 41, 43, n. 19.

¹⁹⁴ Nag dbaṅ tshul khirms 1997: 762.

¹⁹⁵ Yamaguchi 1983: 306.

¹⁹⁶ Ishikawa 2001: 154, 157, n. 26.

¹⁹⁷ Zhang Yisun 1985; see also Nag dbaṅ tshul khirms 1997: 859.

¹⁹⁸ Ishikawa 2001: 154.

gives for *g.yaṅ* and in particular *g.yaṅ-sa*.¹⁹⁹ According to Drikung:²⁰⁰ *g.yaṅ moḥi skyoṅ / brda dkros gser gyi me loṅ las / ḥjigs snaṅ skye baḥi miṅ la gsuṅ / ḥdir g.yaṅ ni / ka skad duḥaṅ de g.yaḥ nga gzar po žig ḥdug zer ba ltar / blo mi bde ba daṅ / blo dog pa la gsung pas / ḥdir mtshan moḥi bya raḥi mthah skyoṅ mkhan laḥo //* [The *Bdra dkros gser gyi me loṅ* says 'a word for giving rise to fear'. Here *g.yaṅ* is an expression for an escarpment (?), and similarly the mind is anxious and narrow. Here a border guard who is night watchman.] I do not think this is on the right track.

155 rko-loṅ: Ishikawa understands this as *rku* 'theft'.²⁰¹ It is preferable, following a suggestion of Drikung's,²⁰² to see *rko-loṅ* as equivalent to *ko-loṅ* 'annoyance, dissatisfaction'.²⁰³ Because native Tibetan words do not generally begin with unaspirated voiceless consonants,²⁰⁴ *rko-loṅ* is likely to be the etymologically original form of *ko-loṅ*.

155 bkum: On the use of the verb 'kill, execute' in the sense of 'carry out, execute' see Dotson²⁰⁵ and the citations he collects.

157–58 gdugs-tshod ma khoṅs-paḥi thog-du: Ishikawa²⁰⁶ leaves untranslated. Drikung translates 'not even being able to offer you lunch'²⁰⁷ following the identification of *gdug tshod* with *guṅ tshig* according to the *Brda gsar rñiṅ gi rnam gžag*.²⁰⁸ In the dictionaries this word appears as *guṅ tshigs*. By implication Drikung takes *ma khoṅs* as the negative imperative, to show impossibility of the verb *ḥgeṅ* 'fill', an analysis I accept. For more on the *potentialis* use of the imperative stem see Müller-Witte²⁰⁹ and Zeisler.²¹⁰ The word *gdugs-tshod* also occurs at PT 960, l. 68.²¹¹

158 graṅ-mo: Ishikawa²¹² follows Chu Junjie²¹³ in translating this word 墓室 'burial chamber'. Chu Junjie bases this interpretation on the following passage from the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* "*Spu-de Guṅ-rgyal groṅs-*

¹⁹⁹ Jäschke 1881.

²⁰⁰ Drikung 2011: 38, n. 54.

²⁰¹ Ishikawa 2001: 153, 157, n. 27.

²⁰² Drikung 2011: 38.

²⁰³ Das 1902.

²⁰⁴ See Hill 2007.

²⁰⁵ Dotson 2011: 85, n. 12.

²⁰⁶ Ishikawa 2001.

²⁰⁷ Drikung 2011: 41.

²⁰⁸ Drikung 2011: 39, n. 58.

²⁰⁹ Müller-Witte 2009: 241–48, 278–81, 309–12.

²¹⁰ Zeisler 2002, 2004: 845–74, 2017: 86–89, 99–102.

²¹¹ I thank Tshering Samdrup for pointing out this parallel to me.

²¹² Ishikawa 2001: 154, 157, n. 29.

²¹³ Chu Junjie 1990: 35, n. 13.

na ni grañ-mo gnam-bseḥ brtsig [When Spu-de Guñ-rgyal died they built *grañ-mo gnam-gseḥ*" (PT 1287, ll. 61–62). To further clarify this passage he cites the *Rgya bod yig tshañ chen mo* as reporting that when Gri gum btsan po was buried a golden thread fell down from the sky and penetrated into the grave, thus this grave is called "the thread in the sky" (*gnam la gser thig*). He claims that *grañ-ma* came metonymically to refer to all graves. Although the gloss of *gnam-gseḥ* as *gnam la gser thig*, looks like a late attempt to rationalize what had become an obscure term, the association of *grañ-mo* with *grañ-mo gnam-gseḥ* is an idea worth pursuing, albeit speculative.

Drikung translates 'cold beer',²¹⁴ which is sensible following the mention of the midday meal and preceding the mention of *zal-bu* 'small cups'. Nonetheless, his overall translation of *grañ-mo zal-bu re re zig sku-la dmyigs-siñ mchis-na* as 'we have but a sip of cold beer intended for you' is impossible, taking no account of the grammar and all of the words after *grañ-mo zal-bu*. Although the phrase overall may refer to the offering of a liquid beverage, I do not think that the funerary associations of both *grañ-mo* and *zal-bu* can be accidental. It is not altogether unambiguous that the envoys of Phywa are speaking at this point, but this interpretation appears most likely. If so, it is perhaps not unwarranted to speculate that they are offering Dmu rje a drink of mortality which is apt as preparation for his descent to the earth.

158 *zal-bu*: Stein pointed out that in the 尚書 Shangshu paraphrase (PT 986), Tibetan *zal-bu* is used to translate Chinese 祖 *zu* 'ancestral tablet'.²¹⁵ He remarks that all "les dictionnaires définissent *zal-bu* comme un petit récipient (bol, coupe). Ce sens ne convient pas ici. On verra (1.104) qu'il s'agit des ancêtres. Je pense à *zal-byañ*, « titre écrit sur une tablette »",²¹⁶ which McKeown translates "All the dictionaries define *zal-bu* as a small container (bowl, cup). This sense is not appropriate here. We will see (1.104) that it concerns the ancestors. I would compare *zal-byañ*, 'title written on a tablet.'"²¹⁷ Coblin is reluctant to relinquish the meaning of 'cup', he concludes that "this word for 'cup' [...] served as an honorific euphemism for the dead ancestors to whom the offering [sic] were made".²¹⁸ Coblin translates the phrase *gdun-rabs bdun tshun-cad-gyi zal-bu gsol* in the 尚書 Shangshu paraphrase (PT 986) as "he sacrificially fed the *zal-bu* from seven generations (earlier)

²¹⁴ Drikung 2011: 41.

²¹⁵ Stein 1983: 164; see McKeown, trans. 2010: 22.

²¹⁶ Stein 1983: 202, n. 97.

²¹⁷ McKeown 2010: 74, n. 97.

²¹⁸ Coblin 1991: 316.

downward".²¹⁹ This passage corresponds to the Chinese original 祀于周廟 "he sacrificed in the ancestral temple of Zhou". The Tibetan translation appears to follow the Chinese commentary 七世之祖 'seven generations of ancestors'. Nag dbaṅ tshul khriṃs, citing this same passage, explicitly keeps a meaning "mes-pohi že-sa [honorific term for ancestor]" distinct from "phor-pa chuñ-ba [small cup]".²²⁰ Ishikawa following Stein²²¹ and Chu Junjie²²² translates this word 位牌 'mortuary tablet'²²³. Drikung accepts the 'small cup' meaning, translating 'sip'.²²⁴ I am inclined to agree with Coblin that small cups are not necessarily incompatible with ancestor worship.

160 g.yar-du stsal: In contracts *g.yar-du htshal* means 'take out a loan'.²²⁵ Ishikawa translates 幸運に 'luckily, fortunately',²²⁶ because he reads the text *g.yaṅ-du*.

160 g.yar tshod: Ishikawa conjectures that *g.yar tshod* is the honorific equivalent of *kha tshod* 'speech'.²²⁷ However, since *g.yar* means 'loan' and *tshod* means 'measure, estimate',²²⁸ I suspect the topic is the terms of the loan.

161 yab-khu: Ishikawa offers the following note of which I am skeptical:

ムの国が父系父権制社会ならば王が父系を代表するから、この箇所には yab khu 「父方」ではなく、yam zhañ 「母方」のような語が記されそうなものである。山口氏によれば、後代史料 rLañ po ti bse ru 『ラン・ポティセル』などにより、吐蕃（古代チベット統・王朝）のヤルルン王家誕生以前、父系相続のム部族と母権継のダン sBrañ 氏が通婚し、父系母権制の複合部族ダン・ム sBrañ dMu が成立し、それと、ヤルルン王家の出自部族であるチャ部族が通婚したため、ダン氏の母権がチャ部族に入っていたことがわかるという。（山口 1983: 151-99 参照）その

²¹⁹ Coblin 1991: 316.

²²⁰ Nag dbaṅ tshul khriṃs 1997: 766.

²²¹ Stein 1983: 202, n. 97 cited above.

²²² Chu Junjie 1989: 34, 1990: 35-36.

²²³ Ishikawa 2001: 154, 157, n. 29.

²²⁴ Drikung 2011: 41.

²²⁵ Takeuchi 1995: 49.

²²⁶ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

²²⁷ Ishikawa 2001: 153, 157, n. 31.

²²⁸ See Jaeschke 1881.

ような事情がこの神話に反映されたため、ム王は父系母権制の女王に設定されているのかもしれない。1.149 でムが自身を母山羊に喩えていることも、その証左になるであろう。

If the land of Dmu is a patriarchal society because the king represents the paternal line, at this place one would expect something like *yam zan* ‘maternal relatives’ rather than *yab khu* ‘paternal relatives’ to be recorded. According to Yamaguchi, in the later historical text the *Rlan po ti bse ru* before the birth of the Yar luñ dynasty of Tufan (the ruling dynasty of ancient Tibet) the patrilineal Dmu tribe and the matriarchal Sbrañ married forming the composite patrilineal and matriarchal Sbrañ Dmu tribe, and then married the Phywa tribe, the original tribe of the Yarluñ dynasty. Because of that one can understand that the matriarchy of the Sbrañ entered into the Phywa clan (cf. Yamaguchi 1983: 151–99). This kind of situation is reflected in this legend. The king of Dmu is probably set up by a patrilineal matriarchal queen. In line 149 Dmu compares himself to a mountain she-goat, perhaps this is evidence for this interpretation.²²⁹

161 ma rdzogs: The word *rdzogs* means ‘perfected, complete’. Ishikawa translates the phrase 満足しない ‘unsatisfied’,²³⁰ Chu Junjie as 沒到齊 ‘not yet assembled’,²³¹ and Drikung as ‘still living’.²³² I prefer Chu Junjie’s reading, but without good reason.

162 sku gñen hphrul: Bellezza regards *sku gñen hphrul* as a personal name.²³³ I see no reason for doing so; the phrase means ‘the sacred relatives’ and this is contextually a sensible way of referring to the envoys of Phywa, now that it has been agreed to allow the to worship the *sku-bla*. On *hphrul* see Stein.²³⁴

163 gor-bu-ḥi žabs tshegs-la ...: Bellezza translates “I am very happy that you came here today without caring about the difficulty faced by your horse”.²³⁵ I do not see where there is any mention of a horse. The other major problem is Bellezza ignores *gnañ-ba* ‘deign, agree’. These lines must be addressed by the envoys, and it is they who have come.

²²⁹ Ishikawa 2001: 153, 156–58, n. 32.

²³⁰ Ishikawa 2001: 153.

²³¹ Chu Junjie 1990: 33.

²³² Drikung 2011: 41, 39, n. 63.

²³³ Bellezza 2005: 11–12.

²³⁴ Stein 1981.

²³⁵ Bellezza 2005: 12.

The crux of the interpretation rests on *gor-bu* 'round thing' which I have tentatively take as 'cushion'. Drikung notes that the *Bdra yig blo gsar mgrin rgyan* identifies *gor-bu* as *stan zlum mam gru bzi* 'a round or square seat'²³⁶ and translates 'a square seat'.²³⁷

164 bdag-cag ñan-pa yañ lha źal tsam mthoñ / lha bkaḥ tsam ñan: Karmay notes that the similar phrase *lha źal blta* 'look at the god' occurs in *Ge khod bsañ baḥi dkar tshan* (a section of the *Ge khod gsañ ba drag chen*, beginning on p.74, l. 3).²³⁸ Unfortunately Karmay does not give enough bibliographic information on this text to enable its consultation.

Bellezza translates "I the humble one have seen the face of the god I am obeying the *lha-bkaḥ*. Please confer on me the *bkaḥ*".²³⁹ This translation has various problems. First, *bdag-cag* is the plural 'we' and not the singular 'I'.²⁴⁰ Aside from this, the translation simply makes little sense in context. If the envoys had already seen the face of the god, what would they be asking for? There is a clear parallel construction between 'see the god's face' (*lha źal tsam mthoñ*) and 'hear the god's word' (*lha bkaḥ tsam ñan*). Bellezza has missed this parallel construction. Chu Junjie translation is accurate, but also misses this parallel "亲睹神颜，若降神旨 [(if) we see the face of the god, if we surrender to god's command]".²⁴¹ My translation follows Ishikawa "私たち卑しき者も神のお顔の程を拝見し，神のお言葉ばかりを拝聴しておりますゆえ [even we vulgar fellows saw merely the face of the god, and heard merely the voice of the god]".²⁴²

166 rgya sde: Read as *brgya sde*.

167 la dbyar myed: Read as *las dbyer myed*. In Old Tibetan *-la* frequently occurs in contexts where one would expect *-las*.²⁴³

167 ceḥu-yag: Chu Junjie notes that "最早是石泰安先生指出了是漢文《周易》的譯音詞 (Stein, 1983, p. 178, 1985, p. 119). [Professor Stein was the first to point out that *ceḥu yag* is a phonetic transcription for Chinese 周易 *Zhouyi*, I-ching 'book of change' (Stein 1983: 178, 1985:

²³⁶ Drikung 2011: 39, n. 64.

²³⁷ Drikung 2011: 41.

²³⁸ Karmay 1998: 393, 401, l. 7, 409, l. 7.

²³⁹ Bellezza 2005: 12.

²⁴⁰ Hill 2010b: 557–59.

²⁴¹ Chu Junjie 1990: 33.

²⁴² Ishikawa 2001: 154.

²⁴³ Takeuchi 1995: 49; Zeisler 2006: 70, 77.

119)]".²⁴⁴ Stein mentions two epithets for this work *ḥdzañs-paḥi yi-ge Cihū-yag* in PT 987 (l.11) and *Cu-yag-gyi yi-ge* in IOL Tib J 748 without specifying a line number.²⁴⁵

167 log-men: a type of divination

Appendix: Two Further Fragments Related to PT 126

Gergely Orosz draws my attention to two additional Dunhuang documents that contain material related to the story told in PT 126. I provide a provisional translation for the first fragment. The second fragment is so small that it resists translation.

IOL Tib J 747r

Text

(v1) mñah bdag Si-koñ-gyi źa ra sñar / dguñ tshig sa [tshigs] dañ-po-la bab-ste dguñ lhags cheb [che ba?] dañ

(v2) ḥbañs mañbo [mañ po] bde ba la bkod pa dañ / ri[x]n po cheḥi gdan khri-la bže[g]ñś [bšeñ śa] skyid-kyis rab-du ḥo[-]

(v3) [-]rgal (?) na / sk[u] gnen źiñ b[-]n ba-las sñ[u]n bžes sam ma bžes / mñah bdag Si-koñ myi ź[---]

(v4) bdag-cag ñan-pa lta sa śig mchis [x] pa phyogsmñah [phyogs mñah] tañ [thañ] che-baḥi źa ḥbreñ [ḥbriñ] mthaḥ mar mchis

(v5) di+u [de] riñ ga gdogs [gdugs] la / phyog[s]s mñah tañ [thañ] dag che / dbon źaṅ gdan ḥtshoms / sko [sku] bla gnye[g]n

(v6) riñ btod [bstod] par kam [thams?]-cad rgyad grags-nas thos / skyol [sku bla?] g[x]ñen-po-la ni yon ḥbol [ḥbul] / źaṅ-po nams-la

(v7) na [ni] sri źu ḥtshal źal mthoñ-bar ci gñañ / źa sña nes [nas] / lha gñen-po gcig mchis-pa ni da[g] dgoñ nañ

(v8) sañ sa nas mchod kañ [gañ] lags / lha dguñ-du gśags [gśegs] kyañ lags / phyag źal mthoñ-baḥi skabs

[a line of Uighur script in thick black ink]

(v9) kyañ ma mchis / thu[g]gs-dañ myi bskol-ste / slar gśag [gśegs] mdzod / ched-po źa sñan [sña] nes [nas] / bdag-cag

²⁴⁴ Chu Junjie 1990: 33, 36, n. 15.

²⁴⁵ Stein 1983: 178

(v10) ñan-pa yañ / lo lom nes [lam nas] bsams zla lam-nas ni dgoñs /
dbe [dpe] chen ni phyiñ ltar dril //

(v11) śul riñ ni žags ltar bsdogs-ste / spyān lam dumchis / phyogs
dbon žañ ni gdan ḥtshoms /

(v12) sku-bla gñen-po ni la riñ bstod-bar thos / lha-la ni yon [s]phul
/ myi-la phyag ḥchal [ḥtshal] // (v13) žal mthoñ-bar ci g[ž]nañ / ched-
po ža sña nas / bdag-cag [tsha] mtshan žañ gan [gdan] tshoms su la

(v14) thos / sko [sku]-bla gñen-po mchod gañ la[g]gs / lha gñen-po
cig mchis

OL Tib J 747 verso

Translation

To the presence of the ruler Si-koñ: it being the coming of the first *dguñ tshigs*, the *dguñ lhags che-ba* and many subjects were gladdened, and you ascended your precious throne. Happiness... extremely... have you caught an illness from sku gñen and...? Ruler Si-koñ...

“Lowly men such as ourselves have come to be the last (lowliest) servants of your great majesty. On this day the great majesties shall arrange the carpet [as] nephew and uncle. It being proclaimed (everywhere in the 8 directions?) that the *sku bla gñen* was being praised, we heard of it. We offer gifts to the *sku bla gñen po*. We offer respects to the maternal relatives. Please grant that we may see the face [of the *sku bla*?].”

From the presence: “Why do you wish to offer this evening or tomorrow to whatever *lha gñen po* there is? The god has in fact gone away. It is not the time for viewing his face and hands. thugs dañ myi bskol ste [something like, don’t be angry?], but do go away”.

From the presence of the great one: “We lowly men have indeed thought about this on the road of months, pondered this on the road of years (?). We have rolled up the great book like [a roll of] felt. We have bound the long road like a lasso, and have come to the road of sight [i.e., within sight of our objective]. We shall arrange the carpet [as] nephew and uncle. We have heard the *sku bla gñen po* was praised from afar / was ... / its sacred but defunct presence was praised. We offer gifts to the god, we offer obeisance to the men. Grant that we may see the face”.

From the presence of the great one: “Who has heard that we shall meet as nephew and uncle? Why offer to the *sku bla gñen po*? [Whatever] *lha gñen po* there is...

IOL Tib N 136 (M.I.iii.6)

A wood slip, 18.9cm x 1.9cm x 0.2cm

(r1) \$/:/ gsolpaḥ [gsol paḥ] sañ lags na / / [la] sku bla-la phyag
tsam yañ bśes

(r2)[-]n lam tsam yañ mdzad/ na lha bdag-du brdan gśegs-dañ
[tsham]

(v1) [---]m-du ci gñañ/ /

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Smra myi ste btsun po and Rma myi de btsun po: A Trial Translation of an Indigenous Tibetan Funeral Narrative, The First Part of PT 1136¹

Iwao Ishikawa

(Nakamura Hajime Eastern Institute)

he paper of Rolf A. Stein commemorating Marcelle Lalou was published in 1971. It focused on indigenous funeral narratives recorded in Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts.² According to Stein, these accounts guaranteed the efficacy of funerals. Many accounts of funerals could be collected or generated to serve this purpose. The narratives were composed in a standard format (accident → death → pursuit of remedies → funeral). The plots varied widely, but the final elements (funeral) were almost identical.

Stein's 1971 paper has stimulated numerous researchers, albeit sometimes indirectly. In recent years, it has particularly encouraged scholars to discuss the establishment of Tibetan Buddhism in the intermediate period, around the 10th century. In 2008, C. Cantwell and R. Mayer examined Buddhist ritual texts of the intermediate period. Padmasambhava appears in these texts, which evince the adoption of Buddhicization strategies to introduce Tibetan Buddhist narratives akin to indigenous ritual narratives into Indian Buddhist rituals. In an argument mooted in 2013 and slightly revised, expanded, and republished in 2016, B. Dotson contend that some indigenous ritual texts resembled catalogues of ritual precedents. Many of these writings guaranteed the validity of funeral rites. The *Zas gtaḍ kyi lo rgyus*, a later Buddhist text, lists the destruction of small kingdoms that were opposed to the Yar lung kingdom predating the Tibetan empire because these realms practised indigenous funeral rites. This strategy was employed to represent the detrimental nature of indigenous funeral rites as a certainty.

Indigenous ritual narratives functioned significantly in the Buddhicization of the intermediate period. However, the contents of

¹ This paper is an expanded version of a paper that I recently published in Japanese. See Ishikawa 2018.

² These accounts include considerable archetypal elements of funeral rituals of the Bon religion, an ethnic Tibetan religion of the later period. However, I clearly distinguish the ancient indigenous religion from the Bon religion because their doctrines are substantially and essentially different.

indigenous ritual narratives remain obscure to us today. The elucidation of such unclear aspects and an increase in the contemporary understanding of this genre of narratives are undoubtedly necessary. It would illuminate the issue of Buddhicization and clarify the reality of indigenous Tibetan religions.

My contribution to this volume is the provisional translation of a narrative from the funeral ritual texts Stein examined in his 1971 article. This narrative is untitled but equates to “the first” (*le premier*) of Pelliot tibétain (henceforth PT) 1136 in Stein’s 1971 paper.³ For descriptive convenience, my translation is named “Smra myi ste btsun po and Rma myi de btsun po” after the names of the protagonists. My translation is based on the transliteration of the manuscript on Old Tibetan Documents Online (OTDO: <http://otdo.aa-ken.jp>). However, it also references the graphic data obtained from Gallica (<https://gallica.bnf.fr>), an electronic library operated by the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The major obstacle to translating such ritual narratives is their specialized terminology, which is distinct from that of Classical Tibetan literature. Some terms require explication beyond the frame of annotation. I therefore begin this paper with an effort to ascertain the meanings of certain difficult terms. I then present the translation and finally discuss the two mysterious protagonists.

1. *Rgyal thag brgyad, se gru bzhi, and bse'i cho rol*

The first part of PT 1136 includes a description of the preparation of a funeral for Smra myi ste btsun po. I focus on a couplet in this account (ll. 18–19): “*rgyal thag brgyad* were constructed at the border.⁴ *Se gru bzhi* were built in the valley”. (*rgyal [thag?] brgyad ni bas la bchas / se gru bzhi ni lung du brtsigs*). Similar couplets are common in other Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts on indigenous funerals, but the two terms of *rgyal thag brgyad* and *se gru bzhi* are not found in later Tibetan literature. A longer couplet in PT 1068 (ll. 114–16) can be used as a key for the interpretation of the two words despite the fact that this task involves the understanding of another unknown word *'brum*: *'brum du ni se btsugs /*

³ The top and bottom portions of PT 1136 are torn. To be accurate, this narrative is not the first account because it follows the end of another narrative whose principal part is not available. However, I follow Stein’s recognition of this narrative as “the first” (*le premier*), see Stein 1971: 501–502.

⁴ Considering that this quotation is a couplet, *bchas* must resemble *brtsigs* in meaning. Thus, the former is not a variant of *bcas* meaning ‘together with’, or ‘having’ as an adjective but means ‘to make’, ‘to prepare’, or ‘to construct’ as a past form of the verb *'cha' ba*.

se 'brum bzhi bcas / / rgyal thag brgyad ni 'bres / shing gdang bzhi ni btsugs.

I will first discuss the meaning of *'brum*. Lalou attempted a reading of this word in her French translation of PT 1042, a manual containing directives for royal funerals of the Tibetan Empire. She presumed, on the basis of another sentence in PT 1068 (l.73), “*sgo 'brum du bsu ston na ma bsu*” (in OTDO, “*sgo 'brum du bsu ston na ma [bsus?]*”),⁵ that *'brum* was equivalent to *'gram*, which meant ‘near’ in Classical Tibetan. If the English translation follows her interpretation, the statement could be translated as: “When [she] was to meet [him] in front of the gate, [she] didn’t meet [him]”.⁶ Her interpretation certainly fits some contexts in Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts, while an opposite reading is more apt for others. For example, the correspondence of the first four syllables to the latter four is clear in the statement: *gnam gi pha mtha dgung gi pha 'brum* (PT 1040, l. 35). Here, the translation “the end of the sky, the edge of the heaven” seems more appropriate. Besides, this couplet is found in PT 1134, ll. 16, 23–24, 47–48, 86–87, and IOL Tib J 731, verso, l. 70. Since *'brum* means ‘boundary’ or ‘border’ regardless of the distance perspective, it may plausibly be used in the form of *sgo 'brum*, ‘gate boundary’ or *pha 'brum*, ‘edge’.

Taking this meaning of *'brum* into consideration, the translation of the problematic couplet in PT 1068 (ll. 114–16) can be read as: “*se* was constructed as the border (*'brum*) and the four edges of *se* (*se 'brum bzhi*) were built, *rgyal thag brgyad* were stretched and four wooden poles were built”.

This understanding of the meaning of *'brum* allows us to progress the discussion to the meaning of *se*. It may immediately be noted that the phrase “four edges of *se*” (*se 'brum bzhi*) in PT 1068 corresponds to the *se gru bzhi* in the first part of PT 1136. Since *gru bzhi* means ‘four angles’, or ‘four corners’, *se gru bzhi* may signify “the four angles of *se*”. Present-day dictionaries define *se* as a variant of *bse*. The contemporary lexical understanding of the term *bse* deems it to be an abbreviation for *bse ko* ‘tanned leather’, *bse shing* ‘tree from which lacquer is produced’ or *bse ru* ‘horn of rhinoceros’. Each of these items may be literally interpreted as *'bse* leather’, *'bse* tree’, and *'bse* horn’. The words thus evince a common term *bse*. Stein believed that *bse* denoted a semi-precious stone in the literature related to indigenous funerals from Dunhuang.⁷ Even so, immortality and immutability may be deduced to represent attributes common to all these items. It is pertinent to recall at this juncture that the first chapter of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* describes the tomb of King Spu de gung rgyal, who established the Yar lung kingdom, as Grang mo gnam bse’, or the

⁵ See Lalou 1952: 350, n. 3.

⁶ See Stein 1971: 521–24 for the plot of this narrative.

⁷ See Stein 1971: 495 and 501.

“cold place, heavenly *bse'*.”⁸ Since *bse'* may be read as a variant of *bse*, the inference that the grave was called *bse'* because of its immutability becomes plausible. The tomb of Spu de gung rgyal remains undiscovered but was probably built on Mount Gyang tho in the Kong po district. However, the successive kings were laid to rest in the Yar lung Valley, and their tombs are visible even now. Large tombs are shaped as squares or trapezoids with flat tops, regardless of their location. The famous 'Phyong rgyas royal tombs in the upper reaches of the Yar lung Valley, or their predecessors near the Btsan thang village in the lower reaches of the valley, evince the same form.⁹ The phrase “four edges of *se*” or “four angles of *se*” must reference this type of tomb. Tombs were constructed in the valleys (*lung*) and denoted the boundary (*brum*) between the world of the living and the realm of the dead; hence, this identification is apt to the context of both PT 1136 and PT 1068.

The remaining undetermined phrase is *rgyal thag brgyad*. In this construct, *rgyal* can mean *rgyal po* or ‘king’ as a common noun. In the same manner, *thag* can signify *thag pa* or ‘rope’, and *brgyad* can denote the cardinal number, ‘eight’. The phrase can thus be translated as “eight king-ropes” because, in Tibetan, the cardinal number modifies the preceding phrase as an adjective. It has been noted that PT 1068 mentions the installation of four poles, probably to hang the eight king-ropes, and PT 1136 states that the eight king-ropes were placed on the border (*bas*), or in the grave area. Unfortunately, it is difficult to identify this object in the absence of any archaeological discoveries related to eight king-ropes, and estimating the type of article that is indicated is problematic. However, since there were four poles for hanging ropes and eight ropes, it is possible that two ropes were hung on each pole. Perhaps one pole was installed at the centre of each of the four sides of a tomb, and two ropes were stretched separately from each of the poles to the ends of one side, that is, to the corners of the tomb. Among the notes on funeral offerings described in the funeral manual, PT 1042, are the following prescriptions: “For the calculation of slaughtered sheep,¹⁰ four sheep in the four angles of *se* [and] four sheep in eight king-ropes do not count [as slaughtered sheep]. *Skyibs* and *mtshal ma[r]*” (ll. 91–93: *bshan lug brtsI ba*

⁸ See PT 1287, ll. 61–62; Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint Gustave 1940: 100 and 128.

⁹ I recently wrote a paper in Japanese about such grave systems. See Ishikawa 2019: 60–58 (pages in reverse order).

¹⁰ Present-day dictionaries include a noun *bshan pa*, defined as ‘slaughterer’. I regard *bshan lug* as *bshan pa'i lug* or “slaughtered sheep”, because I assume that the word existed as a verb at that time.

¹¹ Both of these two terms denote the special sacrificial sheep for the funeral, sent out as companions of the dead in PT 1042, l. 138, where the term “*mtshal mar*” appears instead of “*mtshal ma*”. Since *mtshal* means ‘cinnabar sand’ and is thought to mean sheep coated with cinnabar sand, the accurate spelling is “*mtshal mar*”, in which the second syllable is an abbreviation of *dmar po*, or ‘red’. *Skyibs* means ‘evacuation

ni / se gru bzhi la / lug bzhi / / rgyal thag brgyad la lug bzhi / / 'di rnams ni grangs la ma gtogso / / skyibs tang / mtshal / ma ni grangs la gtogso). The directives appear to iterate that sacrificial sheep, such as *skyibs* and *mtshal mar* that go to paradise with the dead, should be counted while other sacrificial sheep should not. Despite the specification of eight ropes, four sheep are believed to have been sacrificed at the eight king-ropes. This specification appears to reflect the dedication of sheep to each of the four poles from which the ropes were hung.

As an aside, *bse* is seen in another couplet in the PT 1136 narrative to which this article is devoted. This may be cited as an exemplar of Stein's postulation of *bse* as signifying a semi-precious stone: "[The foal] was placed in the *cho rol* of *bse'* and tied with the *dmu*-stake of azurite" (l. 23: *bse'i cho rol du ni bcug / mthing gi dmu rtod kyis bsgrogs*). The repetitive form of the indigenous funeral narrative duplicates phrases of the same structure that are synonymous or almost equivalent. Thus, if one phrase is understood, then the other may be surmised. Since *bse* corresponds to azurite (*mthing*), it certainly denotes a precious stone. However, *cho rol* corresponds to the *dmu*-stake, and Stein reads *cho rol* as an "an enclosure" (*un enclos*). His interpretation seems to be generally accurate. *Cho rol* may be seen as an abbreviation of *cho 'phrul rol ba* or the 'exercise of magic'. The *dmu*-stake of the corresponding phrase can hence imply a magical item. *Dmu* is a cliché pertaining to extremely mysterious phenomena in Tibetan myths and legends. In Dunhuang literature, PT 126 Part 2 mentions the immutable country of *Dmu*, isolated from other regions, and alludes to the king of *Dmu*.¹² In PT 1134, the god of heaven 'Gun tsun phyva cannot catch the two horses Dang mgyogs and Yid mgyogs but the king of *Dmu* captures them using his lasso.¹³ It is reasonable to conceive of *cho rol*, a phrase corresponding to a powerful magical stake imbued with a formidable grip, as a powerful magic fence or mystical barrier.

How can *bse* be identified as a precious stone? The beginning of the story of PT 1040 describes a situation in which a princess travels to *Dmu's* country to be married. Among the gifts presented to *Dmu*, the family of the bridegroom, are items such as "[a] golden egg [and] eggs of *g.yu*,¹⁴ *bse*, and conch shell" (ll. 9–10: *gser gi sga mo g.yu bse dung gi sga*

centres', or those who receive a request for help. PT 239 recto describes the *skyibs* sheep in detail. See the translations in Stein 1970; Chu Junjie 1990; Ishikawa 2010; and Nishida 2019.

¹² See Stein 1959: 62, 64; Ishikawa 2000; Ishikawa 2001.

¹³ See Stein 1971: 495.

¹⁴ *G.yu* is a precious stone accorded the highest value in Tibetan society. In pronunciation, it is a word that is related to the Chinese word *yu* 玉, or 'jade'. However, present-day dictionaries allude to it as 'turquoise' and it appears to have been defined as lapis lazuli in ancient times. It seems that *g.yu* was deemed a particularly

mo). The funeral manual PT 1042 also lists “gold, *g.yu*, *bse*, and conch shell” (l. 10: *gser g.yu bse dung*) as offerings. Gold, *g.yu*, and conch shells are treasures favoured by Tibetans even today; it is thus possible that *bse* is also a similar type of treasure. While it may not necessarily denote a mineral, it could represent a valued item that signifies immortality like the conch shell. Scrutiny of ‘Gun tsun phyva’s above-mentioned attempts to capture the horses in PT 1134 (ll. 102–108) taking this point of view into account yields the following narrative:

After a while, at the end of the sky, at the edge of the heaven,¹⁵ there was a large rock of *g.yu* about the size of one yak. [Horses] drank water at the fountain of *g.yu* on the other side of the large rock of *g.yu* about the size of one yak. *Mang lag* of *bse* was laid on the shore of the fountain of *g.yu*, and some rock salt of treasure was scattered. When the elder brother *Dang mgyogs* and the younger brother *Yid mgyogs* were drinking water at the fountain of *g.yu* and licking some rock salt of treasure, they hit *mang lag* [of] *bse*, and they were tied up. After being tied up to the far parts [of their body],¹⁶ [they] took off the *mang lag* and fled scatteringly.

Perhaps ‘Gun tsun phyva had previously set *mang lag* of *bse* as traps. *Mang lag* appears to denote ‘many branches’. It is possible that the *bse* bears many branches that intertwine with the creatures they touch. The above-mentioned mystical barrier of *bse* could depend on such forces. Since there are branched parts, it is tempting to think that the *bse* that forms the mystical barrier is *bse shing*, or the ‘lacquer tree’. However, it is difficult to imagine that lacquer trees would appear in the context of the precious stones listed in the above quote. It is known that Tibetans have treasured immortal items, including marine products such as conch shells, since time immemorial. Such an object—immortal in value, loved by Tibetans, a marine product like the conch shell, but with branched parts—is easily conceivable. The “*mang lag* of *bse*” could very possibly denote coral skeletons. Corals do not in reality intertwine with objects they touch, but it would not be strange for them to appear as such mysterious articles in the mythical realm.

Tibet must have been an intersection of multiple cultures across Eurasia since its prehistoric times, because of its location at the crossroads of

high grade of the blue precious stone. See Laufer 1913: 20–21; Schafer 1963: 230–31, n. 88; Ishikawa 2008: 182, n. 6.

¹⁵ *Bram*, a variant of *'brum*, appears in this couplet, which is an example of the cliché described above.

¹⁶ Although *rgyang* is a noun denoting ‘distance’ in the current lexicon, I believe that it was used as an adverb in the case of this Dunhuang Tibetan text, and I interpret it as “to the far parts”.

Eurasia. According to E.H. Schafer, the Chinese people regarded coral skeletons as evocations of the jewel trees of Penglai 蓬萊 and Kunlun 崑崙 or of the dwelling places of *xian* 仙, the immortal hermits.¹⁷ The scene in the quote set out above is also akin to the *xian* world, and the Chinese visualization of corals seems strongly reflected. However, the belief of Tibetans in the immortality of corals is likely to be older than the influx of such an envisioning from China. The Himalayan region lay on the ocean floor in ancient times, and it is thus enriched with mountain corals. Perhaps Tibetans were long amazed at the fact that corals, precious marine products from foreign countries, could also be found as fossils in their area.

However, the word that signifies 'coral' in present-day dictionaries is *byi ru* or *byu ru*. *Byi* and *byu* both mean 'mouse' and *ru* denotes 'horn', thus the literal translation is "horn of the mouse". The term probably alluded to porcupine (*byi thur*) needles. These compound words could have evolved to become allusions to corals because of the apparent similarity between porcupine needles and coral skeletons. The OTDO database, encompassing the principal texts of ancient indigenous religions, does not document the use of *byi ru* or *byu ru* to mean coral, even though Tibetan people are known to treasure this marine material. It cannot be determined whether corals were originally called *bse* and later became termed *byi ru* or *byu ru*, or whether corals were called *bse* in the texts of ancient indigenous religions because of their belief in the material's immortality. However, it may be asserted that numerous instances exist in this genre in which *bse* means 'coral'.

2. Transliteration

(7) \$ /:/ yul dga' yul byang rnam na smra myi ste btsun po dang rma myi de btsun po gnyis shig mchisna / / 'o na smra myi ste (8) btshun po snying du yang rma myi de [btsun po] las sdug ma mchis / rma myi de [btsun po]'i snying du yang smra myi ste btsun po las sdug (9) ma mchiste myi sdug gnyis ni shag rag bgyis gchig shi ni gchig gis bdur bar bgyis gchig rlag ni (10) gchig gis btshal bar bgyisna / / 'o na re shig re shigna smra myi ste btshun po zhig byang 'brog snam stod du (11) g.yag shor 'brong 'gor du gshegsna / 'brong ba myi gshed gyis smra myi ste btshun po zhig myi rta gdum du bldugste (12) bkroings kyis ma mchisno / / re shig [re? shig?] na rma myi de btsun po zhig ro bsdad ni zhag du ma byond (13) zhag bsdad ni slar slar ma byond / [slar bsdad] / ni lor ma byon lo bsdad ni snying du ma byon nas / rma myi de btshun (14) pho zhig byang ka snam brgyad du smra myi ste btshun po zhig [tsha]l du byon na smra myi ste btshun po ni 'brong bu myi (15) gshed

¹⁷ See Schafer 1963: 246.

kyis myi dri ru bkrongs kyispur ma mchis // dang [tsha]l nas thugs chad ro ru chad brang [gam?] gdingsu (16) gam thugs gnag chad kyis byams stang gi ngo mo ['tshald?] spun mchi 'khor gyis ni lta l[as?] [ldog?] dkar (17) [myi] gzigs du myi ngu na mchi ma khrag gis nguste / rma myi de'i chen pos / smra myi ste btshun [po'i? spur?] shig [snaM? ste?] (18) rma myi de'i btsun po'i mchid nas / smra myi ste btsun po 'od shid du [gtang?] ['tshal?] [brang?] du gzugs 'tshal gsung ste rgyal [thag?] brgyad ni (19) bas la bchas / se gru bzhi ni lung du brtsigs / gdan byang gdan khod mo ni gdan du bting / gram mching gram sngon mo ni phabsu bkhröM // 'o na do [ma] (20) ma mchis snying dags ma mchis nas // rma myi de'i btshun po zhig do ma tsholdu mchis snying dags tshol du mchisna / yul sre ga rte'u lung na (21) rta pha yab kyi mtshan na / gser rta'I gser ma ron dang ma g.yu rta'i g.yu ma ron gnyis rta gnyis 'tshos kyi bu rmang gnyis 'thams kyi (22) bu lo'i dusu rte'u bal bu mtshog rum zhig byung ste / rte'u ma pyi 'brang ba las / rma myi de'i btsun pos / mang zhags 'breng gis bzung ste / skyes (23) mthu che ni mthu 'is drangs ste / bse'i cho rol du ni bcug / mthing gi dmu rtod kyis bsgrogs nas / pyugs spo mnye du ma / smra myi ste btsun po dang (24) myi ngan bu gnyis myi sdug gnyis ni shag rag bgyiste gchig shi ni gchig gIs bdur bar bgyis na / smra myi ste btshun po ni rman te ni grongs / (25) sdug ste ni rlag na / shid bgyir 'brang gzugsu / do ma ma mchis snying dags ma mchisna // pyugs smo ma khyod kyis chab gang lar bgyi 'tshal (26) yang ba rab du spogs 'tshal zhes mchi nas // yul dga' yul byang rnam[s]u [rte?] 'u bal bu khri de bzhud nas / mying dang btshan btags pa' (27) ser ngang 'ger btags nas 'tshal te mchis nas bres rta bres skyal mo skyil mor stsald nas / 'bras kyi lchang pa ni gsan bu ram nyug (28) cu ni blod nas / pum phum ni dar gyis bchings / dbu la bya ru khyung ru ni btsugs / rngog ma ni gsham du bkye / sogs shun sge'u gong ni / khabsu (29) bkab / mjug mani slungsu stsald te chab gang ni lar btab yang 'ba' [rab] du spagste / phan te bsod do //

3. Translation

There were two [people] called Smra myi ste btsun po and Rma myi de btsun po in Byang rnam, the land of joy. No one was more beautiful than Rma myi de btsun po in Smra myi ste btsun po's heart. No one was more beautiful than Smra myi ste btsun po in Rma myi de btsun po's heart. The two beautiful people made a friendship alliance.¹⁸ [According

¹⁸ I follow Stein in translating *shag rag* (l. 9) as “alliance of friendship” (*alliance d'amitié*), see Stein 1971: 494 and 501. According to him, it is a term frequently used to describe the relationship between dragons and human beings in the *Klu 'bum* Bon scripture. It may be a compound word formed from *shag po*, ‘ally’, and *rag pa*, a variant of *rogs pa*, ‘friend’. If the noun *rogs pa* was also used as a verb, its future tense and past tense are likely to be *rag*, considering the general tendency of the inflectional forms of Tibetan transitive verbs. See Yamaguchi 2002: 98–102.

to this accord] if one died, the other would hold a funeral; if one was devastated, the other would perform a ritual.

One day, Smra myi ste btsun po went to the northern wilderness Snam stod to hunt wild yaks. The wild yak, Myi gshed (meaning 'human slaughter'), turned Smra myi ste btsun po into nothingness by crushing and killing both the human and his horse. Rma myi de btsun po waited for a while, but [Smra myi ste btsun po] did not come back that day. [he] still did not return even after a day [had passed]. [Rma myi de btsun po waited longer],¹⁹ but [Smra myi ste btsun po] did not come back in a year. [he] did not appear on the day [of his disappearance] even after one year [had passed].²⁰ When Rma myi de btsun po went to the northern wilderness Snam bryad in search of Smra myi ste btsun po,²¹ [he found that] Smra myi ste btsun po had been killed by Myi gshed, the wild yak's son, before [he could] utter a word,²² [and that] there was nothing [that could be called] remains [of him]. After [searching]²³ for him, Rma myi de btsun po's heart was disturbed. [He was] disordered [in his mind] because of the corpse. [Rma myi de btsun po] was upset in [his] chest.²⁴ [He was] upset because of the scattered things (i.e. the pieces of the human and horse bodies). [He] was gloomy and disturbed, looking for the face of

¹⁹ Using an image of the manuscript on the Gallica website, these illegible letters are identifiable when compared with the images of "*slar*" and "*bsdad*" that appear in the same line. That is, they should be "*slar bsdad*".

²⁰ The word *snying* is used instead of *zhag*, 'day' in this sentence. So, this *snying* is equal to *nyi*, which does not mean 'heart' but 'day'. The examples of *snying* meaning 'day' are often found in indigenous funeral narratives in Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts.

²¹ In the OTDO text, the word translated by me as "search" is described as "[-]l" (l. 14), meaning that the first letter is illegible. The colour of the letters is light and hard to read, but when I scrutinize their images on Gallica, I can read "*tshal*", or 'search' in English, and this sense suits the context quite well.

²² In the OTDO, this phrase is "*myi dri nu*" (l. 15), but its image on Gallica can be read as "*myi dri ru*".

²³ In the OTDO text, this syllable is "[-]l" (l. 15), meaning that the first letter is illegible. Observing its image on Gallica, a small crevice is noted that makes it difficult to read, but as in note 21, I shall read "[*tsha*]" from its context.

²⁴ I translate "*brang gam*" (l. 15) as "upset in [his] chest", because *brang*, 'chest' and '*gam pa*, 'to threaten', are included in some dictionaries today. Jäschke's dictionary 1881: 94, col. 2 includes '*gem pa*, 'to kill', which can be considered to denote a verb with the same origin as '*gam pa*. Examples offered in the dictionary to elucidate the meaning of '*gem pa* include *klad pa* 'gems pa, 'to surprise'. Since *klad pa* means 'head', *klad pa* 'gems pa can be literally translated as "to kill head" and is similar to *brang gam*.

[his] beloved companion.²⁵ The brother was so tearful²⁶ that he could not see [it],²⁷ even though it was difficult to get [that beloved face] out of [his mind's] sight (?).²⁸ When the human cried, [his] tears flowed as blood, and Rma myi de btsun po²⁹ took the remains of Smra myi ste btsun po. And Rma myi de btsun po said, "[I] hope that Smra myi ste btsun po will be sent to the light-funeral. [I] will look for a body as [his] companion". Eight king-ropes were constructed at the border. The four angles of immortality were built in the valley.³⁰ The rugs, Byang gdan khod mo,³¹ were laid as rugs, and the stones, Mching gram sngon mo,³² were spread³³ as falling objects.

Well, there was no sacrificial horse; there was no favourite horse.³⁴ Rma myi de btsun po went to find a sacrificial horse. [He] went to look

²⁵ In the classical and modern Tibetan language, *stang* alone does not usually mean 'companionship'. However, *stangs dpyal*, 'couple', can be confirmed in present-day dictionaries, such as the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* 1985: 1100, col. 1.

²⁶ "Mchi 'khor" (l. 16) means "mchi ma'khor", or "tears overflow". For the interpretation of this phrase, we can refer to "dga' spro'i mchi ma 'khor ba", or "the tears of joy overflow" under the entry of *mchi ma* in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* 1985: 845, col. 2.

²⁷ It is "[mya?] gzig du" (l.17) in the text of OTDO, but I found an extremely faint trace of the vowel symbol -i on "mya" in the image on Gallica. I thus read "[mya?]" as "myi".

²⁸ It is "lta l[-] d[u?]g dkar" (l.16) in the OTDO text and it is difficult to decipher "l[-]" even when the actual manuscript image distributed by Gallica is inspected. However, it is possible that "l[-]" could be read as "las". I shall thus read "lta l[-] d[u?]g dkar" as "lta las ldog dkar".

²⁹ The OTDO text reads this phrase as "smra myi ste btsun [-] chen pos" (l. 17). When I checked the image on Gallica, the line "smra myi ste btsun po" was crossed out, and it was continued as "rma myi de'i chen pos". The spelling is a little different, but I am certain that it is Rma myi de btsun po. The text seems to be copied, not heard, because the mistake of substituting "de btsun pos" for "de'i chen pos" is probably due to the visual similarity between the two-character strings.

³⁰ I have already analyzed this cliché in indigenous funeral narratives in Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts in the first section.

³¹ In the narratives of this genre, ritual offerings and tools are often accorded proper names even if they are inanimate. This name means "comfortable northern rug".

³² In Jäschke's dictionary, 1881: 169, col. 2, *mching bu* or '*ching bu* is 'glass jewel' in English. And the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* regards it as a middle rank of light-weighting mottled jewels. If Mching gram sngon mo are blue, glassy, and not very valuable gems, they are probably blue jaspers.

³³ I regarded *bkhrom* as a variant of *bkram*, the past tense form of '*grem pa*).

³⁴ The text of OTDO is "do ma mchis snying dags ma mchis" (ll. 19–20). It is a couplet that repeats the same content, as usual. One syllable is omitted in the first half, as is evident from the fact that the first half has three syllables and the second half has four syllables. It would be "do [ma] ma mchis snying dags ma mchis" if the first syllable was supplemented. l. 19 ends with "do" and l. 20 begins with "ma mchis". Thus, the copyist probably intended to write "do ma" at the end of l. 19. The omission of the one syllable also suggests that this text is not the product of a listening transcription; it is, rather, a visual copy of the text. As in Stein 1971: 485, *do ma* and *snying bdag* are names for sacrificial animals.

for a favourite horse.

[In] the land of Sre ga *rté'u lung*,³⁵ [lived] a father of horse, *gser rta' i gser ma ron*,³⁶ and a mother [horse], *g.yu rta'i g.yu ma ron*.³⁷ In time, a baby made³⁸ by the two horses, a baby held by the two horses, a foal, *bal bu mtshog rum*,³⁹ was born. The foal followed behind his mother, but Rma myi de btsun po caught him with a rope with many loops. The power of the human was so strong that the horse was taken away and was placed in a mystical barrier of coral and tied with the *dmu*-stake of azurite.⁴⁰ [Rma myi de btsun po] said "Noble domestic animal, close relative,⁴¹ the two of [us], Smra myi ste btsun po and humble me, the two [of us] beautiful [friends], made a friendship alliance: if one died, the other would hold a funeral. Smra myi ste btsun po was hurt and died. [We agreed that] if one was destroyed despite being beautiful, the other would perform a ritual. There is no sacrificial horse [for the funeral]. There is no favourite horse [for it]. Therefore, noble domestic animal,⁴² I ask you to exercise [your] courage on the passes.⁴³ I ask you to make [your] jump with lightness over the shallows".⁴⁴ In Byang rnam, the land of joy, the foal *bal bu khri de* departed.⁴⁵ [Rma myi de btsun po] gave [the foal] the name "Ser ngang 'ger".⁴⁶ As for [his] tub, full mangers were given [to

³⁵ The English equivalent of *sre* is 'mottled'. *Ga* can be considered a corruption of the abbreviation of *kha dog*, 'colour'. Since the meaning of *rté'u* is 'foal', and *lung* is 'valley', it seems that Sre ga *rté'u lung* would mean "valley of the mottled foal".

³⁶ The term could signify "gold of the golden horse". The syllable *ron* that appears at the end of this name is often used as the last syllable of horse names in Dunhuang manuscripts. It may be a word related to *rod*, or 'looks', in contemporary dictionaries, but represents an equivalent of the Japanese suffix *maru* 丸 for names of human child, dogs, horses, etc.

³⁷ This could mean "g.yu of the g.yu horse", as in the previous note. See note 14 for *g.yu*.

³⁸ *tshos* (l. 21) is the past tense form of *tsho ba*, which is considered by Stein to belong to a group of verbs meaning "create", "procreate", "be", "become", "live", "nurture", and "heal", see Stein 1973. In this instance, it means "procreate".

³⁹ Considering that *bal bu* is likely equal to *snam bu*, textile made from wool, and *mtshog* can be a variant of *mtshogs*, or 'similar', and *rum* signifies 'carpet', this term perhaps means "carpet similar to wool fabric".

⁴⁰ This couplet is discussed in the first section.

⁴¹ *Spo mnye du ma* (l. 23) is what is referred to as *spo ma nye du* in other funeral texts, and this term is used especially when talking to sacrificial animals. See Stein 1971: 485, n. 14.

⁴² *Smo ma* (l. 25) could be a variant of *spo ma*. See the previous note.

⁴³ *Chab gang* (l. 25) is an honorific form of *chu gang*, 'courage', and is one of the terms indicating the abilities of sacrificial animals.

⁴⁴ *Yang ba* (l. 26), 'lightness', like the *chab gang* in the previous note, is a word that indicates the ability of a sacrificial animal.

⁴⁵ The second half of the foal's name has been replaced with *khri de*.

⁴⁶ The OTDO text states "*ser ngang 'ger btags nas*" (l. 27). Normally, the verb *btags*, or 'named', requires a particle at end of its complement. However, here *-r* at the end of the complement 'ger does not seem to be a particle. If *ser*, *ngang* and 'ger are

him],⁴⁷ and [the human and the horse] listened to the weeping willows of rice,⁴⁸ and molasses⁴⁹ were poured. The mane on the top of [his] head⁵⁰ was tied with silk, and the horns of the bird, the horns of the phoenix, were attached to [his] head,⁵¹ and the mane on [his] neck was combed down. A fine *Sogs-shun*-saddle (?) covered [the horse] like a mansion, and [his] tail was made like the wind.

[His] courage was exercised on the passes. [His] light-footed jumps were performed over the shallows.⁵² It is profitable and auspicious.

4. *The Twin Relationship between Smra myi ste btsun po and Rma myi de btsun po*

The two individuals are depicted as lovers or as a couple. Since the role of *Smra myi ste btsun po* performed the role of hunting and the role of *Rma myi de btsun po* is depicted as being homebound, the former seems like a husband and the latter is akin to a wife.

However, their remarkably similar names are not suited to the construal of such a relationship. *Smra myi ste btsun po*, “Human, that is, pure person” and *Rma myi de btsun po*, “The human, pure person”,

abbreviations of *ser po*, ‘yellow’, *ngang pa*, ‘light-bay horse’ and *ger ma*, ‘red copper’ respectively, *ser ngang ger* could be an abbreviation of *ser po’i ngang ba ger ma*, “yellowish light-bay horse with red copper colour”.

⁴⁷ *skyal mo skyil mor* (l. 27) seems to be an adverb made by transforming and repeating a verb *skyil ba*, ‘retain’. Such adverbs are illustrated in Yamaguchi 2002: 71–72.

⁴⁸ The OTDO text states “*bras kyi lcang pa ni gsan ca*” (l. 27). However, an observation of the image on Gallica ultimately yields the sense that a writing error at the end was erased with a vertical strikethrough. Thus, *ca* at the end should be erased in this sentence. I think that this sentence signifies that there were plenty of ears of weeping rice grass in mangers, and the human and the horse heard them blowing in the wind and making noise.

⁴⁹ *Bu ram nyug cu* (ll. 27–28) is translated literally as “raw sugar-coating liquid”. Tibet is not a sugar-producing region, but sugarcane is a special product in the neighbouring Yunnan and in areas south of the Himalayas. It thus seems that the statement envisions molasses brought in from those areas.

⁵⁰ *Pum phum* (l. 28) may be a variant of *phum phum*, the meanings of which are “posterior” and “anus” in Jäschke’s dictionary 1881: 344, col. 1. However, after the description that *phum phum* was tied with silk, our text shifts to the description of attaching horns, and then the styling of the mane is described, so the meaning listed in the Tibetan-Tibetan dictionary, *Dag yig gsar bsgrigs* 1979: 489, col. 2. “The name of the long hair that hangs down from the top of the horse’s head” (*rta’i thod par mar’phyung pa’i spu ring po’i ming*) would be more appropriate than Jäschke’s in this context.

⁵¹ The OTDO text states “*dbul*” (l. 28). However, it is highly possible that a dot was forgotten between the letter *ba* and the letter *la*. If we read it as “*dbu la*”, it makes sense.

⁵² The OTDO text states “[*bab?*]” (l. 29). However, this term is probably *rab*, ‘shallow’, because it is a word in the fixed phrase we saw earlier.

approximate the same name in both sound and meaning.⁵³ Uttered in the current Lhasa dialect, the two names sound the same. S. van Schaik studied transcription errors in Dunhuang Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts, and found that the Tibetan of the Dunhuang manuscripts of the 10th century had already tended toward the modern pronunciation.⁵⁴ This finding indicates that the two names may have been homophones even at the time of the telling of this narrative. The suffixes at the ends of both their names are *po*. In the case of a person's name, the suffix is usually *po* for men and *mo* for women. For example, *btsun mo* generally means 'queen'. Thus, the narrative probably involves the two men.

In fact, when the text is subjected to close scrutiny, both protagonists appear to be men. Rma myi de btsun po is described as a *spun*, or 'brother' (l. 16) when Rma myi de btsun po looks for Smra myi ste btsun po's face at the scene where the latter was killed. Rma myi de btsun po, who explains their situation to the sacrificial foal, also alludes to *bu gnyis*, or "two children" (l. 24), suggesting that they are twins, a fact that would also explain their similar names.

I would now like to reflect on their place of residence, Byang rnam, the land of joy (*dga' yul*). In indigenous funeral narratives, the land of joy (*dga' yul*) usually denotes the paradise of the dead. In this case, however, it is clearly a land of the living and suggests an earthly paradise. Since there are only two human characters who appear in this narrative, it may be a paradise inhabited by only two people. While *byang* is a noun meaning 'north', it is also a past form of the verb '*byang ba*, 'to clean', and *rnams* is a plural suffix. Thus, Byang rnam can mean "clean people" and serve as a reminder of the innocent world of a primordial era. The fact that the paradise of the dead is given the same name in other indigenous funeral narratives may also imply that the paradise of the dead is a place where the ancestors lived, a primordial world.

This myth may suggest that the world emerged when the twins first appeared in the primordial and that the funeral and land of the dead ancestors were born from the death of one of the twins. I can present one analogy from Japanese mythology.⁵⁵

To summarize, two twin gods, Izanagi and Izanami, appeared when the world was created. Many gods were born from their sexual procreation, but Izanami was burned to death when the god of fire was born. Izanami was buried, but Izanagi went to the afterlife to meet her. As soon as Izanagi saw Izanami's rotting body, he fled back to this world and blocked the way to the other world with a huge rock, so that no

⁵³ For a discussion of the fact that *smra* and *rma* both mean 'human', see Stein 1971: 488–89, n. 26.

⁵⁴ See van Schaik 2007.

⁵⁵ See *Nihon shoki*, jō: 88–111.

one could go back and forth between this world and the next.

Although the types of accidents are quite different, both myths have the appearance of twins in the creation and the sudden death of one of them in common. This eventuality leads to the first burial and the beginning of the other world. It is likely that many such analogies can be collected, since twin gods can be found in many myths around the world. However, “Smra myi ste btsun po and Rma myi de btsun po” are unique because these twins are not male and female siblings, but brothers. When the first persons or ancestors appear in myths, it is usually to show that their descendants multiplied from that union as with Izanagi and Izanami. In the present context, the presentation of male couples must render procreation impossible.

This narrative is the only extant account of the two protagonists, and there is not enough material to achieve a more comprehensive knowledge of them. However, it is worth recognizing this text as an unusual case of the myth of the first human beings in the primordial world, a set of twins who inhabited a joyous, paradise-like earthly realm.

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Gog cu as Tibetan Buddhist Site of the North-Eastern Amdo Area during the Post-Imperial Period¹

Kazushi Iwao

(Ryukoku University)

1. Introduction

he assassination of the last Tibetan emperor, Dar ma, in 842 certainly triggered the disintegration of the Old Tibetan Empire, whether or not he persecuted Buddhism.² A serious conflict over the succession to the imperial throne immediately began in the central Tibetan area, and two military commanders, Shang pipi 尚婢婢 and Lun Kongre 論恐熱 (**blon kong bzher*), fought each other in the current north-eastern Amdo area. As this conflict went on, it led numerous small groups in the peripheral area to secede from the Tibetan Empire. Already in the late 9th century, various small non-Tibetan groups, such as the Rgya (Chinese), 'A zha, Lung,³ 'Od bar,⁴ Dor po,⁵ and others, were independent in the Hexi and Amdo areas.

As Tsuguhito Takeuchi clearly showed, these groups have not been isolated from each other,⁶ they communicated in Tibetan and were within the Tibet-speaking world. Moreover, as Helga Uebach's study on IOL Tib J 869 showed, numerous Buddhist sites were found in the Amdo and Hexi area, which also indicates that small groups in these areas were connecting with each other through Buddhism.⁷ Furthermore, a recent study on IOL Tib J 754 by Sam van Schaik and Imre Galambos indicates that the local Buddhist groups in the north-

¹ This study was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number JP 18H00723, 19K01043 and 20H01327.

² The narrative of Dar ma's persecution of Buddhism has been widely and strongly established in the context of the Tibetan history. However, Yamaguchi 1996 arose doubt on this narrative.

³ For the Long family 龍家, see Iwao 2016.

⁴ Uray 1981: 82 identifies 'Od bar in Tibetan with Wenmo 温末 in Chinese and hättäbara in Khotanese.

⁵ For Dor po, see Iwao 2016.

⁶ Takeuchi 2004.

⁷ Uebach 1990.

eastern Amdo area were strongly interconnected and often communicated in Tibetan.⁸

These non-Tibetan small groups and their interconnections via Tibetan culture are an important factor to keep in mind in relation to the historical progress of the Tibetanisation of the Amdo area. How these Buddhist sites were organised in the area must also be clarified. In this study, the author discusses the location of one of these unidentified Buddhist sites in Amdo: Gong cu / Gog cu, and also discuss the historical background for it, dating back to the imperial period.

2. Gog cu 'byi lig in Pelliot Tibétain 996

Pelliot tibétain (hereafter referred to as PT) 996 contains several biographies of Chan 禪 masters, among which is master Namka'i nying po. He was active around Khri ga (currently Guide 貴德), namely the region along the Rma chu river in the southern foothills of Laji Shanmai 拉脊山脈. The biography of Namka'i nying po tells us that, on the night that Namka'i nying po died, two bright lights appeared from the hermitage underneath the Zhong pon mountain to the sky, and that Dge'dun Ltam rje dpal gi rgyal mtshan, 'Gvan Blo gros and many local inhabitants in Gog cu 'byi lig witnessed these two lights:

On the 29th day of the last spring month in the year of dog, at Khri ga Shing yong, Namka'i nying po gave an offering to an emanated statue, from whose body light appeared... That night (of Namka'i nying po's death), two great lights appeared from the hermitage underneath the Zhong pon mountains in the middle of the sky. The lights illuminated this region, and they went on to the west. This was witnessed by Dge dun Ltam rje dpal gi rgyal mtshan, 'Gvan Blo gros and many local inhabitants in Gog cu' byi lig.

khyi 'i lo'i dpyid sla ra ba tshes nyI (2b5) shu dgu la / zhong pong gi dgon sar skyil mo grung ma g.yos / mdangs ma gyur par dus las 'das so / de'i num mo nang ma gi gung la / (2b6) dben sa'i lta 'og gi zhong pong gi ri rgyud nas / srin po ri'i bar gi nam ka la 'od chen po gnyis rgyud chags su byung bas yul phyogs (3a1) / / gsal bar gyur te / nub phogs su 'das par gyur te / 'gog cu 'byi lig gi dge 'dun ltam rje dpal gi rgyal mtshan dang / 'gvan (3a2) blo gros las bstsogs pa yul myi mang pos mthun bar mthong /

⁸ van Schaik and Galambos 2011.

(PT 996, fol. 2b4–3a2)

The toponym *Khri ga* (=ka) indicates that this episode happened around the Laji mountain, while other toponyms appearing in this episode are *Shing yong*, *Zhong pon* mountain and *Gog cu 'byi lig*: *Shing yon* has yet to be identified but is likely to be in or near the *Khri ga* region; as for *Gog cu 'byi lig*, it should be considered further.

Regarding *Gog cu 'byi lig* in 3a1, Marcelle Lalou, who first studied the manuscript and published a full translation, interpreted it as “byi lig des dix directions”.⁹ The transliteration of the full Tibetan text was not given, but judging from the translation, we surmised that Lalou read this as *phyog cu 'byi lig*. While Okimoto read it as *phyogs cu 'byi lig*,¹⁰ Horlemann, largely following Lalou’s interpretation, read it as *phyog[s] cu 'byl llg* and interprets it with the meaning “Byi lig of the Ten Directions”.¹¹ Horlemann also discussed the meaning of the “Ten Directions” and connected it with the Chinese *shiwang* 十方 (ten directions), meaning “public” monasteries and she also reported “byi lig” with possible variants such as *Bhig tig*/*Pyi tig* and concluded that it meant “public teaching monastery”.¹²

However, thanks to the investigation of the text with a high-resolution colour image of the manuscript as found on the site of the International Dunhuang Project (<http://idp.bl.uk>), the author found that Lalou’s (and others’) reading of *phyogs cu 'byi lig* was not correct. This image shows that the first five syllables of the passage, from *nub* to *cu*¹³ were erased and rewritten, and a loser investigation of the manuscript revealed that the erased part was / *nub phyogs su*, and almost the same text, *nub phogs[!] su*, appears at the beginning of the very previous passage. A plausible interpretation, therefore, of the scribal process is that the scribe erased the passage as follows: the scribe first copied the previous sentence with a minor mistake, *phogs* instead of, and then began the next sentence with an incorrect beginning, mistakenly copying again the beginning of the previous passage, *nub phyogs su*. The very same scribe then noticed his mistake, erased the *nub phyogsu* and overwrote the correct passage *Gog cu* on top of the erased one.¹⁴ This minimal and clever emendation, however, led a misreading among later readers, who saw *'phyog[s]* written where it was not intended.

⁹ Lalou 1939: 513.

¹⁰ Okimoto 1993: 5.

¹¹ Horlemann 2012: 115.

¹² Horlemann 2012: 116–26.

¹³ More precisely, “su” was first written there and “c” was overwritten on it.

¹⁴ Note also that some strokes and parts of the erased syllables were reused, such as -g, the *shab khyu* of *su* and the rectangular shape of the *ph-*.

For *'byi lig*, Horlemann, who did not discuss its meaning, recognised it as the name of a monastery, as she reported that this *'byi lig* also appears in the list of Chan masters' works in PT 116:¹⁵

Quoted from the *dhyāna* saying by *'byi lig hva shang*

'byi lig hva shang gi bsam brtan gyi mdo las 'byung ba
(PT 116, fol. 186, ll. 2–3)

In the context of Buddhist Chan in Dunhuang, PT 116 was studied by numerous scholars,¹⁶ among whom *hva shang* is explained as a phonetic rendering of the Chinese *heshang* 和尚, but *'byi lig* has not particularly studied yet. Horlemann stated that *'byi lig hva shang* was an unnamed monk affiliated with the *'Byi lig* monastery. However, because all monks in this list are addressed with their own name, *'byi lig hva shang* was likely a proper name, that is to say, *'byi lig* could also be the phonetic rendering of a Chinese name. In this regard, the author recalls Professor Tokio Takata's helpful note that *'byi lig* could be a phonetic rendering of the Chinese Mile 彌勒, Maitrēya.¹⁷

In this case, what is Gog cu? This term appears again in PT 1082, an official letter from an Uighur khagan in Ganzhou addressed to the Dunhuang governor under the Guiyijun 歸義軍 regime in 934.¹⁸ According to the report, sent by a messenger to the Ganzhou Uighur khagan, which is cited in this letter, a message from Gog cu arrived at to the Uighur khagan:

A messenger from Gog chu Rma grom (the military government of Rma chu)¹⁹ arrived in front of our presence and reported that a 10000 district of the military government of Rma chu would have an audience [with the Uighur khagan].²⁰

¹⁵ Horlemann 2012: 116.

¹⁶ For this text, see for example, Ueyama 1974; Kimura 1975; Obata 1976; Broughton 1983: 10–17, and 48–50, n. 6; and Mala and Kimura 1988.

¹⁷ Prof. Takata gave me this advice in my lecture in Fudan University (Shanghai) on September 2019. I appreciate Prof. Takata of his insightful idea.

¹⁸ The letter has been already well-studied by Wang Yao and Chen Jian 1983: 50–51; Yamaguchi 1985: 516–18; Gnya' gong dkon mchog tshes brtan 1995:329–35; and Ishikawa 2003. The author also published his own interpretation of the first part, Iwao 2018a. According to Ishikawa's study, the issued year of this letter was 934; Ishikawa 2003: 29.

¹⁹ For Rma grom, see Uray 1980: 313.

²⁰ *Zha du blta* is difficult phrase to interpret. Yamaguchi 1985: 516 interprets it as "implicitly expect" (*an ni kisuruyoni* 暗に期するよう), and Ishikawa 2003: 26, judging *zha* as a place name, translates it as "see as Zha". However, given that, in Old Tibetan letters, typical expressions such as *as zha ngar* "in the presence of

*gog chu rma grom gi pho nya spyang ngar mchIs // rma grom khri sde
cig zha du blta zhes gsol //*
(PT 1082, ll. 8–10)

In this text, Gog chu appears with Rma grom, or the military government of Rma chu river, and along with Dbyar mo thang khrom, also known as Hezhou 河州.²¹ Ishikawa suggests that Gog chu is the name of an unknown river,²² but it is clear that the syllable *chu* must be a variant spelling of *cu*. Furthermore, Wang Yao and Chen Jian as well as Gnya' gong dkon mchog tshes brtan identified Gog chu with Kuozhou 廓州 (current Jianca 尖札).²³ Although a phonetic problem remains,²⁴ I basically agree with Wang Yao and Chen Jian's identification or suggestion that Gog cu/chu was Kuozhou, because, considering the geographic conditions, the only possible candidate is Kuozhou. Moreover, the Tibetan syllable *cu* in Gog cu is apparently a phonetic rendering of Chinese *zhou* 州 (Middle Chinese: *tšiu*),²⁵ so it designated a city that was once under the rule of the Chinese government.

Thus, Gog cu must have been under Chinese control at one time and not far away from Guide. In addition to that, Satō discusses how Kuozhou was a strategically important site along the Rma chu river for both the Tibetan Empire and Tang China.²⁶ If we take into account that another military government of Dbyar mo thang is in Hezhou 河州, located at the lower reaches of Rma chu than Kuozhou, it is no wonder that the military government of the Rma chu river would have been established in Kuozhou.

From the above discussion, we can confirm that Gog cu means Kuozhou and 'byi lig could be a phonetic rendering of the Chinese Mile. Therefore, the name Gog cu 'byi lig in PT 996 seems to refer to

[someone]" frequently appear, it is highly probable that *zha* also mean face or [Uighur khagan's] presence. If it is correct, *zha du* should be interpreted as "at the place of his face/presence". *blta* is apparently the imperfect tense of the verb *lta ba*, thus here we should interpret this phrase as "will see [him] at the place of [one's] presence".

²¹ For the location of Dbyar mo thang khrom, see Xie Jisheng and Huang Weizhong 2007: 70. Also, for the discussion on the location of Dbyar mo thang, see Uebach 1991 and Kapstein 2014.

²² Ishikawa 2003.

²³ Wang Yao and Chen Jian 1983: 50; Gnya' gong dkon mchog tshes brtan 1995: 333–34.

²⁴ The author has already discussed this small phonetic problem in Iwao 2018a: 12, n. 7.

²⁵ Karlgren 1957: 1086a.

²⁶ Satō 1978: 108.

the Mile monastery in Kuozhou. It is noteworthy here that in PT 5579 (16), a Chinese Dunhuang fragment providing a list of monks with their ordination places and dates, Ganzhou, Suzhou and Kuozhou appear as ordination places.²⁷ It is possible that this Mile monastery provided this ordination.

3. *Gog cu in IOL Tib J 689*

We have seen that *'phyog cu* in PT 996 should be read as *Gog cu*, and *Gog cu* is to be identified with Chinese Kuozhou, located in current Jianca 尖札. Here the author would like to point out that this *Gog cu* also appears in IOL Tib J 689 (= Ch.0021), which tells a tradition of Dharma colleges in the 10th century. According to IOL Tib J 689, there were four colleges in Tibet, namely Bod (Tibet), Mdo gams (province of Mdo), Kam bcu (Ganzhou) and *Gog/Gong cu*. Here, the author only cites the final part:

Teachers of Dharma colleges in **Gog (/Gong) cu** were: Myang Rin chen byang chub, Zha snga 'Jam pa'I snying po, 'Go (< Chin. 呉) 'Bom sa mun tra, 'Grenng ro Dge'i blo gros, Phung Dge rgyas. They were lineages of **Gong cu (/bu)**.

Gog (/gong) cu'i chos gra'i slos dpon myang rin cen byang chub // zha snga 'jam pa'i snying po / 'go 'bom sa mun tra // 'grenng ro dge'i blo gros / phung dge rgyas las brtsogs pa ni Gong cu (/bu) nas (2b8) brgyud pa lags s-ho // (IOL Tib J 689, fols. 2b7–2b8)

For *Gog/Gong cu/bu*, it appears as *Gog/Gong cu* in the first instance and as *Gong cu* in the second. The ambiguous reading in the first instance is caused by a scribal amendment of the second characters of *Gog/Gong*. Uebach read this as *Gong bu* but also suggested another possible reading, *Gong cu*, and further suggested that *gong cu* could have been a mistake for *Gog cu*.²⁸ Shen Chen affirmed that the scribal amendment of *Gog/Gong* was a horizontal line that crossed out the character and concluded that it should be read as *Gog cu*, a phonetic rendering of Kuozhou.²⁹

Here again, the question relates to the reading of the toponym. To clarify this question, we should again investigate the Tibetan text in

²⁷ See Chikusa 2002: 76–77.

²⁸ Uebach 1990: 408.

²⁹ Shen Chen 2020: 151.

the manuscript. The high-resolution photograph makes it clear that the second item should be Gong cu, not Gong bu. The first instance is somewhat problematic, but a closer investigation of the scribal amendment indicates that the amendment is an overwriting on top of a letter: it is either *-ng* on *-g* or *-g* on *-ng*.

Thus, there are two possibilities for the scribal process that unfolded. In the first, the scribe completed the text once, writing Gong cu in both places, noticed the mistake and overwrote *-g* on *-ng* in the first one but forgot to correct the second one. The other possibility is that the scribe first wrote Gog cu, quickly noticed the mistake, corrected it into gong cu, overwrote it and finished the text without any other mistakes.

The manuscript alone does not provide sufficient information to make a judgement. However, as has already been seen, Gog cu appears in two manuscripts in an important place and there are no any candidates with *zhou* 州 for Gong cu. It thus seems that the first possibility, Gog cu, is more likely to be correct, that is to say.

The four Dharma colleges in Tibet in the 10th century were thus Bod (Tibet), Mdo gams (Mdo province), Kam bcu (Ganzhou) and Gog cu. It is interesting to note the distribution of these Dharma colleges: Bod was apparently in the central Tibetan area or *ru bzhi* area, and Mdo province was in the current north-western Amdo area, namely the Tsaidam basin, where 'A zha yul was established.³⁰ According to IOL Tib J 689 (fol. 2b7),³¹ Ganzhou represented the region of Byang ngos, which meant the Hexi area,³² and probably identical to Bde khams (Bde province).³³ If this is correct, it appears that Gog cu represents the remainder of the region, namely the northern and southern foothills of Laji mountain.

³⁰ On the location of Mdo province and 'A zha yul, see Iwao 2018b: 55.

³¹ Uebach 1991: 408, 410.

³² In PT 1263 (= Pelliot chinois 2762 verso): Tib. ha se byang ngos = Chin. 河西一路. See Pelliot 1961: 143. Ha se byang ngos also appears in PT 1284, III, l. See Uray 1981: 84.

³³ For the province of Bde, see Richardson 1998 [1990]. Note that Ganzhou was a Buddhist centre in Hexi area, and probably belonged to the Bde province. In Tibetan-ruled period, Xiuduosu 脩多寺 temple (脩多 < Skt. sūtra. See Pelliot 1908: 513), where Wu Facheng 吳法成 translated sūtras into Chinese. See also Ueyama 2012: 106.

4. Gog cu as a Critical Site in the North-Eastern Amdo Area During the 10th Century

According to the three Tibetan manuscripts described above, the military government of Rma chu was established in Gog cu during the Tibetan imperial period and was a considerable force until at least the 10th century. It was also the location of one of the four main Dharma colleges in Tibetan Buddhism, and Namka'i nying po was active nearby. These indicate that Gog cu was a main site along the Rma chu river.

In this area, another important site was apparently Hezhou, the seat of the military government of Dbyar mo thang. Moreover, Tsong ka had continually been acknowledged as an important site since the imperial period.³⁴ Thus, along the Laji mountain range, at least three sites were located: Dbyar mo thang (Hezhou), Tsong ka and Gog cu. The first two sites are well known to scholars, but it is probable that Gog cu was even more important than other two, as it was considered to be one of four main Dharma colleges.

One should recall the case of Gusiluo 唃廝囉, who was invited from western Tibet to eastern Amdo by local inhabitants as an authority to establish a new kingdom at the beginning of the 11th century. Gusiluo was first invited to Hezhou by Helang Yexian 何郎業賢 of Hezhou Qiang 河州羌 in 1009, but Zongge 宗哥 tribes abducted Gusiluo and installed him in the seat of power in Kuozhou in 1015.³⁵ Thus, Gog cu maintained its importance even until the beginning of the 11th century.

Conclusions

This investigation of Tibetan texts in the Dunhuang manuscripts indicates the following conclusions:

- Gog cu had a military government in the imperial period and was held by a strong military group whose power lasted (?) until at least the 10th century.
- Gog cu 'byi lig in PT 996 refers to the Mile 彌勒 monastery in Kuo-

³⁴ According to *Old Tibetan Annals*, Tibetans marched to greater and lesser Tsong ka (tsong ka che chung) in 698 (PT 1288 + IOL Tib J 750, l. 127. See, for example, Dotson 2009: 99–100). In the Zhol inscription (South l. 34), Tsong ka is also mentioned. See, for example, Richardson 1985: 10. PT 1217 mentions that the conference of a military government was held at Tsong ka rtsis skyang dgur.

³⁵ He was then moved to Zongge Cheng 宗哥城. See Iwasaki 1993.

zhou.

- Gog cu was a Buddhist centre according to some Dunhuang Tibetan documents.
- Gog cu maintained its importance even during the early 11th century.

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A Survey of Tibetan *Sūtras* Translated from Chinese, as Recorded in Early Tibetan Catalogues¹

Channa Li

(IKGA, Austrian Academy of Sciences)

1. Introduction

As modern critiques of canonicity already reveal, a canon, so to speak, is a retrospective construction of privileged knowledge, a mechanism to reinforce particular value systems while at the same time silencing those that are excluded.² The same mechanism can also be discerned in the Tibetan canon,³ dating back to the first decade of the 14th century and credited to the conceptual archetype of the so-called “Old-Narthing Kanjur”.⁴

¹ This paper was initially planned as part of the collaborative work with Prof. Jonathan A. Silk. However, we later decided to publish our works separately. I am heavily indebted to his paper published in 2019 that deals with the same corpus, which forms the background knowledge of the present paper. I also need to express my gratitude to Dr. Lewis Doney and the two peer-reviewers for their insightful comments and revision suggestions.

² Refer to Brzyski 2007 for a recent critique of the canonical paradigm in the field of art and literature studies. With respect to the Buddhist studies, Silk (2015) has recently published an encyclopaedia entry on canonicity, which not only recapitulates the history, content, and organization of Buddhist canons across Asia, but also discusses how Buddhist canons exert power by admitting or ignoring certain texts, and investigates the reception, interpretation, extension (through ongoing commentaries), fluidity (including mutual influence), and preservation of Buddhist canons in different canonical traditions.

³ Since I restrict the object of this paper to the genre of *sūtra*, I here mainly deal with the Kanjur (*bka' 'gyur*) division of the Tibetan canon. However, I add a list of non-*sūtra* translations from Chinese (including *sūtra* commentaries) in Appendix II, based on textual information from the four early catalogues: the imperial *Dkar chag Lhan* (or *Ldan*) *dkar ma* (abbr. LKK), *Dkar chag 'Phang thang ma* (abbr. PTK), Bcom ldan ral gri's (1227–1305) 13th-century catalogue *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od* (abbr. TGGNO), and Bu ston's (1290–1364) *Catalogue* (abbr. BC)—the main source of knowledge of my ensuing discussion.

⁴ Before the compilation of the Old-Narthing Kanjur, a clear distinction between Kanjur and Tanjur did not exist, see Skilling 1997: 92, 100; Tauscher 2015: 107–108. This is reflected in the fact that earlier Tibetan Buddhist catalogues, including LKK, PTK, and TGGNO, do not adopt the labels ‘Kanjur’ and ‘Tanjur’. Moreover, in many local canonical collections such as Namgyal and Lang, there only exist

It is common knowledge that the overwhelming majority of *sūtras* compiled in the Tibetan canon, no matter their lineage, are translations from Sanskrit. In the vast body of Kanjur texts (ca. 750–1100 in number),⁵ those translated from other languages,⁶ which mainly refer to Chinese, number fewer than 40.⁷ This number includes all the works

separate compilatory units of translations (e.g., the *Sūtra* Section and the *Prajñāpāramitā* Section), instead of Kanjurs. See Viehbeck 2020; Almogi 2021: 165. Proto-Kanjurs that came into being as early as the late 13th century (e.g., Gondhla) also arrange texts with similar or related topics into the same volumes, but still do not have a systematic organisation as seen in the Kanjurs, Tauscher 2015: 107; Tauscher 2008: xi–xii. Almogi 2021 strongly argues that the concepts of ‘Kanjur’ and ‘Tanjur’ were introduced no earlier than the compilation of the Old-Narthing Kanjur, and could not be dated back to the second half of the 13th century as proposed in Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 10–14.

⁵ Eimer 1992: xii; Tauscher 2015: 104.

⁶ It is also known that 13 Theravādin texts, translated into Tibetan in the 14th century, are included in the Kanjurs, and many more citations from larger Theravādin texts are found in the Tanjurs. The detailed research has been done by Skilling 1993: 73–201. Moreover, the Tibetan Tanjurs preserve many *dohā* texts, which were originally written in the *Apabhramśa* dialect, see Schaeffer 2005: 80ff. Noteworthy is also the text Derge Kanjur 831, which contains a title in the language of Burushaski (*bru sha*). See Martin 2014, s.v. *Sarvatahāgatacittajñānaguhyārthagarbhavyūha-vajratantrasiddhi-yogāgama-samājasarvavidyāsūtra-mahāyānābhisamayadharmaparyāyavyūhanāma-sūtra*. There are also records of translations from Khotanese. For instance, in the ‘*Phang thang ma*, under the number 733, the *Snang brgyad ces bya ba’i rig sngags* (I adopt the numeration in Kawagoe 2005) was reported as one of the translations from Chinese and Khotanese (*rgya dang li las bsgyur*). According to Bu ston’s *Chos ’byung*, it was translated from Khotanese, Nishioka 1983: 62, no. 1287. However, according to Oda (2015: 58), the Kanjur version of this text (e.g., D.1067 and P 693) is a translation from the Chinese apocrypha *Tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 天地八陽神呪經 (T.2897). The Kanjur version was an abbreviated translation from the Chinese version, and has little to do with the Dunhuang Tibetan versions of the same text (there are three versions in Dunhuang, namely the old version, the new version, and the later version). For a more detailed bibliography, see Silk 2019: 238. The TGGNO also lists a separate section of translations from Khotanese (*li*) but, as I discuss below, I suspect that this section is a misreading or based on a corrupted reading of the ‘*Phang thang ma*’s section for translations from Chinese or Khotanese (PTK716–733). In addition, the famous text *Li yul lung bstan pa* “The Prophecy of Khotan”, a narrative relating the history of Buddhism in Khotan, was also translated into Tibetan during the imperial era. Zhu 2015 dates the text to 830 CE.

⁷ According to Silk 2019, the Derge Kanjur contains 31 *sūtras* translated from identified Chinese sources: D.51, 57, 58, 61, 64, 84, 108, 119, 123, 135, 137, 174, 199, 237, 239, 242, 243, 256, 264, 335, 336, 341, 351, 353, 354, 359, 555, 691–897, 692, 694, and 1067. In addition, there are four *sūtras* whose Chinese sources cannot be identified (D.122, 241, 255, 263). Of course, the numbers vary in each Kanjur. The *Them spangs ma* lineage contains at least two more translations from Chinese that are missing in the *Tshal pa* lineage (i.e., Stog266, with an identified Chinese source, and Stog130, with an unidentified Chinese source). Within the *Tshal pa* lineage, the situation also differs. For instance, the Chinese apocrypha *Sishi'er zhang jing* 四十二章經 (D.359a, *Dum bu zhe gnyis pa zhes bya*), which was translated in the Qing Dynasty, was added to the Derge Kanjur, but not in the Peking or other Kanjurs.

collected in the Kanjurs translated either in the imperial or post-imperial era.

However, the various records concerning the earliest phase of Tibetan Buddhism provide us with a different picture, one in which Buddhism from China plays an essential role in Tibetan textual history. In the narrative dimension, as already noted by scholars such as Paul Demiéville,⁸ Giuseppe Tucci,⁹ Rolf Stein,¹⁰ and Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, there exists a historiographical tradition in which “Buddhism was first introduced to Tibet from China at the time of the Ancestors or during the infancy of Khri Srong lde btsan” (742–ca. 800).¹¹ The *Dpang skong phyag brgya pa*, which is listed as one of the earliest Tibetan Buddhist translations in Bu ston’s *Chos ’byung*, is said to have been translated from Chinese in the 12th-century *gter ma* work *Zangs gling ma*, although the credibility of this attribution is subject to question.¹² The historiographical records revealing early Buddhist communications between China and Tibet include, for instance, records of importing Chinese Buddhist texts and a Śākyamuni statue in the course of the politically motivated marriage of Princess Wencheng and Srong btsan sgam po (c. 605–649).¹³ There are also records in Chinese historiographies that, from 781, Chinese monks were regularly sent to Tibet to preach the Buddhist teaching,¹⁴ and it is also recorded that young

⁸ Demiéville 1987 [1952]: 185 has noticed that in Bu ston’s *Chos ’byung*, the introduction of Buddhism from China predates the arrival of Indian masters. Cited in Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 298.

⁹ Tucci 1958: 47–49 has stated that the number of texts translated from Chinese in the early phase of Tibetan Buddhism could be greater than those translated from Sanskrit.

¹⁰ Stein 2010 [1985]: 169–70: “Contrariwise, more than Confucianism, the eminent role of China around 730–750 resides in the transmission of Chinese Buddhism (partly via the intermediary of Chan), in parallel and in concurrence with Indian Buddhism. And this not only with regard to Chan, properly so-called, but also especially the apocryphal sūtras, the simple texts of morality and the practices usable by the laity (funerary rites, *zhai* 齋). The later Tibetan historians have retained well this preponderant role of China (TA I, 5, 49–50 and n. 23)”. The French is cited in Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 298.

¹¹ Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 298.

¹² Skilling 1997: 88, n. 8.

¹³ As commented by Kapstein 2009: 2–3, even though the historicity of Princess Wencheng’s role in the transmission of Buddhism in Tibet is subject to question, for Tibetan Buddhists, it has become “an article of faith that the precious image of the Lord Śākyamuni in Lhasa, the most revered object of Tibetan pilgrimage, was brought to their land from China by a royal emanation of the female buddha Tāra, on the occasion of her wedding to their king, a mortal manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara himself”. Also see Kapstein 2009.: 21–22 for a more detailed and historical discussion of Princess Wencheng’s role in Sino-Tibetan relations.

¹⁴ *Tang huiyao*, *Tufan Chapter* 唐會要·吐蕃: (建中二年, 781 CE) 初, 吐蕃遣使求沙門之善講者, 至是遣僧良琇文素二人行, 每人歲一更之 (“At the beginning, Tibet sent

Tibetan noblemen were sent to China to receive (a more Confucian style of) education as early as the 7th century.¹⁵ In addition, the *Sba bzhed* accounts that, under the reign of Khri Lde gtsug btsan (704–754), the Chinese princess Jincheng was promoting the Chinese branch of Buddhism, and by establishing Jincheng’s genuine maternity to Khri Srong lde btsan, the latter was regarded as “Chinese uterine descent”.¹⁶ Moreover, the birth of the religious king Khri Srong lde btsan was predicted by a Chinese monk.¹⁷ Afterwards, when Buddhism was persecuted by anti-Buddhist ministers before Khri Srong lde btsan gained the actual power, a Chinese monk is said to have left one of his shoes in Tibet when being expelled, which foretells the future success of the *dharma* in Tibet.¹⁸ The different versions of the *Testimony*¹⁹ of Ba (Dbā’ bzhed, *Sba bzhed*, and the supplemented *Sba bzhed*)²⁰ all tell us that a Tibetan delegation headed by Dbā’ Gsas snang and Dbā’ Sang shi²¹ was sent by Khri Srong lde btsan to look for Buddhist doctrines in China.²²

envoys to ask for Buddhist monks who were skillful at preaching the *dharma*. Up to that time, two monks, Liangxiu and Wensu, were sent for the journey. Every year, one person was replaced”). A similar record is later collected in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T.2035 [49] 379a25–27). See Demiéville 1958 [1987]: 10, 183–84; Kapstein 2009: 23.

¹⁵ *Jiu tangshu*, *Tufan zhuan* 舊唐書吐蕃傳: (貞觀十五年 641CE) ... 仍遣酋豪子弟, 請入國學以習詩書, 又請中國識文之人典其表疏. See Demiéville 1958 [1987]: 187–88; Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 276.

¹⁶ *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 4–5; Kapstein 2000: 28–30; Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 34. The key term *rgya tsha* is translated as “Chinese uterine descendant” in Doney 2013: 23. In the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, it is explained as *rgya rigs dang bod rigs ’dres pa’i phru gu* “a child of mixed Chinese and Tibetan parentage”.

¹⁷ Kapstein 2000: 26;

¹⁸ Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 37; *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 8.

¹⁹ Doney (2021a: vi, n. 6) argues for reserving the term ‘testimony’ for translating the Tibetan *bzhed*, while using ‘testament’ for translating *bka’ chems* / *bka’ thang* / *thang yig*.

²⁰ See Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 1–2 for a description of different recensions of this text. A more recent and comprehensive study of the complicated exemplar situation of this text, together with an extensive and useful overview of the previous scholarship, is offered in Doney 2021b: 6–24. For the *Sba bzhed*, I use the eclectic edition published in Beijing in 1980 (reprinted in 1982). For the Supplemented *Sba bzhed* (*Sba bzhed zhabs btags ma*), I use Tong Jinhuan and Huang Bufan’s 1990 edition, which is largely based on Stein’s edition of 1961.

²¹ Sang shi is presented as a Tibetanised Chinese master in the *Testament of Ba*, Kapstein 2000: 71–72. It has been observed by scholars that the name Sang shi closely resembles *shen(g) shi* (or *shan[g] shi*), the Tibetan transcription for *Chanshi* 禪師 (“dhyāna master”) in Dunhuang manuscripts (e.g., Pelliot tibétain [abbr. PT] 116). See Lalou 1939: 40; Tucci 1958: 24; Kapstein 2009: 57. Demiéville favours the correspondence of Sang shi to *seng shi* 僧師, which, however, is not a common term in Chinese Buddhism.

²² Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 47; Tong Jinhuan and Huang Bufan 1990: 89–93, 97. *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 6. According to Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger

The supplemented *Sba bzhed* further narrates that the delegation obtained one thousand texts, written in gold, from China.²³ Moreover, there are also statements that during Khri Srong lde btsan's reign, Indian and Chinese translation projects were organized and conducted separately from each other.²⁴ At the end of the *Dbā' bzhed* and *Sba bzhed*, Khri Srong lde btsan expresses immense regret over not having translated (the complete) Buddhist texts from Chinese.²⁵

In the dimension of textual history, the role of Chinese Buddhism is even more apparent in view of the discoveries from Dunhuang: many Tibetan *sūtra* translations from Chinese have come to light in Dunhuang, but they were not included in any Kanjurs.²⁶ Silk has provided us with an admirable panorama of the currently known Chinese

2000: 47, in the *Sba bzhed*, this was actually the second trip to China, but in the *Dbā' bzhed*, there was only one trip. One episode commonly appearing in all versions recounts that the Chinese monk Gyin Hwa Shang gave Sang shi three Buddhist scriptures (*Las rnam par 'byed pa* [Supplemented *Sba bzhed*: *Dge ba bcu'i mdo*], *Sa lu ljang pa*, and *Rdo rje gcod pa*) and prophesied that Buddhism was destined to blossom after the young prince (Khri Srong lde btsan) grew up, see Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 50; Tsering Gonkatsang and Michael Willis 2021: 118–19; Tong Jinhuan and Huang Bufan 1990: 97. This information is also recorded in the *Lde'u chos 'byung* (1987: 302), in which the three *sūtras* were *Sgrib pa rgyun gcod pa*, *Sa ru ljang pa*, and *Rdo rje gcod pa*. A related story is also mentioned in Kapstein 2000: 71–72.

²³ Tong Jinhuan and Huang Bufan 1990: 7, 91. *Sba bzhed* 1982: 7. A further *gter ma* type of episode concerning Chinese Buddhist texts obtained by Sang shi is developed in the *Sba bzhed* and *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, see Li Channa 2016: 210.

²⁴ Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 70–72; Tong Jinhua and Huang Bufan 1990: 46, 157; *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 59–60. It is well-known that Tibetans, at least those based in Dunhuang, were already familiar with Confucius and Confucius maxims. The famous *Kongzi xiangtuo xiangwen shu* 孔子項託相問書 was also translated into Tibetan in Dunhuang (e.g., PT 992 and 1284). In the 11th century, the image of Confucius was introduced into Bon literature. More related studies are found in Lin Shen-yu 2007 and Gurung 2009.

²⁵ *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 78: *rgya yul du chos byung nas lo stong nyis brgya lon tel/ gsung rab kyi dpe tshang bar bzhugs na rgya'i dha rma ma bsgyur pa yid la bcags so zhes gsung nas thugs ngal mdzad*. Since this contrasts the situation of the Indian texts (which were “completed” [*tshang bar*]), I read here the implication that the Chinese texts were not completely translated, rather than “not translated” at all. See Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 90. The supplemented version lacks this record.

²⁶ These *sūtras*, according to Silk 2019: 233–35, include the *Dge bsnen ma gang ga'i mchog gi 'dus pa* (PT 89, from T.310–31), the *Snang ba mtha' yas kyi mdo* (PT 758, from T.366), the *Byang chub sems dpa' byams pas zhus pa'i 'dul pa* (PT 89, from T.310–42), the *'Od dpag med kyi bkod pa* (PT 96, 557, 563, 561, 562, 564, from T.310–5), and the *'Phags pa dus dang dus ma yin pa bstan pa zhes bya ba'i mdo* (IOL Tib J 213, from T.794a&b). See also Li Channa 2016: 208, n. 9. In addition, Silk also discovers that IOL Tib J 165 and 166 preserves sentences of the *Ratnarāsi* translated from Chinese, on which he will make some publication in the future. Helmut Tauscher 2021, in his publication on the *Mdo sde brgyad bcu khungs*, relates his discovery of many different types of Chinese elements in this Tibetan compilation of citations from 80 authoritative treatises.

sūtras in Tibetan translation. In this detailed list, he provides essential details for the study of the history of Tibetan translations from Chinese. Chos grub, the 9th-century bilingual Dunhuang-based translator, translated 23 texts (both scriptures and commentaries) from Chinese into Tibet, of which only 15 translations are collected in the Tibetan Canon.²⁷ Furthermore, when speaking of the Chinese Buddhist influence upon Buddhism in Tibet, one could not avoid mentioning Chan, which, as argued by van Schaik, converged with *Rdzogs chen* as the practices in the Mahāyoga *sādhana*s by the 10th century,²⁸ and which seems to have still been alive in the 11th-century Tibet.²⁹ Translations listed in Appendix II demonstrate that, at least during the time of Bcom ldan ral gri (1227–1305), Chan translations were still collected in Tibetan monks' libraries. As revealed by Kapstein, many elements of this Chan teaching (e.g., passages from the *Vajrasamādhisūtra*) have been incorporated into "handbooks of certain Tibetan traditions of meditation".³⁰ In addition, the inscription on the *Khra 'brug* bell, made in the reign of Khri Lde srong brtsan, confirms that a Chinese monk named Rin chen cast this bell on behalf of Queen Byang chub (i.e. Rgyal mo brtsan, one wife of Khri Srong lde btsan).³¹

Moreover, apart from being the direct source of many Tibetan translations, Chinese texts may also have functioned as supplementary sources in Tibetan translation projects from Sanskrit. For instance, one Tibetan version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* (D.556)³² and one version of the *Maitreyapariṣcchāśūtra* (D.85),³³ though alleged to have been translated from Sanskrit in their respective colophons, more or less draw from pre-existing Chinese parallels. Conversely, another translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra*, the version translated from Chinese in the Derge, Berlin, and Peking Kanjurs (Tib. IV),³⁴ partially refers to Sanskrit. This sort of hybridity in the source language(s) of Tibetan translations, however, has been largely ignored in studies on the history of Tibetan translation.³⁵

²⁷ Li Channa, forthcoming; Ueyama 1990: 112–53.

²⁸ van Schaik 2012; van Schaik and Dalton 2004.

²⁹ van Schaik 2012: 16; Kapstein 2000: 75.

³⁰ Kapstein 2000: 76–78.

³¹ Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 340–45; Wang Yao 1982: 189–93.

³² Radich 2015.

³³ Li Channa 2016.

³⁴ Oetke 1977: 8.

³⁵ Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 303 has also noticed the blending of Chinese and Indian elements in some Tibetan translations: "Probably the revision [i.e., the standardisation project of translations in imperial Tibet] was the result of learned discussion among translators and teachers who consulted and collated all available extant translations. This could explain why some texts have a 'blending' of Indo-Tibetan and Sino-Tibetan terminology". In addition, Anne MacDonald 2003 has demonstrated that it was not uncommon for Tibetan translators of Buddhist

However, when weighing the Chinese Buddhist influence exerted upon the early Tibetan society against the Indian influence, it is difficult to absolutely determine which influence was earlier or greater, simply because of the lack of evidence in imperial (especially early imperial) Tibet. Nevertheless, as Skilling has observed (1997: 90), the imperial-sponsored standardisation project, which featured compositions such as the *Mahāvīyutpatti* and the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, and lasted from the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan to that of Khri Gtsug lde btsan (r. 815–841),³⁶ was linguistically and ideologically Indian-centred, and it is conceivable that many pre-existing non-standardised translations from Chinese were greatly revised or even retranslated by Indian and Tibetan scholars.

Several catalogues were compiled, under royal patronage, to catalogue the massive amount of texts produced or processed by the standardisation project. Three such imperial catalogues were consulted by Bu ston.³⁷ They are the *Dkar chag Lhan* (or *Ldan*) *dkar ma*, the *Dkar chag 'Phang thang ma*, and the *Dkar chag Mchims phu ma*. Of them, the *Dkar chag Lhan dkar ma*³⁸ is commonly believed to be the oldest. It is argued that the main body of this catalogue was completed in 812.³⁹ The LKK was first preserved at the Lhan/Ldan dkar Palace and has been passed down without interruption to today, as it is compiled in the Tanjurs.⁴⁰ As for the *Dkar chag 'Phang thang ma*,⁴¹ scholars generally

commentaries to borrow the previous translation of the cited passage(s), rather than to translate afresh, the practice of which is also confirmed by Wedemeyer (2006: 166) when studying Lo chen's translation of the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*.

³⁶ Basic information on the early imperial editorial activities is provided in Harrison 1996: 73; Skilling 1997: 90; Scherrer-Schaub 2002; and Hill 2015: 918–919. Scherrer-Schaub 2002 has offered a chronology among the three authoritative decisions on standardising translation terms in imperial Tibet. The first one, which was briefly mentioned in the Tabo manuscript of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, potentially refers to early revision activities related to the translation or revision of the *Ratnamegha* and the *Laṅkāvatara*, possibly dated to 763 or slightly later, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 314; the second or middle decision was possibly issued in the year 783, in the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan, during which period the *Sgra sbyor* was initially composed. The third decision was issued in the year 814, in which the *Mahāvīyutpatti* was finally fixed and the *Sgra sbyor* was enlarged, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 315–16. Hill also mentions some different dating systems created by ancient Tibetan scholars, see Hill 2015: 918.

³⁷ Skilling 1997: 91; Nishioka 1983: 119: *pho brang stong thang ldan dkar gyi dkar chag dang/ de'i rjes kyi bsam yas mchims phu'i dkar chag dang/ de'i rjes kyi 'phang thang ka med kyi dkar chag*.

³⁸ I mainly use Herrmann-Pfandt's edition. Other frequently consulted references are Yoshimura 1950; and Lalou 1953.

³⁹ Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: xxi.

⁴⁰ Tucci 1958: 46–47, n. 1.

⁴¹ *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma dang sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (2003). I adopt the numeration in Halkias 2004.

agree that the *'Phang thang ma* postdates the *Lhan dkar ma*.⁴² Yamaguchi, Halkias, and Dotson argue that this catalogue might have been initiated during the reign of Khri 'U'i dum brtan (r. c. 841–842) or his successor Khri 'Od srung (r. c. 846–c. 893).⁴³ It was long assumed to have been lost, until it was rediscovered in the Fifth Dalai Lama's library at 'Bras spungs Monastery and published in 2003.⁴⁴ The *Mchims phu ma*, which Bu ston has placed chronologically between the LKK and PTK, is said to have been compiled at the court of Mchims phu/bu, but is now lost.⁴⁵

The existing versions of the LKK and PTK contain only 24 and 11 translations from Chinese, respectively, in their sections on "Mahāyāna Scriptures Translated from Chinese".⁴⁶ These numbers are not large in comparison to the total number of Mahāyāna scriptures collected in these two catalogues (270 in LKK [nos. 1–270]; 287 in PTK [nos. 1–239, 251–298]). It is conceivable that, at the time of the compilation of these early catalogues, a large proportion of translations from Chinese sources had already been excised and marginalized.⁴⁷ We must also be aware of the high probability that all of the early works were subject to revision in the course of later transmission.⁴⁸

In addition, in section 27-5, *'Gyur byang las mi 'byung ba'i bzhugs pa'i mtshan* ("Present Titles Not Listed in Colophons"),⁴⁹ PTK711–715 are said to be translations from Sanskrit (*'di rnam srgya gar las bsgyur*),⁵⁰ and below entries PTK716–733, it reads "*mdo dang gzungs 'di rnam srgya*

⁴² Skilling also notes that the Derge and Narthang Kanjur catalogues witness a different chronology among the three early imperial catalogues, in which the PTK is placed earlier than the LKK, see Skilling 1997: 91 as well as Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 56–57.

⁴³ Halkias 2004: 54–55; Yamaguchi 1996: 250; Dotson 2007: 4 argues that "the earliest possible date for the *'Phang thang ma*, compiled in a dog year, is 842". For the names and dates of the Tibetan kings, see Dotson 2015.

⁴⁴ Dotson 2007: 3.

⁴⁵ Herrmann-Pfandt (2008: xlix–l) reconstructs part of this catalogue based on the cross-references in the LKK, PTK, and *Bu ston Chos 'byung*.

⁴⁶ LKK: *Theg chen mdo rgya las bsgyur*; PTK: *Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde rgya las bsgyur ba*.

⁴⁷ The *Sba bzhed phyogs bsgrigs* 2009: 63, where it is based on the supplemented version, recounts how Emperor Khri Gtsug lde brtsan, when he realized that Tibetan translations drew upon multiple-language sources, ordered the codification of Sanskrit (*rgya dkar po'i skad*) as the standard language. A more detailed discussion can be found in Li Channa 2016: 208, n. 7.

⁴⁸ A related discussion of the LKK can be found in Tucci 1958: 48–50.

⁴⁹ The title of this section actually raises several questions concerning the general practice of editing texts in ancient Tibet: why is there a self-contained section for texts whose titles do not appear in their colophons? Was it imperative to indicate the title in the colophon? I am indebted to Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp for refining my understanding of the meaning of this section title, especially the suggestion of understanding *bzhugs* as "currently existing", as attested elsewhere in the PTK 2003: 65.

⁵⁰ PTK2003: 51.

dang li las bsgyur".⁵¹ I argue that PTK716–733, from sections 27-5 and 27-6, are all translations from Chinese or Khotanese, although Kawagoe and Halkias only recognize PTK732 and 733 from the section 27-6 *Gzung*s as such.⁵² There are indeed many entries that are confirmed cases of translation from Chinese among these entries (e.g., PTK716, 720, 725, 726, 727, 728, 731, 732, 733).⁵³ However, since it is not evident which translations were rendered from Chinese and which from Khotanese, I accept their Chinese origin only when there is further confirmation in the LKK, TGGNO, BC, or other sources. For translations (17.) *Rgyal bu don pa* (PTK727), (20.) *Dge bcu dang du blang pa'i mdo* (PTK716), and (23.) *Rgyal bu kun tu dge ba'i mdo* (PTK731) in Table 1 below, it is unclear to me why the PTK does not simply follow the LKK and place them in the dedicated section for translations rendered from Chinese. I surmise that the majority of PTK716–733 was completed after the composition of the LKK and newly added to the PTK. In total, I identify nine more entries—PTK716, 720, 725, 726, 727, 728, 731, 732, and 733—as translations from Chinese. Moreover, PTK48, titled *'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa*, is also recorded to have been translated from Chinese, which I will discuss in section 2.3.

As a matter of fact, neither imperial list covers all the known translations from Chinese (see Appendix I and II). Many translations from Chinese scriptures are indeed collected in Kanjurs but not registered in the imperial catalogues (e.g., D.174, 199, 241, 255, 352, 359a, Stog130, 266). Some early translations are recorded but not acknowledged by the PTK and LKK as having been rendered from Chinese (e.g., D.51, 57, 58, 61, 64, 84 [which are all *Ratnakūṭa sūtra*-chapters], and 239). Of course, in Dunhuang, we have discovered many scriptures translated from Chinese that were never recorded in these early catalogues, nor collected in Kanjurs (e.g., Pelliot tibétain [abbr. PT] 89, 557, 563, 758, IOL Tib J 213, etc.). That is to say, the imperial catalogues may have reflected merely a limited part of the panorama of early Tibetan translations from Chinese.

Moreover, as the forerunners of post-imperial canonical editorial works in Tibet, these imperial catalogues by and large shaped the canonical collections of *sūtra* translations from Chinese. For instance, the

⁵¹ PTK2003: 52.

⁵² Kawagoe and Halkias number the texts differently. Kawagoe lists PTK711–731 in the section 27-5 *Gyur byang las mi 'byung ba'i bzhugs pa'i mtshan* and nos. 732–733 in the section 27-4 *Gzung*. In comparison, Halkias categorizes nos. 712–732 (he reads [708] *Bzod pa'i phan yon* as a separate translation, while Kawagoe does not) under the section *'Gyur byang las mi 'byung ba'i bzhugs pa'i mtshan*, and nos. 733–767 under the section *Gzung*.

⁵³ See Silk 2019: 234, 235, 238, 235, 232, 237, 241, 236 and 238, respectively. In addition, the name of PTK718 itself, *Bsam gtan gyi mdo*, see Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 162, seems to be a translation from Chinese.

13th-century catalogue *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*—authored by Bcom ldan ral gri, one of the key figures historically associated with the compilation of the Old Narthang Kanjur⁵⁴—inherited the overall textual taxonomy of the imperial catalogues. Just as its imperial precedents, the TGGNO lists the translations from Chinese separately. It contains a total of 17 *sūtra* translations from Chinese (TGGNO nos. 11.1–11.6, 11.8–11.18), and additionally includes one *dhāraṇī* text, *Spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug yid bzhin 'khor lo'i bsgyur ba'i gzungs*, in this section (no. 11.7). Furthermore, it includes all but one entry from PTK716–733,⁵⁵ although it claims that these were translations rendered from Khotanese (i.e., TGGNO nos. 11.34–11.51).⁵⁶ This inaccurate statement is plausibly due to misreading or corruption of the PTK's concluding remark “*mdo dang gzungs 'di rnams rgya dang li las bsgyur*”.

Later, the 14th-century *Bu ston chos grub* (abbr. BC),⁵⁷ though not precisely following the imperial practice of listing translations from Chinese in a separate section, still keeps a detailed record of 12 texts with a Chinese origin (Nishioka nos. 190,⁵⁸ 191, 198, 199, 210, 220, 319, 323, 337, 342, 345, 368). Apart from this, it records three *dhāraṇī* texts translated from Chinese (Nishioka nos. 1140, 1141, 1143). Notably, the BC inherits many mistakes made by the TGGNO, especially mischaracterising translations from Chinese as being from Khotanese. For instance, it states that PTK729/TGGNO11.45 and PTK730/TGGNO11.51 are translations from Khotanese.⁵⁹

In the following, I will collect records of Tibetan *sūtra* translations from Chinese from the two imperial catalogues LKK and PTK, compare the testimony of the post-imperial canonical editorial projects represented by the TGGNO/BC, and try to associate the translations with Kanjur collections (Table 1). In compiling Table 1, I aim, first and foremost, to clarify the different circumstances of the transmission history of Tibetan *sūtra* translations rendered from Chinese.

Since we are confronted not with the actual texts but merely titles in the four catalogues, it was sometimes difficult to discern which entries

⁵⁴ The history of the compilation of the Old Narthang Kanjur is discussed in Eimer 1988: 64–68; Harrison 1994: 297–99; Harrison 1996: 75–80; Skilling 1997: 99–104; and Tauscher 2015: 107.

⁵⁵ The only exception is PTK722, *Lha mo dri ma med pa'i 'od kyis zhus pa'i lung bstan pa*.

⁵⁶ This section begins with the introductory words: *li ni chags so gang gyi brgyab nas yod pa tel de las bsgyur ba ni* / ... Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 161. However, the N manuscript of the TGGNO (BDRC no. W1CZ1041-I1CZ1398) reads: *li ni chags so gangs gyi rgyab na yod pa stel de las bsgyur ba ni* (26a7–8). The S manuscript (BDRC no. W1PD89084-I1KG13420) reads: *li ni chags po gangs gyi rgyab nas yod pa stel de las bsgyur ba ni* (p. 88, line 6).

⁵⁷ Nishioka 1980–1983.

⁵⁸ For a detailed discussion of this entry, see 2.4.

⁵⁹ For instance, Nishioka 1980: 78; Nishioka 1983: 62.

from the four catalogues refer to one and the same version of the translation. As can be noticed easily in Table 1, discrepancies often occur when I compare entries with the same title in the four catalogues, especially concerning the length of a specific text and whether that text was translated from Chinese or Sanskrit. The situation becomes even more complicated when I include records from Kanjurs and sometimes Kanjur catalogues. When such discrepancies occur (especially concerning the source language), scholars previously would assume that the imperial catalogues contained errors. However, there is another possibility, namely that the translation recorded in the imperial catalogues, despite its identical title, was not the same as the one collected in the Kanjurs. In other words, inconsistency among the four catalogues can possibly reveal that a version of the translation may have quietly been replaced with another translation; in this paper, such inconsistencies mainly denote that a translation from Chinese was replaced with the translation of the same *sūtra* from Sanskrit. By carefully examining the textual information in each entry of the four catalogues with the information contained in the Kanjurs, it is possible to judge how many different translations of the same text were produced in early Tibet, and whether the versions translated from Chinese in imperial Tibet were included in (or excluded from) the Kanjurs. Studies on the treatment of texts translated from Chinese raise issues concerning the textual history of individual texts and the history of Tibetan literature in general.

In this table, I follow the LKK's titles and particularly its sequence when possible,⁶⁰ as the LKK provides the basic model for later catalogues. Moreover, it also contains the largest number of *sūtra* translations from Chinese. When a specific text lacks an entry in the LKK, I follow the order in the TGGNO, which covers most of the remaining relevant translations. Considering the possibility that the same text may have existed in multiple versions over time, I explicitly mark in brackets the text's length in *bam pos* (abbr. "bp") and/or *śloka*s (abbr. "śl"), as recorded in different catalogues, to identify the same translation. Since the BC does not have a separate section for translations rendered from Chinese, I explicitly mark the entries the BC considers as translations from Chinese (abbr. "fr. Chin."). Moreover, when a translation from Chinese cannot be found in other catalogues but has a parallel translation from Sanskrit, I provide reference to the parallel translation from Sanskrit for comparison (abbr. "cp."). For the Tibetan translations that have been lost, I propose their Chinese sources purely on the basis of their length and title. Since this is only a tentative attempt, I add a question mark after the hypothesized Chinese sources. As for the Kanjur versions of a text, for practical reasons, I usually

⁶⁰ However, I always omit 'phags pa in the titles in Table 1 in order to save space.

provide only the text's Derge Kanjur number. However, when other Kanjur versions supply crucial details for ascertaining a text's Chinese origin, I add these Kanjur versions as well. Note that, in the title column, the reference to page numbers in Silk's 2019 publication appears in an abbreviated form: for instance, Silk 233 indicates that the text in question is also referred to in Silk's 2019 publication, on page 233.

Table 1. List of Tibetan *Sūtra* Translations from Chinese in the Imperial and Early Post-Imperial Catalogues

	1	2	3	4 (cp.33)	5	6
Title (with reference to Silk 2019)	<i>Yong su mya ngan las ' das pa chen po</i> (Silk 233)	' <i>Dzangs/M dzangs blun gyi mdo</i> (Silk 232)	<i>Gser ' od dam pa mchog tu rnam par rgyud pa mdo sde rgyud po</i> (Nobel Tib III: Silk 234)	<i>Lang kar gshegs pa rin po che ' i le ' u</i> (Silk 234–35)	<i>Thabs la mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyus kyi dzin la lan gyis bian pa ' i chos kyi yi ge</i> (Silk 231)	<i>Rdo rje ling nge ' dzin kyi chos kyi yi ge</i> (Silk 232)
LKK	249 (42bp) Cp.80 (13bp)	250 (13bp)	251 (10bp) Cp.48 (10bp)	252 (8bp)	253 (7bp)	254 (6bp)
PTK	229 (42bp) Cp.42 (13bp)	230 (12bp)	231 (10bp) 48 (10bp)	Ø	232 (7.5bp)	233 (6bp)
TGGNO	11.1 (56bp) Cp.6.10 (13bp)	7.6 (12bp)	11.4 (10bp, 2008f)	11.3 (Ø)	11.5 (7.5bp)	11.6 (6bp)
BC	368 (56bp) Fr. Chin. Cp.196 (13bp)	75 (13bp)	210 (10bp) Fr. Chin. Cp.221 (10bp)	191 (8bp) Fr. Chin.	62 (7bp)	220 (6bp) Fr. Chin.
Kanjur	D.119 (56bp) Stog.333 (42bp) Cp.D.120 (13bp)	D.341 (12bp)	D.555 (10bp) Cp.D.556 (10bp)	D.108 (8bp)	D.353 (7bp)	D.135 (2bp)
Translator	Wang phab zhun, Dge ba' i blo gros, Rgya	Chos grub	Chos grub	Chos grub based on Wen hvi' s comm.	Ø	Ø
Chin	374	202	665	670	156	273
Extant	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

7	<i>Sangse rgyas mdzod</i> (Silk 234)	<i>Gser 'od dam pa mdo sde' i dbang po lchung pa</i> is included in BC 209' s[title] (Silk 0)	<i>Ma sbyes dgra' i 'gyod pa bsal pa</i> (Silk 240)	<i>Thar pa chen po phyogs su rgyas pa</i> (Silk 236)	<i>Byang chub sems dpa' i so sor thar pa chos bzhi bsgrub pa</i> (Silk 240)	<i>Gtsug tor chen po las bud kyī le' u bstan pa</i> (Silk 235)	<i>Tshangs pa' i dpa pa</i>	<i>Chos gyi rgya mo</i> (Silk 236)
255 (5bp) Cp.92 (7bp)	256 (5bp)	257 (5bp)	258 (712sl)	259 (700sl)	260 (2bp)	261 A (2bp)	261 B (2bp)	
234 (5bp)	0 Cp.69	0 Cp.74 (5bp)	235 (3.5bp)	0 Cp.115(700sl)	238 (2bp)	0 Cp.248 (2bp)	237 (2bp)	
11.7 (5bp)	0 Cp.6,34	11.8 (5bp)	11.9 (712sl)	11.10 (700sl)	11.12 (2bp)	0 Cp.7.4 (2bp)	11.13 <i>Chos kyī brgya</i> [v-rgyal mo	
199 (5bp) fr. Chin. Cp.300 (7bp)	0 Cp.209 (5bp)	0	345 (712sl) fr. Chin.	0 Cp.329 (700sl)	319 (2bp) fr. Chin.	0 Cp.10 (2bp)	337 (2bp) fr. Chin.	
D.123 (4bp)	0	0	D.264(712sl) H.266	0 Cp.D.248	D.237	0 Cp.D.352(2bp)	D.256 (2bp)	
Cp.D.220(7bp)	Cp.D.557(5bp)	Cp.D.216	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
653	663?	627?	2871	?	945	21?	1484	
Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	

15	<i>Yonges su bsargo ba' t' khor lo</i> (Silk 235-36)								
16	<i>Pha ma' t drin lan bstan pa</i> (Silk 240)								
17	<i>Rgyal bu don grub kyi mdo</i> (Silk 234)								
18	<i>Sens can gyi sbye shi' t rtsa ba bstan pa</i> (Silk Ø)								
19	<i>Byans pas lung bstan pa</i> (Silk 241)								
20	<i>Dge bu dang du blang pa' t mdo</i> (Silk 239)								
21	<i>Chos nyid rang gi ngo bo nyid las mi gy'o bar smang ba bstan pa</i> (Silk Ø)								
22	<i>Yang dag pa' t legs pa' t yon tan bshad pa</i> (Silk Ø)								
	262 (2bp) Cp.464 (1bp,200sl)	263 (1bp)	264 (1bp)	265A(1bp)	265B(110sl)	266(100sl)	267 (90sl)	268 (80sl)	
	236 (2bp): 720(?) Cp.439 (1bp,200sl)	Ø	727 (1bp)	239 (1bp)	Ø	716 (100sl)	Ø	Ø	
	11.11	11.45 (?)	11.41 (fr. Khol.)	11.14 (1bp)	Ø	11.47(100sl; fr. Khol.)	29.5(Hma-yāna section; lost)	Ø	
	323 (2bp) fr. Chin. Cp.382(1bp, 200sl)	48 (1bp)	65 (1bp)	92 (1bp): lost	Ø	94 (100sl)	438 (lost)	431 (80sl; lost)	
	D.242 Cp. D.810 (1bp, 200sl)	F.218(?)	D.351, IOL Tib J 76.1	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	
	Rnam par mi rlog pa (Cp. Newar Kanjur 148; Chos grub)	Ø	Ø	Ø	Cp.P.1011, N.329	Ø	Ø	Ø	
	998	2887?	171	708?	454?	600?	?	?	
	Yes	?	Yes	No	No	?	No	No	

23	<i>Rgyal bu</i> <i>kun tu dge</i> <i>ba' i mdo</i> (SILK 241)	24	' <i>Da' ka</i> <i>ye shes ky'i</i> <i>mdo</i> (SILK 238)	25	<i>Nam</i> <i>mka' i</i> <i>mdog gis</i> ' <i>dul ba' i</i> <i>bzod pa</i> (SILK 239)	26	<i>Don rgyas</i> <i>pa' i chos</i> <i>gyi rnam</i> <i>grangs</i> (SILK 240)	27	<i>Shang</i> <i>brgyad ces</i> <i>bya ba' i</i> <i>rigs srags</i> (SILK 238)	28	<i>Spyen ras</i> <i>gzigs dbang</i> <i>phyg yid</i> <i>bzhin' khor</i> <i>lo sgyur ba' i</i> <i>gzungs</i> (SILK 236)	29	<i>Knyad par</i> <i>can gyi zungs</i> (SILK Ø)	30	' <i>Khar sil</i> <i>gyi mdo che</i> <i>chung gyis</i> (SILK 235)	31	' <i>dzin</i> <i>mchog gi</i> <i>mdo</i> (SILK 238)
	269 (40§)		270 (10§)		83 (11 bp)		206 (100§)		Ø		343		Ø	Ø	Ø		
731	Ø	Ø	45 (11 bp)	262 (100§)	733	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Cp.336	725	726					
1149 (fr. Khoc.)	Ø	11.2 (>11 bp)	11.15	11.16	11.17 (220§)	11.18 (75§)	11.38, 11.39	11.40									
Ø	198 (10§) fr. Chin.	342 (11 bp) fr. Chin.	52 (100§); <i>mjug ma</i> <i>tska ba</i>)	1287 (fr. Khoc.)	1141 (240§) fr. Chin.	Ø	31, 32	222									
Stog268, F111	D.122 Stog201	D.263, Stog111, V.161.Z.142	D.318	D.1067	D.692=D.898; Stog647	Ø	D.335, 336, IOL Tib J 205	D.137									
Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Chos grub	Ø	Chos grub	Ø									
?	?	?	97	2897	1082	?	785	ZW 10									
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes									

32	Dge ba dang mi dge ba' i las ky'i rnam par smin pa (Silk 237)	Spyan ras gzigs phyag stong spyan stong lhogs pa mi mnga' ba' i gzungs (Silk 236)	Zhal bcu gcig pa' i rig sngags kyi snying po (Silk 236)	gsar' od dam po' imdo (Silk Ø)	Lang kar gshegs pa (Silk Ø)
Ø	Ø	Ø Possibly 338 (240sl)?	366	87 (8bp)?	84 (11bp)
728	732 Or. 322(?) (240sl)	349	Ø Cp.69 (5bp)	Ø Cp.49(9bp)?	
1148	11.50 (240sl)	8.46	Ø	Ø	
94	1140 fr. Chin.	1143 fr. Chin.	208 (8bp) Cp.209 (5bp)	190 (11bp) fr. Chin.	
D.355	D.691=897: Stog645(240sl) Cp.D.690 (250sl)	D.694, Stog643	Ø Cp.D.557 (5bp)	Ø Cp.107(9bp)?	
Ø	Chos grub	Chos grub	BC lists Knaam pa mi stog pa as the translator	Chos grub?	
2881	1060	1071	664?	672?	
Yes	Yes	Yes	No	?	

2. Analyses

Table 1 lists all 36 *sūtras* that are recorded as translations from Chinese by at least one of the four catalogues (LKK, PTK, TGGNO, BC).⁶¹ The

⁶¹ One of my criteria for selecting texts is that a translation must be recognized as having been translated from Chinese by at least one of the four catalogues. If a translation is actually translated from Chinese but none of the catalogues note this (e.g., D.199, 241, 255), or if a translation is recorded in these four catalogues but is not acknowledged as having been rendered from Chinese (e.g., D.51, 61, 64), I did not include it in Table 1.

identification of the entries in imperial records with the texts from the Kanjurs is based primarily on the agreement of the title and textual length, the corresponding witnesses across the different catalogues (especially the TGGNO and BC), and the colophons of the Kanjurs. Table 1 thus provides us with an overview of how each text was transmitted diachronically.

As an essential feature of my discussion, and differing from Herrmann-Pfandt and Silk, I do not easily deem the LKK's records as erroneous, even when it contradicts the textual details contained in the Kanjurs.⁶² Instead, I understand the referent in the LKK to be different from the translation collected in the Kanjurs, based on the following grounds: usually, the LKK's divergent records are also attested in the TGGNO, BC,⁶³ or PT 1257;⁶⁴ and compared to the possibility of textual replacement, as I will later elaborate, it seems less likely that the LKK would mistake the source language of such a number of translations for no apparent reason.

It is seen that more than half of the records contained in the imperial catalogues (mainly the LKK) have been successfully transmitted to the Tibetan canonical tradition, while others were not. To be specific, 23 *sūtra* translations from Chinese recorded in the imperial catalogues are found in today's Kanjurs. They are nos. (1.)–(7.), (10.), (12.), (14.), (15.), (17.), (23.)–(28.), and (30.)–(34.), which can be found in at least one lineage of Kanjurs. Since Silk's 2019 publication has offered an extensive introduction to the textual history and modern studies of these texts, I will try not to replicate his work, but focus on how to interpret the inconsistent records among different sources, and how such inconsistency reveals the textual history of particular translations and the four catalogues themselves.

One type of noticeable inconsistency appears in the records of textual length in the different sources, which I will attempt to clarify in section 2.1. In addition, the four catalogues do not all contain the same

⁶² For instance, for translations D.216, 248, and 352, Herrmann-Pfandt and Silk argue that, since the Kanjur versions are translations from Sanskrit, the LKK's corresponding entries are wrong (LKK257, 259, 261A).

⁶³ There is a possibility that the TGGNO and BC merely copied the information from the LKK in these cases. However, this hypothesis cannot answer the question why the TGGNO and BC chose to follow the LKK, instead of the PTK (generally speaking, the TGGNO and BC rely more heavily on the PTK).

⁶⁴ PT 1257 is a crucially important witness to the translation practices before the standardisation projects sponsored by the Tibetan Empire. As assessed by Apple and Apple (2017: 68–69), the bilingual lexicon contained in this manuscript was possibly used by Tibetans in Dunhuang to “learn the Chinese equivalents to Tibetan translation terminology that was already in use among Tibetans”. Furthermore, this manuscript also provides a list of Buddhist scriptures with both Chinese and Tibetan titles. It is highly possible that, some—if not the majority—of the scriptures listed here were translations from Chinese.

corpus of translations from Chinese: sometimes a translation from Chinese was recorded in the LKK, then later in the TGGNO and/or BC, but not in the PTK (i.e., nos. [4.], [17.], [20.], [23.], [24.]); there are also occasions in which the Chinese origin of a translation is recorded in the later TGGNO and/or BC, but not in the LKK or PTK (i.e., [25.], [26.], [28.], [34.]). Section 2.2 is thus devoted to how to approach and understand this sort of discrepancy. Moreover, two particular *sūtras*, the *Gser 'od dam pa* and the *Lang kar gshegs pa*, due to their complicated translation history, deserve separate treatment in sections 2.3 and 2.4. Section 2.5 is dedicated to the lost Tibetan *sūtra* translations rendered from Chinese.

2.1. Inconsistent Calculation System for Textual Length

As can easily be observed, the different sources often feature mutually inconsistent records of textual length of a particular version of a translation. For instance, (1.) *Yong su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po* contains 42 *bam po* (abbr. “bp”) according to the LKK, PTK, and Stog Kanjur, but the TGGNO, BC, and the majority of the other Kanjurs indicate that it has 56 bp. The same situation applies to (2.) *'Dzangs blun*, which has 13 bp according to the LKK and BC, but 12 bp according to the PTK and TGGNO. As a matter of fact, the divergent records of textual length do not reflect different versions of the translation. The discrepancy lies in the different methods of calculating textual length: some catalogues simply equate the number of Chinese fascicles with the number of *bam pos* (e.g., 42 bp and 13 bp), while others have converted the length of the translation according to the Tibetan method of calculating *bam pos* (e.g., 56 bp and 12 bp).⁶⁵

For the length of translations such as (3.) *Gser 'od dam pa* (Nobel Tib III), (5.) *Thabs la mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas kyis drin la lan blan pa pa'i chos gyi yi ge*, (6.) *Rdo rje ting nge 'dzin kyi yi ge*, and (7.) *Sangs rgyas mdzod*, there is also noticeable discrepancy among the different

⁶⁵ Herrmann-Pfandt observes the inconsistent numbers of bp among the different catalogues, and argues that 42 bp and 13 bp should indicate the numbers of Chinese fascicles, while 56 bp and 12 bp should refer to the length of the translations in Tibetan, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 133–34 and 137. For the discussion of the length of the Tibetan unit *bam po* (generally, 1 bp=300 śl), see van der Kuijp 2009 and Scherrer-Schaub 1992. However, the TGGNO also claims that the length of a bp can vary, either because “[it contains] a variable number of syllables” (*tsheg bar gyi yi ge mang nyung ngam*), or because it is “a rough estimate [...] made on the basis of the number of pages when it was difficult to count the number of syllables” (*yang 'ga' zhig tsheg bar grang ba dka' nas shog grangs kyi steng nas bam po tshad rtsis pas*; van der Kuijp 2009: 124; Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 116).

sources.⁶⁶ Although I could not find a satisfactory solution to explain the discrepancy, I tend to regard this sort of disagreement not as evidence of different versions of translations, but as a reflection of unfixed length calculation systems used for translation projects of rendering Chinese into Tibetan.

2.2. *The Inconsistent Identification of Translations Rendered from Chinese in the Four Catalogues*

Among the 24 translations registered in the LKK's section on Mahāyāna scriptures translated from Chinese, the PTK omits ten translations ([4.], [8.], [9.], [11.], [13.], [16.], [19.], [21.], [22.], [24.]), even though the PTK was composed not long after the LKK. The omission of translations from the PTK, in most cases, is not due to a failure of textual transmission, since the same translations are sometimes attested in the later catalogues TGGNO and BC (e.g., [4.], [11.], [16.], [21.], [24.]). Two such noticeable cases are (4.) *Lang kar gshegs pa* and (24.) *'Da' ka ye shes kyi mdo*, whose Chinese origins are recognized in the LKK, then later in the TGGNO and BC, and finally in the Kanjurs,⁶⁷ but not in the PTK.

In addition, five translations out of the LKK's 24 entries on Tibetan *sūtras* rendered from Chinese are recorded in the PTK's sections on non-Chinese translations, from which I deduce that the PTK takes them to be translations from Sanskrit: (8.) the 5-bp *Gser 'od dam pa*, (9.) *Ma skyes dgra'i 'gyod pa bsal pa*, (11.) *Byang chub sems dpa'i so sor thar pa chos bzhi bsgrub pa*, (13.) *Tshang pa'i dra pa*, and (19.) *Byams pas lung bstan pa*. For each of these five translations, the PTK's claim of the text's Sanskrit origin is confirmed by the Kanjur version of the translation of the same title,⁶⁸ and is also frequently supported by the BC (less frequently

⁶⁶ For instance, for (5.) *Thabs la mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas kyi drin la lan blan pa pa'i chos gyi yi ge*, PTK232 and TGGNO11.5 both record the number of *bam pos* as 7.5, disagreeing with the claim of 7 bp in LKK253 and BC 62. All four catalogues record that (6.) *Rdo rje ting nge 'dzin kyi yi ge* has 6 bp, but in the Kanjurs, it has only 2 bp. The TGGNO records that (3.) *Gser 'od dam pa* has 10 bp and 200 śl, differing from all the other catalogues' records of 10 bp. The work (7.) *Sangs rgyas mdzod* is said to have 5 bp in these catalogues, but only has 2 bp in the Kanjurs.

⁶⁷ E.g., D.351: *'phags pa rgyal bu don grub kyi mdo zhes bya ba bam po gcig pa rdzogs sol sngon rgya las 'gyur ba'i brda rnying par 'dug*. Stog201: *'phags pa 'da' ka ye shes zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs sol/ dkar chag rnying par rgya las 'gyur bar bshad*.

⁶⁸ The Sanskrit origin of the PTK's parallel items to (8.), (9.), (11.) are discussed in Nobel 1937: xviii; Miyazaki 2007; and Fujita 1988, respectively. Although there seems no strong evidence to question the Sanskrit origin of PTK's parallels to (13.) *Tshang pa'i dra pa* and (19.) *Byams pas lung bstan pa*, which are numbered D.352 and P.1011, respectively, in Kanjurs, more detailed studies are needed to validate it. For

by the TGGNO). In the transmission of the five cases, a distinctive pattern can be perceived: whenever the LKK claims that a translation has been rendered from Chinese—which the TGGNO and PT 1257 also sometimes bear out—the (colophon of the) text of the same title in the Kanjurs agrees with the PTK’s (and usually also the BC’s) claim that it was rendered from Sanskrit. If we believe that the LKK’s records (and TGGNO’s attestation) are not meaningless mistakes (which I will assess case by case in 2.5), we must conclude that the LKK’s records do not refer to the same translations as those inscribed in the PTK. While the PTK’s referents have been preserved in the Kanjurs, those recorded in the LKK are most likely lost. The pattern can be visualized as follows (Figure 1):

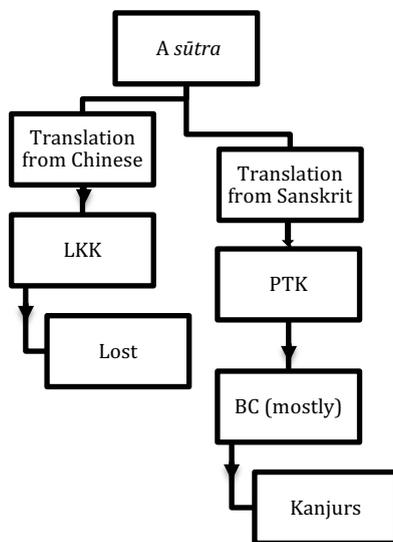


Figure 1 The Hypothesized Transmission Process

As revealed above, the PTK plays a vital role in the transmission history of these translations: with the composition of the PTK, the officially catalogued version was changed from the translation from Chinese to that from Sanskrit. In one possible scenario, Tibetan Buddhists of the early imperial era first gained access to the Chinese translation of a *sūtra*, and thereupon translated it into Tibetan. Later, when they had the chance to obtain the Sanskrit version of the same *sūtra*, they retranslated the text from Sanskrit and officialised the new translation when composing the PTK. Later in history, the Chinese version was

the studies of the *Byams pas lung bstan pa*, see Lévi 1932; Schopen 1982: 228ff.; Skilling 1993: 76–77.

almost forgotten (though sporadically attested in the TGGNO and BC), and the Kanjurs included the version rendered from Sanskrit.

In order to strengthen the above hypothesis, we should also explain why not all of the translations from Chinese were replaced with their parallel versions rendered from Sanskrit. As far as I am aware, there are six *sūtras* in Tibetan whose translations from Chinese and the corresponding translations from Sanskrit are both available in the Kanjurs.⁶⁹ In these six cases, the Chinese translations are mostly based on a different Sanskrit version (the only exception is the *Mahākaruṇīkacittadhāraṇī*). Ancient Tibetan Buddhists probably realized that the translations rendered from Chinese were ultimately based on Indic versions unavailable to them, and therefore preserved both translations in the Kanjurs.

I would speculate that the overall situation of the PTK's records of translations from Chinese, especially the hypothesized replacement of translations from Chinese with those from Sanskrit, reflects the conservative standpoint of the PTK's compilers, in hesitating to acknowledge the Chinese origin of Tibetan *sūtra* translations. In this line of thought, the PTK's compilers' reluctance to accept the translations from China would have been responsible, directly or indirectly, for the historical loss of many translations from Chinese.

In addition, six transmitted translations from Chinese are not catalogued (or their Chinese origins are not recognized) in the LKK or PTK, but are acknowledged in the TGGNO and/or BC. As a possible explanation for this situation, the TGGNO and BC, despite relying extensively on the two imperial catalogues, may have had other sources of knowledge (perhaps the *Mchims phu ma*, or a contemporary but more up-to-date source?).⁷⁰ It is also likely that the TGGNO and BC are

⁶⁹ (1.) *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, from Chinese: LKK249, PTK229, TGGNO11.1, D.119 (56 bp); versus LKK80, PTK42, TGGNO6.10, BC196, D.120 (13 bp), from Sanskrit.
 (3.) *Suvarṇaprabhāṣasūtra*, from Chinese: LKK251, PTK231, TGGNO11.4, BC210, D.555 (10 bp); versus PTK48, BC211, D556 (10 bp), from Sanskrit.
 (4.) *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, from Chinese: LKK252, TGGNO11.3, BC191, D.108 (8 bp); versus LKK84, PTK49, BC190, D.107 (9 bp) from Sanskrit;
 (7.) *Sangs rgyas kyi mdzod*, from Chinese: LKK255, PTK234, TGGNO11.7, BC 199, D.123 (4 bp); versus LKK92, BC300, D.220 (7 bp) from Sanskrit.
 (15.) *Pariṇātacakra* [or *Pariṇāmācakra*; see Silk 2019: 235], from Chinese: LKK262, PTK236, TGGNO11.11, BC323, D.242 (2 bp); versus LKK464, PTK439, BC382, D.810 (1 bp, 200 śl), from Sanskrit.
 (33.) *Mahākaruṇīkacittadhāraṇī*, from Chinese: PTK732, BC1140, D.691–897 (240 śl); versus D.690 from Sanskrit (250 śl; this Kanjur text lacks the initial Sanskrit title, which is abnormal, and my preliminary comparison between D.690 and 691 reveals that they are very similar in content).

⁷⁰ As for the main sources of reference for the TGGNO, Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009: 56–58) note that, apart from the LKK and PTK, Bcom ldan ral gri also used catalogues compiled by “Rin chen bzang po (968–1055), Nag tsho Lo tsa ba Tshul

based on older versions of the LKK or PTK that may have admitted more translations from Chinese. These six translations include:

(25.) *Nam mkha'i mdog gis 'dul ba'i bzod pa* (TGGNO11.2). Its Chinese origin is further confirmed in BC342⁷¹ and the colophons of the *Thems spang ma* lineage of Kanjurs (e.g., Stog111, V.161 and Z.142).⁷²

(26.) *Don rgyas pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs*. Its Chinese origin is confirmed only in TGGNO11.15. It is not found in the LKK or PTK's sections on Mahāyāna translations from Chinese, but in the LKK's Mahāyāna section (*Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde*, LKK206) and PTK's Dharmaparyāya section (*Chos kyi rnam grangs*, PTK262). Its supposed Chinese source, T.97 *Guangyi famen jing* 廣義法門經, is part of the *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經 (*Madhyamāgama*).⁷³

(27.) *Snang brgyad ces bya ba'i rigs sngags* (TGGNO11.16).⁷⁴ It is only found in the *Tshal pa* lineage of Kanjurs (D.1067). The Chinese source can safely be identified as T.2897, although the Kanjur version is not a word-for-word translation. BC1287 states that this Tibetan version was translated from Khotanese (*li*) based on the PTK's corresponding record. However, as I have mentioned, the PTK only states that the source languages of the whole section (PTK716–733) are Chinese (*rgya*) and Khotanese (*li*). It is possible that the BC was either referring to an old version of the PTK, in which the texts in this section were stated to have been translations only from Khotanese, or that the BC's editors misunderstood the PTK's record. As another alternative, the BC may have based its identification directly on the TGGNO's corresponding records, as I have previously surmised.

(28.) *Spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug yid bzhin 'khor lo sgyur ba'i gzungs* (TGGNO11.17); (33.) *Spyan ras gzigs phyag stong spyan stong thogs pa mi mnga' ba'i gzungs* (BC1140); (34.) *Zhal bcu gcig pa'i rig ngags kyi snying po* (BC1143). All three of these texts were translated by Chos grub, and their Chinese origin is easily confirmed. However, (28.) *Spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug yid bzhin 'khor lo sgyur ba'i gzungs* and

khriims rgyal ba (?1011–ca.1170) and Rngog Lo tsa ba Blo ldan shes rab (?1059–?1109)", Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 57. The BC's source of knowledge on translations may have comprised the three imperial catalogues, *Snar thang gi bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag*, see Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 75ff., and many catalogues compiled by great translators, see Nishioka 1983: 119.

⁷¹ Nishioka 1980: 75: *yang dag pa'i spyod pa'i tshul nam mkha'i mdog gi 'dul ba'i bzod pa 11 bp. rgya las hgyur ba*.

⁷² The colophon of Stog111 states: *yang dag par spyod pa'i tshul nam mkha'i mdog gis 'dul ba'i bzod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs soll bam po bcu gcig/ rgya las 'gyur/ 'gyur rnying pa skad gsar cad kyis bcos par snang ngo*. See Silk 2019: 239.

⁷³ See Silk 2019: 240.

⁷⁴ Its Chinese origin is discussed in Oda 2015: 57ff. See Silk 2019: 238.

(34.) *Zhal bcu gcig pa'i rig ngags kyi snying po* are listed in the LKK's section on "*dhāraṇīs* of various lengths" (*Gzungs che phra sna tshogs*). As for (33.) *Spyan ras gzigs phyag stong spyan stong thogs pa mi mnga' ba'i gzungs*, it was possibly translated after the composition of the LKK, and therefore was not recorded in the LKK but indeed in the PTK.⁷⁵ The PTK does not register (28.) and does not recognize the Chinese origin of (34.). However, it indeed accepts (33.) as a translation from Chinese, in its section on *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs* translated from Chinese and Khotanese (PTK716–733). Considering the possibility that (33.) was translated after the conclusion of the LKK's editorial activities, this case adds credibility to my abovementioned conjecture that the section PTK716–733 was created in the editorial phase, later than the section on Mahāyāna scriptures translated from Chinese, and was used to update PTK's collection by adding more newly translated texts.⁷⁶

2.3. Questions Concerning the Two 10-bp Versions of *Gser 'od dam pa*

A more intricate Gordian knot is found in the records of various versions of the *Gser 'od dam pa*. The LKK contains one 10-bp version of the *Gser 'od dam pa* translated from Chinese (LKK251), which can easily be identified with D.555 (Nobel Tib III).⁷⁷ However, according to the PTK, two 10-bp versions of this *sūtra* are translated from Chinese: PTK48, titled *Gser 'od dam pa*, was then a new translation (*gsar 'gyur*), while PTK231 was an old translation (*rnying*). It is not absolutely certain whether the record of PTK48 was simply an error (for instance, the typographical mistake of writing *rgya* for *rgya gar*), or if it indeed attested

⁷⁵ Furthermore, Herrmann-Pfandt recognizes another entry, LKK338, titled *'Phags pa snying rje chen po'i rang bzhin gyi gzungs* (LKK338, PTK322), as possibly the first of the three *bam pos* of D.691, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 187. According to her supposition, the translation of D.691 underwent at least two stages: first, the section of the *Mahākāruṇika-dhāraṇī* was completed and inscribed in the LKK, and the rest of the *bam pos* were finished later. In this sense, the work (8.) *'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug phyag stong spyan stong thogs pa mi mnga' ba'i gzungs* should have been completed between 812 and 842.

⁷⁶ Of the 18 entries (PTK716–733), only three can be found in the LKK: PTK721, *Ri glang ru lung bstan pa'i mdo* (LKK281); PTK727, *Rgyal bu don grub kyi mdo* (LKK264); and PTK731, *Rgyal bu kun du dge ba'i mdo* (LKK269). It is thus possible that all the rest may have been completed after the composition of the LKK.

⁷⁷ Nobel's studies of the different versions of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* have laid a solid foundation for later scholars. Nobel Tib I refers to D.557, the shortest version translated from Sanskrit, Nobel 1937: xviii; Tib II refers to D.556, in 10 bp, Nobel 1944; and Nobel Tib III refers to the Tibetan translation from Yijing's Chinese translation, Nobel 1958.

to the existence of a second 10-bp translation from Chinese. Although it is not a common practice for a catalogue to point out the source language of a translation from Sanskrit, it was likely that the source language (presumably Sanskrit) was indicated because of the existence of PTK231, with the same length and a similar title.

Regardless of whether PTK48 contains an error or not, we must be fully aware that the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* had a very complex textual history of translations into Tibetan. There are two versions claimed to have been translated from Sanskrit (i.e., the 5-bp Tib I [=D.557, Nobel Tib I], based purely on Sanskrit, and the 10-bp Tib II [=D.556, Nobel Tib II], with a hybrid source). According to Radich's studies,⁷⁸ Tib II, especially its *Trikāya* chapter, was translated from Chinese. In addition, the Kanjurs also contain a 10-bp translation from Yijing's Chinese. As noticed by Oetke, the Tibetan canonical translation of Yijing's Chinese version can be divided into two major traditions:⁷⁹

- 1). one is found in the Narthang Kanjur and known as Tib III; and
- 2). the second is found in the Berlin Kanjur manuscript, the Peking Kanjur, and the Derge Kanjur, and is by and large identical to Tib III except for two parts:
 - 2-1). from the middle of chapter 6 until the end of chapter 8 (known as Tib IV, based on Sanskrit); and
 - 2-2). from the first verse to the 14th verse of the first chapter (Tib V, based on Chinese and Sanskrit).

In the Dunhuang manuscripts, there are several more fragments that are based partially on Yijing's Chinese and partially on Sanskrit.

If PTK48 attests to the existence of a 10-bp translation from Sanskrit, it is possible that Tib II is the text indicated here. The Indian origin of PTK48 is favoured by the evidence adduced from its adjacent *sūtra*, the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The *Laṅkāvatāra* also appears twice (PTK49, PTK252), always as the text next to the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* in the PTK. PTK49 is a translation from Sanskrit, while PTK252 is from Chinese. It is plausible that the organization of the two versions of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* follows the same pattern. However, if PTK48 is indeed a translation from Chinese, could it still refer to the 10-bp Tib II, which was possibly a translation from Chinese, but later considerably revised by Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi, and Ye shes sde based on Tib I?

⁷⁸ Radich 2015: 248–50.

⁷⁹ Oetke 1977: 12–16, 24, etc.; Simonsson 1957: 206ff.

2.4 Questions Concerning the 11-bp Version of Lang kar gshegs pa

While there is no controversy concerning the Chinese origin of the 8-bp translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (LKK252/TGGNO11.3/BC191/D.108, which was translated from T.670),⁸⁰ there are indeed lingering doubts about the source language of the 11-bp version of the *Lang kar gshegs pa* catalogued in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* (BC190: *Lang kar gshegs pa rgya las bsgyur pa 11 bp*). The reading of *rgya* is actually only attested in the Lhasa version of the BC, while the other three versions read *rgya gar* instead.⁸¹ In the LKK, this 11-bp version is not explicitly claimed to be a translation from Chinese (LKK84). Therefore, I assume the Lhasa edition of the BC simply contains a mistake.⁸² However, the situation seems to have been more complicated, based on statements from other catalogues and Kanjurs.

In today's Kanjurs, there is no version in 11 bp. Apart from the above-mentioned 8-bp version (LKK252/TGGNO11.3/BC191/D.108), though there is one more translation in 9 bp, namely PTK49/D.107. Its translation, from Chinese, is attributed to Chos grub, based on Kanjur colophons.⁸³ However, the *Catalogue of the Derge Kanjur* (abbr. DKK) rather states that the 9-bp version (D.107) was translated from Sanskrit.⁸⁴ How should we then understand the contradictory statements of the diverse sources? Should we identify PTK49/D.107 with LKK84/BC190?

Ueyama observes that the language of D.107 is closer to that of the Tibetan sentences inserted into the Dunhuang manuscript Or.8210/S.5603, Wenhui's Chinese commentary on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.⁸⁵ However, he argues that D.107 was rendered from Sanskrit, as it corresponds well to the Sanskrit version and differs from D.108.⁸⁶ Indeed, D.107 shows a high level of parallelism with the

⁸⁰ Is it likely that the PTK omitted this translation because it was produced mainly based on the Chinese commentary? As demonstrated by Ueyama, Chos grub probably first translated Wenhui's commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra*, then extracted the root text from the commentary to compose the translation of the *sutra*, see Ueyama 1990: 115.

⁸¹ Nishioka 1980: 71, n. 119.

⁸² This is actually already suggested by Kawagoe 2005: 9, n. 33.

⁸³ Colophons of the Derge, Stog, Narthang, Lhasa, Shey, Urga and Lithang Kanjurs, with variations, read: *'phags pa lang kar gshegs pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo ji snyed pa rdzogs so/ bcom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs pa 'gos chos grub kyi rgya'i dpe las bsgyur te gtan la phab pa'o*. See the information on the rKTs website: <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/verif/verif2.php?id=107> (accessed on November 29, 2020).

⁸⁴ *'Phags pa lang kar gshegs pa bam po dgu le'u nyer brgyad pa rgya gar nas 'gyur bar grags kyang sgyur mkhan gyi gsal ka ma byung*, DKK 124a5 (BDRC no. W22084).

⁸⁵ Ueyama 1990: 113–14.

⁸⁶ Ueyama 1990: 113.

Sanskrit version.⁸⁷ It should also be noted that T.672, a longer version of the Chinese translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (T.672, in 7 fascicles) by Śikṣānanda, also displays a close similarity with both D.107 and the Sanskrit version. A preliminary comparison of the trilingual versions shows that D.107 indeed corresponds better to the Sanskrit than to the Chinese version. Therefore, before a thorough study of the textual relationship between D.107, T.672, and the Sanskrit version is carried out, there is no substantial evidence to reject the Sanskrit origin of D.107, although the Tibetan canonical tradition describes it as a translation from Chinese by Chos grub (possibly caused by the error contained in the Lhasa edition of the BC).

The question then remains whether LKK84/BC190 should be viewed as the same translation as D.107. In fact, the *Catalogue of the Narthang Kanjur* (abbr. NKK) also attempts to link the 11-bp version LKK84/BC190 with the 9-bp PTK49/D.107.⁸⁸ If these entries refer to the same translation, it is possible that D.107's erroneous colophon originated from BC190's miswriting of *rgya* (in place of *rgya ga*). Alternatively, if these entries actually refer to different texts, it is also not impossible that there once existed a Tibetan translation from Chinese (possibly based on T.672), which was later replaced by the present D.107.

2.5. Lost Tibetan Sūtra Translations from Chinese

There are 12 entries in the imperial catalogues that are not found in today's Kanjurs. They include (8.), (9.), (11.), (13.), (16.), (18.), (19.), (20.), (21.), (22.), (29.), and (35.). However, different motives drive their failure to circulate. One major (hypothesized) reason for not being included in the Kanjurs is that a specific Chinese translation was replaced by its parallel translation rendered from Sanskrit, as I have already discussed above. This explanation applies to (8.), (9.), (11.), (13.), and (19.)

The translations (18.) *Sems can gyi skye shi'i rtsa ba bstan pa*, (21.) *Chos nyid rang gi ngo bo nyid las mi g.yo bar snang ba bstan pa*, and (22.) *Yang dag pa'i legs pa'i yon tan bshad pa* are already listed as lost texts in Bu

⁸⁷ Nanjō 1923.

⁸⁸ The *Catalogue of the Narthang Kanjur* (NKK, BDRC no. W22703) states that the text in contemporary circulation had nine *bam pos*, but according to the old catalogues, it had 11 *bam pos* (*lang kar gshegs pa'i mdo bam po dgu dang/ le'u brgyad pa/ rdo rje gdan pa dang sman lung pas le'u drug ces gsung/ dkar chag rnying pa rnams nas bam po bcu gcig pa zhes 'byung*, 92b1–2). If we identify these entries as one and the same version, the difference in the number of bp should then probably be explained by the different length calculation system in translating from Chinese, as I have mentioned above.

ston's *Chos 'byung* for unknown reasons, but definitely not due to textual replacement. The two remaining translations, (16.) *Pha ma'i drin lan bstan pa* and (20.) *Dge bcu dang du blang pa'i mdo*, present knotty problems, because I am not quite sure whether they have been transmitted to the present. Since Silk 2019 does not include any discussion of most of these missing texts, I provide a brief introduction to the textual history of these entries as a supplement to Silk 2019.

(8.) *'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po* (LKK256) & (35) *'Phags pa gser od dam po'i mdo* (LKK87): LKK256 is a 5-bp Tibetan translation from Chinese, according to the LKK. This translation, with identical textual information, is not recorded in the PTK, TGGNO, or BC, nor is it compiled in the Kanjurs. Instead, the Kanjurs include the translation *'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po chung pa* (PTK69/TGGNO6.34/BC209/D.557, Nobel Tib I) of the same length. D.557 was translated from Sanskrit by Mūlāśoka and Jñānakumāra, possibly posterior to LKK256, as it was not included in the LKK. In the process of compiling the PTK, ancient Tibetan editors possibly made a selection from the two translations of the same length of 5 bp, and chose to include the translation D.557, with an Indic origin. LKK256 was therefore lost. However, since LKK256 lacks a corroborating witness, some scholars tend to view it as erroneously listed in the section "Translations from Chinese".⁸⁹

LKK87 is regarded as a translation from Chinese only in BC208.⁹⁰ The translation was ascribed to Rnam par mi rtog, who is known to have translated several texts from Chinese.⁹¹ However, since the LKK does not confirm the Chinese origin of this translation, I am not quite sure of the source of Bu ston's information.

(9.) *'Phags pa ma skyes dgra'i 'gyod pa bsal pa* (LKK257): This translation has not been transmitted to the present, but TGGNO11.8 further attests to its existence. Its Chinese origin is unclear, as its source

⁸⁹ Based on the possibility that LKK87 was a translation from Chinese (see the following discussion), Herrmann-Pfandt proposes the hypothesis that LKK87 and 256 were misplaced in the LKK: while LKK87 should be listed in the section on translations from Chinese, LKK256 should be placed in the section on *Mahāyānasūtras*, and therefore was not a translation from Chinese, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 50. However, the LKK does not place all translations from Chinese in its "Translations from Chinese" section (e.g., LKK82, 83), so it does not necessarily follow that LKK87 must have been placed where LKK256 is located.

⁹⁰ Nishioka 1980: 32: *Gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po che ba 8 bp. Rnam par mi rtog pa'i 'gyur.*

⁹¹ D.239 *'Dus pa chen po las sa'i snying po'i 'khor lo bcu pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, D.242 *'Phags pa yongs su bsngo ba'i 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, and D.3932 *Ting nge 'dzin gyi mi mthun pa'i phyogs rnam par gzhaq pa*. See Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 50.

was already lost in China. In contrast, the PTK, BC, and Kanjurs omit LKK257 but include a translation of the same title and same length (PTK74/BC296/D.216), which makes Silk question the Chinese origin of this entry.⁹² The latter version is rendered from the Sanskrit text *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana* by Mañjuśrīgarbha and Ratnarakṣita. This serves as another example of the pattern in which the translation from Sanskrit was preserved in the canons and replaced the translation rendered from Chinese. In PT 1257, a similar bilingual title is recorded (*Asheshi wang shoujue jing* 阿闍世王受決經, *Ma skyes dgra'i the tsoṃ bstsal pa'i mdo*).⁹³ I suspect that the title provided in PT 1257 refers to the lost version translated from Chinese, while the current title refers to the revised version based on the Kanjur collection.

(11.) *Byang chub sems dpa'i so sor thar pa chos bzhi bsgrub pa* (LKK259). This translation is again witnessed in TGGNO11.10. Its Chinese source is lost. Like the previous two cases (LKK256, 257), the PTK and Kanjurs register a parallel translation rendered from Sanskrit, namely PTK117/BC329/D.248. This translation from Sanskrit contains the same number of 700 *śloka*s and is translated by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, Śākya blo gro, and Dge ba'i blo gros.

(13.) *Tshangs pa'i dra pa* (LKK261A): LKK261A is described as a 2-bp translation from Chinese, possibly T.21 *Fanwang liushier jian jing* 梵網六十二見經 (**Brahmajāla-sūtra*). PT 1257 attests to the Chinese title 梵網經 side by side with the Tibetan title *Tshangs lha dra pha* (Apple and Apple 2017: 115, no. 21). Silk questions the Chinese origin of this entry.⁹⁴ However, it should be noted that the circulating version of the *Tshang pa'i dra pa*, though of the same length, is a translation from Sanskrit by Ye shes sde (PTK248/TGGNO7.4/BC10/D.352); it is not the same translation as LKK265A. Again, the hypothesized textual replacement may have taken place.

(16.) *Pha ma'i drin lan bstan pha* (LKK263): The PTK ignores this entry and the TGGNO also fails to record it. BC48, however, affirms its existence, albeit without mentioning its Chinese origin. Its corresponding title in Chinese, *Fumu enzhong jing* 父母恩重經, is attested in the bilingual Dunhuang manuscript PT 1257 (Apple and Apple 2017: 122, no. 86). This seems to confirm Stein's conjecture that the Chinese source for this Tibetan translation is T.2887 *Fumu enzhong*

⁹² Silk 2019: 240.

⁹³ Apple and Apple 2017: 119.

⁹⁴ Silk 2019: 239.

jing 父母恩重經.⁹⁵ However, it is difficult to identify its Chinese source for the moment, mainly due to our ignorance of the content of LKK263. Berounský, in his elaboration on various versions of the story of Maudgalyāyana rescuing his mother from hell, has noted the existence of Phug brag Kanjur F.218.⁹⁶ According to him, Maudgalyāyana also features in the second part of F.218, titled *Pha ma'i drin lan bsab pa'i mdo*. However, this part of F.218 is not a translation from the Chinese T.2887. If LKK263 is identical to the second part of F.218, its Chinese source needs to be reconsidered. Is TGGNO11.45 *Le'u* [*>Me'u*] *gal ma mtsho ba'i mdo'* possibly a witness of LKK263?⁹⁷

(18.) *Sems can gyi skye shi'i rtsa ba bstan pa* (LKK265A): This translation is witnessed by PTK239 and TGGNO11.14. However, it had already been lost by Bu ston's time, as it is listed in the section on "Old Translations That Are Now Inaccessible (*Sngar 'gyur nges pa da lta ma rnyed pa*; BC92)" in the *Chos 'byung*. Purely in view of its title and length (1 bp), I tentatively identify its Chinese origin as T.708 *Liaoben shengsi jing* 了本生死經, a translation of the *Śālistambasūtra*.⁹⁸ In contrast, another translation, titled *'Phags pa sa lu'i ljang pa* of the *Śālistambasūtra* (LKK180/PTK167/TGGNO6.122/BC292), is included in the Kanjurs (D.210). It contains 226 *ślokas* and was translated from Sanskrit by Ye shes sde. The loss of LKK265 (A) against the preservation of LKK180 again echoes the paradigm I propose above, in which translations from Chinese were frequently replaced with their corresponding versions translated from Sanskrit, especially when they were of approximately the same length, in the process of Tibetan canonization.

(19.) *Byams pas lung bstan pa* (LKK265B): This entry, in 110 *ślokas*, is not attested in the other catalogues. Could it be a translation of one version of the Chinese "descent *sūtras*" (*Xiasheng jing* 下生經)?⁹⁹ On the other hand, PTK273 records another translation with the same title, but in only 100 *ślokas*. This translation is now preserved in several Kanjurs, for instance in Peking Kanjur P.1011 and Narthang Kanjur N.329. According to the colophon of the Narthang Kanjur,

⁹⁵ Stein 2010: 89.

⁹⁶ Berounský 2012: 89–99. As he also notices, Stein also seems to have known of this Phug brag version, see Berounský 2012: 94

⁹⁷ Berounský 2012: 91.

⁹⁸ Note that *Sa ru ljang pa* commonly appears as one of the three Chinese texts that Sang shi brought back to Tibet in early Tibetan historiographies. See the discussion in note 22.

⁹⁹ See Bowring et al. 2019: 303.

the existing translation was translated from Sanskrit by Jinamitra and Dpal brtsegs Rakṣita.

(20.) *Dge bcu dang du blang pa'i mdo* (LKK266). This is attested in TGGNO11.47, though as a translation from Khotanese. BC94 merely informs us of its length without confirming its Chinese origin: “*dge ba bcu yi dam du blangs ba'i cho ga shu lo ka brgya*”. The PTK lists it under the section “Present Titles That Do Not Appear in the Colophons” (PTK717, ‘*Gyur byang las mi 'byung ba'i bzhugs pa'i mtshan*). It seems that this translation had been successfully transmitted until Bu ston's time; nevertheless, we do not find it in the Kanjurs. Herrmann-Pfandt observes that Dunhuang manuscript IOL Tib J 606 discusses a similar topic related to the ten meritorious deeds.¹⁰⁰ The possible Chinese source is T.1486 *Shou shishan jie jing* 受十善戒經.

(21.) *Chos nyid rang gi ngo bo nyid las mi g.yo bar snang ba bstan pa* (LKK267). This 90-*śloka* translation is not recorded in the PTK and was already lost by Bcom ldan ral gri's time. Both TGGNO29.5 (located in the Hīnayāna section, however) and BC438 list it as one of the old translations that had gone missing. Its supposed Chinese original seems to have been lost as well. Today's Kanjurs, however, preserve the version of the *Dharmatāsvabhāvācalasūtra* translated from Sanskrit by Dānaśīla and Ye shes sde (confirmed in the colophons of D.128 and Stog193, among many others). In fact, the sudden appearance of D.128 is puzzling, as the available previous catalogues do not contain a single mention of it, although this translation is claimed to have been rendered during the imperial era. Herrmann-Pfandt, however, tends to identify LKK267 with D.128, and denies the Chinese origin of LKK267.¹⁰¹ Nonetheless, this cannot solve the problem of why D.128 was either ignored or claimed to have been lost in the PTK, TGGNO, and BC.

(22.) *Yang dag pa'i legs pa'i yon tan bshad pa* (LKK268). This translation is not included in the PTK or TGGNO. However, in Bu ston's *Chos byung* (BC431), it is listed as one of the ancient translations that have been lost. Its Chinese source is also unidentified and has most probably been lost.

(29.) *Khyad par can gyi zung*s (TGGNO11.18). This text, as a translation from Chinese, is witnessed only in the TGGNO. In contrast,

¹⁰⁰ Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 147.

¹⁰¹ Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 148.

LKK358/361, PTK336, and BC1270, though listed under the same title, are identified with D.542/872, the translation from Sanskrit by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, and Ye shes sde. Is TGGNO11.18 here a mistake?

3. Conclusion

In this paper, I attempted to map a textual history of Tibetan *sūtra* translations rendered from Chinese, by tracing the different records in four early Tibetan catalogues (LKK, PTK, TGGNO, and BC) and associating these records with texts in the present-day Kanjur collections. This yielded a diachronic overview of how each translation was transmitted: specifically, whether a translation has been transmitted uninterruptedly to the present, or was lost or replaced in the course of transmission. Of the total number of 36 entries reported as translations from Chinese in the four catalogues, 23 translations can safely be identified in today's Kanjurs, while another two translations ([16.] and [20.]) can tentatively be associated with the available texts of a local Kanjur or from Dunhuang. One entry ([36.]) can be treated with relative certainty as mistake (its text was not translated from Chinese, but from Sanskrit). The remaining ten translations were lost in the course of transmission. In addition, there are at least 16 imperial-era (or early post-imperial) translations from Chinese that were never acknowledged as such by these early catalogues (Appendix). That is to say, the imperial catalogues do not reflect the full picture of translations from Chinese in late-imperial Tibet. The neglect or marginalisation of Chinese elements in late- or post-imperial Tibetan editorial projects (the TGGNO somehow being an exception) is also reflected in the textual-replacement pattern that I demonstrated in section 2.2: when one *sūtra* has translations from both Sanskrit and Chinese sources, the one from Sanskrit is usually preserved and included in the canons, while the translation from Chinese is excluded from the Kanjurs (e.g., [8.], [9.], [11.], [13.], [19.]). From another perspective, a large proportion of the extant Tibetan *sūtra* translations from Chinese are possibly included in Kanjurs because they do not have a version of translation from Sanskrit (e.g., [1.], [2.], [5.], [6.],¹⁰² [10.],¹⁰³ [12.],¹⁰⁴ [13.],¹⁰⁵ [27.]¹⁰⁶): since they were created or reworked in China (or by Chinese monks), they do not have a direct Indic origin and therefore have no Sanskrit parallels. Of the

¹⁰² Obata 1975: 170.

¹⁰³ Obata 1975: 170.

¹⁰⁴ Obata 1975: 170.

¹⁰⁵ Obata 1975: 170.

¹⁰⁶ Oda 2015: 51.

corpus of Tibetan *sūtra* translations from Chinese, only (1.), (3.), (4.), (7.), (15.), and (33.) have been included in Kanjurs when their parallel translations from Sanskrit are also available. In these cases, the Tibetan compilers probably recognized the disparity between the versions translated from Chinese and from Sanskrit and therefore preserved both translations, which to them represented different but equally legitimate transmissions of the Buddha's word. In brief, the evidence is enough to conclude that the influence of Chinese *sūtras* upon the Tibetan Buddhist translation enterprise was already on the wane from the time of the imperial standardisation projects onwards, a circumstance that was further reflected in the later process of the compilation of the Tibetan canons.

Moreover, the four early catalogues adopt different policies in recording translations from Chinese. The LKK, the earliest official catalogue from imperial Tibet, introduced the model of including translations rendered from Chinese in a separate section. Although the LKK contains the largest number of translations rendered from Chinese compared to the later three catalogues, it is hard to say how receptive its compilers were to translations from Chinese, as we know only the number of translations that were included, but have no idea how many were excluded. At any rate, we know there are more than 16 early translations from Chinese that were not recorded or recognized in the LKK. Moreover, many of the LKK's entries seem to have been quite antique, as their Chinese sources have since been lost. Authoritative as the LKK is, later editorial projects did not completely follow its lead: the PTK replaced many of its entries with translations rendered from Sanskrit, which is by and large followed by the BC and Kanjurs.

The PTK is comparatively more reluctant to record translations from Chinese than the LKK: in its particular section on translations from Chinese, it includes only 11 texts, though many of the excluded translations from Chinese should have been available at the time of the PTK's composition. Although the PTK sets up a new section for *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs* translated from Chinese and Khotanese, which may have been designed primarily to accommodate newly completed translations, it does not make any effort to distinguish Chinese sources from Khotanese ones. Its Indic-centered orientation is further reflected in its replacing of the five translations from Chinese with ones from Sanskrit. Since these five translations from Chinese were thereafter excluded from official editorial projects, the PTK must be responsible for the loss of them.

The TGGNO seems to be more liberal than the PTK in admitting the Chinese origin of Tibetan translations, as it records 18 translations in its specific section on scriptures translated from Chinese. Although the TGGNO closely follows the PTK in its cataloguing overall, it does not

totally agree with the PTK concerning translations from Chinese. For instance, in the cases of (4.), (9.), and (11.), while the PTK states otherwise, the TGGNO agrees with the LKK in recognizing the Chinese origin of these texts. However, the TGGNO also directly borrows records from the PTK, especially PTK716 to 733, which were possibly misread by the TGGNO compilers to contain translations from Khotanese (unless the TGGNO based this on a different reading of the manuscript). In the aforementioned five cases of textual replacement, the TGGNO sometimes agrees with the LKK's statements that the texts were rendered from Chinese ([9.], [11.]), but on other occasions, it supports the PTK's claim that they were translations from Sanskrit ([8.], [13.]). In addition, it includes new translations from Chinese that are not recorded in the LKK or PTK. All these observations suggest that the TGGNO based its knowledge of translations from Chinese on more than just these two imperial catalogues. Either the compilers had actual holdings of more translations from Chinese, or they consulted sources no longer available to us.

The BC chiefly follows the previous three catalogues, especially the TGGNO, in recording translations rendered from Chinese. Among the 15 recognized translations from Chinese acknowledged by BC, only one entry (36.) does not appear in any of the other three catalogues, and, as I mentioned above, this single entry possibly contains a typographical error. In 12 of the other 14 entries, the BC closely follows the TGGNO's record, although some of these translations are not recognized as being rendered from Chinese by the LKK and PTK. It seems that Bu ston also checked the texts that were available to him, since he sometimes noticed that certain translations were lost (e.g., [18.], [21.], and [22.]), and he attributed translators to many works, even when previous catalogues omitted such information. The BC's records more directly influenced the Kanjurs' collection of translations from Chinese: all of the translations Bu ston recognized as rendered from Chinese were successfully transmitted to Kanjurs.

In a nutshell, the investigation of the transmission situation of the Tibetan scriptures rendered from Chinese in imperial and early post-imperial Tibet sheds light on the under-researched history of source languages in Tibetan translation practices. The source languages of early Tibetan translations were probably much more diversified than those presented in today's Kanjurs. Unlike Sanskrit, the dominant source language that was constantly highly valued and sanctified in the Tibetan canonisation process, Chinese as the source language was gradually marginalised in the imperial standardization and later canonization projects: the very short transition period from LKK to PTK possibly already witnessed the textual replacement of five *sūtra* translations from Chinese by those rendered from Sanskrit; some

translations from Chinese, especially those Chinese Chan works, although still recorded in the early post-imperial catalogue TGGNO (Appendix II no. 11–15, 23), were excluded by BC and thereafter forgotten by the Kanjurs' compilers; Many more translations from Chinese that have now been rediscovered in Dunhuang even had no opportunity to be transmitted to a wider audience before getting sealed in Dunhuang, plausibly because there already existed parallel translations from Sanskrit in circulation. The choice between different source languages, the decision to preserve which translation versions, and so forth, no doubt reflect how ancient Tibetan Buddhists privileged different sources in building their culture and the identity of their religion.

Appendix I: *Sūtra* Translations Rendered from Chinese but not Recorded or Recognized in the Four Early Catalogues¹⁰⁷

1. D.51: *Go cha'i bkod pa bstan pa* (LKK31/PTK685). It is noted that the PTK lists this entry in the section on "*Sūtras* and *Vinayas*, the translations of which are not complete" (*Mdo sde dang 'dul ba'i bsgyur 'phro*), but the LKK already adds it in its *Ratnakūṭa* section. It is plausible that LKK31 was added to the LKK at a later time.¹⁰⁸ None of the four early catalogues recognize its Chinese origin. It is translated from the Chinese T.310 (7) *Pijia zhuangyan hui* 被甲莊嚴會.

2. D.57: *Dga' bo mngal na gnas pa bstan pa* (LKK37/PTK684). Same scenario as D.51. It is translated from the Chinese T.310 (14) *Foshuo ru taizang hui* 佛說入胎藏會.

3. D.58: *Tshe dang ldan pa dga' bo mngal du 'jug pa bstan pa*. (LKK38/PTK683). Same scenario as D.51. It is translated from the Chinese T.310 (13) *Fo wei a'nan shuo chu taizang hui* 佛為阿難說處胎會.

4. D.61: *Gang pos zhus pa* (LKK41), in 6 bp. It is translated from T.310 (17) *Fulouna hui* 富樓那會. Note that PTK713, which is stated to be translated from Sanskrit (*'di rnam srgya gar las bsgyur*), possibly refers

¹⁰⁷ I base the corpus of Tibetan *sūtra* translations on Silk 2019. The identification of the Chinese sources and the location of the text in Kanjurs or Dunhuang are also based on Silk's article. Note that, of these 21 translations, no. 13 (D.359a) was translated in 19th century, and no. 21 is an undated translation. Based on current knowledge, it is relatively safe to judge 16 translations were rendered in Tibetan imperial or early post-imperial era: D.51, 57, 58, 61, 64, 84, 239, 241, 255, 354, Stog266, Stog130, PT 89 (no. 16), PT 89 (no. 17), PT 557 (et. al.) and PT 758.

¹⁰⁸ For a discussion of the archaism of the PTK (compared to the LKK) in the organization of the *Ratnakūṭa* section, see Li Channa, forthcoming. To briefly summarise its findings, the LKK, which seems to have undergone later editorial revision, contains a full-fledged *Ratnakūṭa* section with all 49 *sūtra* chapters. However, the PTK only contains nine *sūtra*-chapters in its *Ratnakūṭa* section, and most of the other *sūtra*-chapters are found in other sections of the PTK.

to a different version of the translation, as its length should be shorter than 6 bp.¹⁰⁹

5. D.64: *Glog thob kyis zhus pa* (LKK44/BC147), in 2 bp. It is translated from T.310 (20): *Wujin fuzang hui* 無盡伏藏會. Note that PTK714 is stated to be translated from Sanskrit ('*di rnams rgya gar las bsgyur*).

6. D.84: *Bu mo rnam dag dad pas zhus pa* (LKK64/PTK185). It is translated from T.310 (40) *Jingxin tongnü hui* 淨信童女會.

7. D.174: '*Phags pa 'jig rten 'dzin gyis yongs su dris pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*. BC257. Translated from T.482 *Chishi jing* 持世經.

8. D.199: *Byang chub sems dpa' byams pa dga' ldan gnam du skye ba blangs pa'i mdo*. Translated from T.452 *Foshuo guan mile pusa shangsheng doushuaitian jing* 佛說觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經.

9. D.239: '*Dus pa chen po las sa'i snying po'i 'khor lo bcu pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (LKK82/PTK40). Translated from T.411 *Dasheng daji dizang shilun jing* 大乘大集地藏十輪經.

10. D.241: *Ting nge 'dzin gyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*. Translated from T.356 *Foshuo baoji sanmei wenshushili pusa wen fashen jing* 佛說寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經 (?).¹¹⁰

11. D.255: *Theg pa chen po'i mdo chos rgya mtsho zhes bya ba*. Chinese not identified.

12. D.354: *Legs nyes kyi rgyu dang 'bras bu bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*. IOL Tib J 220, 221, 298, 335.2–3. Translated from T.2881 *Shan'e yinguo jing* 善惡因果經.

13.D.359a: '*Spho bsho zi shī il tāng kying, Dum bu zhe gnyis pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*. Translated from T.784 *Sishier zhang jing* 四十二章經 during the Qianlong era.¹¹¹

14. Stog266: *Yongs su skyob pa'i snod ces bya ba'i mdo*. Translated from T.685 *Foshuo yulanpen jing* 佛說盂蘭盆經.

15. Stog130, Gondhla 30.09: *Sangs rgyas rjes su dran pa'i ting nge 'dzin gyi rgya mtsho*.

16. PT 89: *Dge bsnyen ma gang ga'i mchog gi 'dus pa*. Translated from T.310 (31) *Hengheshang youpoyi hui* 恒河上優婆夷會.

17. PT 89: *Byangs chub sems dpa' byams pas zhus pa'i 'dus pa*. Translated from T.310 (42) *Mile pusa suowen hui* 彌勒菩薩所問會.

18. PT 557, 563, 562, 561, 556, 96, 564: '*Od dpag med kyi bkod pa*. Translated from T.310 (5) *Wuliangshou rulai hui* 無量壽如來會.

¹⁰⁹ Although the record of its textual length is incomplete, PTK, Mi rig dpe skrun khang 2003: 51, this entry should be shorter than the first entry (4 bp) in the same section, if the criterion of descending order of length, generally adopted elsewhere in the PTK, is applicable.

¹¹⁰ Saerji 2011: 190.

¹¹¹ Martin 2014, s.v. "Forty-two Section Sūtra".

19. PT 758: *Snang ba mtha' yas kyi mdo*. Translated from T.366 *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經.

20. IOL J Tib 213: *Dus dang dus ma yin pa bstan pa*. T.794 *Shi feishi jing* 時非時經.

21. *Bcom ldan 'das kyi gzhin rje la lung bstan pa dang/ 'khor rnams la bshos ston bdun tshings bya ba dang/ sangs rgyas kyi zhing du skye ba dang/ lha'i pho nya bstan pa zhes pa'i mdo*. Translated from *Shiwang jing* 十王經. Translation date unclear. Berounský 2012:141ff.

Appendix II: Tibetan *Sūtra* Commentaries Translated from Chinese, According to the Four Early Catalogues¹¹²

1. *Dgongs 'grel gyi 'grel pa* (LKK565/PTK773/TGGNO11.19/BC676/D.4016). 74 bp. Translated by Chos grub based on Wen tsheg's commentary.

2. *Dgongs pa nyes par 'grel pa'i tīkā* (LKK566/PTK521/TGGNO11.20/BC671). 9 bp.

3. *Dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i rgya cher bshad pa* (LKK531/PTK522/BC654/D.4358). 40 bp. Translated by Klu'i rgyal mtshan. The PTK alone lists it as translations from Chinese.

4. *Puṇḍa rī ka'i* (TGGNO: *Dam pa'i chos pad ma dkar po'i*) *'grel pa* (LKK567/PTK520/TGGNO11.21/BC656/D.4017). 20 bp. Based on the commentary composed by Sa'i rtsa lag from Sri Lanka.

5. *Lang gshegs kyi 'grel pa chen po* (LKK568/PTK517/TGGNO11.24/BC672) 40 bp.

6. *Lang dkar gshegs pa'i 'grel pa* (LKK569/BC673). 760 śl. Should it be identified with TGGGO11.54 (*Lang kar gshegs pa'i ti ka*) in 3 bp?

7. *Lang dkar gshegs pa'i bsdus don* (LKK570/PTK519/TGGNO11.23/BC674). 3 bp. The composer was Bin tar ta li la (Rathalīla).

8. *Lang kar gshegs pa'i 'grel pa* (TGGNO11.25/BC657/D.4018). The composer is Ye shes dpal bzang po. The length is measured as 240 "arrow-size" (*mda' tshal*) in TGGNO, which contains roughly 262 folios in the Derge Tanjur version.

9. *Rdo rje gcod pa'i 'grel pa* (LKK571/PTK518/TGGNO11.22/BC534/PT 606). 5 bp.

10. *Chos kyi rgyal mo'i bshad pa* (LKK572/PTK523/TGGNO11.26/BC675). 4 bp.

11. *Chos dkon mchog la gcig bar dun 'jug pa'i sgo mkhan po bdun rgyud*

¹¹² The names and sequences of these *sūtra* commentaries mainly follow the LKK version when possible. Items that are not contained in LKK but in other catalogues are added thematically. From Item 11 onwards, I follow TGGNO's sequence.

lyi mdo' (TGGNO11.27). 2 bp.

12. *Bsam gtan gyi yi ge* (LKK613/PTK657/TGGNO11.28/BC876). 3bp. Composed by Dharmadhara.

13. *Bsam gtan nyal ba'i 'khor sems la lta ba'i chos* (TGGNO11.29). Composed by Ha shang Ma ha ya na.

14. *Bsam gtan chu'i sems bde' bar zhag pa'i chos* (TGGNO11.30).

15. *Bsam gtan bdud 'dul ba'i snying po* (TGGNO11.31).

16. *Ting nge 'dzin gyi mthun phyogs bzhag pa* (TGGNO11.32; BC858; D3932/4934?).

17. *Mdo sde brgya bcu'i khungs* (PTK831/TGGNO11.33 / PT 818 and IOL Tib J 705 / Go 17.2). 4 bp. Tauscher 2021. This text, containing 88 chapters of questions and citations from 80 treatises, is perhaps not a translation from Chinese, but a genuine Tibetan composition, but containing many Chinese material.

(The entries below are listed as “Translations from Khotanese” in the TGGNO. However, as I have argued above, many of these translations, which overlap with PTK716–733, seem to have been mistaken as translations from Khotanese by TGGNO, due to misreading or corruption of the PTK's concluding remark “*mdo dang gzungs 'di rnams rgya dang li las bsgyur*”. Therefore, I list them in the appendix, although some of the translations are plausibly not translated from Chinese).

18. *Ma skyes dgra'i bu mo dri ma med pa'i 'od kyis zhus pa'i lung bstan* (PTK722/TGGNO11.34). 4 bp. Comp LKK107/BC252/D.168 in 6 bp.

19. *Ri glang ru lung bstan pa* (TGGNO11.35). 4 bp. Comp. LKK281/BC79/D.357 in 1 bp.

20. *Sbyangs pa'i yon tan bshad pa* (PTK723/TGGNO11.36). 1 bp. Comp. BC98/D.306.

21. *Zas kyi 'tsho ba rnam dag gi mdo'* (PTK724/TGGNO11.37/BC288/D.206). 38 śl.

22. *Rta skad byang chub sems dpa'i mdo'* (TGGNO11.42).

23. *Bsam gtan gyi mdo'* (TGGNO11.43).

24. *Smon lam gyi mdo'* (11.44/BC99).

25. *Le'u [>Me'u] gal ma mtshol ba'i mdo'* (LKK263?/PTK729/TGGNO11.45).

26. *Rta 'grin gnam sa bkod pa'i mdo'* (PTK730/TGGNO11.46).

27. *Snang brgyad rigs bzhi* (TGGNO11.51). Perhaps from Khotanese? Comp. TGGNO11.16 which is from Chinese.

28. *Dbyig gnyen gyi rten 'brel* (TGGNO11.52/BC649/D.395). 4 bp.

29. *de'i (=Dbyig gnyen gyi rten 'brel) ti ka* (TGGNO11.53/BC650/D.396). 11 bp. Composed by Yon tan blo gro.

Abbreviations

BC	Bu ston's <i>Chos 'byung</i> . Numeration follows Nishioka 1980–1983.
bp	<i>bam po</i>
cp	compare (with the following Sanskrit translation)
D.	Derge Kanjur
DKK	<i>Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag</i> . BDRC no. W22084, vol. 103, 3–344
F.	Phugbrag Kanjur
IOL Tib J	Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts previously preserved in the India Office Library, now in the British Library
LKK	<i>Lhan dkar ma</i> . Numeration follows Herrmann-Pfandt 2008
NKK	<i>Catalogue of the Narthang Kanjur</i> . BDRC no. W22703, vol.102
Or.8210/S.	Dunhuang Chinese scroll manuscripts now held in the British Library
PT	“Pelliot tibétain”, Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France
PTK	<i>'Phang thang ma</i> . Numeration follows Kawagoe 2005
śl	<i>śloka</i>
Stog	Stog Kanjur
T.	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō</i>
TA	<i>Tang Annals (Tangshu 唐書)</i>
TGGNO	<i>Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od</i> . Numeration follows Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009
V.	Ulaanbaatar Kanjur
ZW	<i>Zangwai fojiao wenxian 藏外佛教文獻</i> Edited by Fang Guangchang, 1995–2003

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A Philological Study of the *Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda*

Ai Nishida

(Kyoto University)

he *Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda* is a Sanskrit text elucidating a divination method based on the Twelve Nidānas. More precisely, it is a collection of several kinds of chronologically sorted omens to each of which is assigned one of the Twelve Nidānas—a well-known doctrine of Buddhism. As for this Sanskrit divination text, we have two other editions in both Tibetan and Chinese canonical texts.¹ In 1995 Kimura published full transliterations of these three texts, namely a Sanskrit text based on a manuscript kept in Nepal and the Tibetan and Chinese editions recorded in the *Bstan 'gyur* and *Taishō Tripiṭaka* (*Dazheng xin xiu dazing jing* 大正新脩大藏經), alongside the translation for the Sanskrit text.² Showing a comparative table of content across these texts, he mentioned that the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts were almost in accordance whereas the Chinese text was sorted in a different order.³ Nonetheless, Kimura did not go into particulars regarding the correlation between the translations, either in terms of their content or the structure.

What is notable here is that a similar method of divination is found in the Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts. Pelliot tibétain 55 (hereafter PT 55),⁴ the longest manuscript, has been the most extensively studied among the four Dunhuang manuscripts under consideration.⁵ It is worth noting that the correlation between these Dunhuang manuscripts is not yet well understood. This is mainly because previous studies mostly aimed at providing translation and transliteration of PT 55, where they sometimes preferred to adapt the

¹ Other than them, a Tangut version of this text is also known to us, however it is apparently based on the Chinese text. This paper thus excludes the Tangut version from philological comparison of the *Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda*. For the Tangut text, see Xu Peng 2016.

² Kimura 1995.

³ Kimura 1995: 285–87.

⁴ PT is an abbreviation for Pelliot tibétain which refers to the Pelliot tibétain collection kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

⁵ Detailed references of these Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts will be provided below.

interpretation of the *Taiśhō Tripīṭaka* text to ambiguous Tibetan expressions instead of referring to the other Dunhuang manuscripts.⁶

In this paper, I will first revisit the Sanskrit text and the Tibetan and Chinese canonical texts, focusing on their mismatched content. I will then examine what lays behind their discrepancy by comparing with the Dunhuang Tibetan texts.

1. Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan Texts

The only Sanskrit manuscript of the *Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda* is found in the Asha archives collection preserved at the Asha Saphu Kuthi in Nepal, a private library founded by Mr. Prem Bahadur Kansakar. The project of microfilming the manuscripts in this collection was conducted by at least two associations: The Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project and the Buddhist Library, the latter of which was founded in Nagoya, Japan by Hidenobu Takaoka. To date, several catalogues have been published according to these respective projects. In his previous study, Kimura referred to the one published by Takaoka.⁷ Kimura's transliteration of the Sanskrit text was also

⁶ Kelsang Yangjen 1998; Huang Weizhong 1998; Chen Jian 2011; and Chen Jian 2016.

⁷ The Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project has microfilmed more than 180000 manuscripts and is now succeeded by the Nepal-German Manuscripts Cataloguing Project. Their films are preserved both in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz) and at the National Archives (Rāṣṭrya Abhilekālāya) in Nepal; the latter provides photocopies of the microfilms for a fee; Tanaka 1990: 385–82; and Yasue 2011: 87–90. The catalogue for this project was published by Grünendahl 1989. Currently an online catalogue is also available (<https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/forschung/ngmcp>); however, I still have not been able to find the manuscript of the *Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda* there. The Buddhist Library has microfilmed the manuscripts kept by several private collectors in Nepal, such as Mr. Prem Bahadur Kansakar and Mr. Dharmaratna Bajracharya. In 1981, Takaoka, the founder of the Buddhist Library, published a catalogue for this project entitled *The Microfilm Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts in Nepal*, Takaoka 1981. According to Tanaka, the names of the manuscripts' owners were not clearly labeled in Takaoka's catalogue. Although a KA number indicates a manuscript from Mr. Kansakar and a DH number indicates the collection of Mr. Dharmaratna, the catalogue displays seven other numbers: i.e., A, KH, GA, GH, CA, CH, and JA. This means that the catalogue includes the collections of nine owners. The Sanskrit text targeted in this paper belongs to the collection numbered with CA. These private collections are integrated into the Asha Archives collection, Tanaka 1990: 383–32; Takaoka 1981. Asha Saphu Kuthi published a catalogue in 1986 under the title: *Catalogue of Selected Buddhist Manuscripts in Asha saphu kuthi*. Besides, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Newari Manuscripts in the Asha Archives (Asha Saphu Kuthi)*, *Cwasa Pasa, Kathmandu, Nepal* was published in 1991 by Yoshizaki with the help of the Asha Saphu Kuthi, which

based on Takaoka's microfilm.⁸ According to the descriptions in Takaoka's catalogue, this text was written on palm leaves, of which the first and last leaves are nowadays lost.⁹ It should be noted that this manuscript is written in Newari script, and, given that the first attested use of Newari script was in 1173, this manuscript can only date from the late 12th century onward.¹⁰

The Chinese text, *Shi'er yuansheng xiangrui jing* 十二緣生祥瑞經, involved in the *Taishō Tripitaka*¹¹ lists its translator as Dānapāla (Ch. Shihu 施護) who is a famous Indian Buddhist monk and a translator of Sanskrit Buddhist sutras during the Song dynasty. He arrived at the Song dynasty capital of Bianjing in 980, and, by order of Emperor Song Taizong, the sutra translation institute was built two years later. As is revealed in the previous studied the title *Chaosan dafu shi honglu shaoqing* 朝散大夫試鴻臚少卿, prefixed to Dānapāla in this text, was conferred on him in 985. Judging from these historical facts, the Chinese text was most likely translated between 985 and 1017—when Dānapāla passed away.¹² This implies that Dānapāla's translation was accomplished more than 150 years earlier than the Sanskrit version in the Asha archives collection.

The Tibetan version is found among the Peking, Narthang, and Kinsha editions of the *Bstan 'gyur*, under the names *Rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba'i khor lo* in Tibetan and *Pratītyasamutpādacakra-nāma* in Sanskrit.¹³ It bears the name of Klu sgrub (Nāgārjuna) as the author, while the translator's name is absent; furthermore, this text is listed neither in *Dkar chag ldan (/lhan) dkar ma* nor in *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma*. In this respect, it is impossible to state if it was translated during the Tibetan imperial period.

Turning our attention to the later catalogue, the *Dkar chag* of Bu

records roughly 5000 manuscripts. Yet, the text targeted in this paper does not appear there, since this catalogue does not include the palm leaf manuscripts.

⁸ Kimura seems to have had a chance to investigate Takaoka's microfilm during their personal communication, Kimura 1995: 285.

⁹ Takakoka 1981: 39 (CA61). Kimura revised the title of the manuscript numbered CA 61 which was misspelled in Takaoka's catalogue, Kimura 1995: 285.

¹⁰ Kansakar 1981: 1–2. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Ryuta Kikuya, who provided me with several information on the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts. Of course, all errors remain under my own responsibility.

¹¹ Vol.16, no. 719: 845–52.

¹² See Kelsang Yangjen 1998: 250; Huang Weizhong 1998: 211; Chen Jian 2011: 130–31; and Chen Jian 2016: 220.

¹³ Peking: vol. 143, no. 5811, Go 32b3–43b8; Narthang: no. 3803, Go 31b5–42a5; Kinsha: no. 3813, Go 50b1.

ston chos 'byung,¹⁴ provides us with a clue to the translator of this text; this catalogue mentions the text with the title of *Rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba'i gtsug lag gi de kho na nyid* annotated with “*slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa*”, or “made by the master Klu sgrub” which agrees with the description in the *Bstan 'gyur*.¹⁵ Hence, it is safe to say that this text must have been translated into Tibetan before 1322, when the *Bu ston dkar chag* was compiled. Furthermore, Bu ston provides the translator's name as 'Gos, who appears four times in *Dkar chag*:¹⁶ twice as 'Gos Lhas btsas in the respective sutras in the *Bstan 'gyur*, once as a translator, and once as a reviser.¹⁷ I think that 'Gos Lhas btsas is most likely to be 'Gos Khug pa Lhas btsas who was a famous Tibetan monk and translator of the 11th century.¹⁸ If this hypothesis is relevant to present text, it was therefore translated during the 11th century, possibly during the first half of the 11th century by 'Gos Lhas btsas.

In sum, the Chinese text belongs to the early 11th century and is the oldest among these three versions; the Tibetan text dates possibly from the same period or a little later, while the Sanskrit text seems to have appeared a hundred years later.

2. Overview of the *Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda*

Judging from Kimura's translation of the Sanskrit text, the content of the *Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda* can be classified into the following seven sections:

1. Notes on the allocation of the Twelve-Nidānas (hereafter, TN).
2. Allocation of the TN to each day of each month.
3. Analysis of events.
4. Analysis of the physical signs and external signs.
5. Introduction.
6. Preparation for divination.

¹⁴ The *Dkar chag* is involved in the fourth chapter of *Bu ston Rin chen 'grub's* work: *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzad ces bya ba*.

¹⁵ No. 1106 of the section XXIX, Nishioka 1982: 71.

¹⁶ Nos. 506, 727, 849, and 1106, Nishioka 1982: 83.

¹⁷ As a translator, 'Gos lhas btsas appears in no. 5199 of the Peking edition of the *Bstan 'gyur* and as a reviser in no. 5577, which apply nos. 506 and 849, respectively, of the *Bu ston dkar chag*. Nishioka 1982: 50, 62.

¹⁸ 'Gos Khug pa Lhas btsas was a contemporary of Mar pa and Rwa Lotsaba. Although the exact date is not clear, Davidson suggests that his possible birth year is around 1015, Davidson 2004: 139.

7. Instructions for inquiry.¹⁹

As for the above classification, the biggest difference is between the Sanskrit and the other two versions: section 5, introduction, is placed at the top of the texts in both the Tibetan and Chinese.

I shall now provide an overview the content of each of seven sections; following some notes in section 1, the TN are allocated to each day of each month in section 2 and by these allocations, one can know to which day of the TN the current day corresponds; section 3 includes an analysis of the events that occur on each day of the TN. This section consists of five events: birth, behavior,²⁰ outing,²¹ theft, and sickness. The omens related to these events were examined by the date assigned by the TN. For example, the first column of section 3-i, i.e., analysis of birth is as follows:

A baby who was born on the day of *Avidyā*, as long as he doesn't die on the ninth day, ninth month, or ninth year in a disaster, will be peaceful, wealthy, talkative, belligerent with his relatives, healthy, and will live 81 years before passing away on the day of *Samskāra*.²²

Section 4 analyzes the eight signs on the body: tremble of the left eye, tremble of the right eye, tinnitus, sounds of the throat, tremble of the palate, sneeze, tremble of the limb, and thoughts arising in one's mind. In addition to these physical signs, several kinds of external signs which are nothing to do with one's body, such as a dog barking, crow sounds, or an earthquake, are slipped into this section with no

¹⁹ Kimura classified the text into nineteen sections, according to the given titles in each section. The first and fifteenth sections are omitted from the Sanskrit text, but the contents of the first section are substituted in section eighteen, Kimura 1995: 286. Accordingly, the latter is absent from the other two texts which place the first section at the initial part of the texts. Kimura's classification corresponds to mine as follows: 1=5, 2=1, 3-8=3, 4-14 and 16-17= 4, 18=5-6, 19=7.

²⁰ 'Behavior' includes various behaviors such as washing one's hair, bathing, making one's clothes, marriage, construction of one's house or castle, trimming one's beard, hair, or nails, and so on.

²¹ 'Outing' describes the omens led by directions to go out on the respective TN days.

²² *Avidyā-divase dārako jātaḥ, navame divase navame māse navame varṣe vā cchalād yadi na mriyate, tadā sa sukhī dhanavān bahu-bhāṣī savajana-kalahī nirujah jīvati varṣāny ekāṣṭiḥ*, Kimura 1995: 296. This passage is my retranslation of Kimura's Japanese translation for the Sanskrit version, Kimura 1995: 296. Regarding the description of the birth on the day of *Avidyā*, the risky dates, and the lifespan perfectly correspond among three versions. In the columns of *Nama-rupa* day and *Sparśa* day they still mostly correspond. However, discrepancies become more striking as it goes to the end of section 3-i.

independent title.

As Kimura pointed out, the Sanskrit text concludes at the end of section 4, and then places the introduction in section 5.²³ The text goes on to section 6, the preparation for the divination, where it is noted that one has to purify the earth with mantras and draw a wheel or wheels on the earth to fill in the names of the TN there; these descriptions of the divination preparation are absent either in the Tibetan and Chinese texts.

Section 7 explains the topics suitable for answering an inquiry for each day of the TN, for example:

When you are inquired [by someone] on *Saṃskāra* day, you should tell [him/her] about [your] thought for food, children, and the path.²⁴

Succeeding section 7, the Tibetan and Chinese texts display a short colophon; here, the Tibetan text refers to “Klu sgrub”, while the Chinese text mentions the translator in its introduction, i.e., the first section. The Sanskrit text does not provide a colophon except for the brief concluding phrase, “*Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda* completed”.²⁵

3. Comparison of the Contents

As mentioned above, the three versions roughly agree regarding the construction of their content. However, investigating their descriptions in detail, we find that the Chinese text greatly differs from the others. First, it does not clearly present the titles, whereas the other two texts give titles at the end of each topic in sections 3 and 4, as follows:²⁶

²³ Kimura 1995: 286. Kimura does not explain the reason why the Sanskrit text places the introduction after section 4 instead of the initial part of the text. I suppose it might be because the copier could have integrated some fragmentary texts of the *dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda* into one, so that the order of sections appears to be partly shuffled.

²⁴ *Saṃskāre pṛṣṭo bhavet, āhāra-cintā putraṅca mārgaṃ vinirdīśet*, Kimura 1995: 346. Here, I retranslated Kimura’s Japanese translation for the Sanskrit version, Kimura 1995: 346. The Tibetan text reads “when you are contacted [by someone] on *Saṃskāra* day, you should tell [him/her] that [he/she] will go for a trip. [Also,] you will tell [him/her] about [your] thought for [his/her] children, food, and works” (*‘du byed la ni reg tsam gyis // lam du ‘gro bar ‘gyur ba ston // bu dang zas kyi bsam pa dang // las kyi bsam ba rnam par bstan //*); Peking edition: 42a6. Note that this section in the Tibetan text is written in verse consisting of seven syllables.

²⁵ *Dvādaśāṅga-pratītyasamutpādaḥ samāptaḥ*, Kimura 1995: 348.

²⁶ Regarding the Sanskrit text, I follow Kimura’s transliteration and his Japanese translation hereafter.

3. Analysis of the events.

- i) Birth: (Skt.) *jāti-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *skye ba rtag pa*.
- ii) Behaviors: (Skt.) *karma-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *las rtag pa*.
- iii) Outing:²⁷ (Skt.) *yātrā-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *'gro ba rtag pa*.
- iv) Thief: (Skt.) *caura-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *rkun ma brtag pa*.
- v) Sickness: (Skt.) *glāna-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *nad rtag pa*.

4. Analysis of the physical signs and external signs.

- i) Tremble of the left eye: (Skt.) *vāmākṣi-spandati-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) no title.²⁸
- ii) Tremble of the right eye: (Skt.) *dakṣiṇākṣi-spandati-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *mig 'gul ba brtag pa*.
- iii) Tinnitus: (Skt.) *dakṣiṇa-vāma-karṇa-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *rna ba ngu ba brtag pa*.
- iv) Sounds of the throat: (Skt.) *kaṇṭha-vāṣita-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *mgrin pa'i sgra brtag pa*.
- v) Tremble of the palate: (Skt.) *tālu-spandana-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *rkan 'gul ba brtag pa*.
- vi) Sneeze: (Skt.) *kṣut-parīkṣā-cakram*, (Tib.) *ltogs brtag pa*.
- vii) Tremble of the foot: (Skt.) —,²⁹ (Tib) *rkang pa sbrid pa brtag pa*.
- viii) Tremble of the limb: (Skt.) *aṅgapratyaṅga-vispan dana-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *phyi'i lta brtag pa*.
- ix) Thoughts arising in one's mind: (Skt.) *cintā-parīkṣā*, (Tib.) *bsam pa brtag pa*.

Instead of the above titles, each topic of the Chinese text begins with a brief introduction; for example, at the initial part of section 3-iii, it says:

At that time the world-honored one said to the great assembly; if you consult the wheel of Twelve (-Nidānas) for going out, you will thus find out whether it is good or it is evil.³⁰

In section 4 of the Chinese text, some brief introductions are given to

²⁷ The Chinese text omits the descriptions of “outing” here; instead, it places this topic between sections 4-vi and 4-vii.

²⁸ In the Tibetan text, section 4-i mentions the tremble of the left eye and 4-ii covers the right eye similar to the Sanskrit text, but the integrated title is attached only to the end of 4-ii as *mig 'gul ba rtag pa*, “examination of the tremble of the eyes”.

²⁹ As I shall discuss below, the Sanskrit text lacks this topic.

³⁰ *Ershi shizun gao dazhong yan. Ruofu youren yu chuxing shi guan shi'er zhi yingzhi shan'e* 爾時世尊告大眾言。若復有人於出行時觀十二支應知善惡。

every two signs, namely, “tremble of the detail part [of the body]”³¹ is provided to the beginning part of section 4-i, and it explains the tremble of the left eye in 4-i, and that of the right eye in 4-ii, respectively. Likewise, first, it leads sections 4-iii and 4-iv by “sounds of a crow”,³² then the omens are listed off: those when one hears the sounds of a crow on one’s right and left sides in 4-iii; those when one hears them from north in 4-iv. Sections 4-v and 4-vi are explained as “tremble of the heart and the palate”.³³ The tremble of the palate is examined in 4-v, and that of the heart in 4-vi.

Section 4-vii of both the Tibetan and Chinese texts list off the omens led by “the foot numb” (Tib. *rkang pa sbrid pa*) or “the tremble of the foot” (Ch. *zuxuan* 足胸), whereas the Sanskrit text omits this section.³⁴ The titles of section 4-viii are different between the Sanskrit and Tibetan text, namely “tremble of the limb” and “external signs”. However, I prefer to think that each column given to each day of the TN in section 4-viii of the Sanskrit text consists of two parts: the omens led by the tremble of the limb, and those by the external signs. The following is an example:

On the day of *Avidyā*, if one feels a tremble on his/her side, a conflict will occur. On his/her hand, a conflict will occur. On his/her chest, a conflict will occur. On his/her tongue, there will be something good. On his/her calf, a guest will come. On his/her front arm, he/she will encounter a guest. On his/her thigh, he/she will suffer loss. On his/her left foot, he/she will have something good, and on his/her right foot, a conflict will occur. On his/her feet, a noble guest will come. If a dog barks, someone will come from afar. If his/her cloth burns, something useless will occur. If a mouse gnaws a cloth, a great disaster will occur. If a crow emits a sound, a noble person who has a question will come. If a cloth is stained with oil, a person will die. If the earth shakes, one will reach a rec-

³¹ *Zhifen xuandong* 支分胸動.

³² *Wuniao mingyin* 烏鳥鳴吟.

³³ *Xine shangxuan* 心齶上胸.

³⁴ The Chinese text enumerates all topics at the beginning part of section 4-vii: the tremble of the foot, the earthquake, crow sounds, a dog barking, and damages [of cloth] by fire, oil, and mice (Ch. *zuxuan* 足胸, *didong* 地動, *wuyin* 烏吟, *quanfei* 犬吠, *youhuo shushang* 油火鼠傷) Kimura 1995: 329. Then the omens led by the tremble of the foot are exclusively mentioned in section 4-vii. In section 4-viii of the Tibetan and Chinese texts the other external signs are examined after mentioning the omens on one’s foot again: “the tremble of the foot” (Ch. *zuxuan* 足胸) or “the sounds of foot /footsteps” (Tib. *rkang pa’i sgra*).

conciliation with a king.³⁵

From the dog barking onward, the external signs, namely the signs apparently irrelevant to one's body are explained here. Note that the Sanskrit text enumerates the tremble of one's side, hand, chest, tongue, calf, arm, and thigh as well as the tremble of one's feet in the first half of the omens given to each TN in section 4-viii, in spite that the Tibetan and Chinese versions do not mention physical trembles other than the foot.³⁶

As shown in the example of 4-viii below, the topics of external signs (*phyi'i ltas*) in the Tibetan text mostly correspond with the Sanskrit text we have previously seen:

On the day of *Avidyā*, if one hears the sounds of his/her foot (/ footsteps), he/she will obtain a great treasure, otherwise, a guest will come in a short time. If a dog eats [something],³⁷ someone will come from afar. If a cloth burns, there will be a profit as one wishes. If a mouse gnaws a cloth, a great conflict will occur. If a crow emits a sound, a person of a noble birth will come to ask [something]. If a cloth is stained with oil, one will hear of someone's death. If the earth shakes, one will have a capable king.³⁸

It is interesting that the Chinese text repeats the omens led by the sounds of a crow in section 4-viii which are already listed in the preceding sections 4-iii and 4-iv.³⁹ Moreover, the Chinese text, regardless

³⁵ *Avidyā-divase kuṣṣiḥ spandati kalih syāt, haste kalih, hṛdaye kalih, jihvāyāṃ śobhanam, jaṅghayor atithir āgacchati, bāhvor atithi-saṅgrahaḥ, urvoḥ kṣatih syāt, vāma-pāde śobhanam, dakṣiṇa-pāde kalih, caraṇayor mahātithir āgacchati, śvā krośati dūrāt kaścid āgacchati, prāvāraṇam dahyati nirarthakaṃ syāt, mūṣakaḥ prāvāraṇam khādati mahāvyaśanam syāt, kāko vāśati kulīnaḥ pṛechaka āgacchati, prāvāraṇam snigdham bhavati mriyate, bhūḥ kampate rājñā saṃdhānam syāt*, Kimura 1995: 330.

³⁶ Most of the omens in section 4-vii of the Tibetan and Chinese texts, i.e., the omens led by “the foot numb” or “the tremble of the foot” seem to correspond with those given to “the tremble of one's left foot” in 4-viii of the Sanskrit text.

³⁷ In the Tibetan text, the omens concerning dogs are consistently written as “*khyi za na*” (‘if a dog eats / if one eats a dog?’). Considering the other two texts’ descriptions, the verb *za* might be a mistake for *zugs* (‘to bark’), which appears in PT 1050.

³⁸ *Ma rig pa'i nyi ma la rkang pa'i sgra grag na gter chen po rnyed pa'am mgron po myur du'ong ngo // khyi za na ring po nas 'ga' zhig 'ong ngo // gos tshig na don nyams par 'gyur ro // byi bas gos zos na rtsod pa chen po 'byung ngo // bya rog skad sgrog na rigs can 'dri ba 'ong ngo // gos la snun 'bags na 'ga' zhig 'chi ba thos so // sa 'gul na rgyal po nus pa dang ldan no //*, Peking edition: 40b5–40b7.

³⁹ Kimura seems to understand section 4-iii of the Sanskrit text as the omens when one hears the sounds of “a crow”, probably because he does not refer to the Tibetan text but to the Chinese one. However, I prefer to take this section of San-

of exclusively recording the omens related to the tremble of the foot (Ch. *zuxuan* 足响) in section 4-vii, repeats the tremble of the foot in section 4-viii followed by other external signs such as a dog barking. Likewise, section 4-viii of the Tibetan text also starts with “the sounds of the foot (/footsteps)”. Yet, it seems inadequate that the omens on one’s feet are enumerated in the section entitled “the external signs” (*phyi’i bltas*); moreover, “the sounds of foot (/footsteps)” itself seems an odd sign; I shall leave it to be an open question until the end of this paper.

With respect to the inconsistency of sections 4-vii and 4-viii among three versions, it seems reasonable to assume that the two originally separate sections, “tremble of the limb” and “external signs”, are integrated into a single section in the Sanskrit version. This division clearly explains the structure of the other two versions, even though they skip most of the topics in “tremble of the limb” except for those of the foot. Notwithstanding the great inconsistencies which remain to be discussed, i.e., analysis of “sneeze” is the focus of section 4-vi of the Sanskrit text, while “hunger” (*ltogs*) and “the tremble of the heart” (*xinshang xuandong* 心上响动) are respectively analyzed in the Tibetan and the Chinese texts. I shall revisit this question after examining the versions among Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts.

Finally, section 4-ix explains the kinds of thoughts that arise on each day of the TN; for example, “the thought about brothers will arise on the *Vijñāna* days”.⁴⁰

4. Dunhuang Manuscripts

Four Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts are so far known to contain this divination method: PT 55, PT 1050, IOL Tib J 474, and S. 3991.⁴¹ The

sanskrit text as relating to “tinnitus” or the “sounds of one’s ear”, since a crow or a bird never appear in section 4-iii of the Sanskrit text as same as the respective section of the Tibetan text. Furthermore, Kimura translates the verb *vāśati* as “[one’s] throat makes a sound” (*kaṅṭho vāśati*) in section 4-iv, which should be applicable here; namely, “[one’s] ear makes a sound” (*karṇe vāśati*). Thus, I regard section 4 as related to “the physical signs” and “external signs”, the latter of which are listed in 4-viii.

⁴⁰ *Vijñāne bhrāṭṛ-cintā*. Kimura suggests that we should understand this section as enumerating the matters such as brothers or friends which one should think of on each day of TN, Kimura 1995: 342.

⁴¹ IOL Tib J is an abbreviation for India Office Library Tibetan [Group] J in the Stein Collection, which is now preserved in the British Library. S number refers to the number Or.8210 in the Stein Collection of the British Library, which consists mostly of the Chinese texts from Dunhuang. Yet, 88 Tibetan texts are known to be

last one has only six lines of Tibetan script, and the first three lines relate to this divination text.⁴² In contrast, PT 55 has the longest text, lacking only the beginning of the manuscript. It consists of the above-mentioned sections 3, 4, 6 and 7. Here, I shall show the titles given to sections 3 and 4.⁴³

Section 3.

- i) *Skye ba rtag pa.*
- ii) *Yen 'drog gso' ba.*
- iii) *Phyog su 'gro ba'i brtag pa.*
- iv) *Rkun pho brtag pa.*

Section 4.

- i) *Myig g.yon pa 'gul.*
- ii) *Myig g.yas pa 'gul.*
- iii) *Na⁴⁴ g.yas pa g.yon pa ngu.*
- iv) *Rna ba ngu.*
- v) *Dkan g.ya'.*
- vi) *Sbrid pa byung.*
- vii) *Rkang pa g.ya'.*
- viii) *Phyi rol gyi mtshan ma brtag pa.*
- iv) *Bsam ba brtag pa'.*

As we have visited above, Section 3-ii contains the omens led by several kinds of behaviors in the Sanskrit text and the other two canonical versions. However, PT 55 does not provide the respective omens here but mentions “*yen 'drog gso' ba*” instead. This section concerns, first, how many days the *yen 'dog* (= *ye 'drog*)—a kind of evil spirit that brings obstacles to a person—stays with a person and second, when he will be free from *yen 'drog*. In spite of the title “to cure of *yen 'drog*”, no exact treatment is mentioned here:

To a person of the *Avidyā* day,⁴⁵ *yen 'drog* stays for half a

scattered among them, Iwao et al. 2012. The transliterations of these four texts are available on OTDO website (<https://otdo.aa-ken.jp>).

⁴² The full text of S. 3991 is published by Iwao et al. 2012: 59. It corresponds to a part of section 3-iii, and seems to be a scribble or a writing exercise.

⁴³ The titles of sections 4-i to 4-vii are given by me, since PT 55 offers no clear titles there.

⁴⁴ Although I understand *na* as *rna* (= ‘an ear’), it is quite strange to examine the omens of ‘an ear’ again in the following section. There seems to be some textual confusion here.

⁴⁵ In this section every omen is led by this stereotyped expression, namely “to a person of *Saṃskāra* day” (*‘du byed gyi nyin mo pa*) etc. A person of X day might mean ‘a person who was born on X day’, otherwise, ‘a person who gets sickness

month. If he/she protects [himself/herself] for five days, he/she will be free [from *yen 'dog*].⁴⁶

This section seems to be equivalent to section 3-v of the Sanskrit and the other two canonical texts.⁴⁷ For this reason, section 3-v, examining the omens for “sickness” (*nad*), is omitted in PT 55. In short, in PT 55 the display order of the sickness section is shuffled, and section 3-ii “behaviors” is absent. Chen Jian suggests that the section of “behaviors” is intentionally left out in PT 55, since it refers to unfamiliar practices to Tibetans such as washing or trimming one’s hair and bathing.⁴⁸ However, it should be noted that the Tibetan text in the *Bstan 'gyur* records the section of “behaviors”, which includes hair washing, hair cutting, and bathing. Furthermore, even among the Dunhuang texts, IOL Tib J 474 clearly explains the omens led by these unfamiliar “behaviors”.⁴⁹ As mentioned above, PT 55 was the only Dunhuang version studied by scholars, sometimes helped by the Chinese canonical text. This has created further misunderstandings. For instance, Chen Jian considers PT 55 as three independent texts: a text of divination concerning the TN, a text of mantras for poisoning and detoxifying, and a text of dream interpretation.⁵⁰ While the last certainly a separate text,⁵¹ the second one probably belongs to the text under consideration, since similar content involving mantras for purifying the earth certainly exist in the Sanskrit version of the *Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda*.⁵² It says that before demonstrating this divination one needs to draw a wheel or wheels on the earth in which the names of TN are filled. Purifying or detoxifying the earth by mantras in advance is probably the indispensable procedure for the preparation for this divination.

IOL Tib J 474, consisting only of a single sheet of *pothi*, lacks both its beginning and end, while the content continues from *recto* (12

on X day’. Referring to the Tibetan text in *Bstan 'gyur* and IOL Tib J 474, the latter interpretation seems more suitable here.

⁴⁶ *Ma rig pa'i nyin mo pa la' // zla ba pyed gyi yen 'drog yod de // zhag lnga bsrungs na thar ro //* PT 55: l. 19.

⁴⁷ The Tibetan text in the *Bstan 'gyur* reads: *ma rig pa'i nyi ma la nad kyis btab na shin tu 'bad de bsrung bar bya ste / gal te zla ba phyed na ma shi na / de'i 'og tu mtshan mo lnga na grol bar 'gyur ro //*. Peking edition: Go 38b4.

⁴⁸ Chen Jian 2016: 222.

⁴⁹ This section is entitled “auspiciousness and inauspiciousness distinguished by the behaviors on each [TN] day” (*nyi ma gang la las byas na bzang ngan bltas*); IOL Tib J 474: l. r5.

⁵⁰ Chen Jian 2016: 220–48.

⁵¹ For the text of dream interpretation, see Crescenzi and Torricelli 1995; and Chen Jian 2016: 244–46.

⁵² See section 6 of the Sanskrit text.

lines) to *verso* (13 lines).⁵³ Sections 3-ii, 3-iii, 3-v, and a part of 4-viii thus remain in this manuscript, and it is interesting to note that section 3-v of IOL Tib J 474 mentions the omens of “sickness”, where “*gdon*” is mentioned as the cause of disease instead of “*yen 'dog*”.⁵⁴

Similarly, PT 1050 is written on both sides of a single *pothi* sheet, with the right and left edges missing due to paper damage; this manuscript provides a brief description of section 2, and a part of sections 3-iii and 4-viii. This is the only manuscript in which a section other than the omens is kept, namely section 2—allocation of the TN to each day of each month.

By integrating all sections of the four manuscripts into one, we can expect that the Dunhuang manuscripts were originally composed in almost the same manner as the text in the *Bstan 'gyur*, despite the missing introduction. Roughly speaking, PT 55 has the closest content and structure to the Sanskrit and two canonical texts. For instance, PT 55 adapts the Tibetan translation of the TN names almost identically to the text in the *Bstan 'gyur*, while the other Dunhuang versions bear phonetical renderings of names from Sanskrit.⁵⁵

Sanskrit	<i>Bstan 'gyur</i>	PT 55	PT 1050	IOL Tib J 474
<i>avidyā</i>	<i>ma rig pa</i>	<i>ma rig pa</i>	<i>^a byi dya</i>	<i>^a byi dya</i> ⁵⁶
<i>saṃskāra</i>	<i>'du byed</i>	<i>'du byed</i>	<i>sang ska ra</i> ⁵⁷	<i>sang ska ra</i>
<i>vijñāna</i>	<i>rnam par shes pa</i>	<i>rnam par shes pa</i>	<i>byid nyi na</i>	<i>byid nya na</i> ⁵⁸
<i>nāmarūpa</i>	<i>ming danggzugs</i>	<i>mying danggzugs</i>	<i>na ma ru pa</i>	<i>na ma ru pa</i>
<i>ṣaḍāyatana</i>	<i>skye mched drug</i>	<i>drug 'du mched</i>	<i>sha ta ya ta na</i>	<i>sha ta ya ta na</i>
<i>sparśa</i>	<i>reg pa</i>	<i>reg pa</i>	<i>spa ra sha</i>	<i>spar sha</i> ⁵⁹
<i>vedanā</i>	<i>tshor pa</i>	<i>tshor pa</i>	<i>be da na</i>	<i>be da na</i>
<i>tṛṣṇā</i>	<i>sred pa</i>	<i>sred pa</i>	<i>dri sna</i> ⁶⁰	<i>dri sna</i> ⁶¹

⁵³ I am grateful to Prof. Brandon Dotson for tolerantly sharing his transliteration of IOL Tib J 474 and giving me insightful suggestions for this divination method. However, all errors naturally remain under my own responsibility.

⁵⁴ Most omens in section 3-v of IOL Tib J 474 begin with the expression: “On the X day, if one is affected by a sickness of *gdon*” (*X'i nyi ma la / gdon nad gyis btan na*).

⁵⁵ S. 3991 presents the TN name only once as “*dza ra ma ra*”.

⁵⁶ Or, *^a byid nya ya*.

⁵⁷ Or, *sang ra*.

⁵⁸ Or, *bed nya*.

⁵⁹ Or, *spa ra sha*.

⁶⁰ Or, *ti sna*.

<i>upādāna</i>	<i>len pa</i>	<i>len pa</i>	<i>^u pa da na</i> ⁶²	<i>^u pa da na</i>
<i>bhava</i>	<i>srid pa</i>	<i>'byung ba</i>	<i>bhab</i>	<i>bha ba</i>
<i>jāti</i>	<i>skye ba</i>	<i>skye ba</i>	<i>'dza ti</i>	<i>'dza ti</i>
<i>jarāmarāṇa</i>	<i>rga shi</i>	<i>rga shi</i>	<i>dza ra ma ra na</i> ⁶³	<i>ja ra ma ra na</i>

5. Inconsistencies Among the Texts

Let us turn our attention to the remaining problems. As mentioned above, the physical signs in section 4-vi, such as “sneeze”, “hunger”, and “tremble of the heart” are different among the Sanskrit and two canonical texts. Moreover, the corresponding part of PT 55 records *sbrid pa byung*, which can be interpreted not only as ‘sneeze’ but also as ‘numb’. As a result, there are four options of signs for this section: “sneeze”, “hunger”, “tremble of the heart”, and “numbness”. It is noteworthy that these options might be derived from equivocal Sanskrit words with similar spelling: *kṣut*, *kṣud*, and *kṣudh*, that respectively are, ‘sneeze’, ‘be shaken’, and ‘be hungry’.⁶⁴ The ambiguous spelling or illegible handwriting of the Sanskrit text might have generated these different interpretations which, otherwise, can be comprehended as variant readings of the Sanskrit word *kṣut*.⁶⁵ In addition, *kṣut* in the Sanskrit text appears as “*kṣut-parīkṣā-cakram*” in the title and as “*kṣud bhavati*” in the first omen. Given the latter expression, *kṣud* (*/kṣut*) can be interpreted as ‘hungry’, because *bhavati* or *bhū* is an intransitive verb meaning ‘become’. Whereas, ‘sneeze’ seems more adequate as a topic for enumerating together with a tremble of the eyes, tinnitus, sounds of the throat, and a tremble of the palate, all of which relate to the physical parts of the head.

Another example of outstanding discrepancy is seen in section 4-viii. The given title of the Sanskrit text is “tremble of the limb” which,

⁶¹ Or, *ti sna*.

⁶² Or, *^u pa da ma*.

⁶³ Or, *dza ma ya ra na*.

⁶⁴ Monier-Williams 1899: 330–31.

⁶⁵ In the Sanskrit orthography, the ending voiceless consonant of a word changes into voiced one when it is followed by an initial voiced word. There is another example that seems a strange expression to me. In section 6, instructions for the inquiry, the Sanskrit text says: “If [you are] inquired [of something] on X day”, while the Tibetan texts both in the *Bstan 'gyur* and Dunhuang manuscripts state: “If [you are] contacted [by someone] on X day”. In Tibetan texts, the verb is *reg* (‘touch, contact’) instead of *'dri* (‘inquire’), the latter of which should be a proper translation for the Sanskrit *prṣṭa* (‘inquired’). In my supposition, there seems to be a confusion of Sanskrit words here again, namely *prṣṭa* (‘inquired’) and *sprṣṭa* (‘touched’).

as mentioned above, is supposed to consist of two separate sections: the tremble of the limb and the external signs. Although the latter title is absent from the Sanskrit text, the Tibetan text in the *Bstan'gyur*, in PT 55, and in IOL Tib J 474 present it as "the analysis of the external signs" (*phyi'i ltas brtag pa, phyI rol gyI mtshan ma brtag pa, ltas bzang ngan*). Conversely, no texts include the title "tremble of the limb" other than the Sanskrit text. It is also quite strange that in two canonical texts, the omens relating to one's foot are required to repeat as the first topic of the external signs, right after being exclusively mentioned in section 4-vii.

By contrast, looking into the Dunhuang texts, we find a different topic: PT 55 states the "shaking of a house" (*khang pa g.yos* or *khang pa 'gul*) as the first topic of the external signs, and both PT 1050 and IOL Tib J 474 begin with "if a house makes a rattling noise" (*khang pa tseg tseg zer na*). Hence, all Dunhuang texts mentions the shaking of a house or its sounds instead of the tremble or the sounds of one's foot (/footsteps). It is reasonable to enumerate the omens relating to a house as one of the external signs rather than those relating to one's foot. Thus, I am inclined to expect the confusion between the similar pronunciation of the Tibetan words *rkang pa* ('a foot') and *khang pa* ('a house'); in other words, the topic that originally concerned 'a house' (*khang pa*) as revealed in the Dunhuang texts may have been confused with 'one's foot' (*rkang pa*) due to their phonetic similarity. If so, the ambiguous expression or the odd topic in the *Bstan'gyur* text, "the sounds of one's foot or footsteps" (*rkang pa'i sgra*) could be understood as the more intelligible expression, "the sounds of a house" (*khang pa'i sgra*). While some variants can be explained as cases of misreading or mistranslation, there is still the question as to why the Sanskrit text records the omens of both feet (*caranayor*) after addressing those of the left foot and right foot (*vāma-pāde, dakṣiṇa-pāde*) instead of the unusual incidence of a house. This could be explained by the intervention of some kind of Tibetan text into the establishment of this Sanskrit version, but this hypothesis remains unanswered.

6. Conclusion

The oldest texts of the *Dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamutpāda* so far available are the Dunhuang Tibetan texts, followed by the Chinese and Tibetan canonical versions, whereas the Sanskrit manuscript is written later, probably from the 12th century onward. In spite of the absence of the complete text among the Dunhuang manuscripts, it is safe to assume by putting the content of all manuscripts together that they had almost the same structure as the later version. However, outstanding

differences still remain among them, concerning discrepant topics such as “sneeze”, “hunger”, and “numbness” which, in my supposition, were caused by the multiple interpretations or mistranslation of a word due to the ambiguous spelling or illegible handwriting of the original Sanskrit manuscript, and sometimes due to the phonetic confusion of Tibetan words.

What is certain is that none of these texts is confirmed to be based on a single identical Sanskrit text, even the Dunhuang Tibetan texts. Therefore, several variations of Sanskrit text or slightly different tradition of this divination practice are assumed to have prevailed from the period of the Dunhuang manuscripts until at least the 12th century. However, after the text of this divination method was included in the canonical texts, no other variant text in either Tibetan or Chinese has been brought forth.

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Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtras Discovered at Dunhuang: The Scriptorium at Thang kar and Related Aspects. A Preliminary Investigation

Gertraud Taenzer

(Independent Scholar)

Among the Buddhist texts written in the Tibetan language discovered at Dunhuang are a number of *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtras* copied in a roll-type format, whose provenance is obscure. In studying the editorial remarks added at the end of each *sūtra* and learning how to interpret them, valuable information concerning the provenance of some of them could be gained.

This paper is divided into the following parts. It starts with a short section giving an overview of all types of *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtras* (henceforth referred to as SP) in the Tibetan language discovered at Dunhuang, the research carried out on them so far and the nature of their end-colophon subscripts. This is followed by an investigation of the structure of the names of the scribes, their provenance and the transformation of these names from Chinese into Tibetan and vice versa, where applicable. The next section covers the production of the roll-type SP at Dunhuang (SP3/2) and the personnel involved, followed by a comparison of the SP copied at Thang kar of Rog thom (SP3/1Tk), including the approximate location of Thang kar. Finally, a time frame covering all SP discovered at Dunhuang is discussed, followed by a conclusion and remaining questions.

1. Introduction

1.1. Manuscript Overview

The manuscripts once contained in Cave 17 of the Mogao cave temples situated near Dunhuang, in present-day Gansu province in the northwest of the PR China, have found their way to libraries in Europe and China. Among them are a great number of copies of *Aparimitāyur-nāma sūtras* (henceforth referred to as AN) and SP in Tibetan. Most SP are incomplete. They were written in *pothī* format and roll format. Among the scriptures of SP in roll format in the collection of the Bibliothéque

nationale de France, Paris, which carry the shelfmark Pelliot Tibétain (henceforth referred to as PT)¹ 1494–2063, are only four complete rolls. Marcelle Lalou carried out an inventory by compiling a catalogue of all the SP in this collection. She looked at the roll type closely and saw that the rolls often were composed of sheets of different types of paper. The parts consisting of yellow paper she called 'old' (*ancien*) and the parts of greyish paper she referred to as restored (*refait*). Concerning the *pothī* format scriptures, she distinguished size and paper used.² Iwao refined this and distinguished *pothī* type 1 (25 x 75 cm) (henceforth called SP1) and type 2 (20 x 70 cm) (henceforth referred to as SP2).³ Dotson studied the editorial notes at the end of SP1 and SP2 and discovered that SP1 and SP2 can be distinguished on the basis of wording used in the editorial notes.⁴ As far as the roll type is concerned, henceforth referred to as SP3, a further distinction is suggested: SP3/1 was imported to Dunhuang and repaired there and SP3/2 was written at Dunhuang. The wording used in their editorial notes corresponds to SP1 and SP2 respectively. (See Table 4 at the end for a summary of the original research laid out in this paper on these four types: SP1, SP2, SP3/1 and SP3/2).

It has been suggested that all SP were produced from the 820s to 840s in the course of the *sūtra* copying project for the benefit of Emperor Ral pa can (Khri Gtsug lde brtsan).⁵

1.2. The Provenance of SP

The manuscripts written in Tibetan discovered at Dunhuang—apart from letters sent there or otherwise marked as coming from another place—can be generally considered as having been written there. Concerning SP2 and AN this has never been questioned. On the basis of scribal notes and, in the case of SP3, the extremely thin dyed paper that was used, Lalou stipulated that SP3/1 and SP1 must have been written in central Tibet. Iwao and Dotson refuted her arguments and came to the conclusion that they most probably were copied in north-eastern Tibet.⁶ The only note which could corroborate this is on the back of PT 1855, which was copied on 'old' paper: >|| *dar ma shes rab 'bum pa sde gcig bod yul nas dpe' bzhugs pa las reg bzid gyi nang mchog blang stel*

¹ See the list of abbreviations at the end of this paper for a reference to the shelfmarks and locations of the manuscripts consulted.

² Lalou 1961.

³ Iwao 2013.

⁴ Dotson 2013/2014.

⁵ Dotson 2013/2014.

⁶ Iwao 2013; Dotson 2013/2014.

[*d/’th*]amste// *dpe bde gams su blangs pa ’o* // “From the copies of the SP of Tibet the best manuscript was taken and having been selected, a copy was taken to Bde gams”. As it is not known how many editions of SP were written at Dunhuang, this may merely mean that the model text for them was originally brought from central Tibet to Bde gams.⁷ As far as the paper is concerned, it is certain that different kinds of paper were used. This is attested by analyses.⁸ Generally, two types of paper can be distinguished: rag paper of ramie and bark paper of the paper mulberry tree. This does not necessarily mean that the manuscripts written on paper of different types were produced in different areas. Firstly, in Dunhuang under Tibetan rule, paper was made by commoners⁹ and temple peasants.¹⁰ Secondly, religious texts in Chinese copied before Tibetan rule were written on paper containing fibres of paper mulberry.¹¹ Therefore, it is not surprising that the result of analyses proved that both types of paper were used at Dunhuang for SP.

Having said all this, the following two scribal notes at the end of two SP3 clearly show that one edition of SP3 was not copied at Dunhuang but at Thang kar: <// *rog thom thang kar du mo zom klu bzhre gyis bris te ’og zhus lagso* “ Mo zom Klu bzher wrote it at Thang kar of Rog thom and later edited it”¹² and < // *rog thom thang kar du mo sma nos kong gis briso* “ Mo sma Nos kong wrote it in Thang kar of Rog thom”.¹³ As there is a lot of information concerning the scribes and editors of scriptures copied at Dunhuang they will be traced first so that

⁷ Bde gams was an area on the actual A mdo / Qinghai plateau, which the Tibetans had occupied. Its extent is disputed. Since the Dunhuang area was administered by Bde councillors (*bde blon*), Richardson (1990) concluded that it belonged to Bde gams. Taenzer suggested, since the area was also known as So gams, Dunhuang was not included in Bde gams and Uebach 1990 localised it as a region covering present-day NE Qinghai and eastern Gansu, see Taenzer 2012: 36.

⁸ Helman-Ważny and van Schaik 2013: table I, 722–33. For the classification of SP3, Iwao is cited therein Helman-Ważny and van Schaik 2013: 716.

⁹ PT 1078—translated in Takeuchi 1995, text 13—refers to a paper maker of the Stong sar military unit.

¹⁰ Or. 8210/S. (henceforth referred to as S.) 542, text, sheets 13–26 published in Tang Gengou and Lu Longji 1990: vol. 2, 381 and Ikeda 1979: 523 is a list of temples including the temple peasants belonging to them. It also contains their tasks. In line 121 a paper maker of Lingtu temple is entered.

¹¹ Drège states that especially paper made of the bark of the mulberry tree was used for *sūtras* copied as private offerings. See Drège 1986: 404ff.

¹² The personal name Klu bzher is written Klu bzhre in the text. This habit of writing the last consonant of a syllable as a subjoined letter is often encountered in OT manuscripts: e.g. *dn̄ga* for *dang*, *lsa* for *las* etc. *Bzhre* for *bzher* is one of them.

¹³ The names of scribes and editors are hyphenated in this article because how they are read is integral to the analysis of their identities, as well as making it easier for the reader to parse them where the names are unusual from the perspective of later Tibetan onomastics (*ming mdzod*).

the ones not working there can be identified.

Therefore, this paper concentrates on the SP3 which were copied by inhabitants of Dunhuang on 'new' paper (SP3/2) and those copied at Thang kar of Rog thom on 'old' paper (SP3/1Tk) and repaired with sheets and patches of 'new' paper.

1.3. General Remarks Concerning Colophons/Subscripts of SP¹⁴

The subscripts are editorial notes documenting the stages of work to be carried out by a number of scribes and editors. It can be surmised that the scribes/editors mostly wrote their name themselves. There are certainly exceptions, however, in cases where there were joint scribes or editors: </ / *gu rib ke'u shang dang gnyi ba khyung stang gnyis gyis zhus* // "Edited by Gu-rib Ke'u-shang and Gnyi-ba Khyung-stang the two".¹⁵ In those cases, it is not evident who wrote the note. Thus, the names in editorial remarks are not signatures as such. They do not have the same significance as witness seals such as private seals or finger seals on contracts.¹⁶ As the person who did the work did not always 'sign' himself graphical analysis of the 'signature' does not necessarily help in identifying with certainty a person whose name is found on an end-colophon. Therefore, the question whether Khyung stang of PT 1844 or PT 1618 is the same as Gnyi ba Khyung stang of PT 1651 cannot be easily solved. Looking at the signatures, the form of the graph '*khyu*' suggests that Khyung stang and Gnyi ba Khyung stang may be two persons. Moreover, the former did not use the sign of the instrumental case, while the latter did.

The style of handwriting of the SP is always the so-called straight *sūtra* style. Only rarely does it show an individual touch (e.g. PT 1634 written by Mo sma Nos kong). The writing style of the end-colophons, however, shows variations between neat handwriting and careless cursive,¹⁷ between small and large size of the script.

¹⁴ Strictly speaking, the scribal notes are not colophons since colophons refer to inscriptions at the beginning of SP. However, this terminology has recently been used for scribal notes at the end of the manuscript. The terms end-colophon or subscript would be preferable.

¹⁵ PT 1656.

¹⁶ Takeuchi gives an overview of all types of signatures used for contracts of the Tibetan period in Dunhuang, Khotan and Miran, see Takeuchi 1995: 108.

¹⁷ van Schaik has published a number of articles classifying the script of Old Tibetan manuscripts and inscriptions, dividing the script into five groups, van Schaik 2012; van Schaik 2013; and van Schaik 2014. Yet his group 3: 'official headed style' and group 4: 'official headless style' are not that distinct. In other words, it is not always clear whether the script is still group 3 or already group 4. This can be seen on the signatures on the postscripts of the Tibetan period.

Occasionally writing exercises such as introductions to letters appear on the colophons. They are later additions and are not part of this research.

2. *The Structure of Names*

As explained above at least some of the old SP3 were originally written at Thang kar and then transferred to Dunhuang, where repairs were carried out. To understand this process better it is necessary to identify the persons involved by carrying out an investigation of the structure and provenance of the names of the scribes and editors.

Takeuchi has paved the way by surveying the structure of the names of the persons featuring on contracts concluded at Dunhuang, Miran and Khotan of the time. He divided the names according to their structure into types A–E. As his classification scheme is applicable here too it will be used and adjusted to the particular features of the scribal notes.¹⁸

Only four persons featuring in the SP manuscripts surveyed can be identified as belonging to the group of Tibetans, Zhang zhung or Sum pa (group A). The usual construction for a full Tibetan name is *thabs, rus, mkhan, mying*, (post, family/lineage, *mkhan*, given name). Abbreviations are possible.¹⁹ A member of Gnyi ba Khyung stang's family²⁰ is included in the Skar cung edict of the Tibetan emperor Khri Lde srong brtsan (799–815).²¹ Gnyi ba Khyung stang is designated as a *nang kor*.²² Therefore, he belongs to the 'inner circle'. The eight highest officials of Mkharr tsan *khrom* were appointed from among the *nang kor*.²³ A commissioner for the temple peasants and cattle and grain (*'bangs dang dkor stsang*) of the Yulin monastery was the *nang khor* Gshen Rma sbyin.²⁴ Thus Gnyi ba Khyung stang can be regarded as privileged. Gu rib Ke'u shang is of Zhang zhung descent and the clan of Cog ro Mjal gong belonged to one of the wife-giving clans for Tibetan emperors.²⁵ A member of the family of Rong spo Rton kong was *rtse rje* 'town

¹⁸ Takeuchi 1995: 129, table 12.

¹⁹ Richardson 1967.

²⁰ He is listed among the officials of the exterior: *snam phyi'i pa*.

²¹ The edict was written to commemorate the erection of Skar cung chapel in the vicinity of Lhasa. This edict has come down to us in Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba, *ja* 128–30; translated in Tucci 1950.

²² PT 1760.

²³ PT 1089 ll. 36–37. The officials were, along with others, the head of a horn (*ru dpon*), the head of a unit of 10000 (*khri dpon*), the town prefect with brass insignia of rank (*rtse rje ra gan pa*) and the great head of the fields (*zhing pon chen po*).

²⁴ PT 997.

²⁵ See Dotson 2004 for research on this system.

prefect' of Dunhuang.²⁶ The latter two worked at Dunhuang while the former two signed on 'old' SP3.

Some of the following families may be of Tibetan origin, but proof of this is lacking so far:

Therefore, the names Ser yu / Ser yo Khrom zigs, Mo sma / Mos ma Nos kong, Meg le Ldong 'dus and 'Gong bom Yul byin will be ascribed to type D: ethnic or other clan name with Tibetan or Tibetanised given name. This type of name often occurs in various spellings, as no standardised form existed yet, and thus the clan or family name was spelled according to its sound (this also applies to Tibetanised given names). Surprisingly, apparently the bearers themselves used different spellings of their own clan or family name.

Ser yu Khrom zigs features on three copies of SP. On PT 1312, f. 28 (SP1) he is named, together with Sho bzo,²⁷ as joint writer (*sho bzo dang ser yu khrom zigs bris sho*); thus Sho bzo could have written the line as well. On PT 1634 and PT 1642 (both SP3) Ser yu Khrom zigs signs as one of the editors and in the latter manuscript even as the main editor. There his family is spelled Ser yo while in the former manuscript Ser yu is used. Mos ma / Mo sma Nos kong only acted as scribe. He signed on five copies in SP3 format, on three as Mo sma and on two as Mos ma. It may be a question of time, that is, that after a period of time the form which looked more Tibetan—Mo sma—was taken on.

No other family members of Ser yu Khrom zigs and Mo sma Nos kong feature in Old Tibetan manuscripts discovered so far.

Meg le Ldong 'dus also wrote his family name as Myeg long or Myed le.²⁸ Other members of this family used Myeg le, Meg la or Meg lde. With the family name of 'Gong bom Yul byin this is different. During Tibetan rule, two persons used the form 'Gong bom, another person used 'Go 'bom. In a manuscript written during Guiyijun 歸義軍 "Return-to-Allegiance Army" rule (851–1036?), which followed the period of Tibetan domination of Dunhuang, two eminent religious teachers—one of central Tibet the other of Hezhou—bear 'Go 'bom as their family name.²⁹ Since one was an eminent religious teacher in central Tibet, the family may be of Tibetan origin, but proof of this is lacking.

Mo zom Klu bzher also belongs to group D. He has a Tibetan given

²⁶ PT 1089, ll. 52–67: *rtse rje* were appointed from among the Tibetans, according to this manuscript.

²⁷ He signs as Lcis Sho bzo on PT 1312, f. 1 and PT 1306, f. 48b.

²⁸ The latter two forms can be cited according to catalogue entry only, Matko and van Schaik 2013.

²⁹ IOL Tib J 689 is discussed in Uebach 1990. It lists the teachers of four *dharma* colleges. Uebach identifies a number of personages listed there by using later sources. The list of central Tibet goes back to the reign of Emperor Khri Srong lde brtsan (c. 756–c. 800).

name. There are no variations of his family name. He acted as editor as well as scribe. Another member of this family—Mo zom 'Dron kong—features as scribe of a copy of an SP3.³⁰

Both Mo zom Klu bzher and Mo sma Nos kong signed as scribes in Thang kar of Rog thom. The following persons are three scribes of SP1 who also copied SP3/1: Ya ri Khri spo, Tshab shi Lha bu and Tshar long Khong rtsan. They have no connection to the persons discussed above, in other words their names do not occur on any scriptures those people wrote or edited. Yet another member of the Ya ri and Tshab shi family respectively can be found on SP3. Ya ri Btsan legs edited an 'old' SP3/1. Tshab shi Klu brtsan signed as scribe along with others on PT 1959, an 'old' SP3/1. For both names the spelling does not vary but the families are otherwise not known.

Members of the Tshar long family occur on a number (11) of manuscripts. Tshar long Lha 'brug brtsan seems to have been the owner of an estate in the vicinity of Shazhou, where he had to deliver his tax or contributions.³¹ Two members of the Tshar long family worked in the scriptorium of *dge slong* Shang-ben at Dunhuang. Two can be found on *glegs tshas*,³² and the names of another two appear on scriptures, although the context is obscure. Two were scribes of PT 1615, an SP3. One signed on the old part, while the other signed on new Shazhou paper. Tshar long Brtan kong wrote PT 1610, an old SP3, which then came to Dunhuang where it was restored. The restored part is lost. Intriguingly, a unit (*sde*) of a thousand named Tshar long gi sde existed as well. It is not included in any lists supplied by the later sources.³³ It is only mentioned on two Dunhuang fragments.³⁴ The evidence suggests that Tshar long was a local, non-Chinese, non-Tibetan family/clan of the north-eastern part of the occupied areas who also constituted a unit (*sde*). Its members were devoted to Buddhism, but no monastics have been found among them so far.

³⁰ IOL Tib J 109.14.

³¹ IOL Tib J 897, translated in Thomas 1951: 16. It is an unusual document. It bears two identical seal marks of the private seal of Tshar long Lha 'brug brtsan. Private estates are otherwise not documented for the region of Dunhuang of the time. The sum owed was 30 loads (*khal*). If the usual amount of tax and tributes are referred to, his peasants comprised ca. five families.

³² *Glegs tshas* were writing boards of Chinese scribes measuring 27 x 79 cm. Takeuchi 2013.

³³ Lists of the units of a thousand—and the horn (*ru*) they belonged to—of the imperial period of central Tibet, Zhang zhung and Sum pa are included in the section of Tibetan law and state by Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba, Mkhas pa Lde'u, Lde'u Jo sras and Ne'u Pandita. The names of these units vary in each source. They are listed in tables by Uebach 1987: 21ff. and Dotson 2006: 154ff.; the latter also included the names of the *yul sde* and administrative districts *yul dpon tshan/ yul sde* (144ff.).

³⁴ PT 1224 and PT 113 respectively.

Another type of name structure, which can be found on SP2 and SP3, is built out of a Chinese family name with a Chinese given name and/or a Tibetan given name (type B1 and B2). As in group D above, there are at times variations in the spelling of the names. Chen Nuzi 陳奴子, who bears a Chinese given name, is known from the list of scribes going back to 808 CE.³⁵ He copied an SP2 which he signed as Jin Mdo tse. At that time the transcription of his Chinese name into Tibetan seems not to have been standardised yet. He restored an SP3/1 as Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse,³⁶ using the standard transcription for *nuzi* 奴子 'Do tse. It appears that he received the name Lha bzang during his time as a scribe. When furnishing an exchange sheet for an SP3/2, he features as Jin Lha bzang.

PT 1641 shows that Wang also received the name Stag brtan during his career.³⁷ He is only found with this name and his Chinese given name is not known.

In both cases the Tibetan name could be regarded as a *mkhan*. The question is whether or not the Tibetan given name of a Chinese person should be classified as a *mkhan* in all cases. Especially as the trade of lower class men is prefixed to the term *mkhan*, for example *sa mkhan* (guide *mkhan*).³⁸ There are only two Chinese persons on the list of the year 808 who already bear a Tibetan given name/*mkhan*, while in the list of scribes on PT 1648 seven out of 17 bear a Tibetan given name. Here the construction of a full Tibetan name: *thabs, rus, mkhan, mying*, (post, family/lineage, *mkhan*, given name) is not applicable. However, both *rus + mkhan* and *rus + mying* combinations are possible.³⁹ When concluding contracts, the seller/borrower and guarantor often stem from the same family. There the father often has a Chinese given name and the son a Tibetan or Tibetan-Chinese mixed given name. Takeuchi concluded that this is due to the fact of prolonged Tibetan dominion.⁴⁰ In these cases, the Tibetan personal name cannot be regarded as a

³⁵ S. 5824; see next chapter for an extract of the list and its dating.

³⁶ PT 1576: </jin lha bzang 'do tse lan cig bris lagsso "Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse wrote it once".

³⁷ PT 1641. It is part of an SP3 with neither end nor beginning. It consists of 23 'old' columns and is repaired on the back with patches of yellowish lined paper. On the back of the first sheet, it carries the following inscription: *wang gi ni stag brtan zbig* "Concerning Wang, he is Stag brtan now!" Below, 25 scribes are referred to, followed by: </kye sha cu'i ni dar ma pal/ "These are the (scribes) of the *dharma* of Shazhou!"

³⁸ IOL Tib N 2270: *rus ni shu mye sa mkhan ni brgyal bzigs mying ni nya slebs*: "family/clan Shu mye, guide-*mkhan* Brgyal bzigs, personal name Nya slebs", transliterated in Thomas 1951: 370.

³⁹ Richardson 1967: 12 gives examples of name structures in Old Tibetan manuscripts and inscriptions.

⁴⁰ Takeuchi 1995: 131.

mkhan.

It appears that the name order was not adhered to in every case, as is illustrated by the fact that Kong 孔 Lve long Bzang skyes signed as an editor of SP3/1Tk.⁴¹ In this case a Chinese name takes the position of the *mkhan*—*mkhan* are unknown among Chinese. Only occasionally a scribe signs with his Tibetan and Chinese given name. On contracts concluded in Chinese script the Chinese given name is always used, although the participants may have had a Tibetan personal name as well. Therefore, it is more likely that a kind of Tibetanisation took place and it was up to the scribes to take on a Tibetan personal name /*mkhan* or not. Alternatively, is it possible that Chinese people just took on / received Tibetan given names as well and thus had two personal names.⁴² All but Kong Lve lung Bzang skyes lived at Dunhuang.

Another group are the monastics. Their names consist of their position in Tibetan and their ordination name (type C). Generally, one would suggest that Chinese people bear Chinese ordination names and Tibetans Tibetan ordination names. In case of the Chinese clergy members, their family is indicated at times. Thus, Changbian 常弁 alias *dge slong* Shang ben could belong to the Chang 常 family. But as he always signs as Shang ben and never as Ben, Shang ben is with certainty his ordination name. In Or.8210/S. (henceforth referred to as S.) 5824, the list dated 808,⁴³ it is indicated that all Tibetan members of the scriptorium before the rat year were monastics (*seng* 僧). Thus, Chula 觸臘 alias *ban de* Dpal gyi ngang tshul, Mozhilie 摩志獵⁴⁴ alias *dge slong* Mchog rab and Sunan 蘇南 alias *ban de* Bsod nams, who are named in the list written in the rat year, were most probably Tibetan monks.

However, *ban de* Cang Chos brtan, who also signs as Chos brtan on AN, is with certainty a Chinese monk of the Zhang 張 family who bears a Tibetan ordination name.⁴⁵ Therefore, unless his origin is known it is not possible to say whether a monk with a Tibetan ordination name is Chinese, Tibetan or of another ethnic provenance.

It is difficult to trace the scribes and editors who only signed with their given name. Firstly, names such as Khrom zigs or Klu bzher are very common so there may have been more than one person bearing

⁴¹ PT 1634 (see Table 3).

⁴² Both alternatives are attested in Chinese culture. Firstly, it was not unusual for a Chinese to take on a new personal name during his career. Secondly, ethnic minorities could bear two personal names, one in their language and a Chinese, see Bauer 1959: 56ff.

⁴³ See Table 1 below.

⁴⁴ For the conversion the Archaic form of pronunciation was used: *zhi*: K 962e: ʧeg / tsi; *lie*: K 637e: liap / liäp.

⁴⁵ His full name can be found on PT 3721, Cang Chos brtan on PT 3563 and Chos brtan on PT 3622.

these names in the scriptoria. Secondly, when a person's family is not known, it is not possible to know his ethnic background.

Chinese given names are easy to recognise. Therefore, on first sight one may think that Brang Kun bears a mixed Tibetan/Chinese given name. Yet, since he signs as Brang Kun kun on PT 1619, it is clear that this is not the case. He is in fact Bolang Junjun 勃郎君君⁴⁶ of the list of scribes of the year 808. He can be identified as Chinese due to his Chinese given name, even though his family is not known. He also copied SP2. In most cases, he signs as Brang Kun. Only the occurrence mentioned above provides evidence that Brang must be his Tibetan given name, while Kun kun his is Chinese given name. (A Chinese family Bolang is not known and very unlikely to have existed). When a Chinese given name consists of two identical characters, such as Junjun 君君, Kun kun in Tibetan transliteration, at times the second character is left out altogether or substituted with *zi* 子—*tse* in Tibetan. Following this tradition, he also signed as Brang Kun tse.⁴⁷ Forms like these may underlie the structure of other Tibetan-Chinese mixed given names as well (type B 3).

Kheng tse, from the list of scribes on PT 1648 and editor of the restored part of PT 1613, cannot be identified with certainty. A certain Kheng kheng copied SP2. He may be Dang Kheng kheng who is known as recipient of paper.⁴⁸ 'Gu 吳 Brtan khong, who rewrote parts of PT 1629, may be identical with 'Gu Khong brtan.⁴⁹

It is difficult to solve the structure of the name of Chang Run 常閏 (Shang Zhun in Tibetan transliteration),⁵⁰ as Chang is a Chinese family and can equally be part of a given name. He appears as Bde Shang Shun on a copied letter, as the petitioner. Thus, Bde could be his Tibetan given name and he would be called Bde Shang shun. As there are a few errors in the copied lines, Bde might be a misspelling of *ban de* and he would thus actually be named *ban de* Shang zhun or Shang Zhun, with Shang as the family name.

⁴⁶ The transcription into Chinese characters of his given name, Kun kun, is Junjun according to Takeuchi 1995: 269. For converting the Tibetan given name Brang into Chinese characters, the compiler of the list used the *fanqie* 反切 system, in other words the first character for the initial and the other for the sound.

⁴⁷ IOL Tib J 1530.

⁴⁸ Dang Kheng kheng is on the list of scribes who had received paper (IOL Tib J 1359), Dang Keng keng copied SP2 and Keng tse edited SP3/1. All these may be the same person.

⁴⁹ 'Gu Khong brtan signs as scribe in PT 3957, H23 and H24; 'Gu Brtan kong is scribe on PT 3937; all scriptures are AN and cited according to catalogue entry (Huang Wenhuan 1982 and Nishioka 1984) therefore the hand-writing could not be compared.

⁵⁰ *Run*: K1251o: *ńzjuēn*, in Tibetan translit.: *zhun*.

Others, like Wang Lang tse (Wang Lanzi 王郎子) and 'Gyo (Jiao 蕉)?⁵¹ So zhe, often use their given name only.

Yang brtan Khrom kong and Rag ram Speb rtsan only occur once. While the former name clearly uses the construction *mkhan+mying*,⁵² it is not clear whether Rag-ram is a clan/ family (*rus*) or *mkhan*.

Characteristically, most editors and some scribes who worked at Dunhuang only used their ordination name or personal name. At Thang kar, editors as well as scribes almost always signed with their full name.

3. The Scribes and Editors of Dunhuang and the Production of SP3/2

3.1. Lists of Scribes and Editors of SP

Three manuscripts contain lists of the personnel of the scriptoria at Dunhuang. Only S. 5824 can be dated exactly.⁵³

Dating of S. 5824

The introduction of the manuscript reads:

(1) The joint request of the scriptorium for vegetables for the Tibetan and Chinese *panguan* etc.⁵⁴

(2) Earlier on, before the rat year, there were five Tibetan monks facing 25 scribes.

(3) The five monks were jointly authorized by square seal to receive 17 loads of vegetables supplied by the (population of the) Xingren unit of a thousand in one year.

(4) The 25 scribes were authorized by square seal to receive 85 loads of vegetables supplied by the (population of the) Simian unit of a thousand in one year.

(5) Recently a decision has been made so that each person who is supplied is to be regarded, the names of these persons are as follows: [...]

⁵¹ The 'Gyo family has so far not been identified. Jiao 蕉 is my suggestion. Jiao: K 1148: tsiog, tsjäu. A member of this family belonged to the Panyuan 潘元 nunnery in 788 (S. 2729, line 52). The 蕉 family is otherwise not known.

⁵² Richardson 1967: 12 states that this is an attested combination.

⁵³ Published in facsimile and transcription in Tang Gengou and Lu Longji 1990: vol. 2, 412; in Fujieda 1961: 279; and Taenzler 2012: 314 with a commentary and translation.

⁵⁴ Until the year 800 *panguan* 判官 was a post in the administration of the clergy of Dunhuang, Chikusa 1961: 179f. Later on, the term seems to have been used along with others as a designation for copyists of scriptures.

It is a well-known fact that the Tibetans, after taking over Dunhuang, abolished the Chinese administrative units (*xiang* 鄉) and introduced their own. They divided the population into units of a thousand (*stong sde*). To start, there were two units, a military and a civil unit. Years later, they were divided. To date the manuscript, clues about the dates of the division of the units will be combined with the career of the scribes listed therein.

The civil unit known as Simian unit 絲綿部落 in Chinese and Dar pa in Tibetan ("Silk unit" is the translation of its name) was divided into three during a horse year. From then on, there were the Simian, Shang 上 and Xia 下 units.⁵⁵ This horse year is 814.⁵⁶ Thus, the rat year mentioned in S. 5824 must be some year prior to 814. The military unit known as Xingren 行人 in Chinese and Rgod gyi sde in Tibetan was divided into two in the summer of a rat year. 796 and 808 are the possible years in which this administrative measure could have taken place.⁵⁷ For the scribes' supply, only the Simian unit is named not the other two civil units. 808 is the most plausible year since Shang-ben was already ordained and he still was active during the *sūtra* copying project commencing in the 820s. All in all, out of the 36 persons listed 17 were still active later on and can be found on PT 1648v and/or as scribes or editors of SP.⁵⁸ Moreover, a few scribes already bear Tibetan given names.

The relevant names of S. 5824 are entered in the first column of Table 1 below.

In the second column, scribes listed in PT 1648v who also appear as editors or scribes on extant manuscripts are entered. This applies to 13 out of 17 names. As it is a patch it may be incomplete (especially as, according to PT 1641, there were 25 scribes at the time Wang received his Tibetan name). It was glued to the back of an SP3/1 to strengthen it and is not datable.

IOL Tib J 1359 is a list of scribes of SP2 belonging to one of the three military units.⁵⁹ Thus, it was written at a much later date than S. 5842,

⁵⁵ This is evident from S. 3287v, which is a household register written in Chinese. It is published in Tang Gengou and Lu Longji 1990: vol. 2, 377. The Shang and Xia units (literally upper and lower unit) do not feature in any manuscripts written in Tibetan. Therefore, there is no known Tibetan equivalent.

⁵⁶ Taenzer 2012: 57.

⁵⁷ PT 1089.

⁵⁸ There may be more, as four names that were transcribed from Tibetan into Chinese could not be identified, in other words could not be retransferred into Tibetan. Furthermore, a few Chinese scribes received Tibetan given names, like Wang Stag brtan and Im Klu legs, therefore they could be identical to Wang Rongnu and Yin Xianding of the list in S. 5824.

⁵⁹ It consists of four pages. The first page contains an instruction of how to deal with scribes who do not complete their work, pages two to four list the names of scribes,

when three military units already existed. It was written during the copying project of SP2, at the end of a sheep year (827 or 839)⁶⁰ or at the beginning of the following monkey year. It contains 92 scribes' names. Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse is the only scribe included therein who also features on the other two manuscripts. The list is not included here but it will be used as a reference for scribes who worked on copying SP2.

The third column provides the names of the editors/scribes in the form in which they signed their names on SP.

The fourth column shows, which type of SP were copied/edited and on how many SP a scribe's/editor's name is recorded, for example Wang Cvan cvan (column 3), SP3/2(1) (column 4): Wang Cvan cvan signed one exemplar of SP3/2 as scribe. In this table entries of SP 3/2 are written in bold, as these manuscripts are discussed in the following chapter. SP3 in cursive denote manuscripts from the India Office Library (IOL), which have not been digitised, thus their format is not evident.

Table 1 – Editors and Scribes of SP

S. 5824 (808 CE)	PT 1648		SP
		Editors	
Changbian 常弁		<i>dge slong</i> Shang ben	SP2(3), SP3/2 (6)
Chula 觸臘		<i>ban de</i> Dpal gyi ngang tshul	SP2 (3), SP3/1 (11+1?), SP3/2? (2), SP3 (3)
Panluoxiji 判羅悉雞		'Phan la skyes	SP3/2 (5+1)
Sunan 蘇南		<i>ban de</i> Bsod nams	zhu chen po
Mozhilie 摩志獵		<i>ban de</i> Mchog rab	SP2(1), SP3/2 (2)
	Kheng tse	Kheng/Keng tse	SP3/1 (1)
Feng Zairong 馮宰榮		Bung Dze 'veng	SP2 (1)

the unit they belonged to, the paper owed and the ink received. Takeuchi 1992 gives a translation of the text and a table of the scribes' names.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the dates see section 5. below.

		Scribes	
Suo Wennu 索文 奴	Sag Bun 'do	Sag Bun 'do	SP3/1 (4)
Song Zaiji 宋再集	Song Dze dzib	Song Dze dzib	SP2 (1)
Song Liuliu 宋六 六	Lug lug	Song Lug lug	SP2 (1+1?)
Bolang Junjun 勃 郎君君		Brang Kun kun Brang Kun	SP3/1 (1) SP2(1), SP3/1 (5)
Wang Langzi 王郎 子	Wang Lang tse	Wang Lang tse	SP3/1 (1), SP3 (2)
Chen Nuzi 陳奴子	Jin Lha bzang	Jin Mdo tse Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse Jin Lha bzang	SP2 (1) SP3/1 (1) SP3/2 (1)
	Bung Stag snya	Bung Stag snya	SP2 (1)
	Im Klu legs	Im Klu legs	SP2 (1), SP3(1)
Kang Jinjian 康進 健?	Khang Mang zigs	Khang Mang zigs	
	Sag 'Phan legs	Sag 'Phan legs	SP3/1 (1)
	Wang Yu meng	Wang Yu meng	SP2 (1)
	Legs rton	Legs rton	SP3.1(4)
Chang Run 常閏		Shang Zhun/Shun	SP3/2 (1)
	Zhun-zhun	Zhun zhun	SP3/1 (1)
Suo Guanyi 索廣 弈		Sag Kvang yig Kvang yig	SP3/1 (1) SP2 (1)
Wang Zhuan 王專		Wang Cvan cvan	SP3/2 (1)
Zhang Rongnu 張 榮		Cang Weng 'do	SP2 (1)
Zhang Xingzi 張興 子		Cang Hing tse	SP2 (1)

Commentary to Table 1:

The following scribes are mentioned in both lists but not on manuscripts: Tian Yongyong 田用用 = Yong yong, Yin Qixing 尹齊興 = Yun Dze'i hing.

Im 'Bye le'u appears on PT 1648 and as a witness to two contracts,⁶¹ but not on scriptures. Zhun-zhun may be identical with Shang Zhun.⁶²

3.2. The Process of Production of SP3/2

Seven ends of *bam po* of SP3, copied in SP3/2 format,⁶³ could be identified. Between 14 and 19 columns are extant of each *bam po*. They are in a good condition and are not strengthened with patches at the back. It appears that they were initially written by one scribe on paper prepared with inked lines. They were edited three to four times indicating the order of the reading (e.g.: PT 1550: *tshar long spa 'dus bris// dge slong shang ben yang zhus so// dge slong rdo rje mdzod sum zhus bzhi zhus*: "Tshar long Spa 'dus wrote it, *dge slong* Shang-ben second edited it, *dge slong* Rdo rje mdzod third edited it, fourth edited it"). They share this feature with some SP2 (e.g. PT 1353).⁶⁴ According to the extant manuscripts, at least one *dge slong*, and often a *ban de*,⁶⁵ conducted the proof-reading. In this process faulty pages must have been marked. Later these were rewritten by various scribes, at times indicating the year and season the work was carried out and the number of pages written, for example IOL Tib J 109.21:⁶⁶ > / / lug lo'i dbyar sla ra ba tshes nyi shu la / je'u brtan gong lan cig bris sthe / glegs bu brgyad gyis bkang ngo / / "On the 20th day of the first summer month of the sheep year Je'u Brtan kong wrote it once filling eight pages". > / / lugi lo'i dbyar sla tha chungts shes nyi shu dgu la / ling 'o zhun tshe lan cig bris te / glegs bu brgyad la bkong / "On the 29th day of the last summer month of the sheep year Ling 'o 令狐 Zhun tshe wrote it once filling eight pages". Writing processes are rarely noted with such precision. These notes were written on the recto of the fly leaf. Then it was proof-read again and in this production step the editors signed on the verso of the fly leaf, turning

⁶¹ PT 1166 and IOL Tib J 1274: Takeuchi 1995, text 12 and 11 respectively.

⁶² Ling 'o Zhun tshe rewrote SP3/2, Cang Zhun zhun and Sag Zhun zhun copied AN (PT 3649, 3971, IOL Tib J 310.131+310.5 and 310.175,176 respectively). But they do not belong to the group of senior scribes. It is impossible to say who signed as Zhun zhun.

⁶³ PT 1550, 1629, 1500, 1944, 1532, 1596 and IOL Tib J 109.21; see also Table 2.

⁶⁴ Dotson (2013/2014) identified this as a characteristic of the colophons of some SP2.

⁶⁵ The editors rarely signed mentioning their post in the clergy. Thus 'Gyo So zhe may have been ordained as well.

⁶⁶ Cited from de La Vallée-Poussin 1962: 42.

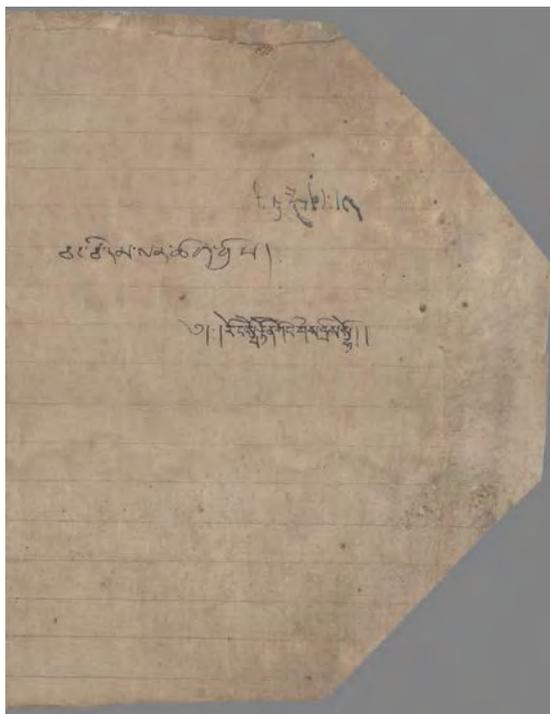


Fig. 1b –PT 1550, recto of fly leaf; Copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

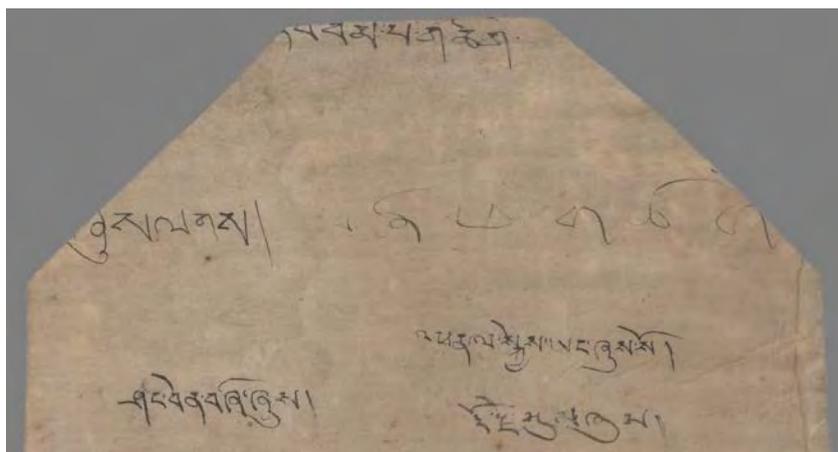


Fig. 1c PT 1550 – verso of fly leaf; Copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

Fig.1a: end of text:

tshar long spa'dus bris//
dge slong shang ben yang zhus so // dge slong rdo rje mdzod sum zhus
bzhi zhus/
ha stag slebs lan chig bris te chung la sla'o//
 below follows: fourth *dum bu, bam po* 7 of SP

Fig.1b: Fly leaf:

cang tsi dam lan chig bris/
 <./: rong spo rton kong bris s.ho//

Fig.1c: verso of fly leaf:

zhus lags/
'phan la skyes yang zhus so/
shang ben bzhi zhus/
rdo rje sum zhus/

Commentary to PT 1550:

Tshar long Spa 'dus is the copyist of the original. Ha Stag slebs, Cang Tsi dam and Rongs po Rton kong were engaged in rewriting.

The original was apparently edited four times, although the first editor is not named. The four editors of the rewritten sheets signed on the back of the fly leaf. The name of the first editor is not extant. The signature of the fourth editor is inserted above the signature of the third.

Two of the scribes of the originals, Wang Cvan cvan 王專 and Shang Zhun 常閏 (PT 1532 and PT 1596 respectively), already belonged to a scriptorium in Dunhuang in 808.⁶⁷ If Stag snang is in fact the Cang Stag snang mentioned in PT 1491 and/or the copyist of SP2 of the same name, he was a local as well. This should be proof that the *sūtras* of SP3/2 format were originally copied at Dunhuang.

As no date for the copying of the originals is indicated, it is not possible to determine how much time elapsed between the copying, editing and the exchange of faulty sheets with the rewritten sheets. *Dge slong* Shang ben, who edited most of SP3/2, oversaw the original manuscripts as well as the restored sheets. The same can be said of *ban de* Mchog rab and 'Phan la skyes. All three were members of the scriptorium in 808. *Dge slong* Rdo rje mdzod,⁶⁸ who also edited SP2, and 'Gyo

⁶⁷ S. 5824, see above.

⁶⁸ It is not evident whether he is identical with the editor who signed as Rdo rje in PT 1550, 569, 643, 2030, 2080; in PT 2125 as: *ban 'de* Rdo rje; in PT 1622 as *sha cu'i ban de gnas brtan*. It is possible, as in PT 1550 he signs as third editor: *dge slong rdo rje mdzod sum zhus* and verso *rdo rje sum zhus*.

So zhe, who along with others witnessed a contract concluded at Dunhuang, edited originals as well as rewritten sheets.

Numerous scribes were involved in rewriting and some can be traced, but not always with certainty. The only scribe of the Tibetan, Zhang zhong or Sum pa ethnic group is Rong spo Rton kong.⁶⁹ Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse, who rewrote pages of SP3/1,⁷⁰ Ha Stag slebs and Cang Hig hig were members of one of the military units of Shazhou. They received paper for copying and the names of all three are found as copyists on SP2. Cang Tsi dam, Do Lha spyin, Ling ho Zhun tshe, Cang Jung jung and probably 'Gu Brtan khong and Shang Shi'u copied AN.⁷¹ Im Lha legs signed as a witness to a contract. Wang Gyu rton signed the same contract.⁷² Legs rtsan and Legs rma cannot be attributed, as their personal name is very common and their family name is not provided.

Most interesting is the career of Je'u Brtan kong. Not only is he named as a witness to a hire contract,⁷³ engaged in rewriting pages of SP3/2 and copying AN, but he had also been appointed *rub ma pa* for the collection of completed scriptures on paper given out to scribes from the three military units to copy SP in a horse and sheep year.⁷⁴ *Rub ma pa* were apparently in charge of keeping the records of incoming and outgoing scriptures.⁷⁵ It may be assumed that after his promotion, he signed as Brtan kong / gong.⁷⁶

The others—apart from Chog ro Mjal gong who was of Tibetan / Sum pa origin and Tshar long whose ethnic identity is not known—must have belonged to one of the civil units. Even professionals such as *dge slong* Shang ben, *ban de* Shang zhun and Wang Cvan were still

⁶⁹ He also can be found as the owner of a *glegs tshas*, writing boards issued to scribes (PT 1156). See Takeuchi 2013 for a study. A member of his family occupied the post of a *rtse rje* of Shazhou (PT 1089).

⁷⁰ He may be Jin 'Do tshe who is a '*phongs* connected to *ban de* Wang Dze sheng in PT 2218, a manuscript describing the formation for a military parade of the Rgod sar unit of Dunhuang. See Uray 1961 for a discussion of the manuscript. It must belong to an earlier era than the era of the *sūtra* copying project as almost no participants bear Tibetan given names (one from altogether five *ban de* and no commoners). Although Jin 陳 as well as 'Do-tse 奴子 are very common names, as a person bearing this name belonged to the Rgod sar unit in IOL Tib J 1359 as well as in PT 2218, they should be one and the same person.

⁷¹ A 'Gu Brtan kong signed on PT 3937 and a Jeg Shang she'u copied PT 3957.

⁷² PT 1297, pièce 4, Takeuchi 1995, text 39, dated 834±.

⁷³ PT 1098, Takeuchi 1995, text 36, not dated. It is an original contract; all other participants impressed their seals but not Je'u.

⁷⁴ IOL Tib J 1359, page 1, translated by, among others, Takeuchi 1994, note 8.

⁷⁵ According to PT 999, two *rub ma pa* were responsible for keeping the documents of outgoing AN stored in the Longxing monastery.

⁷⁶ Although Brtan kong is a very common name, it is probably him who rewrote parts of PT 1532, since he is the only one who used the variation Brtan gong as on IOL Tib J 109.21.

designated to one of the units of a thousand—be it military or civil—of Dunhuang.⁷⁷

The extant SP3/2 were apparently made to be kept, as can be seen from PT 1944, whose end is still intact and supplied with stick.⁷⁸ This still leaves the question of why only seven odd ends of SP3/2 are extant. Was the edition ever completed? That this was at least intended can be deduced from the fact that most of them indicate the number of the *dum bu* and *bam po* copied on the colophon at the end of each *bam po*.⁷⁹ The last *bam po*, of which the end is extant, is the seventh *bam po* of the fourth *dum bu*. As the SP is divided into four *dum bu* consisting of 75 *bam po* each, one can surmise that it once comprised a whole edition. Since the *Pañcaviṃśati-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, which is the second part of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*—the SP being the first part—was copied in the same format it is possible that the complete canon of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* was copied then.⁸⁰

These arguments should suffice to prove that SP3/2 were originally copied and edited at Dunhuang, had faulty pages rewritten and edited there, and were fitted with sticks.

Summing up the characteristics of SP3/2:

They were copied on paper prepared with inked lines, scribal notes have the same wording as on SP2, they were copied, edited and had faulty pages rewritten at Dunhuang.

There are a few other SP3 in the Pelliot collection which were copied on 'new' paper with inked lines, but they share neither the structure of the scribal notes nor the editors. Thus, there may have been another group of scribes/editors, which followed the practice of SP3/1.

In Table 2 below, the scribes' and editors' names of the researched manuscripts of SP3/2 are entered. Between 14 to 19 columns of each text are extant. The manuscripts from the Pelliot collection are cited according to the digitised image, the manuscript from the British Library is cited from de La Vallée-Poussin's catalogue.⁸¹

⁷⁷ This is evident from PT 2218 where all *ban de* are designated to the Rgod sar military unit of a thousand.

⁷⁸ According to PT 1128, it appears that the SP2, which were made for export, were not fitted with string and wrapping at Dunhuang since these items were sent separately.

⁷⁹ See the first line of the following table (Table 2) in which, below the shelfmark, the number of the *dum bu* and *bam po* is indicated, where available. The last *dum bu*, i.e. the fourth is listed as well.

⁸⁰ When the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* is referred to one thinks of the collection of *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* copied in Chinese. As this was copied at Dunhuang as well it is near at hand that a similar collection was intended, especially since PT 1486 is a fragment of the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra* (part 3 of the collection), according to Lalou (1961). It was copied on paper prepared with inked lines just as SP3/2.

⁸¹ de La Vallée-Poussin 1962: 42.

[Tshar long Spa go(s)]			X						
Wang Dge brtan	王		X	X			X		
blon Dge legs			X						
'Gu Brtan khong	吳		X						
Li'u Klu rton	劉		X						
Legs rma(s)				X	X				
Im Lha legs	陰				X		X		PT 1297
Cang Hig hig	張				X				SP2
Shan shi'u					X				AN
Je'u Brtan kong	趙		X		X	X?		X	
Yi'u Brtan kong	要							X	X
Btshan legs					X				
Wang Gyu rton	王							X	PT 1297
Ling-'o Zhun tshe	令狐							X	
S(M?)eng Hva'i								X	
Cang Stag bzang	張						X		
Cang Jung jung	張					X			AN
Do Lha sbyin	杜					X			AN
'Be Stag rma	俾					X			SP2
Seng ge						X			SP2, SP3
Shing tse							X		
Stag brtan				X					SP2
Legs rtsan					X			X?	SP2 ed.

4. The Scriptorium in Thang kar of Rog thom and its Relation to SP1

4.1. The Scriptorium in Thang kar

The provenance of two of the SP3/1Tk is Thang kar of Rog thom. The following editorial notes provide evidence for this claim: </ / *rog thom thang kar du mos ma nos kong briso* (PT 1649) and </ / *rog thom thang kar du mo zom klu bzhre gyis bris te 'og zhush lagso* (PT 1612). With certainty, both scribes therefore lived in Thang kar of Rog thom and the other scriptures they copied and edited stem from there. All in all, five ends of scriptures (between 2.5 and 22 columns) copied by Mo sma Nos kong are extant. There is evidence that at least two of them had pages rewritten and inserted at Dunhuang. Mo zom Klu bzher acted as

copyist on two (IOL Tib J 1755 and PT 1642), as joint editor on four (PT 1634, PT 1632, IOL Tib J 1537 and IOL Tib J 109.8) and, on one manuscript, only his family name is extant due to damage to the paper (PT 1656). As the manuscript was revised by the same editor as PT 1629, written at Thang kar, and the script of the graph 'zom' aligns with his other signatures, this manuscript is included. Four scribal notes bear evidence that pages had been restored at Dunhuang and exchanged sheets are extant on PT 1656.

The following Table (Table 3) provides an overview of a selection of manuscripts.

Commentary to the Table:

In the first line, the shelfmark of IOL Tib J 109.8 and IOL Tib J 109.13 is abbreviated to 109.8 and 109.13 respectively.

The second last column contains the number of SP1/SP2, the last column the number of SP3/1 and SP3/2 the person worked on; Pelliot tibétain, and entries of the IOL catalogue,⁸² are included: for example 1+1 means one SP of the Pelliot Tibétain collection and one of the IOL collection.

Entries within the table:

The persons featuring on the manuscript are generally marked X.

Additional entries are:

w: scribe, X: main editor, (X): it is not certain whether the person is identical with the one featuring in the other manuscripts, x1: received scroll, x2: his copy, x3: only name, x4: only family name

+ Sum pa Legsngang and Khrom zigs edited the restored part of 1996.

The pairs of X underlined indicate joint editors.

Table 3 – Editors and Scribes of SP3/1Tk

Shelfmark of SP	PT 1649	PT 1642	PT 1656	PT 1760	PT 1645	PT 1775	109.8	109.13	PT 1634	SP 1/2	SP3 1/2
Number of columns	2.5 old	4 old	3n/21o	17 old	4 old	22 old		1p	5 old		
<i>Scribes in Thang kar</i>											
Mo sma Nos kong	X				X	X		X	X		5
Meg le Ldong 'dus							X				2

⁸² Matko and van Schaik 2013.

Editors in Thang kar											
Ser yu Khrom zigs		X						X	w/	3	
Khu Khri gzigs							<u>X</u>			1	
Mo zom Klu bzher		X+w	x4				<u>X</u>	<u>X</u>		6	
Khong Lve lung								<u>X</u>		1	
Gnyi ba Khyung stang			<u>X</u>	w					w/	4+6	
Gu rib Ke'u shang			<u>X</u>							3+2	
'Gong bom Yul byin	X		X							9	
Gtom Legs bzher		<u>X</u>								1	
Skya tsa Khyi bal		<u>X</u>								1	
Skya tsa Khyi skugs							<u>X</u>			2	
Ru Klu rma							<u>X</u>			1	
Stag zigs kyi be ne kyi gol							X			1	
Chab nos Lha snang								X		1	
Rag ram Spe rtsan	X									1	
Scribes in Dunhuang											
Brang Kun		X					x1		/1	5	
Im Tsheng 'do				x2						1/1	
Im Klu legs				x3					/1	1	
Editors in Dunhuang											
Khrom z(r)igs		X	X		(<u>X</u>)		X			19	
(Sum-pa) Legsnang +			X							/6	
Editors in ?											
Reb kong Gtsug la tor								X		10	
Sla 'go						<u>X</u>				1	

Scribes in ?											
Yang brtan Khrom kong		X									1
Rma bzangs			X								1
To rol Ye ram						X					1

4.2. The Process of Production of SP3/1Tk

SP3/1Tk were originally copied by one scribe and most of them were edited three times. Otherwise, the process of production differs in many respects from SP3/2 copied at Dunhuang. Firstly, sometimes the scribes edited their own work. Secondly, five cases of joint editorship are documented (where the X is underlined in the table), although the pairs are not consistent, for example Mo zom Klu bzher edited with Khu Khri zigs as well as with Khong Lve lung Bzang skyes. It can be assumed that one reviser read out the model text and the other checked the manuscript (this is also assumed to be the case in other SP3/1). At times somebody signed as the main editor (*zhu chen*).⁸³ The editors are numerous and most of their names cannot be found on any other Dunhuang manuscripts. Only four of them were more intensively occupied with editing or copying. There is no indication that they were monks but, since members of the family of 'Gong bom Yul byin were eminent teachers,⁸⁴ this possibility should not be excluded. Reb kong Gtsug la tor's family originated in Reb kong (modern-day Tongren). He was very active (10 signatures). One of his relatives was a special scribe (*gsang gi yi ge pa*)⁸⁵ of Bde gams.⁸⁶ Ser yu Khrom zigs and Gnyi ba Khyung stang not only copied and/or edited SP3/1 but also copied SP1.⁸⁷ There is no evidence that any pages of SP3/1Tk were rewritten and re-edited at Thang kar.

At some point, the scriptures were transferred to Dunhuang where they were repaired. That is, pages were replaced and the back strengthened where necessary, mostly with clippings of pieces of SP.

⁸³ Dotson 2013/2014: *zhu chen bgyis*: "acted as main editor". Lalou (1961) translated the phrase with: "la grande correction a été faite" (p6 entry to PT 1303). At times one finds: *zhu chen lags* or *zhu chen* only. Whatever way the phrase is translated it means that the person concerned did the final revision of the text.

⁸⁴ IOL Tib J 689 discussed in Uebach 1990.

⁸⁵ *Gsang gi yi ge pa*: It is not evident what post is referred to. In PT 1089 among the officials of Mkar tsan *khrom a gsang gi pho nya a gsang gi rub ma pa* as well as *gsang gi yi ge pa* of various grades (high, middle and low) are listed (ll. 38–42). The translation: 'secret scribe' does not make sense. *Gsang* here seems to refer to a special group of officials.

⁸⁶ PT 1333, copy of the introduction of a letter.

⁸⁷ On Gnyi ba Khyung stang, see the chapter on the structure of names.

This was regarded as an act of piety, as evidenced by the inscription on the back of PT 1658,⁸⁸ which reads: *dpe rnying 'di dag hlan*⁸⁹ *ba'i yon mang ngo* "The offering of uniting (patching) these old manuscripts is manifold". The rewritten pages are easily recognized, as they were copied on paper that had been prepared with inked lines, as stated above.

Who received the SP3/1Tk at Dunhuang is documented on a number of subscripts, such as: *brang kun nos pa'*, "Brang Kun received (it)" (IOL Tib J 109.8); *brang kun lan cig nos te bris/* "Brang Kun having received it once, wrote it" (PT 1642). From the latter note it is also clear that he not only received the SP3/1 but also rewrote pages. Only four columns of this scripture are extant and the rewritten pages were lost. Brang Kun⁹⁰ was already a member of the scriptorium at Dunhuang in 808. At times it is only evident that pages were rewritten due to the expression 'so and so wrote it once' (IOL Tib J 1755,⁹¹ and IOL Tib J 1537). In case of the former manuscript, it is clear that this took place at Dunhuang as Im Klu legs is included in the list of scribes of Dunhuang (PT 1648). As far as can be discerned from the extant manuscripts, these rewritten pages were for the most part edited only once. The scribal notes of PT 1634 show no evidence that pages were exchanged. However, this does not necessarily mean that this had not been done, as at times scribal notes referring to this process were written on the back of the exchanged sheets themselves, as in PT 1656 where the editors signed there.⁹²

Unlike in the case of SP3/2, where pages were rewritten because the originals were faulty, the pages of SP3/1 were instead rewritten due to paper damage.

As the scribal notes of PT 1642 show all features of an SP3/1 subscript, it is depicted with a transliteration and commentary below.

The numerals in () parentheses show the order in which the notes were made.

(5) *brang kun lan cig nos te bris/*

Brang Kun having received it once, wrote it,

(6) *yang brtan khrom kong lan cig brgyabs*

Yang brtan Khrom kong did it one time

⁸⁸ The remnants of this scripture consist of 34 columns consisting of following sheets: one new, six old, three new, eight old of very yellow colour, one new, ten old, fly leaf pale new lined paper.

⁸⁹ *Hlan* should be regarded as a scribal error for *lhan*.

⁹⁰ Concerning the structure of his name, see section 2 above.

⁹¹ This manuscript is not included in the table. Mo zom Klu bzher wrote the original.

⁹² Therefore, it is clear that Khrom zigs and Legsnang were editors of Dunhuang.

(3) <|| *gtom legs bzhre dang skya tsa khyi bal gyis zhus so* ||
Gtom Legs bzher and Skya tsa Khyi bal edited it.

(7) *khrom-zigs gyis zhus /*
Khrom zigs edited it,

(2) <|| *mo zom klu bzhre gyis so/*

By Mo zom Klu bzher.

(4) *ser yo khrom zigs gyis zhu
chen*

by Ser yo Khrom zigs,
main editor

(?) </ *zhu chen lags so /*
main edited;

(/: / *sha cu sar?(smar?) gog ru? nye? -i -i gya? +14)? possibly unrelated*

(1) <|| *rog thom thang kar du mo zom klu bzhre gyis bris te 'og zhus lagso*
In Thang kar in / of Rog thom Mo zom Klu bzher wrote it and later corrected it.

Commentary:

Mo zom Klu bzher wrote the original and signed at the bottom of the page (1). Above, he indicated that he had done the corrections (2). Then the manuscript was edited a second time (3). Ser yo Khrom zigs carried out the final revision (4).

At Dunhuang, Bran Kun, a senior scribe, received the manuscript and rewrote pages (5). He placed his note at the top, as was customary at Dunhuang. Whether Yang brtan rewrote pages or edited them is not evident (6). Khrom zigs revised the rewritten pages (7). Possibly he also carried out the final revision (?). It is apparent that the scribes and editors at Dunhuang placed their notes from top to bottom in the remaining spaces.

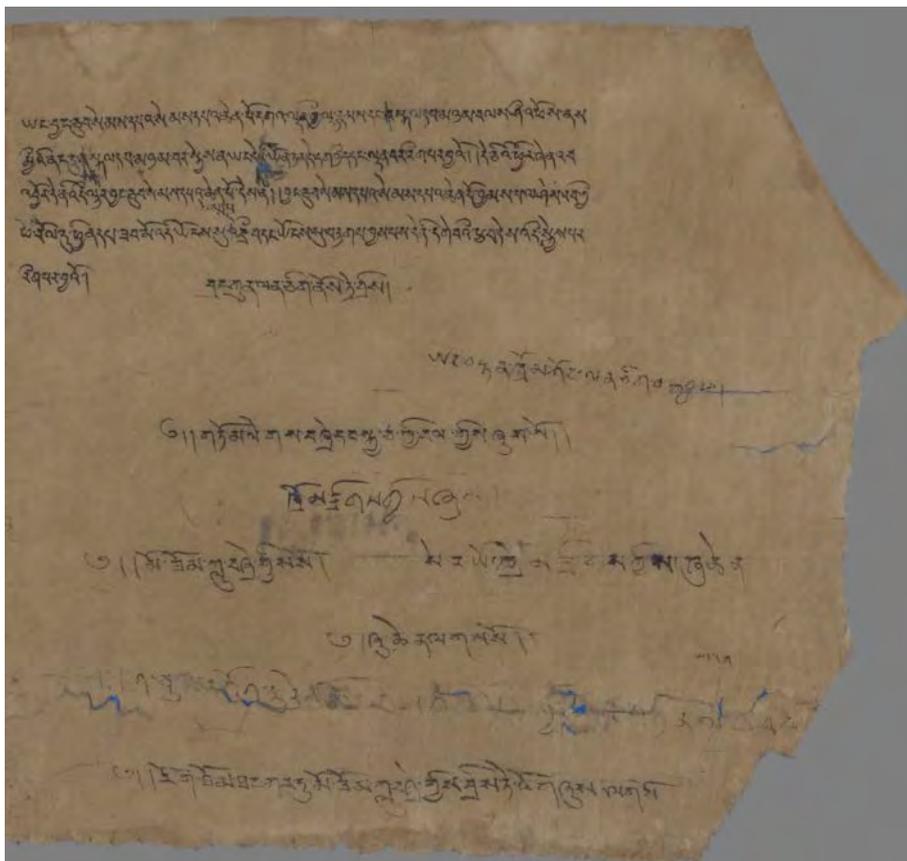


Fig. 2 – PT 1642, end. Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

4.3. The Connection of SP3/1Tk with SP1

As already noted above, two editors of SP3/1Tk also copied scriptures in SP1 format. Three others, whose connection to Thang kar is not evident, worked on SP3/1 and SP1 as well. Tshar long Khong rtsan edited PT 1312, f. 21 (SP1) and acted as editor or copyist on J 1523 (SP3/1).⁹³ Tshab shi Lha bu wrote PT 1301, f. 42b an SP1 and PT 1590 (SP3/1). He is the sole scribe named in the latter text.⁹⁴ That is, nobody

⁹³ It is a fragment (31.5 x 45 cm) and parts of the right side of the paper are not extant. Cog-ro Thor la khong and Skya tsa x (his personal name is not extant) also worked on this scripture. Lcor Zla brtan and Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse wrote panels, which had been exchanged.

⁹⁴ It is written vertically on the fly leaf; another inscription to the right of it is crossed out; 23 old columns repaired on the back with lined paper (once).

edited this scripture. Ya ri Khri spo features as copyist on PT 1299, f. 23b, an SP1. 76 sheets of the scripture are extant. It carries two paginations.⁹⁵ Ya ri Khri spo is the only copyist who signed on PT 1608. Two and a half 'old' columns are extant written on medium yellow unlined paper and showing no corrections. At a distance from the *sūtra* text, the following note is written: "'U tsang Phan legs edited it". >/:/ 'u tsang #g#phan legs zhus /⁹⁶ followed below at a distance, in paler ink: "written by Ya ri Khri spo </ / ya ri khri spos bris / /". The scripture is written in the same hand as PT 1299, f. 23.

This is a good example of what a subscript of an SP3/1 looked like before the scribes and editors who replaced columns and subsequently edited them, wrote their names in the subscript. Here the editor's signature is above the signature of the scribe as in the example depicted above. However, it is not certain whether 'U tsang 'Phan legs edited the scroll at the same place at which it was copied or at Dunhuang. He features as editor on a number of 'old' SP3/1. On some, his name can be seen on the repaired part on 'new' paper.⁹⁷ Therefore, he either moved to Dunhuang after revising this roll, or the manuscript was edited there, or somebody else copied his signature because it had been on the original. The signature of Ya ri Khri spo as a copyist on PT 1624 is deleted. Another person signed as scribe and editor below. As the manuscript is a fragment, it is impossible to explain why.

Thus, five scribes worked on SP3/1 and SP1 but only Ser yu Khrom zigs and Gnyi ba Khyung stang are connected to Thang kar of Rog thom. The former was directly, the latter indirectly connected, via 'Gong bom Yul byin, who also edited PT 1649 which was written at Thang kar.⁹⁸

It has always been suggested that all SP1 were copied in the same place. They share a format as well as the wording of the scribal notes. But a number of them have two paginations, while the others are not paginated at all. Moreover, two bear copied colophons. One of them features, along with others, Vairocana, the other features Ye shes sde as editor.⁹⁹ Thus, the model texts that SP1 were copied from must come

⁹⁵ One pagination is deleted and replaced with another system of page numbers. Dotson 2015 made a study of these two conventions.

⁹⁶ Letters entered between two # mean that these were deleted by the scribe.

⁹⁷ He features as editor of 15 texts of the Pelliot collection and two of the British Library collection and copied one SP3. The style of his signature on this text differs from the one on PT 1618, where it is in careless cursive. If all SP3 subscripts with his signature were studied carefully, it may be possible to retrace his career.

⁹⁸ It is likely that Mo zom Klu bzher is meant on the same manuscript. But as it is damaged, only Mo zom is extant. Thus, theoretically Mo zom 'Dron kong, the copyist of J 109.14, could be the person who wrote his name.

⁹⁹ PT 1311 and PT 1312 respectively. Dotson identified these scribal notes as copied colophons, Dotson 2013/2014: 20. Vairocana—a famous translator of Indian texts

from two distinct editions or indeed the originals may have been jointly edited by these personages. Neither manuscript is paginated.

4.4. *The Connection between Thang kar and Dunhuang*

A copy of the beginning of the answer of a petition in the form of an informal letter from Thang kar to Dunhuang (Shazhou) was written on the back of one of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*:¹⁰⁰ *rog thom kyi tar kar nas/ bkye'i phyag rgya phogste/ sha cu'i rtse rje dang rgya sde gnyis kyi dpon sna la spring no// dir ngo phral bde shang shun gyis gsol na* “From Thar kar in Rog thom, the seal of dispatch having been impressed, message to the town prefect (*rtse rje*) of Shazhou and the dignitaries of the two Chinese units: After Bde Shang Shun has petitioned here now”.

The petitioner is Shang Shun, who is probably the scribe Chang Run of the list of scribes dated 808 (see Table 1). He copied PT 1596—an SP3/2—using the usual transliteration of his name into Tibetan Shang Zhun. The introductory lines above contain errors. The copyist wrote Thar kar instead of Thang kar and it is not clear whether Bde should be the Tibetan given name of Shang shun or an error for *ban de*. Shang Shun and Shang Zhun are probably the same person; *sha* and *zha* as well as *ra* and *nga* are easily confused, especially when written carelessly. Moreover, the copyist may not have been familiar with the toponym and name.

The structure of the letter shows that Shang Shun—a resident of Dunhuang—had written a request to some institution or authority in Thang kar and the lines above are the beginning of the answer to the authorities of Dunhuang.¹⁰¹ It is not possible to date the original of this letter. It was certainly written after the population of Dunhuang was divided into units (*sde*) in 790.

4.5. *Why is Thang kar in the Qinghai/Kokonor Region?*

Iwao has already suggested that the roll-type SP must have originated in a region where Chinese and Tibetan cultures merged, since the roll type was the Chinese way of compiling scriptures while the *pothi*

into Tibetan under Emperor Khri Srong lde brtsan—is mentioned on the colophon of Mdo 'grel X,2 as translator of the SP (Lalou 1957).

¹⁰⁰ IOL Tib J 848. Only one column of the *sūtra* is extant. It was copied on lined paper. It has not been catalogued yet.

¹⁰¹ Takeuchi 1990 offers a detailed overview of the classification and meaning of the introductory lines of contemporary letters.

format was used in Tibet.¹⁰² This area was the Qinghai/Kokonor region. This can be substantiated by a note on the back of an SP.¹⁰³ On the back of column 8, between line 5 and 6, it carries following note: *'di nas phreng bzhi po ga cu pa'i dpe las ma byung ste lhag pa myi dra nas bzhag*. "As the four lines below do not appear in the manuscript of the people from Hezhou,¹⁰⁴ and are additions which do not correspond, they are set aside". This shows that the model text for this *sūtra* came from Hezhou, situated near modern-day Linxia in south-western Gansu province.

PT 1165 bears another clue.¹⁰⁵ It is a fragment of an official document, which was glued to the back of the top left corner of a roll to strengthen it.¹⁰⁶ It mentions an assembly of dignitaries¹⁰⁷ of Dbyar mo thang (*khrom*)¹⁰⁸—the place in which it convened is lost due to paper damage—and another assembly at Lcag rtse. It appears to deal with a legal aspect concerning a Tibetan's pastures. After the case was settled, the scribe used the manuscript to strengthen the roll. This means that the roll was repaired in the vicinity of Lcag rtse. It was known as Shibaocheng 石堡城 by the Chinese and was situated south-east of Lake Qinghai.¹⁰⁹ If all imported scriptures came from one place, the roll was

¹⁰² Iwao 2013.

¹⁰³ The manuscript is kept in Hexi. It is only known through the catalogue entry of Huang Wenhua 1982: 96, no. 315: "Subscript to SP3 28.3 x 338 cm, 16 columns of varying size, 20 lines per column; it has been mounted, in other words repaired in many places with the same type of paper as the sutra. On the back, between columns two and three: 4th *dum bu* of SP".

¹⁰⁴ Dotson 2013/2014 took Ga cu as Guazhou which is certainly not the case.

¹⁰⁵ 21 x 11 cm. Published in transliteration, translation and commentary in Taenzer 2012: 82.

¹⁰⁶ Lalou 1961.

¹⁰⁷ Takeuchi 1995: 24ff. states that the locations of assemblies of the *khrom*, including the dignitaries convening them, were combined with the twelve-year-cycle and were used in contracts to specify the date. Before this entry, the place of the residence of the emperor is even stated. This manuscript is not the fragment of a contract but a fragment of a legal document. The text is transliterated, translated and commented on in Taenzer 2012: 82ff.

¹⁰⁸ *Khrom* were military governments established in the borderlands Uray 1980. "The region Dbyar mo thang, which frequently occurs not only in ancient records but also in the geographic literature and especially in the religious and heroic epic, was at all times thought to be found in the neighbourhood of lake Qinghai", Uray 1980: 313.

¹⁰⁹ In the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (chapter on the Tibetans, year 822 = Changqing 長慶 2) it is stated that the Tibetans called Shibaocheng (lit: "Stone-fort-city") Tiedaocheng 鐵刀城 that is "Iron-sword-city". It is stated in the *Old Tibetan Annals* (translated with commentary in Dotson 2009) that the stronghold Lcags rtse "Iron peak" was retaken in the winter(?) of the snake year (741–742). According to the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, Shibaocheng was conquered by the Tibetans in the 12th month of Kaiyuan 開元 29 (early 742). These two points should be sufficient proof that Shibaocheng

repaired with certainty at Thang kar, which consequently was situated in the Qinghai/Kokonor region.

5. Time Frame of the *sūtra* Copying Project at Dunhuang

As a guideline for the time frame of the *sūtra* copying project at Dunhuang, Dotson used the entries of scribes who indicated the years they rewrote columns of SP3/2 and IOL Tib J 1359. The latter manuscript consists of two parts: an order to hand in the completed sheets of SP still owed by a monkey year and a list of the scribes' names belonging to one of the three military units of Shazhou who had received paper for this work in the preceding horse and sheep years. However, he did not differentiate between these two indicators.¹¹⁰

Since only three scribes of SP3/2 can be attributed to one of the military units, the paper distributed to members of the three military units for copying SP in a horse and sheep year cannot have been for copying SP3/2. It must have been distributed for copying SP2, which were in *pothī* format (20 x 70 cm). Cang Hig hig, Ha Stag slebs and Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse rewrote pages of SP3/2 as well as copying SP2.

Whether the process of copying SP2 referred to in IOL Tib J 1359 was continued in the following two years is unclear but it is possible, as the settlement was done every two years in the Tibetan accounting system.¹¹¹ Thus, the account of pages 2–4 of IOL Tib J 1359 may only have been an intermediate balance.

It cannot be said whether SP2 and SP3/2 were produced in the same era or not. They share the wording of the scribal notes and some of the personnel. *Dge slong* Shang ben edited SP3/2 and SP2. It suggests that SP3/2 predate the project of SP2: firstly, because the format—roll type—follows Chinese tradition, secondly because it is most certain that Je'u Brtan kong rewrote SP3/2 before he became *rub ma pa* for the preservation of SP2, and finally because 'Phan la skyes—one of the senior editors—did not proof-read SP2, Wang Cvan and Shang zhun two of the senior scribes did not copy SP2. However, Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse signed as Jin Mdo tse on an SP2 and received paper as Jin 'Do tse.¹¹² This would mean that the copying of SP2 preceded his work of rewriting parts of SP3/1,¹¹³ and SP3/2, where he is known as Jin Lha

is Lcag rtse. The chapter on Tibet of the *Xin Tangshu* and *Jiu Tangshu* are translated in Bushell 1880.

¹¹⁰ Dotson 2013/2014.

¹¹¹ Iwao 2011 shows this using the accounting system of the granary record in S. 1067+PT 1111.

¹¹² According to IOL Tib J 1359.

¹¹³ PT 1576.

bzang 'Do tse, or Jin Lha bzang, respectively. Thus SP3/2 were still being repaired while the SP2 project was already in progress.

The question of the year when the work on SP2 and SP3/2 began cannot be answered conclusively, but it must have been before the horse year mentioned in IOL Tib J 1359. Although it is not exactly clear when this manuscript was written—sometime during the sheep year or at the beginning of the monkey year—it seems to document the pages which still had not been completed by the scribes. That is, the paper had been distributed, pages had been copied and handed in, but the task had not been completed. This can be seen by the number of sheets still owed—some scribes had to complete only three pages, others 30. Another indication that the above-mentioned manuscript documents a situation in the middle of an ongoing project is that the scribes had not only received paper, but also ink. Some received ink in the horse year, some in the sheep year and some not at all. Thus, the latter must have already been given their ink in the snake year or before, meaning that copying SP as a donation of the emperor must have begun before the horse year.¹¹⁴

Is there a connection to the eight sets of SP copied in a horse year referred to in PT 1128? It is a manuscript concerning the settlement of accounts of the tribute of the people of Dunhuang. A problem arose, as the signatures of the *rtse rje* (town prefect), *gnas brtan* (elder, senior member of the clergy)¹¹⁵ and the scribes were not complete and thus the cost for the work on the SP could not be deducted from the tribute.¹¹⁶ On top of this, a debt of 48158 sheets of paper had accumulated over seven years on their tribute account. It was demanded in the following monkey year, just as the final call for completion of the SP referred to in IOL Tib J 1359 was the third day of the first autumn month of a monkey year. This could mean that the production of *sūtras* was intended to continue on a large scale. SP2 were copied before and after the horse year mentioned in IOL Tib J 1359.¹¹⁷ If the horse year,

¹¹⁴ Feng Zairong (alias Bung Dze weng) –a senior scribe– had 200 sheets of paper, designated as donation of scriptures, at his disposal in a dragon year (that is two years earlier), PT 1078: Takeuchi 1995, text 13.

¹¹⁵ It is not certain that the term *gnas brtan* denotes a post within the clergy as Imaeda, PT 999 suggests. Hongbian was at the end of Tibetan rule the *dujiaoshou* 都教授 of Dunhuang, which in Tibetan corresponds to *mkhan po chen po*. However, in PT 999 he is referred to as *gnas brtan ban de*. Here it should not be Sanskrit: *sthavira* as this denotes members of an early Hīnayāna school.

¹¹⁶ The second and third paragraph of IOL Tib J 1254—a collection of copies of letters of the clergy of Dunhuang addressed to the authorities—refer to SP having been commissioned in a horse year in which it is stated that the payment in kind for the scribes and editors had not been supplied yet, may refer to the same incident.

¹¹⁷ Dotson 2013/2014. gives more reasons for the horse year being 826. But he did not realise that the project must have started before that year.

mentioned in the latter manuscript and in PT 1128,¹¹⁸ refer to the same year, it should be the year 826, due to the huge amount of paper still planned to be used. In this case, the project may have started just after the Tibetan/Chinese peace treaty in the tiger year 822, perhaps to make up for the bad *karma* accumulated in wartime. If the horse year refers to the year 838, the account of IOL Tib J 1359 marks the end of the project of copying SP2. If so, the harsh punishments, which were threatened for non-completion of the work in the monkey year, were understandable.

As far as the dates provided for the rewriting of sheets in SP3/2, only the tiger year can be identified with certainty as 834. Additional evidence in favour of the earlier date of J 1359 is provided by the appointment of Je'u Brtan kong as *rub ma pa* and the suggestion that, afterwards, he only signed as Brtan kong/gong. In 834 he signed using his personal name only. Thus, all other manuscripts in which he signed with his full name must have been written before that. Then he rewrote pages of IOL Tib J 109.21 in 827 and PT 1629 in 828, when his promotion took place as well.

The manuscripts cited above (IOL Tib J 1359, PT 1128 and IOL Tib J 1254) all refer to the copying of SP2.

No matter how the manuscripts above are dated, one can be sure that a lot of resources and energy went into the work of copying SP and AN during the reign of Khri Gstug lde brtsan.

6. Summary and Conclusion

This Table highlights original research laid out in this paper.

Table 4

SP1	SP3/1
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – some were copied at Thang kar and brought to Dunhuang – five scribes worked on SP3/1 as well as on SP1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – wording used in subscripts as in SP1 – SP3/1Tk were copied at Thang kar and brought to Dunhuang

¹¹⁸ Another problem is that the year of the death of Khri Gtsug lde brtsan is not undisputed. It is 838, according to some Chinese sources, and 841 in the Tibetan tradition. Following the former date, it would be unlikely that the horse year of PT 1128 or IOL Tib J 1359 is 838, as both documents must have been written at the end of the following sheep year or the beginning of the ape year (840) when Glang Dhar ma was already in power for two years.

SP2	SP3/2
– cost of production deducted from tribute contributions	– wording used in subscripts as in SP2 – written at Dunhuang on paper prepared with inked lines

This preliminary investigation focused on two roll-type SP, SP3/2 produced at Dunhuang and the roll-type SP3/1Tk produced at Thang kar and restored at Dunhuang, and its relation to SP1. Further research is necessary to find out whether the bulk of the SP3/1 also came from Thang kar. A detailed look at each roll is necessary in order to trace their provenance. The tables included in this paper could be helpful in comparing the scribal notes of editors and scribes appearing on them.

The question of why and when SP3/1 came to Dunhuang remains unanswered. As the restorers themselves referred to them as “old manuscripts”, one would suggest that they were old indeed. To our knowledge, no published research examines the stability of the types of paper used, and it is therefore difficult to tell how long it took for them to deteriorate. Moreover, nothing is known about storage conditions of SP in Thang kar or elsewhere. The Qinghai/Kokonor region is more humid than Dunhuang. The SP3/1 might have come with Reb kong Gtsug la tor, who signed as copyist on a number of SP3/1, but also signed on PT 1556 as the person who finalised it.¹¹⁹ This manuscript shows all of the features of SP3/1 repaired at Dunhuang, except one: the format shows inked lines like SP3/2. The editors and scribes of the repaired sheets lived at Dunhuang and are also known to have contributed to the restoration of other SP3/1. Moreover, it was repaired with sheets of SP2 paper.¹²⁰ The entry in the catalogue on IOL Tib J 1496 shows Reb kong Gtsug la tor’s name on the same manuscript as the names of a Chinese scribe and three Chinese editors of AN, who lived at Dunhuang.¹²¹ Unfortunately, this manuscript has not yet been digitised and its format is not yet described, and thus it cannot be ascertained that Reb kong Gtsug la tor really spent time at Dunhuang.

¹¹⁹ The signature shows one feature, which he often used: it looks like as if there was not enough ink in his pen.

¹²⁰ Iwao 2013 classified it as SP3 repaired at Dunhuang. Lalou classified it as “*refait*”, apparently due to the inked lines.

¹²¹ Matko and van Schaik 2013: 4; for example, PT 3585, an AN, was edited by Leng ce’u, who features along with others on many AN, and Shin dar. These two occur with Reb kong Gtsug la tor on IOL Tib J 1496. According to Lewis Doney (personal communication), it is an AN but the inscription “*reb kong la tor bris/ reb kong gtsug la tor kyi mchid ...*”, “Reb-kong La-tor wrote it; the ... of Reb kong Gtsug la tor”, should not be part of the end-colophon of the AN (see Dotson and Doney, forthcoming). Thus, it might be a writing exercise.

He may have moved back and forth and thus introduced the format with inked lines to other regions. If this is true, however, the term 'old' could be relative and also refer to a time span of only ten to twenty years.

It should be kept in mind that *sūtras* always had a sponsor.¹²² A number of manuscripts document the fact that the cost of SP2 was deducted from the tribute payments. As tribute was the 'income of the emperor', he therefore indirectly sponsored them.¹²³ Scribal notes on the back of SP1 indicate on the one hand that they were sent to Kva cu (Guazhou), and on the other that they were made for the support of Kva cu,¹²⁴ yet the sponsor is not known. Lalou was of the opinion that SP1 were sent to Gansu to serve as model texts.¹²⁵ Dotson refuted this by saying that their destination was Guazhou, just like the destination of SP2 who were sent there to be re-edited.¹²⁶ The fact is that SP1 were discovered at Dunhuang and thus may have reached it via Guazhou. SP3/1 have a similar problem: it is neither known who sponsored them nor whether they once comprised one or more editions. Even if repairs were carried out as an offering, someone must have had to pay for the paper and ink. Further research may find a solution.

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aparimitāyur-nāma sūtra</i>
IOL Tib J	India Office Library Tibetan J: Tibetan manuscript from Dunhuang kept in the British Library, London
IOL Tib N	India Office Library Tibetan N: Tibetan woodslip from Khotan or Miran kept in the British Library, London
H	Manuscript kept at Hexi, cited from Huang 1982
K	Entry cited from Karlgren 1957: modern pronunciation, K: number of Character group and variant in alphabetical order, Archaic form / Ancient Chinese form
PT	Pelliot Tibétain, Tibetan manuscript from Dunhuang in the Pelliot collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
S.	Or.8210/S. Chinese manuscript from Dunhuang in the

¹²² Examples of the sponsoring of mass production of Buddhist texts in the 16th century are documented in Dunhuang manuscripts, Drège 1991: 198.

¹²³ See Taenzer 2012: 225 for references to tribute (*dpya'*) payments in Old Tibetan manuscripts.

¹²⁴ PT 1300, 68r and PT 1312,31v: Dotson remarks about the latter note, which reads: *kva cu 'i rkyen du phul*, that it may also mean that these SP were offered to the emperor by Guazhou, Dotson 2013/2014: 21.

¹²⁵ Lalou 1954.

¹²⁶ Dotson 2013/2014: 52 and 63.

SP1	Stein collection kept at the British Library, London <i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in <i>pothī</i> format (75 x 25 cm)
SP2	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in <i>pothī</i> format (70 x 20 cm)
SP3/1	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in roll format,
SP3/1Tk	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in roll format, copied at Thang kar
SP3/2	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in roll format copied at Dunhuang

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The Call of the Siren: *Bod, Baútidos, Baítai,* and Related Names (Studies in Historical Geography II)

Bettina Zeisler

(Universität Tübingen)

1. Introduction

Geographical or ethnical names, like ethnical identities, are like slippery fishes: one can hardly catch them, even less, pin them down for ever. The ‘Germans’, for example, are called so only by English speakers. The name may have belonged to a tribe in Belgium, but was then applied by the Romans to various tribes of Northern Europe.¹ As a tribal or linguistic label, ‘German (ic)’ also applies to the English or to the Dutch, the latter bearing in English the same designation that the Germans claim for themselves: ‘deutsch’. This by the way, may have meant nothing but ‘being part of the people’.² The French call them ‘Allemands’, just because one of the many Germanic – and in that case, German – tribes, the Allemannen, settled in their neighbourhood. The French, on the other hand, are called so, because a Germanic and, in that case again, German tribe, the ‘Franken’ (originally meaning the ‘avid’, ‘audacious’, later the ‘free’ people) moved into France, and became the ruling elite.³

The situation is similar or even worse in other parts of the world. Personal names may become ethnic names, as in the case of the Tuyuhun.⁴ Names of neighbouring tribes might be projected onto their overlords, as in the case of the Ḥaža, who were conquered by the Tuyuhun, the latter then being called Ḥaža by the Tibetans. Ethnic names may become geographical names, but then, place names may travel along with ethnic groups. If sticking to the place, ethnic names may attach to new in-coming groups, as in the case of the Sogdians, whose name became attached to some Mongolian people: as the latter

¹ See URL 1. A list of URLs in order of their appearance is provided after the references.

² See URL 2.

³ See URL 3.

⁴ Molè 1970: xiii.

arrived in the place that was formerly associated with the Sogdians, they were called *Sog.po* by the Tibetans. We find the name *Cīna* in the *Mahābhārata* or the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, not for ‘China’ or ‘Chinese’ as many translations would have it, but most likely originally for some place or people in the Pamirs, possibly under Chinese suzerainty; later the same people (or only their name?) are apparently attested in Kinnaur.⁵ By contrast, one can find in Greek sources the name *Taugast* for *Taugats* < *Ταβγατ* (~ *Taqbač*) used by the Turks for China,⁶ apparently referring retrospectively to the time when the latter was ruled by the *Tuoba* (*Taqbač*) or Northern Wei (386 to 534).⁷

I don’t think this is a new insight. Aldenderfer, e.g., writes that ethnicity “can be both ascribed by outsiders as well as generated within some group. As such, it is highly fluid, situational, and subject to great variability”.⁸ Recent ethnographic research has emphasised the vagueness of the terms *Tibet*, *Tibetan*, *Tibetanness*, and *Tibetan culture*, mostly when dealing with ethnic groups at the fringes of the so-called ‘Tibetan cultural sphere’. Nevertheless, for a long time, all this has been, and still tends to be, forgotten when dealing with *the* Tibetans in history. There has been, and still is, a strong tendency to perceive them as having been all the time the same people at the same place, that is, all over the Tibetan Plateau, and as always having been called, or even always having referred to themselves, with the same name. If possible ancestors are discussed, at all, there is similarly only one single candidate, the Sino-Tibetan/ Tibeto-Burman *Qiang*, often enough treated as a mere synonym.

In a similar vein, hardly anybody doubts that the Greek designation *Βαῖται/ Baītai*, as found in Ptolemaios’ 2nd century description of Central Asia, and the Kashmīrī designation *Bhauṭṭa*, as appearing in the 12th century *Rājataranṅinī*, are foreign renderings of the Tibetan ethnonym *Bod*, even though this assumption has never been proven. One of the rare exceptions, critical to this position, is de La Vaissière,⁹ see further below.

Two exemplary citations from Laufer and Kaschewski, one from the beginnings of serious Tibetan studies and the other a more contemporary one, may suffice:

The Tibetans designate themselves *Bod* (Sanskrit *Bhota*), and Ptolemy knows them by the name *Βαῖται* inhabiting [!] the river *Bautisos*, identified with the Upper Yellow River. The

⁵ See Tucci 1971; 1977: 82.

⁶ See Chavannes 1900: 230, n.2.

⁷ See URL 4.

⁸ Aldenderfer 2017: 2.

⁹ de La Vaissière 2009.

present territory of Western Kansu and Sichuan was the cradle of the Tibetan branch which moved from there westward into the present territory of Tibet, probably during the first centuries of our era.¹⁰

There is evidence that the name *Baūtai* is derived from the Indian *Bhota*, the latter word stemming from *bod*, the proper name of Tibetans from antiquity. The river Bautisos might be the Tsangpo, the main river of Central Tibet. Ptolemy seems to have been familiar with Tibetan customs, although we are yet to determine what cultures and languages mediated such knowledge.¹¹

Kaschewski overlooks that the Greek travellers and geographers could not have encountered a form *Bhota* or *Bhoṭa* in the 2nd c CE, if the first variants of the Indian designation were *Bhautṭa* or *Bhāṭṭa*. From a geographical point of view it is more than surprising how the Baütisos could have ever been associated with the Brahmaputra or Yar.kluñs Rtsañs.po of Central Tibet.

From a linguistic point of view, one may wonder how the Greek and Indian forms could have been derived from a Tibetan word – or how the Tibetan word should have looked like initially: an original initial *b* would hardly have turned into a *bh*¹² and a final dental *t* or *d* would most probably not turn into a (double) retroflex *ṭ(t)*, as in the case of the *Bhautṭa* or the present day *Bhoṭa* or *Bhoṭia*. An original plain *o* would most likely not turn into an *au* (except in an attempt at Sanskritisation, reverting the natural sound change), not to speak of an *ai* or an *ā*. But which original vowel or diphthong should we assume? The question of the original vowel would depend on the question when and where could the Indians have come into contact with people being called, or calling themselves, something like *bod* or, for that matter, *bhaut*. It would likewise depend on the question when (and where) did the 'Tibetans'-to-be start to call themselves *bod* (see also section 4)? Any positive answer would, by necessity, be circular.¹³

¹⁰ Laufer 1914: 162.

¹¹ Kaschewski 2001: 4.

¹² This might perhaps have happened at a comparatively recent time, when voiced initials not 'protected' by a prefix developed into low tone, semi-aspirated, voiceless initials, although they might well have been perceived as aspirated voiceless initials. Unfortunately, nobody knows when and where this development of devoicing started, and whether the Indians could have taken notice of it.

¹³ Nathan W. Hill, who believes a) in the corruption of the name *Baūtai* and thus in a 'correct' **Baūtai*, and b) in the relationship with Tibetan *bod*, refers in this context to the Fā Qiāng (發羌), whose name would likewise contain a rounded vowel, see Hill 2006: 88. These people are believed by some late Chinese sources to be the founders of the 'Tibetans'-to-be.

If there is an identity between the names, at all, then the Tibetan word *bod* could well be the derived one, because an initial original *bh* might be interpreted as *b* in Tibetan,¹⁴ an *au* (though not an *ai*) would automatically become *o*, a final retroflex *t* would similarly have turned automatically into a dental *t*, written as *d*. Historical linguists might say that we perished in the arms of the *Sirene des Gleichklangs* (the Siren of phonetic similarity).¹⁵

Nevertheless, the apparent similarity of these names makes it difficult to believe in mere coincidence. I shall thus argue that the Tibetans acquired the name *bod* from some of their neighbours, either because they, that is, the ruling elite, was, or wanted to be, associated with these neighbours or because the name was transferred upon them by outsiders. A further name, that of the Bhaṭa Hor, settling in Gansu, seems to belong to the same set. I shall first discuss the Baitai and the river Bautisos in section 2. Subsequently, section 3 will deal with the Bhauṭa (var. Bhāṭa, Bhaṭa, Bhuṭa) of the 12th century *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, which were in all likelihood a non-Tibetan tribe, as well as with the possibly related Bhatta or Bhattavaryân of Turkic origin, who settled in or near Gilgit. A rather brief note on the references to the various entities called *bod* in Old Tibetan documents follows in section 4. This will be followed in section 5 by a discussion of the Fā Qiāng, putative ancestors or founders of the Tibetans and on Fánmí, son of Tūfā Lìlùgū, another putative founder of Xianbei/ Tuyuhun, that is, Mongolic origin. Section 6 will deal with the Bhaṭa Hor and their protector deity Pe.har(a) as well as with other names in *-hor* or *-hara*. As a conclusion, some hypotheses about the possible relations between all these names will follow in section 7. Digressions on two more Ptolemaian names,

N. W. Hill wants to follow Beckwith 1977: 1–6, according to whom the character 發 (simplified 发) would have been “pronounced something like *bwat*”. Beckwith 1977: 5, however, is initially somewhat more cautious. He gives the pronunciation as “/b’uât/, /b’wât/, /p’iwat/ (etc.)”. Unfortunately, vowels and vocalic glides are particularly difficult to reconstruct, and so the rounded vowel glide is all but certain. For the element Fā 發, the Chinese Text Project gives the Middle Chinese (Tang) reconstruction as *biæt (URL 5), which is, in fact, closer to the Greek rendering *Baítai*. Wikimedia lists the following reconstructions: Middle Chinese */puæt/ (Zhengzhang Shangfang) or */puæt/ (Pulleyblank) or */p’iæt/ (Wang Li) or */p’iwæt/ (Karlgren), as well as Old Chinese */Cə.pat/ (Baxter and Sagart), see URL 6.

Whatever the correct reconstruction, it is by no means clear that the Fā Qiāng (發羌) have anything to do with the ‘Tibetans’-to-be. This question will be taken up in section 5.

¹⁴ The aspiration might possibly have triggered a perception of the initial as not being fully voiced or as not being prenasalised, hence a rendering without the *h* preinitial.

¹⁵ For this often-repeated metaphor see Hoefler 1839: 26.

the *Βύλται*, Býltai and the *Δαβάσαι*, Dabásai will be found in Appendix A and Appendix B.

The problem of fluidity or internal complexity not only holds for large ethnical groups, such as the Qiang or the Tibetans, but also for each of the smaller subgroups, such as tribes, clans, or even families. As I cannot avoid referring to these groups and subgroups as if they were homogeneous units, because otherwise, I could not talk about them, I, nevertheless, hope that I can avoid essentialising them. Where I fail, the reader is kindly requested to mentally undo any such notion of homogeneity and identity.

Before going on, it seems to be necessary to spend a few lines on the question how to write or transliterate foreign names. There is a growing tendency in academic writing to dispense with diacritic signs, whether they refer to tones, vowel quantity, vowel quality, or special consonants. I am not quite convinced that this always furthers the progress of understanding. In the context of this investigation, exact name forms are in many cases crucial for the argument, in other cases, the use of diacritics also signals the kind of respect towards foreign cultures, personages, and languages, that I would expect for my own culture and language (in the particular case of German, the Umlaute *ä*, *ö*, and *ü*, or the sharp *s*/ *eszett* *ß*).

Indian names thus require the distinction of vowel length (with a macron on the latter: *ā*, *ī*, *ū*), the distinction of dental and retroflex consonants (with a dot below the latter: *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*, *ʃ*), the distinction of various nasals (*ṅ* (*ng*), *ṅ̃* (*ny*), *ṇ*, *n*, *m*, and *m̃* for nasalisation), the distinction of three sibilants: dental *s*, retroflex *ʃ*, palatal *ś*, and the distinction of consonantal and vocalic *r* and *l* (with a dot below the latter). I shall compromise only on a few modern place names, where *ś* will be rendered as *sh*, *ṅ* as *ng*, but vowel length and retroflexes will be kept.

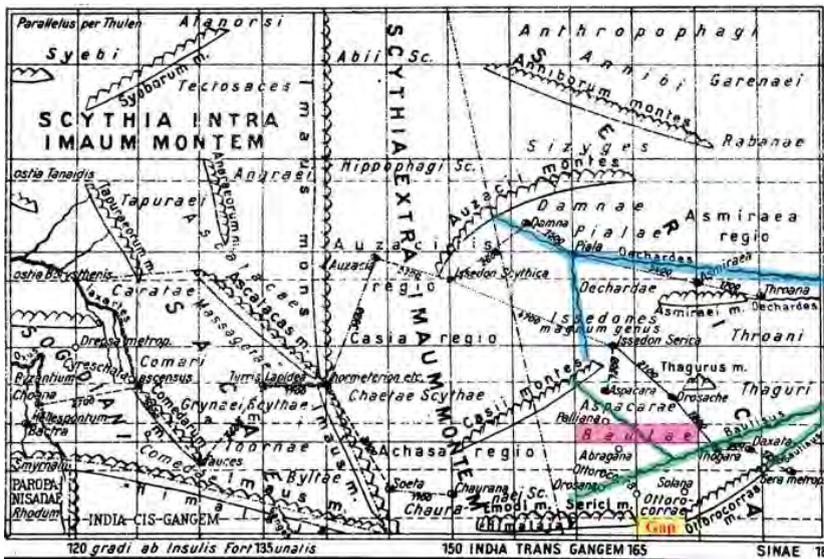
Transliteration of Old and Classical Tibetan names will basically follow the same principles, with *ž* and *š* for the sibilants *ʐ* and *ʃ*, and *ḥ* for the (originally voiced, velar, postvelar, or even laringal) consonant *ɣ*. Syllable boundaries within words, but not between words, will be indicated by a dot.

Following a recommendation by the editors, most Chinese names will be given in simplified pinyin. Only in special cases, Chinese characters and tone marks will be given.

2. *Baitai and Baütisos – the Central Asian Perspective*

The *Baítai* are first mentioned by the 2nd century Greek geographer Ptolemaios in his description of the land *Serike*, or the Scythian land east of the Imaon range in his *Geographike Hyphegesis; Γεωγραφικὴ Ὑφήγησις*. Ptolemaios' maps have not come down to us. But he gave detailed coordinates, after which maps were drawn throughout history. I will base the discussion on the maps drawn by Herrmann,¹⁶ Ronca,¹⁷ and Lindegger.¹⁸

At the western part of the northern rim of the region in question, one finds the so-called Auzakia mountains, on the southern rim, one finds the Emodos and/ or Seric range and after a certain gap the Ottorokoras range. In the middle, somewhat surprisingly, one finds another larger mountain chain, the Kasia mountains and, further to the east, the Asmiraia mountains. In the northern half, between the Auzakia and the Kasia mountains, with two confluents coming from both ranges, flows a large river, the Oichardes. This river can be easily identified as the Tarim. In the southern half, somewhat more to the west flows a second river, again with two confluents, one from the Kasia mountains, and the other from the Seric range. This is the river Baútidos *Βαύτισιος*, the identity of which is in debate, Map 1.



Map 1 — Ptolemaios' map as represented in Herrmann 1938: Tafel IX. With additional emphasis on the Oichardes and Bautisos river systems, the gap between the 'Emodi' and 'Ottorocorras' ranges, and the position of

¹⁶ Herrmann 1938: Tafel IX.

¹⁷ Ronca 1967: Tabula II.

¹⁸ Lindegger 1993: Karte I and Karte II.

the 'Baute'.



Map 2 — Cutout of Map 1.

Somewhat north of the Baútis, across the northwestern confluent live the Baitai, *Βαῖται*, see enlarged cutout, Map 2. Later variants of the name are attested as *Βαεῖται*, *Βᾶται*, and perhaps rarely also *Βαῦται*;¹⁹ an Arabic translation of Ptolemaios has the form *Bâtis*.²⁰

This ethnic name has since long been associated with the river name. The spelling *Βαῖται* is commonly taken as a corruption of an original *Βαῦται*. Arguably, Ptolemaios often derived ethnic names from mountains, rivers, or towns, see the Oichardai south of the Oichardes or the Ottorokorai somewhat northeast of the Ottorokoras mountains. According to this derivation principle, one could have expected to find some *Bautisoi or the like near the river Baútis. If the derivation should be the other way round, one could have expected a name form *Bautis. It is thus all but certain that the name Baitai, *Βαῖται* is derived from the river name and not perhaps an originally independent and unrelated name. However, from the more or less fictional form Baûtai, *Βαῦται*, it is not far to *Bod*, even less to the *Bhauṭṭa*. As de La Vaissière puts it:

[t]he problem is that this interpretation is problematic, to say the least. First of all, not a single manuscript gives the reading Bautai.²¹ All of them give Baitai, or Baeitai, or Batai. Ammianus gives Beatae. In other words the text has been corrected by most commentators to match *Bhauṭṭa*-*Bod*, while

¹⁹ Lindegger 1993: 89, n.4, 153, critical apparatus to line 14 of the Greek text.

²⁰ Beckwith 1977: 53.

²¹ Except possibly the one text mentioned by Lindegger 1993: 153, critical apparatus to line 14 of the Greek text.

Ptolemy predates the next mentioning of Bhauṭṭa-Bod by more than half a millennium.²²

Ptolemaios bashing has become a common sport. His 'crime' was not only that he was too conservative to switch to the heliocentric model, which, at that time, did not yet result in better astronomical calculations. He also apparently 'handled' his observational data in order to reach a practical table from which to calculate the positions of the stars, a table that served its purpose astonishingly well, as noted by Gingerich.²³ As Gingerich further comments, cleaning up data according to one's theoretical preconception is quite a common practice also in our times.²⁴

Ptolemaios' amazing geographical knowledge certainly should be valued independently. Ptolemaios was the first to set up a coherent coordinate system of latitudes and longitudes, complete with a catalogue, containing 6345 names of settlements and landmarks according to their position in the coordinate system, plus another 1404 names of peoples and landscapes with only rough localisations.²⁵ He was also the first, not to design just an individual map, but an atlas with a world map and 26 separate regional maps within this coordinate system,²⁶ the first Global Positioning System, so to speak. His explicit aim was to prevent the usual distortions that would normally occur through the process of repeated copying by adding up repeated minimal deviations.²⁷ Accordingly, all available Ptolemaian Renaissance maps, as well as the modern redrawings, look very much the same. What varies is only the interpretation of the data and the exact position of items without fixed coordinates. Again, Ptolemaios' main purpose was perhaps not so much to describe the earth scientifically, than to set up a practicable model. Given the fact that his maps or coordinates were copied through the centuries, they apparently served their pragmatic purpose to a certain extent.

It is true that Ptolemaios' geographical coordinates for Central Asia, and particularly for the Tarim Basin, are not unproblematic, as he manipulated those of his predecessor Marinus in a – by modern standards – not very scientific way. He did, however, make his changes explicit. Without exactly knowing the data, he shortened the distances in the east-west direction, partly because he had based his calculations on too small a circumference of the earth,²⁸ and partly because the distances

²² de La Vaissière 2009: 532.

²³ Gingerich 1993: 70 and passim.

²⁴ Gingerich 1993: 70f.

²⁵ Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006: 23.

²⁶ Stückelberger 2004: 38.

²⁷ Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006: 13 ad. Ptol. 1.18.2, 1.19.1-3, 105, 107.

²⁸ He used the 180,000 stadia, as calculated by Poseidonios, instead of the 250,000 stadia as calculated by Eratosthenes. The length of a stadion varies considerably,

were given far in excess by Marinus. It was certainly easier to validate the positions of the stars than the positions of landmarks handed down in imprecise itineraries by pragmatically oriented travellers. Such itineraries would at best contain distances in terms of days spent on the road. They would also give a few directions and landmarks, but usually not enough to avoid ambiguities. The itineraries of Chinese pilgrims, written down up to a decade or more after they passed a certain place, are a case in point.²⁹ Even if distances were established by counting one's steps or by mechanically counting the number of turns of a chariot wheel, the 'distance as the crow flies' necessary for the cartographer could not have been established, because all roads were more or less meandering, especially those in the hills and mountains.

Nevertheless, while Ptolemaios may have misinterpreted some information in Marinus' notes and maps or from other sources, it is not very likely that he messed up everything that Marinus had right, as Herrmann suggests.³⁰ Marinus, on his part, had used an itinerary compiled by commercial travellers on behalf of a certain Maës. Herrmann's 'reconstruction' of the 'original map' is in itself not without circularity. Herrmann assumes without any further proof that the travellers had used an official Chinese itinerary, translated for foreigners to serve as a tour guide. He further assumes that the Chinese information was absolutely correct.³¹ Therefore much of Marinus' map would have been in the correct order, and Ptolemaios would have been the main culprit for the resulting confusion. Most likely, however, there never existed anything like a Chinese 'tour guide', particularly also because the trade routes were segmented, and the individual segments were travelled or controlled by different ethnic groups, so that no Greek and no Persian trader ever came further east than to the so-called 'Stone Tower', and no Chinese trader would have come that far west:

This eye-witness report [conveyed to Maes] ends within our range of concern. It starts in Bactria and ends at a certain place at the eastern end of the Pamir plateau. The caravan did not

hence the circumference calculated by Eratosthenes corresponds to 39,690km, that calculated by Poseidonios corresponds to 35,514km (Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006: 25, n. 64), an error of somewhat more than 10%. As a result, the known east-west distances from Europe to the Caspian Sea, which were based on realistic measurements, are way too long in relation to the circumference. This forced Ptolemaios to compress the east-west distances further east, while the north-south distances automatically became elongated, see Geus and Tupikova 2013: 125–27. This also implies that distances in north-south direction should not further be increased, and mountains, rivers, and people not be shifted further south.

²⁹ This will be discussed in more detail in Zeisler, to appear c.

³⁰ Herrmann 1938.

³¹ Herrmann 1938: 112.

proceed further than that final point, and the merchants learned that there is another meeting point down in the Xinjiang plains, and that from there cargo will go a long way to where the people called Seres barter silk against western goods.³²

There is, quite surprisingly, one gross misunderstanding, which Herrmann allows Marinus to commit: Jiaohe (Yar-Khoto), the ancient capital of Turfān, some 200 km north of the Tarim or Oichardes is embraced by two arms of a comparatively insignificant river, but Marinus would have identified this river with the Oichardes. Furthermore, Marinus, and with him Ptolemaios, apparently locate the confluence of the two main sources of the Oichardes/ Tarim at Turfān.³³ Accordingly, the Kasia mountains and the Auzakia mountains (that is, most probably the Tianshan or one part of the Pamirs), where the two real confluents of the Tarim originate, are placed in the middle of the Tarim Basin fully disconnected from the mountain chains to which they belong.

A third conceptual error – which may be only Ptolemaios' – concerns a third confluent arising in the eastern end of the Asmiraia mountains near Dunhuang. On the other hand, or perhaps as a result, the Lop Nor is missing in Ptolemaios' data and the maps based thereupon.³⁴

The Kasia mountains might be the centre of the problem: they appear as a northern branch of the Emodos range in Herrmann's 'reconstruction' of Marinus' map, but are placed much further north, and are disconnected from any other chain in Ptolemaios' map.³⁵ There is no place for such a range, except if one would identify the Kasia mountains with the Kunlun, and the Emodos range with a mountain chain further south.

Nevertheless, with respect to his 'reconstructed' map of Marinus, Herrmann identifies the Emodos range with the Kunlun. With respect to Ptolemaios' coordinates, however, he suggests an identity of the Emodos range with the far away Himalayas.³⁶ As a result, the Kasia mountains, having to be identified with the Kunlun, would lack both their eastern continuation (the Arkha Tāgh or Przhevalsky range and the Bokalyk Tāgh or Marco-Polo range) and their northeastern continuation (the Altyn Tāgh). I do not really understand Herrmann's

³² Falk 2014: 16a.

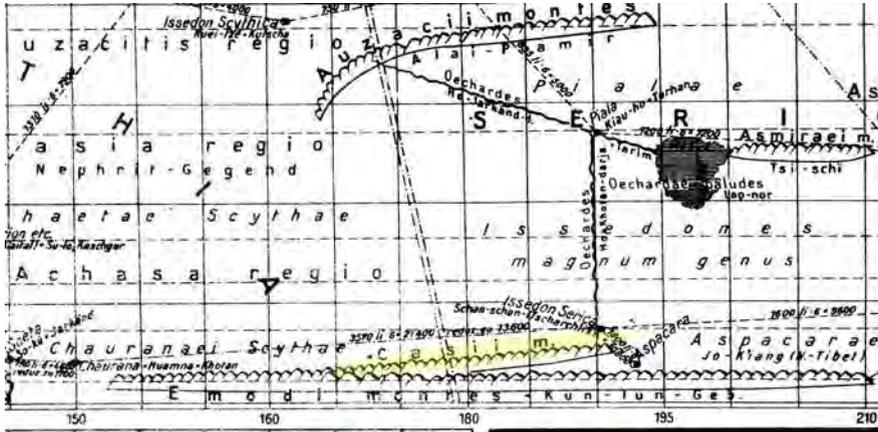
³³ Herrmann 1938: 113–15.

³⁴ See, e.g., Herrmann 1938: Tafel IX, 1, 2.

³⁵ Herrmann 1938: Tafel IX; Ronca 1967, Tabula II; Lindegger 1993: Karte I and Karte II.

³⁶ Herrmann 1938: Tafel IX.

motivation for these different identifications of the Emodos range, which in both cases, starts just beyond (south) of where Khotan lies (called Chaurana by Marinus and Ptolemaios).



Map 3 — Cutout of Herrmann's (1938: Tafel IX) 'reconstruction' of Marinus' map, Kasia mountains highlighted.



Map 4 — Cutout of Lindegger (1993, Karte I), Kasia mountains highlighted, courtesy Tibet-Institut Rikon.

One reason, for identifying the Emodos range *also* with the Himalayas is the fact that according to Ptolemaios' Indian coordinates, India is joined just beyond this range, see the lower edges of Map 4 and Map 5, or also Map 23 and Map 25 in Appendix B.³⁷ But this would imply that for Ptolemaios and his sources Tibet or rather the Tibetan Plateau simply did not exist. The vast plateau just shrank into a single line of mountains.

Lindegger has a different approach: according to him, the Emodos can be identified with the Kunlun and its east-southeastern extension.³⁸ This would then be joined by the Ottorokoras range, identified as a range in Qinghai, east of the Kokonor. This latter range, however, could then only belong to the Qilianshan. The Kasia mountains could then be identified with the Altyn Tāgh. As a result, Lindegger has to stretch the Kasia mountains far to the southeast, so that they meet with the Ottorokoras range. The Bautisos would then have to be located in the Tsaidam. This is quite unlikely: there is simply no large river flowing immediately north of the eastern Kunlun continuation (the Arkha Tāgh and Bokalyk Tāgh).

de La Vaissière, on the other hand, suggests identifying Kasia with Kashgar³⁹ and the Kasia mountains with the Pamirs and (part of) the Tienshan continuation.⁴⁰ This would possibly well fit the source rivers of the Tarim/ Oichardes. It would leave the directions of the Emodos and the Ottorokoras ranges intact, and it would also leave enough space to the south for the second river.

The second river, the Bautisos, appears almost as a schematic copy of the Oichardes, hence Herrmann, following v. Richthofen, suggests that the river was merely invented by Ptolemaios,⁴¹ a rather fancy idea, rejected already by Thomaschek.⁴²

For Herrmann it is beyond doubt that the Bautisos is related to the 'Bautae' (not Baitai!), and these can only be the Tibetans, which he assumes to have been sitting in Yar.kluñs since at least the 1st century. Herrmann bases this latter assumption on the 17th century Ladvags Rgyalrabs and the Tibetans' imagination of a long line of ca. 29 proto-

³⁷ This fusion might perhaps also follow from the perspective of the approach to the Pamirs from the western side. According to Falk 2014: 19b, an important early trade route would pass from Khorugh, Xopyr in Tajikistan through the gorge of the Ghunt river to the famous 'Stone Tower' or Tashkurgan, leading over the Nezatash pass near Tashkurgan, from where, according to Falk, one would get a glimpse on the Himalayas. This, however, appears somewhat doubtful.

³⁸ Lindegger 1993: Karte II.

³⁹ de La Vaissière 2009: 530.

⁴⁰ de La Vaissière 2009: 532.

⁴¹ Herrmann 1938: 59.

⁴² Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft Bd.III,1 1897, Sp. 175–76, URL 7.

historic kings.⁴³ Therefore, the name *Bautisos* can only refer to the *Rtsaṅs.po*, i.e., the *Brahmaputra*,⁴⁴ and Ptolemaios has committed a severe fraud, which is best ignored.⁴⁵ Herrmann, accordingly, does not waste a single word on the position of the *Baitai*.

I do not think that the situation is as simple. After all, we do not know what *Marinos'* map looked like. I would further think it more than rash to infer an ethnic identity from the superficial similarity of names, and even more so in the case of an apparent conflict of data. If a geographer of the 2nd century had committed a fraud, we would need other sources, contemporary or nearly contemporary to him, in order to correct this fraud. It cannot be based on a 'nation'-building fiction of the 7th or even only 9th century Tibetan empire, transmitted, in this case, by a 17th century text. Nor can it be based on an exonym that dates from the 12th century, even if this exonym might refer to events of the 6th century (the *Bhauṭṭa* of the *Rājataranṅinī*).

There was enough reason to postulate a second river. According to the maps drawn by Herrmann, Ronca, and Lindegger,⁴⁶ and all ancient maps, the *Bautisos* flows *north* of the *Emodos* range, and further on the northwestern side of the *Ottorokoras* range. Due to its northeastern direction, the *Ottorokoras* range corresponds to the *Altyn Tāgh* and the more southeasterly bent *Qilianshan*. Both ranges together are also known as *Nanshan*.

The *Bautisos* arises roughly 1000 km east of *Chaurana* / *Khotan*.⁴⁷ It flows in an east-north-east direction, more or less along the *Ottorokoras* mountains (that is, along the *Altyn Tāgh*). From the northeast it is reached by a 'confluent' from the misplaced *Kasia* mountains. Another

⁴³ In all likelihood this exaggerated line is not an intentional concoction, but the accidental result of putting into writing, and thus into vertical or successive order, a horizontal template of more or less contemporary neighbouring principalities.

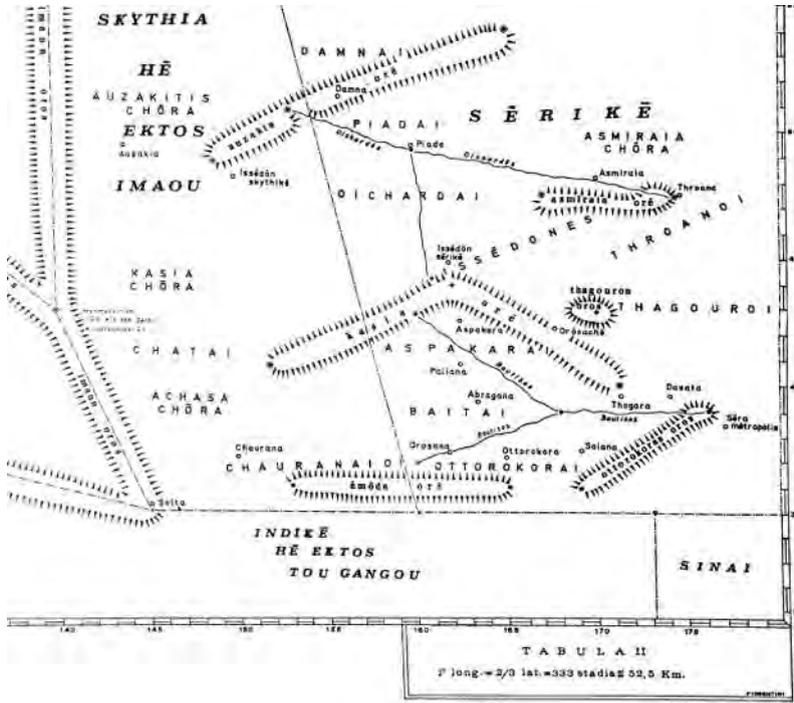
⁴⁴ With this more than naïve misconception he is in respectable society. V. Richthofen (*China I*, 493; cited after Herrmann 1910: 24) identifies the *Bautisos* with the upper *Brahmaputra* and complains that Ptolemaios "über das tibetische Hochland im N. des *Bautisos* (des oberen *Brahmaputra*) aber gar nichts wußte" ('but did not know anything about the highlands of Tibet north [!] of the *Bautisos* (the upper *Brahmaputra*)). Even Thomaschek (*Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft Bd.III,1* 1897, Sp. 175–76, URL 7) thinks it worth considering Richthofen's suggestion that the *Bautisos* should have been identical with the Upper *Brahmaputra*. Its knowledge would have been transmitted by Indian merchants, but *Marinos* would have transferred this name to the upper course of the *Yellow River*, so that the two rivers would have been united into a single great system.

⁴⁵ Herrmann 1938: 59.

⁴⁶ Herrmann 1938: Tafel IX; Ronca 1967: Tabula II; Lindegger 1993: Karte I and Karte II.

⁴⁷ 10 Ptolemeian degrees according to Ronca. The maps of Herrmann and Lindegger are somewhat unclear in their raster and would allow 15 degrees, but while Ronca gives only 52.5 km per degree, Herrmann has 105 km per degree.

'confluent' reaches it from the northeastern end of the Ottorokoras range (that is, the Qilianshan) near Sera metropolis, flowing westward somewhat south of Daxata and Thogara.⁴⁸



Map 5 — Cutout of Ronca (1967, Tabula II).

According to Herrmann, the Bautisos would continue eastwards and pass Daxata in the north, but would then be joined by a parallel river starting from (the north-eastern end of) the Ottorokoras range.⁴⁹ According to Lindegger, the Bautisos would flow eastwards towards Sera and would then continue in a southeastern direction as the Yellow River.⁵⁰ The town Sera (metropolis) is most probably Lanzhou in Gansu, and not the Chinese capital.⁵¹ Daxata has been identified by Herrmann with the Gate of Yangguan west of Dunhuang.⁵² West of it lies the Lop Nor.

⁴⁸ Ronca 1967: Tabula II.
⁴⁹ Herrmann 1938: Tafel IX.
⁵⁰ Lindegger 1993: Karte I and Karte II.
⁵¹ See Herrmann 1938: 143; Lindegger 1993: 38.
⁵² Herrmann 1938: 128ff.

We are thus clearly dealing with a second river system of Eastern Turkestan. Despite the conceptual errors in Ptolemaios' data and despite the differences in interpretation, it matches the Qarqan (Cherchen) river quite well. The Qarqan arises just where the Altyn Tāgh branches off from the Kunlun in a northeastern direction, flowing closely along its northwestern rim. We can find the Ottorokoras mountains in Ptolemaios' data, roughly where one would expect the Altyn Tāgh, although certainly too much in the south. There is quite a large gap between the Ottorokoras range and the Emodos range, which corresponds in a gross manner to the pathway leading across the Altyn Tāgh or to the actual source of the Qarqan. Ptolemaios posits the source of the Bautisos not in this gap, but somewhat west of it.

The Qarqan ended up in the marshes of the – now completely dried up – Lop Nor, where it met the Tarim (Map 6 and Map 7).⁵³ This might in part explain what appears to be a copied structure.

The far eastern 'confluent' might correspond to the Shule river, which flows into the Lop Nor from the east, passing Dunhuang in the north or, if this river is considered too insignificant, it might also correspond to the Shazhou river, which flows westwards in the direction of the Lop Nor, but, of course, ends far away from it – the missing gap or also a conflation of both rivers could result from Ptolemaios' arbitrary shortening of the distances.

One should also be aware of massive changes in the river system, caused by the flatness of the Tarim Basin in combination with tectonic changes, desiccation due to an increasingly dry climate, and an increase in irrigation systems. Some rivers changed their courses, and some of them disappeared, so that we cannot match Ptolemaios' coordinates against the present courses. Among the lost rivers is a more southern parallel of the Tarim, Herrmann's "Südfluß", met by a more northern course of the Qarqan, Herrmann's "Dsü-mo" river.⁵⁴ What appears to be misrepresented as the northeastern branch of the Bautisos from the western Kunlun could have been one of the delta branches of the Tarim or even the southern river (Herrmann's "Südfluß"), see Map 7 and the detail in Map 8.

⁵³ Compare also Zhou Hongfei et al. 1999: 129, fig. 1.

⁵⁴ See Herrmann 1931: 58.

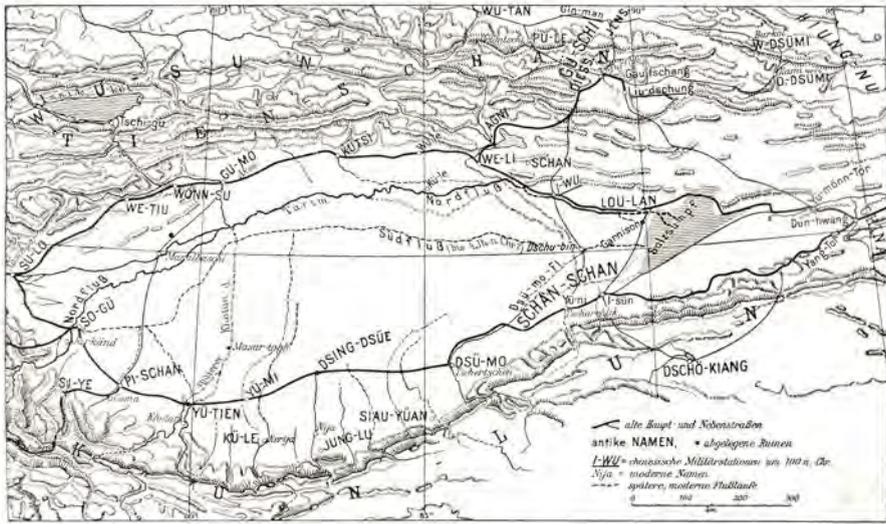


Map 6 — Tarim River drainage basin. Created by Karl Musser, URL 8.

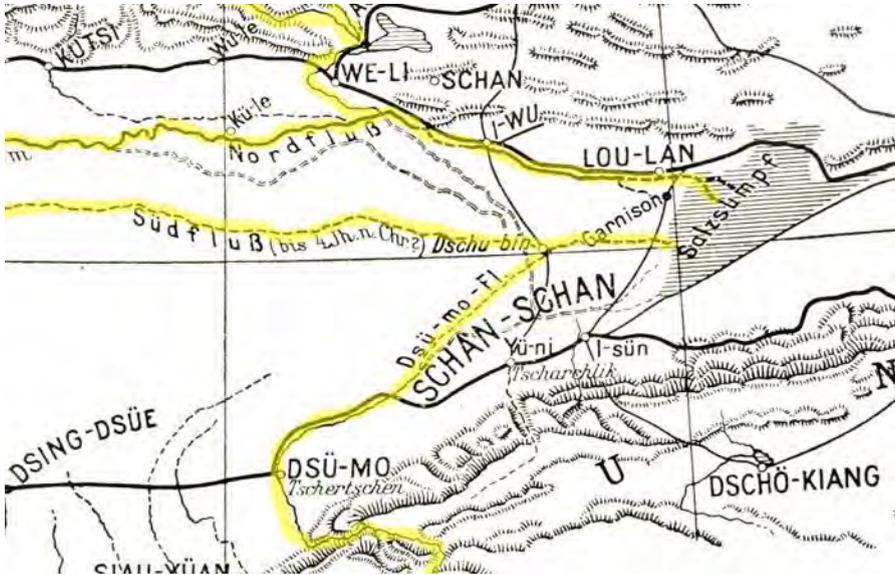
According to Herrmann, these two ancient courses are attested in Chinese sources for the mid-3rd century, and are thus relevant for the interpretation of Ptolemaios' coordinates. After 330, the lower Tarim and the Qarqan turned more to the south, while the southern parallel of the Tarim dried up.⁵⁵ Herrmann further suggests that the Lop Nur extended at some time much further to the East, almost up to Dunhuang.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Herrmann 1931: 59–64.

⁵⁶ Herrmann 1910: 69.



Map 7 — Old River system, Herrmann 1931: 30.



Map 8 — Cutout of Map 7.

One may further have to take into account that the rivers of the Tarim Basin form a complicated net that was most probably not fully understood by the travellers of the day. Legends that the Tarim disappears

in the Lop Nor and continues underground to become the Yellow River (as reported in the *Hanshu*, 96 A⁵⁷) may have added to the confusion on the southeastern end.



Map 9 — *Cutout of Tupikova et al. 2014: 37, Fig.11: projection of Oichardes and Bautisos;*
courtesy, Irina Tupikova.

Nevertheless, the idea that the *Bautisos* is a mere invention or at least an erroneous copy of the *Oichardes* has been taken up by de La Vaissière⁵⁸ and more recently by Tupikova et al.⁵⁹ Although the latter state “that the turning of the *Bautisos* recalculated relative to *Ottorokoras/ Miran* matches remarkably well with the position of the Lop Nor”, they think that the doubling of the river was a result of Ptolemaios’ using different itineraries.⁶⁰ Their Figure 11,⁶¹ here Map 9, shows clearly a different orientation of the two river systems, and their “corrected” representation in Figure 17,⁶² here Map 10, further doesn’t show the Tarim, but rather the *Qarqan* with a confluent from the final end of the Tarim and a confluent from the east, possibly the *Shule* river. It may be noted that in their article, they also include the above Map 6 of the Tarim Basin, without apparently realising that it is not only the

⁵⁷ See Herrmann 1910: 63, 65; Lindegger 1993: 50, n.1, 83f. n.8.

⁵⁸ de La Vaissière 2009: 532f.

⁵⁹ Tupikova et al. 2014: 46.

⁶⁰ Tupikova et al. 2014: 49.

⁶¹ Tupikova et al. 2014: 37.

⁶² Tupikova et al. 2014: 51.

Lop Nor that matches the description, but its southern source river, the Qarqan.



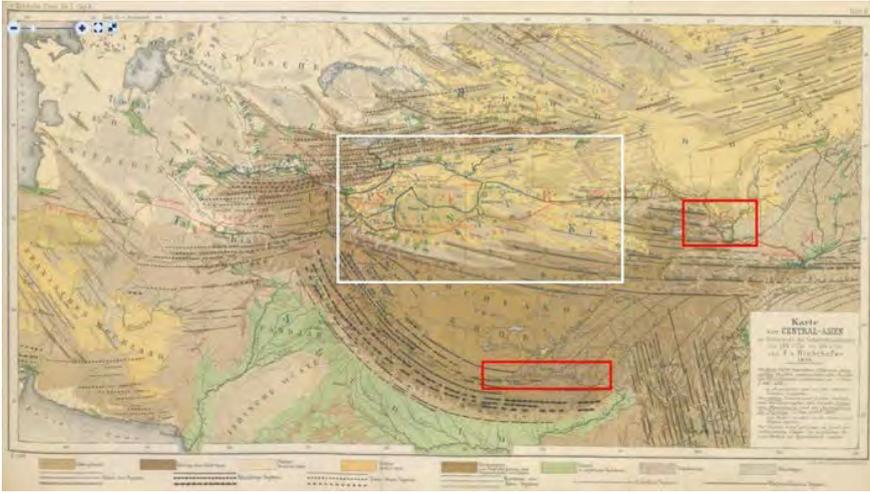
Map 10 — Cutout of Tupikova et al. 2014: 51, Fig.17: “correction” of the “duplicated” river system; courtesy Irina Tupikova.

For travellers along the southern route, the Qarqan was certainly an important landmark. It is thus no accident that a river appears in Ptolemaios’ description, roughly where the Qarqan flows. The river name and the name of the people living in its vicinity must have been indigenous, transmitted with the typical deformations of the time.

While the Qarqan river was still unknown to many geographers of the mid-19th century (see Berghaus’ maps,⁶³ where the river is conspicuously missing), Herrmann knew it well.⁶⁴ Even Richthofen seems to have known about the river, although it is not yet correctly rendered in his map: it is a nameless river that flows straight north and meets the Tarim way before the Lop Nor, which also seems to be too far up in the North, Map 11 and Map 14.

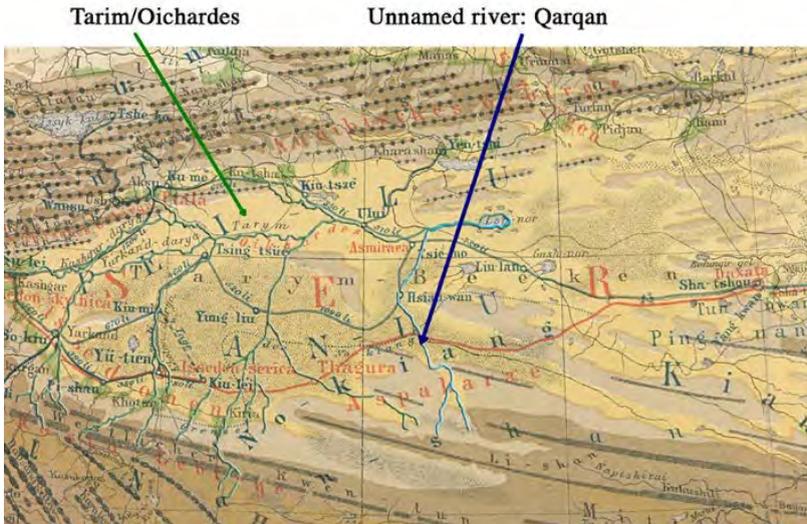
⁶³ Berghaus 1845–1848 [2004]: 40/41, 62/63, and 162/163.

⁶⁴ See Herrmann 1910: 73f.



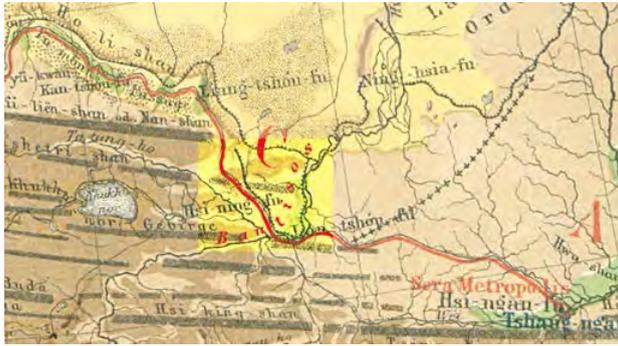
Map 11 — Von Richthofen (1877: opposite to p. 500),
 Karte von Central-Asien zur Übersicht der Verkehrsbeziehungen von
 128 v.Chr. bis 150 n.Chr.
 (Map on the traffic relations in Central Asia). Digitalisat by the Staatsbibliothek Berlin. URL 9

White frame: Tarim and Qarqan river, see below Map 12.
 Red frames: locations of the Bautisos and the Bautai, see Map 13 and Map 14.

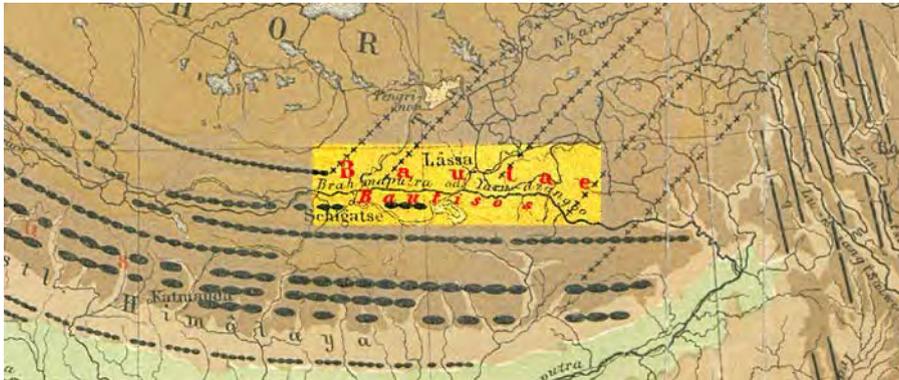


Map 12 — Cutout of Map 11. The Qarqan and the Tarim river system are enhanced.

V. Richthofen never travelled through the Tarim Basin⁶⁵ and had thus only second-hand information. He manages to identify the Bautisos with both the Brahmaputra and the upper course of the Yellow River. His 'Bautae' are only to be found in Tibet, see Map 13 and Map 14.



Map 13 — Cutout of Map 11. Identification of the Bautisos with the Yellow River.



Map 14 — Cutout of Map 11. Location of the Bautai in Central Tibet and identification of the Bautisos with the Brahmaputra.

It seems that the mere association of the name Bautisos with Bod has had a blinding effect; otherwise, it is not really intelligible how the identity of the Bautisos with the Qarqan river and the identity of the Ottorokoras range with the Altyn Tāgh and the Qilianshan could remain unnoticed.

Both the Oichardes (Tarim) and the Bautisos (Qarqan) are described by Ptolemaios as rivers of Serike or Seres, the 'Silk Land' or 'Land of

⁶⁵ See Richthofen 1877: Tafel I, opposite to p. 32 for his route.

the Silk People', by which designation first of all only the Tarim Basin as the region of the silk *traders* was referred to, and only secondarily Northern China as the land of the silk *producers*. Although Ptolemaios apparently restricted the term Seres to the Tarim Basin, using the designation Sinai for China, the erroneous continuation of both rivers beyond Seres could have left it somewhat open where to look for the Baitai.

But the position of the Baitai, according to Ptolemaios' coordinates, clearly north of the Kunlun and north of the upper course of the Baútidos should not leave any doubt: they are the people of Shanshan (Loulan) and / or Kroraina, located approximately on the same latitude as Thogara, Daxata, and Sera. They might well have belonged to the population that left the famous mummies at Qiemo, dating from 1800 BCE to 200 CE. These people, however, were, in all likelihood, Indo-Europeans. According to genetic tests, the more recent Tarim mummies show strong affinities with the population of the Pamirs, Iran, and India.⁶⁶

A passage of the Syrio-Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 330–395) describes the *Bætæ* as extending *over* a southern mountain highland (viewed from the Tarim Basin) with the towns of Asmira, Essedon, Aspakarai / Asparata, and Sera.⁶⁷ Since most of the towns are to be located in the Tarim Basin, it should follow that the *Bætæ* settled mainly along the *northern* rim of the Qilianshan or Richthofen Range, but had also access to the Kokonor region and to Gansu. As the name Asmira is apparently related to the Asmiraia mountains, which should be found near Dunhuang, Asmira may actually refer to Dunhuang or a place nearby.⁶⁸

This position of the *Bætæ* corresponds well to the settlements of the Lesser Yuezhi, attested in Chinese sources during almost the same period, that is, from about the mid-1st century to the early 3rd century, both north and south of the Altyn Tāgh, across the northern Tsaidam, at the north-eastern shore of the Kokonor, and near Lanzhou and Ganzhou, that is, in the territory of the later Šara / Sari (Yellow) Uyghur.⁶⁹ The settlements of the *Bætæ* and the Lesser Yuezhi cover thus the region, where we find, in the 17th century, and perhaps already in the late 8th century, the Bhaṭa Hor, whose name might have reflected an ancient geographical and / or tribal designation, only later transferred to, or adopted by, an Uyghur population.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ See Shizhu et al. 2008.

⁶⁷ Lindegger 1993: 89, 172.

⁶⁸ Herrmann (1910: 73, map) positions the Asmiraia mountains east of the Kokonor.

⁶⁹ Haloun 1937: 263f. and *passim*.

⁷⁰ It is, of course, also possible that the Bhaṭa Hor reached their 8th century destination after having settled in the original Bhaṭa region, wherever this may have been.

Without much discussion, Beckwith takes Seres to be identical with China; hence, the Oichardes and the Bautisos must necessarily be the Yellow River and the Yangtze respectively.⁷¹ Lindegger, on the other hand, concludes that the Oichardes represents the Tarim and the Bautisos its subterranean 'continuation', the Yellow River.⁷² While it cannot be precluded that some of the Bætæ crossed over the south-eastern extension of the Kunlun, reaching thus the upper course of the Yangtze, one should note that the sources of both the Yangtze and the Yellow River are approximately on the same latitude, with the source of the Yellow River being located further to the east. The Yangtze flows almost straight southeast until it reaches the gorges of Yunnan. This geographical situation does not at all match Ptolemaios' coordinates given for the Bautisos.

Ptolemaios' Βαῖται are to be located south of the Aspakarai (Ἀσπακάραι), which again settle south of the Issēdones (Ἰσσηδόνας).⁷³ The latter two tribes apparently settle in the middle part of the Tarim Basin. Herrmann, however, places the Aspakarai directly at the northern flank of the Kunlun,⁷⁴ which would then shift the Baitai across the mountains to the southern flank. Beckwith thinks that the Aspakarai should have settled on the southern flanks of the Kunlun range,⁷⁵ which would shift the Baitai even further south. Similarly, Lindegger's identification of the Bautisos with the Yellow River would shift the Baitai to the Kokonor area south of the Kunlun. I do not think that it is justified to shift all of the Baitai across the Kunlun, but even if Beckwith's or Lindegger's identifications were correct, we would still be far away from Central Tibet where the 'nation' of 'Bod' took shape in the early 7th century.

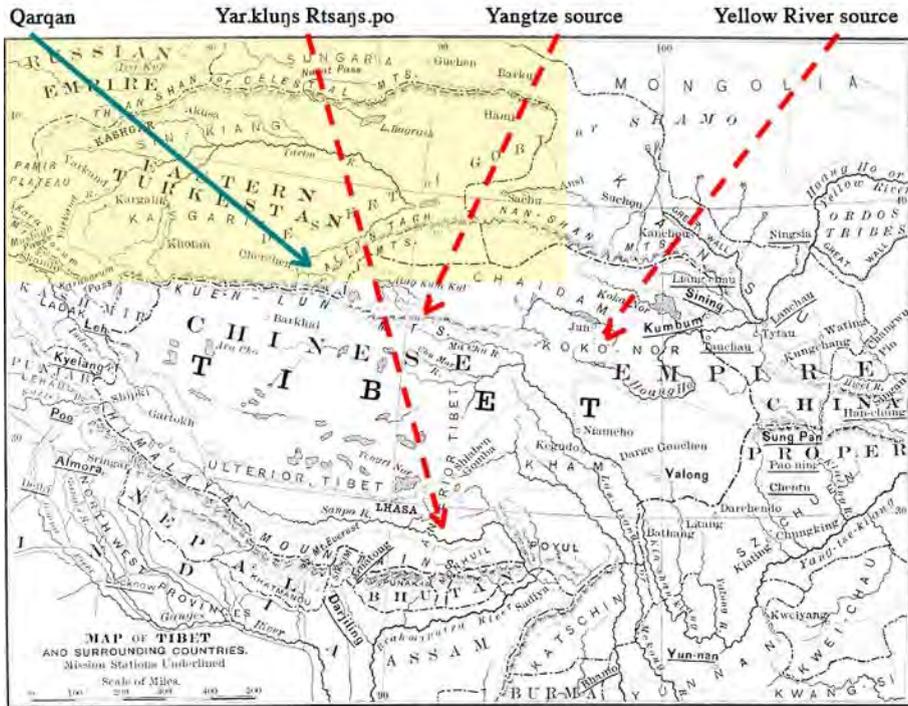
⁷¹ Beckwith 1977: 56.

⁷² Lindegger 1993: 84.

⁷³ Lindegger 1993: 57.

⁷⁴ Herrmann 1938: Tafel II, 1.

⁷⁵ Beckwith 1977: 60.



Map 15 — Shaw, F. Becker. "The Siege of Tibet," *The Missionary Review of the World*, vol. X (n.s.), February 1897: 91–95 (The map is printed opposite p.92). Various internet sources; URL 11.
 Yellow part: Ptolemaios' Serike.

de La Vaissière gives the whole story yet another twist with the suggestion that the name *Bautisos* could be an approximation to the Han-time Chinese name of the Lop Nor: Puchang hai (蒲昌海, B'uo-t'š'jang).⁷⁶ The *Bautisos* would then represent the lower course of the Tarim, and the *Baitai* should be located north of the Lop Nor, most probably in Loulan (Shanshan). The only other options would be Qarashar, or other locations along the northern rim of the Tarim Basin. Following the common assumption that the *Bautisos* is merely a projection of the *Oichardes*, de La Vaissière holds that Ptolemaios "created coordinates devoid of any value".⁷⁷

⁷⁶ de La Vaissière 2009: 533, n. 26. The name is attested in the *Hànshū* chapter 96A (Tupikova et al. 2014: 26, n.33) and probably means something like 'reed marshes'. Herrmann (1910: 69) refers to a translation as 'stengeltreibend' (driving out or producing stalks), the Wikipedia has 'Sea of Abundant Reed', URL 10.

⁷⁷ de La Vaissière 2009: 531.

The Qarqan river, ending up in the Lop Nor would certainly be an equally good candidate for a confluent of the Lop Nor, and thus for an extension of its name, and it lies quite exactly where the 'valueless' coordinates locate the Bautisos. It is quite strange that the assumed 'copy' should by mere chance find its place where a river flows in reality.

One should neither expect that an 'official' Chinese road map for the 'Silk Road' – if there could have been any – would have referred to the upper course of the Yangtze, not to speak of the Brahmaputra, nor should one expect that Ptolemaios had been mistaken by an additional latitude of ca. 10 degrees (see also Map 15). The north-south distance between Oichardes and Bautisos should be diminished rather than further be increased, see n. 28.⁷⁸

3. *Bhauṭṭa, Bhāṭṭa, Bhaṭṭa, Bhatta, Bhuṭṭa – the South-Asian Perspective*

There is no doubt that in the Indian world from a certain moment onwards the designations *Bhauṭṭa*, *Bhoṭa*, or similar forms came into use for the Tibetans in general. However, it remains unclear when exactly the Indians started to use this or similar names, and who they would have referred to originally.⁷⁹ It has always been taken for granted that

⁷⁸ Ptolemaios' problematic coordinates give rise also to rather irrelevant interpretations: we not only find the Bautisos to be identified with the Yellow River or the Yangtze, but the Oichardes has been identified with the Yenisey (Ferguson 1978: 584) or with the Orkhon, see de La Vaissière 2009: 534. Such suggestions are certainly not based on consultations of the relevant maps: the Orkhon is part of the Mongolian river system flowing into the Baikal lake from the south, whereas the Yenisey is a Siberian river flowing straight northwards into the Polar Sea, its eastern branch being the Angara, which comes out of the Baikal.

⁷⁹ It is equally unclear when exactly the Tibetans applied the name *Bod*, and to which part of the country, see section 4. In the 11th century, Alberūnī mentions a peak or mountain range *Bhōteshar* between Nepal and Tibet, which functions as the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural border, Sachau 1910 I: 201, 206.

Thapar (2003: 407) speaks of "increasing references [...] made of the *bhauṭtas* or Tibetans along the Himalayas" after 700, but unfortunately she does not mention in which sources these references would appear, and in which form.

A bilingual glossary, the *Tang-Fan liangyu shuangdui ji* gives the Sanskrit equivalent for Chinese Tūfān (吐蕃) as 僕吒 with the reconstructed pronunciation /bəwk trai/ or /bəwk trε/ for a possible *Bhuṭṭa*. This glossary may perhaps be dated into the 7th century, as it refers to the Turks and to Persia, but does not mention yet the Uyghur or the Arabs and their religion, see Ishikawa 2010. Unfortunately, the earliest copy of this glossary dates to the 11th century, it is found in a Song Buddhist Canon collection, see Ishikawa 2010. As with most Sanskrit sources there would be much room for retrospect corrections or adaptations to a later-on firmly established convention.

these forms would correspond to the Tibetan self-designation *Bod*. However, what has been overlooked all the time, is that these Indian forms cannot have been directly derived from any known Tibeto-Burman language, and particularly not from Old Tibetan, as the latter would have lacked both the *media aspirata* and the retroflex final. There is no apparent reason for adding aspiration or a retroflex in a foreign name. Since the name referred to what the Kashmīrī or Indians perceived as barbarians, there was particularly no incentive on the Indian side to make it look more Sanskritic. On the other hand, if the Bhauṭṭa had been a Himalayan Tibeto-Burman tribe, they would hardly have been interested to Sanskritise their name, but if they had done so, why would this new name form not have been preserved among them? By contrast, the Tibetan form could have naturally developed from an Indian or Iranian form, or from whatever its real origin was.

The possibly earliest *documented* mentioning of the Bhauṭṭa in the Indian context occurs in the 12th century *Rājataranṅiṇī* of Kalhaṇa,⁸⁰ but with retrospect reference to the reign of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (i, 313).⁸¹ The reign of Mihirakula is to be dated roughly into the first half of the 6th century.⁸² The Bhauṭṭa in question are merely listed as intruders along with the Darada and Mleccha. Nothing is said about their settlements or points of intrusion, but a lot is said of the sexual ‘perversities’ of these three groups taken together.⁸³

⁸⁰ It is conspicuous that the name or its variants does not appear in the 6th century *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (see ed. 1981, 1982). Monier-Williams and Böthlingk and Roth have as only attestation for this name form the *Rājataranṅiṇī*, see Monier-Williams 1899: 768b and Böthlingk and Roth 1868: 392. This implies that the name is not known in the *Mahābhārata* tradition, nor in that of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It does not occur in the critical editions of either epic or early Paurāṇic sources. The earliest attestation of the name form Bhoṭa is found in the *Satruñjāyamahātmya* of Dhaneśvara, a late Jaina text of the 14th century (Monier-Williams 1899: 768b; Böthlingk and Roth 1868: 391; for the dating of the text, see Balbir 1994: 94). See also Róna-Tas 1985: 28–30. Róna-Tas takes the *Satruñjāyamahātmya* as contemporaneous to the *Rājataranṅiṇī*. However, the information he cites is “nicht früher als nach Hemaandra (1089–1172)” (not earlier than Hemaandra), so that a later date is not precluded.

⁸¹ M. A. Stein 1900 I: 151.

⁸² M. A. Stein 1900 I: introduction, p. 78 § 76.

⁸³ The word Mleccha tends to be used unspecifically for barbarians, although mostly referring to the west. A passage from the **Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā* quoted by Silk shows that the term can refer to the Zarathustrian priests of Iran, the Magi: “In the West there are *mleccha* (barbarians) called Maga”, see Silk 2008: 438.

The exaggerated ‘perverse’ sexual customs associated with the Mleccha in the *Rājataranṅiṇī* are again customarily associated by Indian (as well as Greek, Arab, and Chinese) authors with Iranian, and specifically Zoroastrian, marriage practices deviating from the Indian ideal. Another text cited by Silk (2008: 442) locates such customs in Anxi (Parthia). Apart from fraternal polyandry and various patterns of generalised levirate, these stereotypes are based on the Zoroastrian practice of *x^vaētuuadada*, the so-called next-of-kin or close-kin marriage for the sake of lineage

The early translators, Marc A. Stein and Pandit, have taken it for granted that the Bhauṭṭa were identical with the *Tibetans* and that these putative *Tibetans* were – already at this early time – the inhabitants of Ladakh, Dras and Skardo.⁸⁴ There is no compelling reason for the former assumption, except the superficial similarity between the designations *Bhauṭṭa* and *Bod*. While some of the Bhauṭṭa might have been sitting in Bolor and in some parts of Žaṅ.žuṅ, the tribes of Central Tibet had yet to become ‘Tibetans’ and to conquer the western regions.

Žaṅ.žuṅ was conquered by the Tibetans only in the mid-7th century (see the Old Tibetan Annals, OTA, year 644, see also the Chinese sources referred to by Pelliot,⁸⁵ which give the year 649). It is possible that at the same time the first attacks were directed against Bolor,⁸⁶ implying that at least parts of Ladakh had come under the rule of the Tibetan empire. However, there is also evidence that these areas were not fully integrated into the growing empire, at least not with respect to the military administrative ‘horns’ (*ru*),⁸⁷ and they seem to have retained a certain amount of autonomy.⁸⁸ Whatever the exact status, this did not necessarily lead to a replacement of the original non-Tibetan inhabitants or a shift in their self-identification or the adoption of the Tibetan language. It is certainly possible that the Kashmīrī associated them with their new rulers. Hundred years earlier, in the time of Mihirakula, there was definitively no reason for such an identification, and either the reference to the Bhauṭṭa as ‘Tibetans’ is an anachronistic back-projection from the 12th century or the name refers to an unknown non-Tibetan people.

purity, mostly between brothers and sisters, but infrequently also between sons and mothers, see Silk 2008: 444–51, also for the relevant comments by Non-Indian authors.

In one, possibly interpolated, gloss (see M. A. Stein 1900 I, text edition, p. 46, note to i, 307), the Bhauṭṭa, here named Bhāṭṭa, along with the Darada and Mleccha, are accused of practising incest with their sisters and daughters-in-law, and of selling their wives (M. A. Stein 1900 I, text edition, p. 46, note to i, 307).

Most probably, such passages also refer to the custom of polyandry and/ or group marriage. Polyandry, however, was not very specific for the Ladakhī or Tibetans. Polyandry was common among the Dards, who, unlike the Ladakhī, also practised group marriage, as well as among the Hephthalites and other tribes, see Vohra 1989. de La Vaissière points out that “[p]olyandry was a genuine Bactrian custom”, de La Vaissière 2007: 119.

⁸⁴ M. A. Stein 1900 I, text edition, p. 47, note to i, 312–16; Pandit 1935: 43, note to i, 312.

⁸⁵ Pelliot 1963: 708.

⁸⁶ See Beckwith 1987: 30.

⁸⁷ See Tucci 1956: 81–83.

⁸⁸ See Pelliot 1963: 708.

The Bhauṭṭa re-appear, together with the Darada, as victims of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa's (reg. c.733–769)⁸⁹ raids in the northwest.⁹⁰ M. A. Stein takes the Bhauṭṭa again for "undoubtedly the Tibetan inhabitants of Ladakh and the adjacent regions".⁹¹ Vohra, by contrast, takes this reference as a proof that the Darada, as neighbours of the Bhauṭṭa-'Tibetans', were occupying the whole "area of Baltistan and Ladakh".⁹²

For the year 744, the *Tang annals* report a message sent by Lalitāditya, in which he claimed, according to Chavannes:

moi même et le roi de l'Inde du centre, nous avons obstrué les cinq grands chemins des T'ou-po (Tibétains) et nous avons empêché leurs allées et venues; nous avons livré bataille et nous avons été aussitôt victorieux. (I myself and the king of Central India have blocked the five great roads of the Tibetans and have hindered their coming and going; we have fought them and have been victorious within no time.)⁹³

This translation is followed approximatively by most later authors. Sen, however, renders this slightly different:

⁸⁹ His reign is erroneously given with 699–736 in M. A. Stein (1900 I: introduction, 88, § 85). This is followed by various Indian and Western authors, while the Government of India specifies the date as 697 to 738, URL 12. These dates evidently clash with the dating of various letters sent by Lalitāditya and his elder brother Vajrāditya-Candrāpīḍa to the Tang court, the last one being sent in 744 (see main text below). M. A. Stein (1907: 13) mentions two earlier letters: "on his accession to the Kashmīr throne (733 A. D.)", Muktāpīḍa requested an "investitur by imperial decree, as accorded before in 720 A.D. to his brother and predecessor Candrāpīḍa". M. A. Stein adds: "My reference to the Chinese data about Muktāpīḍa, in *Rājat.* iv. 126, note, should be rectified accordingly", M. A. Stein 1907: 13, n. 21. 720 and 733 apparently correspond to the first year of the respective reigns. Marks (1977: 45) gives the dates as 725–754, Witzel (1991: 27) as "725–". Dani (1991: 214) dates the king from 699 to 736, but on p. 149, he identifies the king with the Kashmīrī king Muduobi (Mu-to-pi) of the Chinese sources, who offered assistance to the Chinese in 750 (*recte* 747), when Gao Xianzhi (Kao Hsien-chih) sent an expedition across the Pamirs against the Tibetans, see M. A. Stein 1922 for a description of this expedition. Dani further suggests that Lalitāditya's campaign in the northern areas would have taken place shortly afterwards in 751. A quick look into the internet reveals that most authors favour 724–760, assuming a reign of 36 years. Some sites will also mention year 699 for Lalitāditya's birth.

⁹⁰ According to Róna-Tas (1985: 29), the Bhauṭṭa were mentioned also under the reign of Vajrāditya-Candrāpīḍa (reg. c.720–728; he was followed by the middle brother Udayāditya-Tārāpīḍa for four years before the youngest brother, Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa assumed power). Unfortunately, Róna-Tas does not give any reference for this statement. *Rājataranṅinī* iv, 45–125, dedicated to Candrāpīḍa and Tārāpīḍa's short-lived reigns, does not mention any foreign tribes.

⁹¹ M. A. Stein 1900 I: text edition, p. 98, note to iii, 332; see also p. 137, note to iv, 171–75.

⁹² Vohra 1988: 541.

⁹³ Chavannes 1900: 167.

The Tibetans on the five great routes distressed this vassal and the king of Middle India. [The Tibetans] blocked [us from] entering and exiting [through these routes]. [Therefore, we] fought and at once emerged victorious.⁹⁴

It is unknown in which language the letter was originally written and by which term Lalitāditya referred to the Tibetans. By 'vassal', he refers to himself; the king of Middle India should be King Yaśovarman of Kanauj, of whom the *Rājataranṅiṇī* claims that he was subdued by Lalitāditya (iv 135–46). One may think of the three known access routes from Northern India: via Nepal, via Guge, via Manali, Ladakh, and the Changthang, plus the route from Kashmīr via Sonamarg and Purik, plus a more western route via Baltistan and/ or Gilgit. Most probably, 'blocking the roads' means that some border posts were set up in the lower parts of those 'roads'. Depending on the different translations, these posts may have been set up either by the Kashmīr-Kanauj coalition or even by the Tibetans. In both cases, this can be taken as evidence that the Kashmīr troops fought some battles in the border areas, but it is rather unlikely that they reached Ladakh or Baltistan. The claimed victory should also be seen in the light of the subsequent request to be bestowed the title of a king.⁹⁵ It may thus be exaggerated to a certain extent. The Old Tibetan documents remain silent about a conflict with Kashmīr.

Despite this silence, it is quite certain that Lalitāditya entered the Tibetan dominions in the west, which at some time extended as far as Kābul in the south and to the middle course of the Oxus in the north.⁹⁶

The mid 8th century shows the Tibetans at the height of their conquests in the west. They had started to lead military campaigns into Western Turkestan by 676 (OTA, II. 67/15f.), eventually concluding an alliance with the Western Turks. An initial conquest of Lesser Bolor (possibly the north-western part of Gilgit with the side valleys of Yāsin, Ishkoman, and Hunza) in 722 had been quickly terminated by Chinese forces⁹⁷). However, in 738, they had subdued Lesser Bolor (OTA, II. 276/224f.) and had set up outposts in the Pamirs. They lost Lesser Bolor and the Wakhan area in the subsequent clash with the Chinese forces in 747 (OTA II, I. 10).

In this context, Kashmīr had taken up diplomatic ties with China against Tibet and the Arabs,⁹⁸ but her troops do not seem to have been

⁹⁴ Sen 2014: 146.

⁹⁵ See again Chavannes 1900: 167.

⁹⁶ Beckwith 1987: 161f.

⁹⁷ See Beckwith 1987: 95; Sen 2014: 143.

⁹⁸ Beckwith 1987: 89, 95f., n. 62.

actively involved in this defeat. As evident from the above letter, the Kashmīr troops provided agricultural supplies to the Chinese army,⁹⁹ which could not have been supported by the limited production of Lesser Bolor.¹⁰⁰

The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* seems to refer to these events in the course of a *cakravartin's* campaign in the northwest, the second, after Lalitāditya allegedly had toured India. Lalitāditya would have first raided the Kāmboja (somewhere in Afghanistan) and would have robbed them of their horses.¹⁰¹ Subsequently, he would have invaded Tuhkhāra (Tochari-stan). He would then have subdued an unidentifiable Mummuni (iv, 167), possibly a ruler or army chief of the Turks.¹⁰² *Thereafter* Lalitāditya would have fought the Bhauṭṭa and the Darada (iv, 169).

⁹⁹ Chavannes 1900: 167.

¹⁰⁰ Sen 2014: 147. Sen, 2014: 148, further suggests that the Kashmīr troops might have cut the bridge over the 'Sai' river, the So-yi of the Chinese sources, convincingly identified by M. A. Stein, 1922: 124, with the Gilgit river, a long suspension bridge which the Tibetans had constructed over the course of one year, see M. A. Stein 1922: 124. The biography of the Korean general in charge, Gao Xianzhi (or Go Seonji) in the *Jiu Tangshu*, chapter 104 and the *Xin Tangshu*, chapter 135, however, does not mention any help from the southern side, see Chavannes 1900: 152f. In fact, this could hardly have been possible as the Tibetans arrived only shortly after the destruction of the bridge, see Chavannes 1900: 151, 152, n.1; M. A. Stein 1922: 124.

¹⁰¹ Lévi 1918: 118, locates them around Kābul. According to the Wikipedia, their nucleus would have been the area between along the Kunar Sindh, and would have included Kapiśa, but the Kāmboja may have also lived in the Pamirs, in Badakhshan, and even Balkh. The Kāmboja were apparently famous for their horses and their horsemanship, URL 13.

¹⁰² Lévi and Chavannes 1985: 15, having noted a gloss: *Mumen khān*, conclude that this may be an adaptation of the title *Emir al-Mumenin* (amīr al-Mu'minīn), 'Commander of the Faithful', as used by the caliphs. M. A. Stein, 1990 I: 137, note to iv, 167, however, rejects this, as the gloss would be comparatively late. M. A. Stein, 1900: I, introduction, 91, takes him thus as a "chief of a Turkish tribe on the Upper Indus, named here by his title or family designation", M. A. Stein 1900 I: introduction, 91; see also I, text edition, p. 136, note to iv, 165. By "Upper Indus" Stein most likely referred to the so-called 'Upper Indus valley' in Pakistan below the confluence with the Gilgit river or even to the Gilgit river, which originally was perceived as the source river of the Indus, see Tucci 1977: 84, n.112d.

The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* apparently knows several persons with the name Mummuni: A king Mummuni had been also mentioned in the context of an earlier king, Pravaraśena II (florished in the 6th or 7th century, about a century earlier) (iii, 332); while another Mummuni is mentioned as belonging to the night-guard of grandson Jayāpīḍa (770/82–813) (iv, 516). A fourth Mummuni is mentioned in a list of allied foreign princes (viii, 1090, 2179), see M. A. Stein 1990 I: text edition 98f., note to iii, 332; II: 527, index.

For reasons not evident to me, Jettmar, 1975: 207, takes Mummuni to be a Dard chieftain. An irrelevant identification is proposed by Goetz, 1969: 12, who neither takes the temporal coherence nor the geography of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in any way serious: Mummuni of the northern campaign, to be located between Tuhkhāra/Tocharistan and the Bhauṭṭa, would have belonged to the southern expedition and

Subsequently, he would have invaded the town of Prāgijyotiṣa (iv, 171). He would then have passed through the 'Sea of Sand' (*vālukāmbudhi*, iv 172),¹⁰³ after which he should have reached the *Strirājya* (iv, 173–74), later mentioned again with a possible reference to Uḍḍiyāna / Swāt (iv, 185). Thereafter he would have invaded the more or less mythological land of the tree-born Uttarakuru (iv, 175).

Uttarakuru was located by Ptolemaios in Eastern Turkestan (where we find the above-mentioned Ottorokoras mountains). Much later, the Tibetans identified Uttarakuru with the land of Phrom Gesar, somewhere north of Tibet,¹⁰⁴ that is, in Eastern Turkestan, although perhaps more to the west. But here, from the Kashmīrī perspective, this name might refer to a relatively close-by area north of the Darada, from where their allies would come.¹⁰⁵ If the Darada were already confined to the Kishangaṅgā valley, the name Uttarakuru could have referred to Bolor and her neighbours, less likely perhaps to Bactria or the Sogdiana, or to other regions under Turkic dominion. From there, the closest desert would be possibly the Taklamakan in the Tarim Basin, but one might wonder how a military campaign could have been conducted there, given the control of the Oasis states by either the Chinese or Tibetan Empire.

There are also several desert areas in Tajikistan and Afghanistan, although more to the west or to the south, and I don't know whether they would really match the description of a 'Sea of Sand'. The great desert Karakum between the upper Oxus and the Caspian Sea or the Kyzyl Kum between Oxus and Iaxartes could be other candidates, but are possibly too far away. Closer to Kashmīr and or the *Strirājya* in question is the desert Thal in the Panjab between Chenab and Indus.¹⁰⁶

would have been a Śīlāhāra king of Konkan (i.e., the western coast of India along Maharashtra and Goa). This fancy is not impeded by Goetz' knowledge that no such Śīlāhāra ruler of this name is known at the relevant epoch, see Goetz 1969: 13. Goetz 1969: 10, further posits the northern campaign before the southern one, which does not speak for his academic standards. That according to him, Lalitāditya finally also campaigned in the "Taqlamaqan into the Kuchā-Turfān districts and possibly, beyond, into the Western Gobi" Goetz 1969: 11 may thus safely be ignored.

Goetz' only useful suggestion is that a severe political crisis might have hit the subcontinent, which eventually led to the breakdown not only of the Gupta empire but also of various other smaller dynasties, see Goetz 1969: 8–10. Such scenario would explain why, within short temporal distance, both Yaśovarman of Kanauj and Lalitāditya could have conducted a *digvijaya* or a several years long roundabout campaign throughout most of India, see also n.124 below.

¹⁰³ According to M. A. Stein 1900 I: text edition, p. 138, note to iv, 171–75, this would refer to a desert tract in Eastern Turkestan, but this is rather unlikely, see also Sen 2014: 148–55.

¹⁰⁴ Haahr 1969: 278, plate II.

¹⁰⁵ Dani 1991: 214f.

¹⁰⁶ See URL 14 and URL 15.

The location of the *Strīrājya* is also not evident. However, since Lalitāditya is said to have set up a Viṣṇu image there, the *Strīrājya* should be part of the Indian cultural sphere.

Prāḡjyotiṣa would usually refer to the capital of Kāmarūpa, that is, Assam.¹⁰⁷ Most commentators thus let Lalitāditya lead his campaign through Eastern Turkestan and Tibet,¹⁰⁸ but it is absolutely impossible, given the geopolitical situation, that Lalitāditya crossed any part of Tibet proper, and while he might have reached Assam on a southern route, this would then belong to the southern ‘expedition’ to India, which preceded the ‘conquests’ in the north.

On the other hand, there are important Hindu traditions, which treat Prāḡjyotiṣa as a legendary home of the *western* Asura¹⁰⁹ and particularly of the Asura Naraka, somewhere in, or rather beyond, the Pamirs near the ‘western ocean’ or an ocean in the western quarter. Lévi points out that this localisation is not only found in the *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, see the citation below, but that the location in the north-west is also mentioned several times in the Mahābhārata.¹¹⁰ With respect to the *digvijaya* of Lalitāditya, Lévi is convinced that Prāḡjyotiṣa is found in the suite of the Bhauṭṭa, which he takes, like everybody else, for Tibet, and the Darada, and immediately before the ‘Sea of Sand’, a desert, which he identifies with the Taklamakan¹¹¹ – but does one reach the Taklamakan from Tibet via the lands of the Darada? And wouldn’t the Chinese administrators have had a word to say (and a historical note to write)?

There were the western ocean with the golden peak where twenty-four Gandharvas lived, the mountain Cakravān which was the disk created by Viśvakarman to attack the Asuras, the land of the five tribes, the mountain Varāha of sixty-four yojanas, the golden city of Prāḡjyotiṣa where lived the Dānava Naraka, and the mountain of Śakra where on the rock called Suṣena he was consecrated. Beyond it were sixty thousand golden mountains with golden peaks, in the midst of which was situated the mountain Meru... (*Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa*, NW IV, 35, 27ff.).¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ M. A. Stein 1900 I: text edition, p. 69, note to ii, 147.

¹⁰⁸ M. A. Stein 1900 I: text edition, p. 138, note to iv, 171–75; Lévi 1918: 121.

¹⁰⁹ Hopkins 1915: 257.

¹¹⁰ Lévi 1918: 121.

¹¹¹ Lévi 1918: 121.

¹¹² Guruge 1991: 219. Book IV, 41.4–41.40 of the critical edition (Vālmiki, ed. 1994: 269–74) has a more elaborate and convoluted description of the western quarter (of the known world). The monkeys are told to go to “Vāruṇa’s western quarter”. Having searched in the “inaccessible western quarter, covered by a network of mountains” the monkeys would reach “the impertubable western ocean”. They would then

Rolf A. Stein has shown that the complete Pamirian geographical template was transferred to Yunnan, Assam, Bānglādesh, Laos, and Vietnam.¹¹³ The Buddhist geographical tradition as transmitted to Tibet seems to have preserved a rough notion of the Pamirian geographical template. The exact locations of the countries or provinces in question may vary to a greater or lesser extent, but are usually found in the close vicinity of other clearly Pamirian locations. The tantric pilgrims to Uḍḍiyāna, e.g., knew of a Kāmarūpa in the west, between Lahul and Chamba;¹¹⁴ this would be an instance of greater variation. All areas and tribes mentioned in the *Rājataranṅinī* in the context of this second round of 'conquests' in the north should thus be looked for in present-day Pakistan and Afghanistan, along or across the Hindukush and the Pamirs. The mere mentioning of the Darada after the Bhauṭṭa does not necessarily prove their close vicinity. But if the account had been systematised according to the available literary and geographical models (see also below), and thus followed a strict geographical order, the Bhauṭṭa would have been situated *between* Tuhkhāra (in or across Badakhshan) and the Darada. This would match the above-mentioned cooperation of the Kashmīr army with the Chinese army in lower Gilgit. It would further indicate, that the Bhauṭṭa were, in fact, not Tibetans, but identical with the Bhatta of Pakistan, mentioned by Albērūnī:

The river Sindh rises in the mountains Unang in the territory of the Turks [...] [T]hen you have [...] on your left the mountains of Bolor and Shamīlān, Turkish tribes who are called *Bhattavaryān*. Their king has the title Bhatta-Shāh. Their towns are Gilgit, Aswira [Astor] and Shiltās [Chilās], and their language is the Turkish. Kashmir suffers much of their inroads.¹¹⁵

come across a set of mountains: Hemagiri, "where the Sindhu river meets the ocean", "Pariyātra with the 'twenty-four times ten million swift and terrible gandharvas", Cakravān "where Viśvakarma fashioned a discus with a thousand spokes", and "Varāha, sixty-four leagues high. On it is a city of pure gold named Prāgjyotiṣa, in which lives the evil-minded *dānava* named Naraka". This is followed by a mountain named Meghavān, then Meru, then, at the limits of the world in the far west, the sunset mountain. One of the complications is that the text refers to the Indus delta. The commentators think of a place in Gujarat (Vālmīki, ed. 1994: 310, note to verse 41.25). It seems that from there the imagined path leads again upriver towards the north, see Lévi 1918: 117. The intention is apparently to cover the west from the southernmost point (the Indus delta) up to the northernmost point (Mt. Meru).

¹¹³ Stein 1959: 308, n.77.

¹¹⁴ See Huber 2008: 104.

¹¹⁵ Sachau 1910 I: 207.

The expression 'river Sindh' is ambivalent. It could have referred to the Gilgit river as the source river of the Indus, in which case, the Unang mountains would be the Pamirs. However, the name apparently equally applied to the Kunar Sindh, arising in the Hindukush and flowing through Chitrāl. It could have been counted as (one of) the source river(s) of the Kābul river, which itself was counted, according to the *Ḥudūd al-'Alam* (6.13), as the source river of the Sindhu.¹¹⁶ In this case, the Unang mountains would be identical with the Hindukush, which appears to be the more likely scenario if the rulers in question reigned in Kābul.

The Bhatta-Shāh are most probably identical with, or a subgroup of, the Turki Shahi, which are known from coins of the area. In the 7th century, the Western Turks had moved into the areas west of the Altai and north of the Tianshan and then further west into Western Turkestan and into Afghanistan, where they replaced the Hephthalites. The Hephthalites or White Huns, on their part, appear to have been part of the tribal confederation of the Yuezhi¹¹⁷ or Kuṣāṇa. At least they may have identified themselves as descendants of the Kuṣāṇa ruling elite, and they apparently handed down this identification to the Turki Shahi, whose rulers directly or indirectly claimed to be descendants of Kaniška.¹¹⁸ Even the title *Shāhiya* may have been inherited from the Kuṣāṇa.¹¹⁹

There is certainly no necessity to see all alleged conquests of Lalitāditya as a single coherent expedition. The enumeration follows a similar tour de force through all of India, a *digvijaya*, and cannot be taken at face value in all details. As M. A. Stein notes, "Kalhaṇa makes Lalitāditya start on a march of triumphal conquest round the whole of India, which is manifestly legendary".¹²⁰ Much earlier, Albērūnī had already commented upon this claim:

¹¹⁶ Minorski 1937: 72, 209.

¹¹⁷ M. A. Stein 1905: 80.

¹¹⁸ See M. A. Stein 1905: 85. With respect of the Turki Shahi, Lévi and Chavannes 1985: 45 talk of "turcs d'origine tibétaine" (Turks of 'Tibetan origin'), whatever one should understand by this description. Maybe this is based on Albērūnī's statement that "[t]he Hindus had kings residing in Kābul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin", again a very enigmatic description. The last king of that lineage, Lagatūrmān, is again classified as "the last king of this Tibetan house", see Sachau 1910 II: 10, 13. It seems that Albērūnī (or one of his sources) takes the name Bhatta to be identical with Bhauṭṭa, and thus for Tibetan. Another possibility is that they were called Tibetan because they were under Tibetan suzerainty. Lévi and Chavannes 1985: 45 also note that the Turki Shahi trace their origin to Kaniška, hence to the Kuṣāṇa and Yuezhi. This is also corroborated by Albērūnī. He mentions a king of this lineage with the name Kanik, who had, according to the legend great, supernatural powers, see Sachau 1910 II: 11–13.

¹¹⁹ M. A. Stein 1905: 86.

¹²⁰ M. A. Stein 1900 I: 90f. Perhaps not so much. On the one hand, it appears quite

The 2nd of the month Caitra is a festival to the people of Kashmîr, called Agdûs (?), and celebrated on account of a victory gained by their king, Muttai [i.e., Mukṭāpīḍa; ¹²¹], over the Turks. According to their account he ruled over the whole world. But this is exactly what they say of most of their kings. However, they are incautious enough to assign him to a time not much anterior to our time, which leads to their lie being found out. It is, of course, not impossible that a Hindu should rule (over a huge empire), as Greeks, Romans, Babylonians, and Persians have done, but all the times not much anterior to our own are well known. (If, therefore, such had been the case, we should know it.) Perhaps the here mentioned king ruled over the whole of India, and they know of no other country but India and of no other nations but themselves.¹²²

It may be noted that such a *digvijaya* was already part of Indian literary traditions with Kālidāsa's Sanskrit epic poem *Raghuvamśa* (ca. 5th century)¹²³ featuring a mythical king Raghu, who conquers all quarters of India, including the northwestern quarter.¹²⁴

unlikely that Lalitāditya, and before him Yaśovarman of Kanauj, could have been able to take their troops all around India which should have taken several years of absence from their own realm (for quite a different opinion with respect of Yaśovarman, though not Lalitāditya, see Smith 1908: 777–79). It may appear conspicuous that Lalitāditya's victory over Yaśovarman and the subsequent negotiations are given in some realistic detail, while the rest is summed up. One could thus easily declare it poetical fiction, although this would be somewhat unexpected for Kalhaṇa's otherwise historical approach (see his motivation and initial critical assessment of sources I.8–21; M. A. Stein 1900 I: 2–4).

On the other hand, as suggested by Goetz 1969: 8–10, it may have also been the case that a political crisis affected India as a whole, causing instability and decay in many larger and minor kingdoms, so that short term conquests were possible. In any case, as the critical note of Alberūnī (see below in the main text) shows, the alleged *digvijaya* or universal conquest had become official propaganda in Kashmîr quite some time before Kalhaṇa sat down to write about it.

¹²¹ For the identification, see also Sen 2014: 156.

¹²² Sachau 1910 II: 178.

¹²³ The date of Kālidāsa is uncertain. The Encyclopædia Britannica dates him to the 5th century, URL 16. This is followed by the Wikipedia under the entry for the *Raghuvamśa*, URL 17. However, the main entry states that Kālidāsa's works "were most likely authored before [the] 5th century CE", URL 18. Since Kālidāsa mentions the Hūṇa, he can hardly have lived *before* the 5th century. The name Hūṇa referred to several different originally Central Asian tribes. Among them, the Kidarites were the first to bother India, and they are reported in Indian sources in present-day Afghanistan by the first half of the 5th century, URL 19. It is rather unlikely that an Indian author could know about them much earlier.

¹²⁴ There, Raghu fights the Persians and the Yavana (Greeks), then turns north and reaches the river Sindhu (Indus) and a place where saffron grows – this seems to

M. A. Stein, notwithstanding the earlier reference to the above description by Albērūnī and the mentioning of Gilgit, takes Bolor as being identical with Baltistan,¹²⁵ and hence concludes that the Turkic Bhatta of Albērūnī were identical with the allegedly Tibetan Bhauṭṭa of the *Rājataranṅiṇī*.¹²⁶ Being trapped in his preconception, Stein suggests that Albērūnī might have been mistaken when describing the language of the Bhattavaryān as Turkish. He contends that

it must be remembered that he had spoken previously (i.p.206) of ‘the Turks of Tibet’ as holding the country to the *east* of Kaśmir. There the Tibetans in Ladākḥ and adjacent districts are clearly intended (emphasis added).¹²⁷

The ‘Turks of Tibet’, however, were located by Albērūnī at Kābul (see n.118), to the *west* of Kashmīr, not to the east.

Despite Stein’s misconceptions, the identity between the two names, Albērūnī’s Bhatta and Kalhaṇa’s Bhauṭṭa, is not completely unlikely. In two manuscripts of the *Rājataranṅiṇī*, in an apparent interpolation after verse i, 307, one can also find the form Bhāṭṭa instead of Bhauṭṭa (the interpolated verse would refer to a somewhat earlier date than the first reference of the Bhauṭṭa in the period of Mihirakula).¹²⁸

be a reference to Kashmīr. Subsequently, he fights the Hūṇa and the Kāmboja (somewhere in present day Afghanistan). King Raghu seems to have been modelled after Chandragupta Vikramāditya (380 – ca. 415) of the Gupta Dynasty, who apparently also drove a campaign in the northwestern quarter, URL 20.

To a certain extent, the tone of Kalhaṇa’s description of the two campaigns resembles that of the *Raghuvaṃśa*. Pandit 1935: 128, n. to l. 126 suggests instead that Kalhaṇa had been inspired by the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja (see ed. 1975), featuring King Yaśovarman of Kanauj, who claimed in inscriptions to have performed a *digvijaya*. Such inspiration is rather unlikely, given the hyperbolic tone of the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja and the fact that it never really described these conquests. Rather Kalhaṇa’s description of a *digvijaya* by Lalitāditya might be a reaction to the inscriptional claims by Yaśovarman, since Lalitāditya is supposed to have subdued Yaśovarman.

¹²⁵ For the problem of the identification of Bolor, see also Zeisler 2010: 381–88 and the discussion of the Byltai, *Βύλται* in Appendix B. I don’t think that Bolor, or more particularly, Greater Bolor could be identified with Baltistan; at best, Baltistan may have been temporarily part of Greater Bolor. Bolor certainly encompassed Gilgit with the valleys of Hunza and Nagar, but also the regions of Chilās and Chitrāl. By the geographical conventions of the day, Lesser Bolor referred to the part closer to China, hence to Hunza and Nagar, while Greater Bolor, as indicating the part further away from China, should have referred to the southern parts along the so-called ‘Upper Indus valley’. The exact demarcation of the two parts is unknown. It seems likely, however, that the Gilgit river served as a natural boundary so that its southern bank and thus Gilgit belonged to Greater Bolor.

¹²⁶ M. A. Stein 1900 II: 363, n. 64.

¹²⁷ M. A. Stein 1900 II: 363, n. 64.

¹²⁸ See M. A. Stein 1900 I, text edition, p. 46, n. i, 307. The Bhāṭṭa are obviously seen as

Since the Turkic tribes arrived in Afghanistan only in the 7th century, the Bhāṭṭa or Bhauṭṭa of the Mihirakula period a hundred years earlier, might have referred to one of the Hephthalite or Hūṇa tribes.

If, alternatively, the listing of the Bhauṭṭa *before* the Darada means that they were settling along one of the access routes between Kashmīr and the Dards, this could indicate that the original homeland of the Bhauṭṭa lay in an area around Sonamarg and Dras (see also below). This area would give access to Ladakh, and then further on to Tibet, which makes it likely that the name got transferred to all those people whom one could reach, or who came along, this route, first to the people of Žaṅ.žūṅ, later to the Tibetan conquerors and their colonies, Baltistan and Ladakh. This kind of name transfer would be mirrored by Ladakhī naming habits as observed by Rebecca Norman (p.c.): elderly people used to call all Indians 'Kashmīrī' or 'Panjabī', apparently because the two main routes to India lead through Kashmīr and Himācal Pradesh, once a part of the Panjab.

Even, if no linear order were intended, all regional and tribal names refer to places in the north and the northwest of Kashmīr, that is, in the Hindukush, the Pamirs, and beyond. There is no reason, apart from the seductive name similarity, why the Bhauṭṭa should be found in the northeast.

Interestingly enough, with reference to Lalitāditya's alleged conquest, Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* notes that the Bhauṭṭa have extremely pale faces (iv, 168).¹²⁹ I should think that this anthropological feature (to be understood in relation to the Kashmīrī complexion) is not very characteristic for the present-day Tibetans, and also not for the present-day Ladakhī or Balti. Neither was it in the 8th century: almost contemporary to the events related in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, the Korean pilgrim Hyecho characterises the Tibetans as having a very dark complexion with only very few fair people.¹³⁰

As Albinia notes, Indian and Kashmīrī elites had become quite obsessed about skin colour by the 11th century, and had developed negative stereotypes about more whitish people of Turkic origin.¹³¹ She refers to Sheldon Pollock for a Kashmīrī description of a Ghurid ambassador with the following words:

it was almost as if the colour black had shunned him in fear of being stained by his bad reputation ... so ghastly white he

barbarians and are accused of practising incest with their sisters and daughters-in-law, and of selling their wives, see M. A. Stein 1900 I: text edition, p. 46, n. to i, 307. See also n. 83 above.

¹²⁹ M. A. Stein 1900 I: 137.

¹³⁰ Fuchs 1938: 444.

¹³¹ Albinia 2008: 57.

was, [...] whiter than the snow of the Himalayan region where he was born.¹³²

Kalhaṇa's statement might thus easily be dismissed as a racist stereotype, but it might also give us an indirect clue as to who the Bhauṭṭa or Bhāṭṭa actually were. They may have been a tribe associated with the (Śveta) Hūṇa or Hephthalites, who mainly settled in present-day Afghanistan and Pakistan, but seem to have settled, in part, at least, also in Western Tibet, near the Kailāś.¹³³

The Hephthalites were known for their extremely white complexion. It seems that many Turkic tribes initially shared this anthropological feature. Hence, it is quite likely that Kalhaṇa actually described Albērūnī's Turkic *Bhattavaryān*, settling in Gilgit.¹³⁴

For the period of the early half of the 12th century, Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* uses the name form *Bhuṭṭa*. This might imply that Kalhaṇa did not assume an identity between the Bhuṭṭa and the Bhauṭṭa. Under the reign of Jayasiṃha (1128–1149), the Darada propose to lead a rebellious Kashmīrī noble, Bhoja, through the land of the Bhuṭṭa (viii, 2886–

¹³² Pollock 1993: 277; the full passage, taken from the *Prthvīrājaviṅaya*, 10.43–46, datable to 1191–93, Pollock 1993: 275, runs as follows: “His head was so bald and his forehead so broad it was as if God had intentionally made them thus to inscribe [as on a copper plate] the vast number of cows he slain. The color of his beard, his eyebrows, his very lashes was yellower than the grapes that grow in his native region [of Ghazni]—it was almost as if even the color black had shunned him in fear of being stained by his bad reputation. Horrible was his speech, like the cry of wild birds, for it lacked cerebrals; indeed, all his phonemes were impure, impure as his complexion. ... *He had what looked like skin disease, so ghastly white he was, whiter than bleached cloth, whiter than the snow of the Himalayan region where he was born*” (Pollock 1993: 276–277, emphasis added).

¹³³ The *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa (chapter v) mentions the Hūṇa in “the region which blazes with Kailāśa's lustre (Bāṇabhaṭṭa ed. 1897: 132). Note also the name *Hundesh* or *Hūṇadeśa* for the Mñāḥ.ris region. The University of Cambridge hosts a “Map of Hundes or Ngarikhorsom, Almora and Garhwal Districts. Tehri State, Tibet and U.P.”, URL 21.

¹³⁴ If the anthropological feature of the whitish skin had been merely projected onto the Tibetans from the perspective of the 12th century, this would still shed light on the ethnic composition in Western Tibet during the 12th century. In the Arabic sources, the historical Tubbat (i.e., Tibetans) of the 9th or 10th centuries are likewise associated with the Hayṭāl (Hephthalites) or the Turks by Ṭabarī and Ya'qūbī, or only with the Turks by Mas'ūdī (Bailey 1932: 947). This can only mean that the westernmost ‘Tibetans’ or the ‘Tibetans’, with whom the Arabs and Kashmīrī first came into contact, did not look quite like Tibetans today. The reason may be that the Tibetan military administration employed ‘westerners’, that is non-Tibetan tribes, for their wars in the west. As Denwood, 2005: 10, states, “the inhabitants of Zhangzhung, once it was conquered by the Tibetans, were highly valued as shock troops to be used against the Chinese and others”. Therefore, the passage in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* cannot simply be dismissed.

88)¹³⁵ to another warring lord Trillaka. This is apparently a trap.¹³⁶ As far as I understand the sinuous context, the main conflict is staged partly in Jammu and partly in the Valley of Kashmīr.

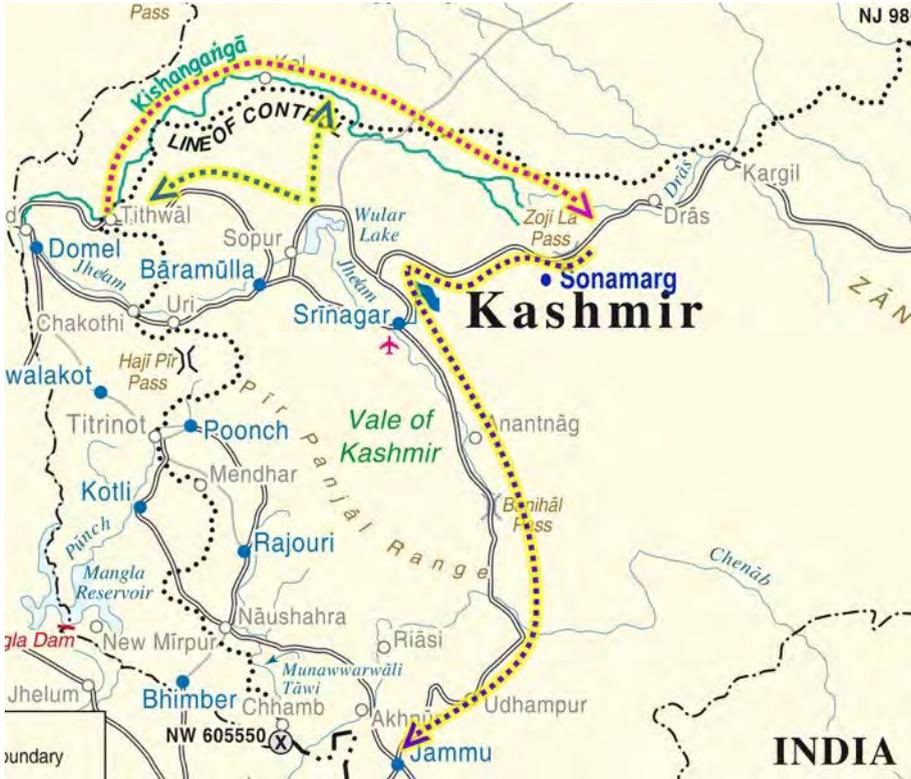
At that particular point, when they make the above suggestion, the Darada are camping at the Madhumatī river, a left-hand tributary of the Vyeth or Jhelam joining it at the Wular Lake near Bāṃḍīpurā in the Bārāmullā district. According to M. A. Stein, the main seat of the Darada, Daraddeśa, was located along the upper part the Kishangaṅgā river,¹³⁷ which flows behind a mountain ridge around the Valley of Kashmīr in a long-bent curve from near Sonamarg to Muẓaffarābād.

The proposal, notwithstanding its being a trick, could have implied to bring Bhoja either further west, in order that he may hide at a secret place for some time or it could have implied that Bhoja could have reached Srīnagar or Jammu from an unsuspected direction. In the latter case, the Darada could thus have led the rebel Bhoja either further west to the lower Kishangaṅgā at its confluence with the Jhelam or, perhaps more likely, directly up the Madhumatī across the mountains to the upper Kishangaṅgā and then up to the Zoji la and to Sonamarg, from where Bhoja ideally could have reached Srīnagar or could have continued to Jammu, see Map 16.

¹³⁵ M. A. Stein 1900 II: 227.

¹³⁶ See also Róna-Tas 1985: 30.

¹³⁷ M. A. Stein 1900 II: 435.



Map 16 — Cutout of Map No. 3828 Rev. 22 UNITED NATIONS April 2017
(Colour),
Department of Field Support Geospatial Information Section (formerly Car-
tographic Section), URL 22.
Kishangaṅgā river enhanced and names and arrows added.

This could have been a promising perspective. It is quite unlikely that Bhoja would have entered Purik in order to make a greater detour through Zaskar or even Central Ladakh. If not settling at the lower Kishangaṅgā, the Bhuṭṭa in question may thus have been a tribe settling in the eastern or upper part of the Kishangaṅgā valley and in the adjoining areas to the east. They could have settled on either side of the Zoji la, perhaps around Dras, perhaps also in other areas of Purik. Whether they identified themselves (wrongly) with the Tibetans, or whether they were (wrongly) identified with the Tibetans, or whether the Tibetans got (wrongly) identified with them, must remain an open question.

In the 15th century, then, the name form *Bhuṭṭa* appearing in Śrīva-
ra's *Rājataranṅī* did, in fact, refer to Ladakh, and, more specifically,

with the additional qualifications 'Little' and 'Great' to Baltistan and Ladakh, respectively. A report on a raid against Little and Great Bhuṭṭa by two generals, tells that while Little Bhuṭṭa was sacked, Great Bhuṭṭa apparently massacred the second troop completely (III, iii 440–43).¹³⁸ Again, no particular place is mentioned, so that the identification with present-day Baltistan and Ladakh remains somewhat problematic. It is particularly unclear how far to the east (or to the west and north-west) the application of the name Bhuṭṭa extended.

Both forms: *Bhaṭṭa* and *Bhuṭṭa* appear as personal names or elements of personal names in the Indian context (for the latter see Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* viii, 2429–2432).¹³⁹ In the first case, we typically deal with a Sanskrit princely title. However, like *Bhuṭṭa*, the form *Bhaṭṭa* seems to have been used also like an adjective, and apparently also as a tribal designation. Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (i, 331–35)¹⁴⁰ mentions a 'sorceress', that is, a tribal priestess, named Bhaṭṭā. She invites Mihirakula's son and successor Baka to a sacral feast. The latter accepts the invitation as he does not suspect that he (and his male family members) had been chosen as the sacrifice to the goddesses!

This anecdote, legendary or not, may indicate that the Bhaṭṭa, at least, belonged to the pan-Pamirian cultural complex of the Dard,¹⁴¹ Burusho, and Nuristani tribes. See also Jettmar for ancient sexual rituals or 'black masses' with possible homicides in the context of the worship of female mountain deities among the 'Dards'.¹⁴² It is conspicuous that the Bhaṭṭa or Bhuṭṭa are almost invariably mentioned in one

¹³⁸ Dhar 1994: 546–47.

¹³⁹ M. A. Stein 1900 II: 189.

¹⁴⁰ M. A. Stein 1900 I: 49.

¹⁴¹ I am using this term loosely, to refer to the possible descendants of the Darada. I am aware of the problems associated with this designation (see Clark 1977 and Mock 1997–2010, for a critical discussion of the notion *Dard*; Jettmar 1982 for an emphatic approval of the designation, at least in the actual socio-political context of the Northern Areas of Pakistan; Sökefeld 1998 more categorically for the impossibility of defining ethnic or other social or cultural groups). Leitner, who seems to have had his own political reasons to invent a *Dardistan* as a neutral no-man's land in the Pamirs, states: "In a restricted sense the Dards are the race inhabiting the mountainous country of the Shináki [...], but I include under that designation not only the Chilásis, Astóris, Gilgítis, Dareylis, etc. but also the people of Hunza, Nagyr, Yasin, Chitrál and Kafiristan", Leitner 1890s: 58. According to Leitner, there seems to have been only a single tribe, "on the left bank of the Kandiá river", that was baptized *Dard* – by its neighbours (Leitner 1890s: 58). Only the Shina speaking people of Gurēz (Gurais) would call themselves Dard or did so in recent times, see Grierson 1918: 78. However, the name *Dard* or *Dardu* seems to have been common mainly in Kashmír, see Shaw 1878: 27, n. *. Peissel, 1984: 122, claims to have observed the use of the designation Darada or *Darade* for the hill tribes north of Srīnagar by Kashmīrī living around the 'Wahur', i.e., Wular Lake. See, however, Rizvi and Kakpori's (1988) very critical evaluation of his work.

¹⁴² Jettmar 1961: 89.

breath with the Darada, and it may thus be safe to conclude that they belonged to the same cultural complex and were, for the greater part, in the loose sense 'Dards' themselves.

In a personal communication, Ruth Leila Schmidt comments on the *Bhauṭṭa* as follows:

Re *Bhauṭṭas*, this name is almost certainly derived from *Bhaṭṭa*, which appears to be the name of a dynasty in Dardistan. The name can be traced to Sanskrit and appears in the rock carvings at Chilās. It has survived in Kohistani Shina legends as *Bóṭi*, and in Indus Kohistan as *Bhaṭ-*. [...] This does not prove that the *Bhauṭṭas* were ethnic Dards, of course. But the name looms large in Shina legends as well as Palula genealogies.¹⁴³

In genealogies relating to Chilās, the name appears in the variants *Bota*, *Bôṭâ*, and *Bóṭi*, and these forms may be reconstructed as being derived from Sanskrit *bhártr̥* 'husband, lord' > *Bhaṭṭa* > *Bôṭa* > *Bóṭi*.¹⁴⁴ The royal title *bhaṭṭāraka*, fem. *bhaṭṭārikā* 'great lord'¹⁴⁵ is abundant in inscriptions and colophons relating to Gilgit and Chilās. Its intensification as *parambhaṭṭāraka* served as part of the titles assumed by the Palola (Paṭola) Śāhis, but this latter title was also used by the Hephthalite ruler *Khiṅgila*.¹⁴⁶ This demonstrates once again the ideological continuation of names and titles from the Kuṣāṇa over the Hephthalites to the local dynasties along the 'Upper Indus'. Róna-Tas' conclusion:

daß *Bhauṭṭa* nicht für Zentraltibet, sondern für Ladakh, Baltistan, also Westtibet verwendet wird ('that [the designation] *Bhauṭṭa* is not used for Central Tibet, but for Ladakh [and] Baltistan, hence West Tibet'),¹⁴⁷

would thus need the qualification that the name may have originally referred to Dardic or associated tribes further west and further south. More particularly one could think that the reference to Ladakh might have got established in Kashmīrī sources only with the late Dardic migrations into Ladakh around the 15th century. But I do not want to preclude, that the name, originally referring to a Dardic tribe, was applied to the Tibetans in general at an earlier time, just because of the superficial similarity between the elements *bhauṭ* and *bod*. It could also be

¹⁴³ Personal e-mail communication 04/2008.

¹⁴⁴ Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 9–13.

¹⁴⁵ See Monier-Williams 1899: 745b.

¹⁴⁶ See von Hinüber 2004: 109–11.

¹⁴⁷ Róna-Tas 1985: 29.

the case, that the name was applied to the Tibetans at a time when the western and southernmost 'Tibetans' had a Dardic appearance, if not affiliation. And it is further possible that the Tibetans adopted the name *Bod*, just because they, or an important part of their population continued to be called so by outsiders or also because they wanted to be associated with a tribe that had a certain fame as warriors.

In spite of this, it remains entirely unclear when and where exactly the Bhauṭṭa or Bhuṭṭa tribes resided in Western Tibet, or which tribes could have been similar enough to the former so that the name could have been transferred onto the latter.

4. *Spu.rgyal Bod* and *Rtsaṅ Bod* – the Tibetan Perspective¹⁴⁸

The official reference *Bod.yul* is found in the two versions of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the civil version OTA (PT 1288/IOL Tib J 0750) and the military version (Or 8212 0187), in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and in the *Treaty Inscription* 821/22 (w0058). It remains unclear, however, which areas were included under this designation, and whether the notion of *Bod.yul* expanded with the expansion of the Empire.

The first mention, at the beginning of OTA (PT 1288, l. 11), which resumes the last years of Sroṅ.brtsan Sgam.po retrospectively, refers to the arrival of the Chinese princess Wencheng in *Bod.yul* in 641 (or 643). The dated part of the Annals starts only with the year 650. It is possible that this is also the time when the retrospective part was written, but it is also possible that this section was added at a later time, when the annals and its shortened copies were circulated in the imperial chancelleries.

The next mention, and the first one to be reliably dated, appears in the Hare year *yos.buḥl lo* 727. This belongs to the reign of Khri.lde Btsug.brtsan (704-755). This is exactly the reign for which the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* likewise has two casual mentions of the term (PT 1287, ll. 356, 361). The so-called military version of the *Annals* (Or 8212 0187), which contains quite a few mentions (ll. 1, 30, 53, 55, 57, 63, 87), covers the years 743–765.

Apart from this official designation, the name *Bod* appears in Old Tibetan documents for at least two regions. These are potential candidates for earlier, protohistoric usages of the designation.

¹⁴⁸ The text sigla refer to the following document collections: "PT": fonds Pelliot tibétain; "Or": British Museum's Oriental collections; "IOL Tib J": India Office Library, Tibetan manuscripts from the library cave at Dunhuang. These texts are available via Old Tibetan Texts Online, URL 23.

The document PT 1038, *Origin and genealogy of Btsan po*, l. 18 mentions a *Spu Bod* in connection with the royal lineage.¹⁴⁹ Most probably, this refers not only to the lineage but to the seat of the dynasty. However, in l. 16 the same document also mentions the ‘country’ or ‘province’ (*yul*): *yul Bod.ka G’yag.drug* ‘the country of the six? of the *bod-collective*’ to which the first legendary ruler descends. The latter phrase is also found in PT 1286, *Catalogue of the Ancient Principalities and a List of the Royal Genealogy*, l. 34. Rolf A. Stein emends this into *Bod.kha g’yah.drug*, translated as ‘division en six parties’¹⁵⁰ (division in six parts), without accounting for the fact that *g’yah* usually means ‘rust’ or ‘slate’, yielding thus the ‘division of *bod* (called) the six slates’.

It seems quite unlikely that in this context the element *g’yag* means ‘(male) yak’ in its literal meaning. In some documents, the yak is mentioned together with the ‘enemies’ *dgra*, being thus associated with great danger. If this is the relevant association here, the phrase might be translated ‘to the land/ region [called] the six dangerous/ inimical parts of Bod’. However, given the possibility of a sound alternation between nasal and oral stop consonant (see also n.149 above), one may perhaps read *g’yan* ‘abyss, precipice’ and hence the ‘six gorges’.¹⁵¹ It is not unlikely that we deal here with a loan from a Burmish language, referring to gorges or simply river valleys, although in this case, one might have expected a spelling **gyag*, **k(h)yag* or even **khyog*.¹⁵² In any

¹⁴⁹ Note also the exceptional reading *bon* in l. 2: *Spu.rgyal Bon*, which gave rise to the idea that the name had something to do with the Bon ritual practices and practitioners, see Lalou 1953: 275f.; W. Simon 1955: 8; Haarh 1969: 289. This could well be a simple mistake; the writer might have confounded the names, accidentally or perhaps not so accidentally: R. A. Stein 1985: 123 suggests a possible voluntary deviation in order to differentiate the king from the official lineage; and later attestations prove to be Bonpo propaganda, see R. A. Stein 1959: 11, n. 28. On the other hand, the spelling variant might be due to a well know alternation between nasals and plosives. With respect to the initials, W. Simon 1949: 14 n. 2; 1975 implicitly takes this sound change to be unidirectional, from nasal to plosive. If that would apply also for the finals, the textual evidence could then indicate that the name for Tibet originally had nothing to do with the Baitai and the Bhautta. But one could also think of a hypercorrect form or an intentional archaism. This could happen if the sound change was still productive and nasal forms were still common besides their plosive counterparts, if only in closely related dialects: the writer, perhaps a non-native speaker, might have been tempted to invent what he thought to be a more prestigious archaic form. Finally, the sound change might not have been fully unidirectional, at least not with respect to finals (the alternation seems to be much more frequent with finals than with initials). Another option is to see in both forms a nominal derivation from the root *√bo* ‘call’ and a more general meaning ‘speak’. In that case, both forms would refer to regions where people were speakers of the same language. The Tibetan self-designation *Bod*, if it were one, would then signify nothing but “we, the speakers (of the same language)”.

¹⁵⁰ R. A. Stein 1985: 126.

¹⁵¹ See Zeisler 2011b: 175, 176 n. c.

¹⁵² The corresponding proto-Tibeto-Burman forms are reconstructed as 1. **grawk*

case, an interpretation as 'gorge' or 'valley' would certainly be more suitable than a reading 'yak' or 'hostility'.

What is likewise strange is the unmotivated element *ka*. According to Hahn, *ka* may be used to form abstract nouns from verbs or to form pronominal and numeral collectives.¹⁵³ We know it also as postposition 'on', and it is infrequently attested also with nouns for collective entities, such as Zanskarpa *rika* 'mountains' or 'mountain chain'. But does it make sense to speak of a 'collective of *bod*' if *bod* is the name of a province or country? It could make sense, perhaps, if *bod* was related to the *verbum dicendi* *hbod* 'call, name', and if there was a more general meaning of 'speaking' so that the *bod.ka* could have been the 'collective of speakers' or a collective 'we'.

With an interpretation of *g'yag* as 'ravine, gorge', the expression could have referred to a comparatively restricted mountainous area or, perhaps more likely, to the altogether six gorges of the Brahmaputra, the Nag.chu-Salween, the Dza.chu-Mekong, the Dri.chu-Yangtze, and the Ñag.chu-Yalong, plus one of the other headwaters of the Yangtze (or alternatively the headwater of the Irrawaddy), all in or to the southeast of Tibet. The number six also recalls the 'six original tribes'.¹⁵⁴ While it is certainly not necessary to take the number six too literally, the expression could well refer to southern Kham¹⁵⁵ or, even further south, to Spo.bo, the region from where the Spu.rgyal dynasty or part of the lineage of the emperors might have originated (or from where, according to the legend, the 'mad' king Dri.gum's 'son', Spu.(l)de/Ho.(l)de Guñ.rgyal was 'brought back').¹⁵⁶

'ravine, valley', related to Classical Tibetan *grog.po* 'ravine' (used in Ladakhī for smaller rivulets) and Written Burmese *khyauk* 'chasm, gulf', URL 24 and 2. *kl(y)u(ŋ/k) 'valley, river' related to Classical Tibetan *kluñs* 'river, valley' and Written Burmese *khyoŋ ~ khloŋ ~ khyuiŋ* 'valley' or 'river', URL 25. The two reconstructions are related and show – as in many other cases – that there is not only some variation between oral and nasal stops (especially in the syllable finals) but also a great variation between the post-initial glides *-y-*, *-r-*, and *-l-*, and sometimes also in the voicedness of the initial. This variation might be a sign that such words have been repeatedly borrowed between the languages in question.

¹⁵³ Hahn 1996: 37f.

¹⁵⁴ See R. A. Stein 1961.

¹⁵⁵ Note the traditional designation *chu.bži sgañ.drug* 'four rivers, six spurs' for the Kham region, later also the name of a guerrilla group, see URL 26.

¹⁵⁶ According to the legend, represented in the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, Dri.gum, overestimating his abilities, or simply going crazy, challenged his vassals to take up a fight with him. One of his vassals, Lo.ñam accepted the challenge, and the fight took place near Mt. Kailāś. Lo.ñam killed the king and expelled his two 'sons'. A mythical figure then invited one of these 'sons' back. While most Tibetan traditions agree that the 'son' of Dri.gum, the 'mad' king, is 'brought back' from Spo.bo, none of these sources actually specifies whereto.

For Haahr 1969: 18 and passim and Tucci 1970: 246, the narrative about Dri.gum and his 'son' would point to a break in the legendary prehistoric 'dynastic' lineage.

The document IOL Tib J 731, *End of the Good Age and Tragedy of the Horse and Yak*, ll. 29, 47, 67 mentions a *Spu.rgyal Bod* in connection with the language into which the text has been translated. The document IOL Tib J 732, *Story of the Bride of Gyim po mnyag cig*, l. 14 mentions a *Skyi.rgyal Bod*, again in connection with the language into which the story was translated. It is unclear whether this is only a variant of the afore-mentioned name or actually a separate name. However, there was a province called *Skyi.ro*, which Hazod associates with a place 30km south of Lhasa.¹⁵⁷ Most probably, he thinks of a relation with the *Skyi.chu*, the river passing Lhasa. But one might perhaps likewise think of *Skyi(d).roñ* (Kyirong) in the southwest, across the border to Nepal.

Thomas describes some documents written in Tibetan script, but in the Nam language.¹⁵⁸ These pretend to be translations, starting with the common phrase *in the language of so-and-so [it is called] so-and-so*. While the second and third documents mention the language of *Spu.-rgyal Bod*, the first document again has *Spyi.rgyal Bod*, which Thomas takes just for an error. R. A. Stein mentions that in the epic the name elements *skyi*, *spyi* and *lci* appear to be interchangeable for a meeting

In fact, the 'lineage' is divided into six groups, which are aligned with the four cosmic realms: heaven as the abode of the deities or *lha*, the middle realm as the abode of the *btsan* or mountain spirits, earth as the abode of the humans or *mi*, and the underworld of the water spirits, the *nāga* or *klu*: 1. *Gnam.gyi Khri bdun* (the Seven Stars of Heaven – see Zeisler 2015 for this new etymology of *khri*), 2. *Stod.kyi* or *Bar.gyi Steñ(s) gñis* (two Upper or Middle Heaven[dwellers]), 3. *Sa.la* (var. *Sañi*) *Legs drug* (six Excellent Beings on or of the Earth), 4. *Chu.la* (or *Sa.la*) *Lde brgyad* (eight Divine Beings in the Water or Netherworld or on the Earth), 5. *Bar.gyi Btsan lña* (five *Btsan* or Mountain Spirits of the Middle Realm), 6. five unclassified rulers, constituting the last group before the historically attested rulers, possibly containing some real figures. There is considerable variation in the names of the groups, their ordering, in the number and ordering of their elements, and particularly in the names of the rulers, see Haarh 1969: 72; Linnenborn 2004: 63f.

I would, however, think that the original enumeration from above (heaven) to below (the netherworld) reflects not only breaks in the 'lineage', but rather a synchronic template of more or less half-mythical principalities enumerated from west (traditionally located 'up') to the east (traditionally located 'down'). The 'second' group to which *Spu.(l)de/ Үо.(l)de Guñ.rgyal* belongs must have been added at a later time, when the historical rulers claimed to be the legitimate descendants of this 'lineage'. The secondary character of the group is shown in the very limited number of its members, its ambivalent classification as 'upper' or 'middle' and by the fact that it effectively has displaced the group of the *btsan*.

One should in any case be aware that the Old Tibetan 'nation-building' mythology is most probably a willful amalgamation of the most diverse legends from all different regions. These mythological accounts cannot be taken at face value. The reference to *Spo.bo*, however, seems to point to a southeastern origin of the imperial lineage.

¹⁵⁷ Hazod 2002: 35.

¹⁵⁸ Thomas 1928: 632.

place of Gliñ in Kham.¹⁵⁹ There is also mention of a mountain *Spyi-rgyal*.¹⁶⁰ It seems thus that the forms *Skyi.rgyal* and *Spyi.rgyal* are dialectal variants, and this may further indicate that the name *Spu.rgyal* and the respective name bearers and lineage originated in the east.

One funeral text, PT 1039, l. 7 further mentions a *Hbod.yul* in a description reminiscent of those in the catalogues of principalities: *Hbod Hbod.yul Dbye.mo yul.drug ku-na rje Dbye.rje Khar.ba* etc. 'in the six provinces [of] *Dbye.mo* [one of the many] *Hbod* provinces, the lord [is] the *Dbye* lord *Khar.ba*' etc. I take the reduplication of the designation *Hbod* as a case of distributive marking, and thus as indicating a plurality of *hbod* provinces. The spelling alternative may simply be erroneous, but it may also indicate the above-suggested relationship with the *verbum dicendi* *hbod*. On the other hand, the spelling insecurity could also point to an external origin of the name. *Dbye.mo yul.drug* is one of the 40 (or 42) smaller principalities *rgyal.phran sil.ma bži.bcu*. The place name appears also in PT 1285 (*Story of Bon and Gshen*) and IOL Tib J 374 (*Age of Decline*), but in these cases without any reference to *Bod* or *Hbod*. In the *Catalogue of the Ancient Principalities and a List of the Royal Genealogy* PT 1286, l. 12, *Dbye.mo yul.bži* (!) appears as the seventh entity after *Skyi.ro.ñi Ljañ.sñon* and *Nas.po.ñi Khra.sum*.

Finally, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, OTC, ll. 75, 199, 200, 319 mentions a *Rtsañ Bod*. Only this latter entity seems to have had a seizable historical reality. The name referred to a province of *Rtsañ* or perhaps also to the whole country of *Rtsañ* (on the upper course of the Brahmaputra). The ruler of *Rtsañ* appears to have been affiliated with the Tocharians, an Indo-European people 'identical' or merely associated with the *Yuezhi*. This affiliation is borne out by the name or title *rje Rtsañ.rjeñi Thod.kar* 'the ruler, Tocharian of/among the *Rtsañ* rulers', given to his lineage in the *Catalogue of the Ancient Principalities*, PT 1286, ll. 7f. *Rtsañ* or parts of *Rtsañ* seem to have been vassals of their western and/ or northern neighbour *Žaň.žuň*, before both were annexed by the Tibetans. *Rtsañ Bod* was conquered for the Tibetans by a *Žaň.žuň* noble, *Khyuň.po Spuň.sad Zu.tse* (who seems to have been a collaborating war profiteer) under the reign of *Gnamri Slonmtshan* in the late 6th or early 7th century (OTC, ll. 75, 199, 200, 319).

If one reads between the lines of the first chapter of OTC, one can get the impression that the 'Tibetan' 'nation' started to crystallise first in *Žaň.žuň*. *Dri.gum*, the legendary 'mad' king, who is said to have challenged his vassal *Lo.ñam*, only to die from the latter's hands, could have been a Western Tibetan ruler, or a ruler with interests in Western Tibet, as the combat with *Lo.ñam* is staged near the *Kailás*. Most

¹⁵⁹ R. A. Stein 1956: 8.

¹⁶⁰ R. A. Stein 1956: 27.

interestingly, the Western Tibetan tradition of the *Bkaḥ.chems/ Bkaḥ.thems ka.kholma* relates the Dri.gum-Lo.ñam episode in the context of a raid into Kashmīr.¹⁶¹ The most likely candidates for such a raid are the Tuyuhun and/or their unnamed allies, who in the year 445 conquered Khotan and then pushed south as far as Jibin, that is, Kapiśa (possibly plus Gandhāra)¹⁶² on the Kābul river, where they entered into an alliance with the Hephthalites or Hūna.¹⁶³

Dri.gum's dominion, and that of the possibly neighbouring Lo.ñam, were apparently usurped by the founder of the Spu.rgyal Dynasty, Spu.(l)de Guñ.rgyal, who was, as I believe, just as much or as little Dri.gum's son, as Lo.ñam was Dri.gum's murderer. Whether or not that particular Spu.(l)de Guñ.rgyal became a ruler of Yar.kluñs, or whether or not the power centre was shifted there at a later time, is another question. But it seems that the phrase *Spu.rgyal Bod* was used, retrospectively in much later times, to discriminate his dominions from the (almost) historical Rtsaṅ Bod.

Of course, adherents of an 'early Tibet' theory would claim that Spu.rgyal Bod existed before 600, cf., e.g., Sørensen and Hazod, according to whom "the toponym *sPu-rgyal Bod* arguably goes back to the period when the initial attempt to unity [!] the country or the confederation was made by the *Yar lung rgyal po* (second half of 6th century)".¹⁶⁴ Unfortunately, there is no single historical evidence for this assumption. But the name would then have referred only to a tiny little province.

All this points to the fact that the name element *bod* did not originally refer to a 'Tibetan' 'nation' but to two or more minor entities. One

¹⁶¹ See also Zeisler 2011b: 127, n.18.

¹⁶² As Molè 1970: 97, n.105 explains, the term Jibin referred to Kashmīr in Buddhist texts from the 2nd century up to Xuanzang's time. In the Confucian tradition from the 1st century up to the 5th century, it referred to the Indian kingdoms of the north-west in general, including thus the Śakas, Kuṣāṇa, and Hephthalites. Her main reason to opt for Gandhāra is that Kashmīr was not known to the Chinese court before its conquest by the Hephthalites in 518, see Molè 1970: 98. Benjamin 2007: 110 identifies Jibin (Chi-pin) with Kashmīr, although he cites a description by which it would be located south-west (!) of Nandou (which he associates with the lower Gilgit valley), hence it can only be Kapiśa with Chitrāl and/ or Gandhāra. Lévi and Chavannes (1985: 38) note that Jibin (Ki-pin) was originally the name of Kashmīr, but the exact reference was forgotten, and when the name was reactivated, it was applied arbitrarily to regions west of Kashmīr. Gandhāra was counted as eastern capital of Jibin, but, of course, the capital of Gandhāra was Puruṣapura, modern Peshawar on the Kābul river (Lévi and Chavannes 1985: 41). For the identification of Jibin (Ki-pin) with Kapiśa on the upper Kābul river, thus west of Gandhāra, see also M. A. Stein 1905: 76; Pelliot 1934: 39, n.1 of p. 38; Sen 2014: 142, Map 1; John E. Hill 2003: Section 8 with n. 4 gives Kapiśa-Peshawar.

¹⁶³ Molè 1970: xv, 97f., n.105; the sources apparently contradict each other in stating that the Tuyuhun submitted to, or subdued, Jibin.

¹⁶⁴ Sørensen and Hazod 2005: 42, n. 10; emphasis added.

of these entities, Rtsaṅ Bod can be located on the upper Yar.kluṅs Rtsaṅs.po (or uppermost course of the Brahmaputra), and at least its rulers seem to have had a Scythian affiliation. The other entity, *Spu.rgyal Bod*, if not a fiction, might have existed not far from the first one, perhaps just on the other, western side of the Kailāś. At some time, the name Bod may have been projected also to the 'six gorges' of Spo.bo in the south-east of Tibet, perhaps only after the name Bod was applied to the growing empire. Alternatively, the name Bod, originally associated with the 'six gorges' of Spo.bo could have been brought along from the east with a new ruling elite.

5. 發羌 Fā Qiāng – the Chinese Perspective

Several Chinese sources hold that the Tibetans descended from (a sub-tribe of) the Qiang (羌 Qiāng), and this claim has found its way into Wikipedia.¹⁶⁵ Because the modern Qiang speak a Tibeto-Burman language, it is throughout the relevant literature silently assumed that the ancient Qiang were a Sino-Tibetan tribe or a rather homogeneous group of Sino-Tibetan tribes.

However, the designation Qiang as used by the ancient Chinese sources is an underspecified exonym referring to non-Chinese (that is, non-Han), mainly nomadic tribes. The corresponding ideograph refers to 'Shepherds', but its usage is rather derogative in the sense of 'Barbarians' and not neutral in the sense of 'Herdsmen'. "It is as best read as a Han conceptualisation of the 'other' [...] that reflects a distinction between a pastoral and an agricultural lifeway".¹⁶⁶ Wen Maotao adds, "Qiang was a word with a specific negative sense".¹⁶⁷

It seems that the earliest so named Qiang, that is, those of the oracle bone inscriptions (beginning ca. 1250),¹⁶⁸ were located at the upper reaches of the Yellow River, and in the mountains along the upper reaches of the three southward bound rivers Salween, Mekong, and Yangtze. There seems to have been some southward movement in antiquity.¹⁶⁹ Whether or not the Qiang of the oracle bone inscriptions were the same people as those in the period of the Han Dynasty (202–220) remains unclear. Like with so many other designations, the reference might well have changed through the ages.¹⁷⁰ Tse asserts, "the lineage of the Qiang from prehistoric to the Han periods should be

¹⁶⁵ See URL 27.

¹⁶⁶ Aldenderfer and Zhang 2004: 40 with further reference.

¹⁶⁷ Wen Maotao 2014: 56.

¹⁶⁸ See also URL 28.

¹⁶⁹ Yü Ying-shih 1986: 422.

¹⁷⁰ R. A. Stein 1957: 3.

suspected of being an invented or an imaginative construction".¹⁷¹ Fanye, the author of the *Hou Hanshu*, and apparently the first to write a more detailed account of the Qiang, would have

constructed a fictive relationship between the Qiang and the Han people by associating the Qiang with legendary figures such as Emperor Shun and the San Miao in order to lead his readers to believe that the Qiang were people with whom the Chinese ancestors had already associated. [...] It was a project of demystifying the Qiang and familiarizing the Han people with them. [...] Besides, as an enemy of the Han people, the Qiang were depicted as debased and barbarous as possible. They were the offspring of the ostracized San Miao and then a member of the barbarous Western Rong; their legendary chieftain Wuyi Yuanjian was originally a slave of the Qin state, which was regarded as the culturally backward regional state of the Zhou dynasty. Hence, the ancestors of the Qiang were constructed as being the worst of the worst. [...] All these depictions clearly show how the Qiang people were being despised and de-humanized in the standard history.¹⁷²

When both, "Han and Qiang united to fight against the empire, [...] ethnic Han people were called Qiang by their imperial adversary".¹⁷³ The designation *Qiang* was thus

a label used to refer to a hostile population living west of the Later Han imperial center. At this point, "Han" and "Qiang" are malleable [read: malleable] terms that define the people who either swore allegiance to the imperial state or did not.¹⁷⁴

There seems to be evidence that the designation Qiang was also applied to nomads of non-Tibeto-Burman, i.e., Turkic-Mongolian or Indo-European descent.¹⁷⁵ To a certain extent, all three groups must have lived in close vicinity to each other, particularly in the so-called 'dependent states', which were set up mainly for the Qiang, but were populated also with Xiongnu and Yuezhi. From time to time, these groups were joining hands in rebellions against the Han, in some cases even under Han leadership.¹⁷⁶ Whatever the 'official' identities, all these

¹⁷¹ Tse 2012: 220.

¹⁷² Tse 2012: 222–24.

¹⁷³ Tse 2012: 225.

¹⁷⁴ Tse 2012: 225f.

¹⁷⁵ See, with caution, Beckwith 2002: 152, n.79.

¹⁷⁶ Yü Ying-shih 1986: 428, 434.

groups were without much doubt composite federations, including clans or tribes of different ethnic origin. In this context, clan affiliations might have been much more important than tribal affiliations, and the question which language to use might have been decided more by the immediate environment than by one's origin. In this rather fluid situation, there was probably nothing that could be termed ethnic or linguistic identity in the modern sense.¹⁷⁷

From the period of the Han Dynasty onwards, Chinese sources distinguish between several subcategories of Qiang, but it is not evident whether such distinctions merely reflected political differences (as being more or less adverse or cooperative to the Chinese power struggle) or also ethnic differences. Again, some of the Qiang are located in the present-day provinces Qinghai, Gansu, and Shensi. However, as Meakin and Luo note, the name 'Qiang was probably "a shifting exonym for tribes encountered in Chinese westward expansion and therefore included a variety of steppe tribal groups, probably sharing similar cultural and possibly linguistic traits", similar to the groups that go by the name 'Scythian'.¹⁷⁸

One of the larger groups, the Chuò (or Ér) Qiāng, 婼羌 "had been active throughout an extremely large area in the Western Regions, stretching along the K'un-lun mountains from the neighbourhood of Dunhuang in the east to the Pamirs in the west",¹⁷⁹ reaching the neighbourhood of Hunza.¹⁸⁰ Rather than being Tibeto-Burmans, these people might have been related to the Yuezhi/ Scythians and/ or to the Pamirian population that left behind the Tarim mummies in the same area (see also above, p.23). The name variant Ruò Qiāng is still attested for a town and a county encompassing the ancient Qakilik or Charklik area near the Lop Nor, with the characters 若羌 for the town and originally 婼羌,¹⁸¹ later also 若羌 for the county.¹⁸²

While Eberhard claims that the so-called 'West Tibetans' [i.e., Western Qiang or Xī Qiāng 西羌] of the later sources had a rather homogeneous culture, distinct from the Turkic-Mongolian and Indo-European nomads,¹⁸³ he also cites sources according to which they are clearly to be distinguished from other Qiang tribes: they are said to have been separated from China by other Qiang tribes until the Sui dynasty (581–

¹⁷⁷ Meakin and Luo 2008 give a detailed and informative overview on the various possible relationships between the Qiang and other peoples. I benefited greatly from Meakin's English draft version, she kindly sent to me.

¹⁷⁸ Meakin and Luo 2008 with further references.

¹⁷⁹ Yü Ying-shih 1986: 425. See J. E. Hill 2004: n. 3.1 and 3.3.

¹⁸⁰ J. E. Hill 2004: n. 9.19.

¹⁸¹ These characters actually refer to the Chuò Qiāng 婼羌.

¹⁸² See URL 29 and URL 30.

¹⁸³ Eberhard 1942: 83–85.

618¹⁸⁴), they are further said to live in the Qiang area, but (also) further south and west. Some of their customs bring them closer to the Xiongnu and the Iranian tribes, such as the importance of the horse, the sacrifice of horses or cattle at funerals, or the *comitatus*, the members of which will get buried with their leader upon his death.¹⁸⁵

An analogous term, 西番 *Xī Fān* ‘Western Barbarians’, was used a) generally for the “[n]ative peoples west of Gansu under the Tang”, b) more specifically for the Qiang and their homelands, and c) also for the Tibetans and eastern Tibet.¹⁸⁶ The name contains the element 番 *fān*, which features also as part of the Chinese medieval name of Tibet: 吐蕃, 吐蕃 / 土蕃 or 吐蕃, 土蕃.

By the time of the Qing dynasty (i.e., from 1636 onwards),¹⁸⁷ the designations *Qiang* and *Tibetan*, with or without the specification ‘western’, were used interchangeably. E.g., in the *Ming Shi* 明史 (compiled between the 2nd half of the 17th century and completed in 1739¹⁸⁸) it was stated that *Xī Fān jí Xī Qiāng* 西番即西羌 “Western Bod is Western Qiang”,¹⁸⁹ with the ironical result that the so-called ‘West Tibetans’ were living in the easternmost part of the Tibetan cultural sphere!

The Qiang are often described as an acephalic group, “with a pronounced tendency towards fission”.¹⁹⁰ Wen Maotao cites the *Hou Hanshu*, vol. 87, *Records of Western Qiang*, as stating “Qiang people neither establish a unified country nor obey one king. People make alliances with stronger tribes and fight for resources with each other”.¹⁹¹

The Qiang settling in Qinghai in the first two centuries CE are described by Bielenstein as having “retained their tribal organisation under chiefs”, one of these chiefs even proclaiming himself Son of Heaven in 108.¹⁹² But according to de Crespigny, the rebellion of Dianlian, who was “sufficiently sinicised to take the Chinese imperial title and proclaim himself as ‘Son of Heaven’” was a singular instance of strong leadership, the success of which ended with his death,¹⁹³ demonstrating once again the “lack of unity among the Qiang”.¹⁹⁴

An important branch of apparently more ‘tribal’ Western Qiang were the Dangxiang, one of the tribes of the later Tangut or Miñag.

¹⁸⁴ See URL 31.

¹⁸⁵ Eberhard 1942: 92–95; for the last point see p. 93.

¹⁸⁶ See URL 32.

¹⁸⁷ See URL 33.

¹⁸⁸ See URL 34.

¹⁸⁹ Wen Maotao 2014: 62 with further references.

¹⁹⁰ Yü Ying-shih 1986: 422.

¹⁹¹ Wen Maotao 2014: 59; see also de Crespigny 1984: 58f.

¹⁹² Bielenstein 1986: 270.

¹⁹³ de Crespigny 1984: 112.

¹⁹⁴ de Crespigny 1984: 113.

Initially, they seem to have had marriage alliances with the predominantly Mongolic Tuyuhun (吐谷渾, Tib. Ḥaža); at a later stage, the apparently likewise Mongolic Tuoba 拓拔 formed their most prominent clan.¹⁹⁵

If being acephalic was originally characteristic of the Tibeto-Burman Qiang, then any such more 'tribal' or organised Qiang were either not Tibeto-Burman at all, or they had merged to a great extent with the tribal groups of Central Asia, the Indo-Europeans, the Turks, and the Mongols. This is, in fact, suggested by de Crespigny, according to whom

the Western Qiang came under the dominance of, and were to a considerable extent absorbed by, the expanding power of the Xianbi.¹⁹⁶

In any case, as Franke and Twitchett state:

The ethnic and linguistic composition of the peoples bordering on China in the north and in the west was *always* fluid: Whole tribes either voluntarily joined the dominant tribe or were placed under their leadership by force or persuasion.¹⁹⁷

All this makes it difficult, if not impossible, to understand what is actually meant when Chinese sources comment that the 'Tibetans'-to-be descended from the Qiang or a subgroup of the Qiang or perhaps more realistically that they were organised as a separate group under alleged Qiang leadership.

It is in this blurred associative terminological network that the above-mentioned Fā Qiāng appear (see above note 13), whose name may or may not be related to that of the Baitai and may or may not be related to that of the Bod.

These Fā Qiāng are mentioned *en passant* in the *Hou Hanshu* (the History of the Later Han), a text that was written during the 5th–6th century. According to Nathan W. Hill, who follows Beckwith uncritically,¹⁹⁸ the earliest reference to the Fā Qiāng would date back to the period of 126–146.¹⁹⁹

According to Beckwith, the name would appear in a descriptive list of Qiang. With reference to HHS 87, 2898, he gives the following translation and comment:

¹⁹⁵ Dunnell 1994: 155–57.

¹⁹⁶ de Crespigny 1984: 168.

¹⁹⁷ Franke and Twitchett 1994: 12, emphasis added.

¹⁹⁸ Beckwith 1977: 4.

¹⁹⁹ N. W. Hill 2006: 88.

“The Fa Ch’iang and the T’ang-mao are extremely far away, and never had relations with us.” No date is, unfortunately, given to indicate the first time the Chinese found about the people. The immediately preceding sentence, while having nothing to do with the Fa Ch’iang, mentions the period 順帝時 “in the time of Shun-ti”, that is 126 to 145 A.D., so that the Fa Ch’iang were first heard about this time.²⁰⁰

This, however, is imprecise. The relevant passages are found in Chapter 117 of the *Hou Hanshu* Book 87. A translation of this chapter is provided by Meakin.²⁰¹ What Beckwith refers to belongs to an unsystematic resumption at the end of the history.²⁰² This summary starts with the 5th century CE ancestor of the Qiang, jumps to the period of Emperor Shun, mentions the Fā Qiāng, and jumps back to 37. From that point, it proceeds more lineally over 94 to 107, and ends with 148.

The Fā Qiāng are mentioned exactly twice in the years 101 and 102 (HHS 87; 2884-5). In autumn 98, a certain Mitang, tribal chief of the Qiang had invaded Longxi (a Commandery in Gansu) and caused military action on the part of the Han. In autumn 101, after another rebellion,

[t]he Qiang multitudes suffered losses and injuries and their people collapsed. More than 6,000 surrendered and they were moved to Hanyang, Anding and Longxi. Mitang was weakened and was left with less than 1,000 people and they moved far beyond the head of the Ci Zhi River, settling among and reliant on the Fa Qiang.²⁰³

For the year 102, an official report is quoted, which describes the situation as follows:

Today they [i.e. the Qiang under the leadership of Mitang] are weak and hard-pressed and the cooperation between them has broken down. Related peoples are turning their back on one another and the remaining soldiers who are able to fight only number a few hundred and they have fled far away to rely on the Fa Qiang.²⁰⁴

Meakin suggests that

²⁰⁰ Beckwith 1977: 4.

²⁰¹ Meakin 2014.

²⁰² See Meakin 2014: 27f.

²⁰³ Meakin 2014: 14f.

²⁰⁴ Meakin 2014: 15,

[f]ar beyond the head of the Ci Zhi River could be into the Qaidam basin or into the Kunlun mountains, moving towards eastern Xinjiang, which is closer to where the Er Qiang of the Han Shu seem to have been.²⁰⁵

According to a personal communication by Rachel Meakin (email 19.10.2020), the Cizhi river may be identical with the Xizhi river, mentioned in the *Tangshu*. This may have been one of the feeders of the upper Yellow River.²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, this remains a conjecture. It is impossible to know where exactly the Fā Qiāng settled, who they were, or how the element fā 發 should be treated. It could represent the name of the tribe in question, but it could as well be descriptive. The character fā 發 has the meaning 'to send off' or also 'shoot', in which latter case it could describe the people as archers or describe their hostility.²⁰⁷ As a descriptive term, fā 發 could possibly also simply mean 'distant', as suggested by de Crespigny.²⁰⁸ In my opinion this would be the most feasible interpretation. After all, nothing more is known about them than that they provide a safe harbour for the enemies of the Han, which means that they are out of reach of the Han. There was no communication, and thus the Han quite apparently had no idea who the Fā Qiāng were, not even where exactly they settled. It is rather ridiculous to derive an ethnic identity, not to speak of a relationship, with the 'Tibetans'-to-be, from these meagre passages.

Nevertheless, this is exactly what modern authors claim. An example can be seen in Fei's earlier article, where he further shifts the temporal reference by about 300 years into the pre-Han period:

According to the Han Dynasty (206 BC–AD 226) historical records, the Tibetans were an offshoot of the western Qiang from the pre-Han period. They were called Fa Qiang or *bod* in the ancient pronunciation [!]. Tibetans still call themselves this today. The Fa Qiang were one of the many tribes living in Gansu and Qinghai.²⁰⁹

This practically turns into full identity in Fei's later article:

²⁰⁵ Meakin 2014: 15, n. 114.

²⁰⁶ de Crespigny 1984: 502, n. 87 takes the two names as referring to the same place: "Xizhi 析支, also written *cizhi* 賜支 [simplified 賜支], was the territory of the bend of the Yellow River south of the Koko Nor and west of present-day Gansu province". This was the area of the Jishi shan (積石山; simplified 积石山), identified with the Amnye Machen.

²⁰⁷ See Meakin and Luo 2008.

²⁰⁸ de Crespigny 1984: 56, with further references in 592, n.4.

²⁰⁹ Fei Xiaotong 2015: 100.

Let me begin from the Tibetans in the west. According to Han-language historical records, during the Han Dynasties the Tibetans belonged to the western Qiang people. Tibet had “Fa Qiang,” pronounced “bod” in its ancient language, which the Tibetans now call themselves.²¹⁰

Part of this is due to attempts in later Chinese historical sources at establishing some kind of relationship between the newly encountered Tibetans and other, more or less known, peoples. This attempt also involves the redefinition of names in several steps. The first step is to alter the second part of the name from Hútí Bóxīyě 鶻提 勃悉野 (“Huti Puxiye” in Schaeffer et al.) to Bósūyě 勃率野 (see “Hut’ip’usuyeh” in Bushell and “Huti Pusuye” in Schaeffer et al.).²¹¹ The second step, implying an inversion of characters, is from Bósūyě to Sūbóyě 率勃野 (“Supuye” in Schaeffer et al.).²¹² The third step further involves quite different characters and tones, leading from Tūfǎ 秃發, the Mongolian

²¹⁰ Fei Xiaotong 2017: 22. Internet sources uncritically add to such unproven claims. The unwillingness to follow academic standards and to check the sources indicates vested interests. John E. Hill kindly sent me quotations from Chinese internet sources. One of most telling runs in rough (Google) translation as follows: “According to the pronunciation of ancient Chinese, it [fa] can also be translated as Bod-rang-skyong-ljong [!] This official term, which stands for the modern ‘Tibetan Autonomous Region’, is given in Romanisation in the Chinese text]. Faqiang was originally a branch of the Qiang. [...] Faqiang first settled in the Jinsha Riverside area in western Sichuan Province, and then gradually moved westward to the Qinghai-Tibet Plateau to establish Faqiang State. [!] The country established by the Faqiang people is roughly located in the southeastern part of the present-day Tibet Autonomous Region, covering the Nyingchi and Shannan areas of the autonomous region, and the northeastern Assam state of the Indian subcontinent [...]. The Faqiang people later united with another branch of the Qiang ethnic group, Tang Chanqiang, and established the Qiang State in 101 AD with Lhasa, the Tibet Autonomous Region (in ancient times known as Luxie) as the center” (baike.baidu.com, URL 35).

²¹¹ For the respective transcriptions see Bushell 1880: 439; Schaeffer et al. 2013: 7.

²¹² The ‘surname’ 勃率野 actually yields pinyin *bósūyě*. The final name, 率勃野 then yields pinyin *sūbóyě*. I am not aware of the particular reasons that underly the voiceless aspirated interpretation of the character 勃 in “Puxiye”, “Pusuye”, and “Supuye”. Voiced rendering in pinyin, as in the case of *bó* or *bo* stands for voiceless non-aspirated consonants, hence *po*, while the voiceless rendering, such as *pó* or *po* would stand for voiceless aspirated consonants, hence *pho*, as, e.g., reflected by *p’o* in the Wade-Gill system. I am further not aware what motivates the representation of the vowel as *u* instead of *o*, apart from making the name look more like the supposed Tibetan equivalent *spu.rgyal* (something that I would respect in pioneering attempts, as that of Bushell 1880, but rather not in contemporary studies). The character 鶻 and its traditional form 鶻 yields ambivalent interpretations: *gú*, *gǔ* or *hú*, see URL 36, but for the sake of the argument, I chose the form closest to the standard interpretation.

clan name, to Tǔfān/Tǔbō 吐蕃, the Chinese equivalent for the name of the *Tibetans*. This last 'identification' clearly demonstrates the attempt at integrating the completely unrelated Fā Qiāng into the story. One can see the 'construction' of 'coherent' history in full swing. Similarly, the reorganisation from the name Hútí Bóxīyě ("Huti Puxiye") 鶻提 勃悉野 via Bósūyě ("Pusuye" 勃率野, into Hútí Sūbóyě ("Huti Supuye") 鶻提 率勃野 shows the attempt to link the dynastic name of the Tibetan emperors, *Spu.rgyal* to a name they apparently encountered earlier, even though the background of the name Hútí Bóxīyě ("Huti Puxiye") 鶻提 勃悉野 is even more obscure than that of the Fā Qiāng.

The older Tang history, the *Jiu Tangshu* simply states that the ancestry of the Tibetans is unknown, but ventures the idea that they descended from Tūfǎ 禿發 Lilùgū of the Southern Liang and that after a certain time, his son, Fánǎi "changed his surname to 'Supoye' and adopted his original clan name Tūfǎ 禿發 as the name of his state". The latter name then became 'accidentally corrupted' – or perhaps rather forcefully reinterpreted – into Tǔfān 吐蕃.²¹³ I should like to quote the full passage from Rachel Meakin's yet unpublished translation of *Jiu Tangshu*, role 207, biography 146.²¹⁴ Notes in square brackets are from Meakin.

The Tufan are 8,000 li (c.2584km (Tang li = 323m) west of Chang'an in the territory which was Western Qiang in the Han period. No-one knows where their kind of tribes came from. Some say they are descended from Li Lugu of the Tufa^[215] of Southern Liang. Li Lugu had a son called Fanni and when Li Lugu died Fanni was still a child so Li Lugu's younger brother Rutan took over whilst Fanni became 'Pacifying the West' general. In the 1st Shenrui year (414) of Northern Wei, Rutan was killed by Qifu Chipan of the Western Qin. Fanni then gathered his people and surrendered to Juqu Mengxun^[216] and Mengxun appointed him as governor of

²¹³ See Bushell 1880: 439f.; Schaeffer et al. 2013: 7f.

²¹⁴ Meakin, in preparation. For a modern edition of the chapter see URL 37.

^[215] *Nanliang tufa liligu* 南凉禿發利鹿孤: the Tufa, who founded the Southern Liang state (397-414), were a branch of the Xianbei peoples to the northeast of China. Although the Dangxiang are often referred to as Qiang, a dominant Xianbei tribe were the Tuoba 拓跋 which was also a Dangxiang tribal name, and indication of possible overlap.

^[216] The Qifu clan were another branch of the Xianbei and the Juqu clan were Xiongnu descendants so this is an example of the inter-tribal conflict of this period.

Linsong.^[217] After Mengxun's demise, Fanni led his people west and across the Yellow River, going beyond Jishi^[218] 219 and establishing a state among the Qiang^[220] where he opened up about 1,000 li of land. Fanni's power and kindness were respected and renowned and he was appreciated by the Qiang peoples (群羌). He fostered good relations with them to gain their favour and trust and they came over to him in droves. Then he changed his clan name to Suboye (率勃野) and used Tufa (秃發) as the name of the state, which was mistakenly said as Tufan (吐蕃). His descendants multiplied and prospered, constantly invading, and their territory gradually spread. Through the Zhou and Sui periods they were still at a distance from the various Qiang and had no communication with China.

The newer Tang history, the *Xin Tangshu*, which was compiled over a longer period and remodelled in the 11th century²²¹ fills in the following:

Included among them [i.e., the Western Qiang] were the Fa Qiang and Tangmao, who, however, had no intercourse with China. [...] Their ancestor (founder of the dynasty), named Huti Puxiye, was a powerful warrior, and most politic, and by degrees united the different Qiang tribes, and ruled over their territory. *Fan* resembles *fa* in sound, hence his descendants acquired the name of Tufan, their surname being Pusuye.²²²

^[217] Linsong 临松: Linsong took its name from Linsong Mt and was in the Minle region southeast of Zhangye in the Gansu corridor. Lu Shui/Ruo Shui upper reaches.

^[218] Jishi 积石: in today's Xunhua region of eastern Qinghai.

²¹⁹ de Crespigny 1984: maps p. 70 and p. 128, identifies a mountain of the same name: Jishi shan (積石山; simplified 积石山) with the main peak of the Amnye Machen range ca. 100° E, 35° N. According to de Crespigny 1984: 502, n. 87, this was near the bend of the Yellow River south of the Kokonor, see also n. 206 above.

^[220] *Qiang zhong* 羌中: this can literally mean 'among the Qiang' and in this context it seems to be in Qinghai.

²²¹ See Bushell 1880: 437.

²²² Schaeffer et al. 2013: 7; see Bushell 1880: 439. Bushell 1880: 439 gives the first name as Hut'ip'usuyeh, possibly because of the second rendering of the 'surname'. 鶻提勃悉野 yields pinyin *hútí bóxīyě*. Given the modern meaning 'falcon' for the first character, one could be tempted (with Google translator, which always segments the name into three parts of 1 + 2 + 2 syllables) of an epithet and hence a name *The Falcon Tiboxiye* or *Tiboxiye, the Falcon*. In that case, the commonly assumed similarity with the name of the ninth legendary Tibetan king: Ho.(l)de or Spu.(l)de Guñ.rgyal or 𑄀o.(l)de Spu(r).rgyal would be lost (see also next note). I should like

The entry of the *Jiu Tangshu* clearly relates to the assumed military or political career of the warlord Fánǎnǐ in the early 5th century. The inverted name 'Supoye' is generally taken to be identical with the Tibetan dynastic name *Spu.rgyal*.²²³ Before becoming the potential ruler of the Qiang, Fánǎnǐ had associated himself with Juqu Mengxun, the chief

to mention this only because in the standard narratives, Tibetan, Chinese, and Western alike, so many assumptions about identities are involved.

²²³ Li Fang-Kuei 1955: 66, n. 5; Haahr 1969: 244f.; 248. Bacot 1962: 6, n. 3 goes so far as to identify Tūfǎ Lìlùgū with Dri.gum, the 'mad' king, notably not the first, but the eighth legendary king, killed by Lo.nam. Lìlùgū, however, apparently simply died or was killed by an unnamed person. Nevertheless, Bacot identifies Qifu Chipan with Lo.nam, although the former did not kill Lìlùgū, but Lìlùgū's younger brother, and finally, he identifies Fánǎnǐ with *Spu.(l)de Guñ.rgyal*.

The identification is built on the assumption that the name element *rgyal* was already realised without final *-l* and with vowel change as /kje/ (Pelliot 1915: 5) or /gje/ ~ word-internal /je/, see Preiswerk 2007: 47. The *r*-prefix would have been lost or shifted to a preceding open syllable, see Preiswerk 2007: 47, n. 57. This pronunciation is derived from the Chinese transcriptions of Tibetan names in the treaty inscription of 822/23. This may be evidence enough for an early 9th century pronunciation among the aristocrats at the court, but doesn't tell us anything about the pronunciations in the provinces, say, in that case, Qinghai or Gansu. With respect to the Fánǎnǐ episode, the assumption would also be absolutely anachronistic. All elements of the written syllable must have been clearly pronounced in the mid-7th century, when the Tibetan script was introduced, otherwise, the spelling as *rgyal* would not exist. 200 years earlier this could not have been different. If thus the Chinese had encountered the name as /s^(u)pu-r-gjal/ or the like, this should have found some reflection in the attempts at transliteration. If they failed to represent what they heard or if they encountered only a 9th-c. forms ^(u)-pu(r)-(g)je, then the apparent similarity does not proof any identity, the similarity could as well be accidental and, in this case, a mere back-projection.

The Middle Chinese (Tang period) reconstruction for each syllable would be: /swǎt̚/-/bwǎt̚/-/jiaX/, see URL 38, URL 39, and URL 40. While the first two characters may be taken as an approximation to the cluster *spu/ spo* or *sbu/ sbo*, I have some doubts about /jia^B/ being a faithful rendering of Old Tibetan *rgyal*. Schuessler (2007: 561) gives the Middle Chinese reconstruction of the last element *yě* 野 as /jia^B/, that is, /jia/ with tone B. According to Schuessler 2007: 30-33, tone B may go back to a glottal stop ʔ or a "weakened variant of final -k in some words". Some rhymes would also suggest original stop consonants: **-ap*, **-am*ʔ, and **-et*, **-en*ʔ. Finally, Tone B may also result from foreign final *ŋ*. A final *-l* apparently does not belong to the candidates for tone B. Hence, it seems to be not very likely that there is more than an accidental similarity between the two names 'Supoye' and *Spu.rgyal*. Could one thus say that the order of the characters as *sū bó yě* is more correct than the order *bó sū/xī yě*, particularly if the latter order is more frequent than the former? Even if the author/ compiler of the *Xin Tangshu* messed everything up, or perhaps just because of that, one cannot be sure that an identification between Fanni 'Supoye' and Huti 'Poxiye' was intended, as this is not made explicit. If such identification were silently intended, it cannot be trusted. It may be just an artificial projection. If the author/ compiler of the younger *Xin Tangshu* messed up everything, how sure can we be that the author/ compiler of the older *Jiu Tangshu* did not mess up the name? Just because we already know what the name should have looked like?

of the Northern Liang (a Mongolic or Tungusian tribe located in Liangzhou, Ganzhou, Suzhou, and Dunhuang). According to the *Tongdian*, the episode would have taken place at the end of the Western (or Later) Wei dynasty,²²⁴ which is usually dated to 534/535.²²⁵ But the situation is datable to the early 5th century: the submission to Juqu Mengxun would have taken place in 414 according to the *Jiu Tangshu* (see above). Eberhard mentions a date during the Later Wei dynasty²²⁶ as well as a date at the end of the Jin dynasty,²²⁷ which would be by 420. Boodberg dates the death of the father, Lìlùgū in 402.²²⁸

R. A. Stein, as cited by Macdonald,²²⁹ objects that Fán ní submitted to the Northern Liang, and that, therefore, he had nothing to do with Tibet. Two different Tuoba clans, one belonging to the Qiang, the other to the Tuyuhun, would have been confounded. Against this, one could perhaps argue that Fán ní is said to have united the Qiang only sometime after his submission, apparently after he became independent. Even if Fán ní still belonged to the Tuyuhun, he could have made an allegiance with some of the Qiang tribes. His dating would be quite close to the above-mentioned Tuyuhun raid of 445 (see above, p. 52), and it cannot be precluded that in the course of this raid, he or his clan could have shifted to some part of Tibet. The location of the Northern Liang in Gansu would not contradict an impact onto the Tibetan Plateau.

Meakin, in a personal communication email 04.10.2020, on her part, cautions that Fán ní might have been too insignificant, “especially as he coincides with the Yao family who were Qiang and created the Later Qin Empire (384-417)”. Again, one might argue that since he was a child when his father died in 402, 15 years later, after the breakdown of the Later Qin, he might have had an opportunity to gather followers among the Qiang, particularly in the more western regions. But it is also well possible that the fame of the Yao family was merely projected upon him. We will never know.

I would like to object that the Fán ní myth would lead us to north-eastern Tibet, that is, Qinghai, while the Tibetan origin myth concerning the ruling lineage and the very name of the lineage, *Spu.rgyal* ‘Spuking’, points to south-eastern Tibet, namely Spo.bo (or also Koñ.po).

Whatever the historical reality behind the *Tangshu* story, it would again testify to the fluidity of ethnic appellations and identities and to

²²⁴ Haarh 1969: 244.

²²⁵ Similarly, a very late source, the *Daqing Yitongzhi* ‘Gazetteer of the Qing Empire’ (1734/5), states that the Tibetan *Empire* was founded by a branch of the Fā Qiāng (see again URL 27). This would shift the Fā Qiāng into the 6th or 7th century.

²²⁶ Eberhard 1942: 92.

²²⁷ Eberhard 1942: 93.

²²⁸ Boodberg 1936: 169.

²²⁹ Macdonald 1971: 191f.

the interaction and mixing of quite distinct ethnic groups. It is impossible to decide whether (some of) the 'Tibetans'-to-be were organised by a leader of Mongolic (Tuoba) origin or not. However, it is rather likely that the authors of the *Tangshu* passages had mixed up a story belonging to the Tuoba with their faint knowledge of the Fā Qiāng, appearing at the distant horizon in the early second century.

If, for the sake of the argument, we accept that the Fā Qiāng played a certain role at some later date in the unification of some of the 'Tibetans'-to-be, it is not yet said that they were Qiang in the sense of a (homogeneous) Tibeto-Burman group. The early date could equally speak for a relationship with the Lesser Yuezhi.

The Yuezhi had been living in the Tarim Basin and the adjacent regions in the east. Their main group, the Greater Yuezhi, was driven to the west by the Hiongnu in 165 CE.²³⁰ One group, the Lesser Yuezhi, stayed back in the mountains south of Dunhuang²³¹ and, at an unknown time, moved southward into Qinghai. According to Pelliot, they settled at Huangzhong, east of the Kokonor and south of the Xining river or Huang Shui. They apparently mixed with, and assimilated to, their neighbours, the Qiang tribes: they are said to have taken over clothes and food habits from the Qiang and eventually also to have spoken a language similar to that of the Qiang.²³² However, they were still known in Chinese sources as a separate group as late as the 2nd century. They served as auxiliary troops against rebellious Qiang. They seem to have been fully absorbed only by the first or second decade of the 3rd century.²³³

As mentioned above, the settlements of the Lesser Yuezhi correspond to a certain extent to those of the *Bætæ* mentioned by the 4th century historian Ammianus Marcellinus (see above, p.23). Hence, there might have been a relationship between the Baitai and the Lesser Yuezhi. The Yuezhi are generally associated with the Indo-European Tocharians, a Scythian (Iranian) people,²³⁴ but they may have counted among them several other originally Siberian tribes. The Chinese sources didn't make any connection between the Lesser Yuezhi and the Fā Qiāng. This could mean that the Fā Qiāng had nothing to do with the Baitai, or that the Baitai had nothing to do with the Yuezhi. On the

²³⁰ See M. A. Stein 1905: 75–79 for a summary account; Benjamin 2007 for a detailed history of the Yuezhi.

²³¹ Pelliot 1934: 36.

²³² Pelliot 1934: 37.

²³³ See de Crespigny 1984: 112, 147, 168.

²³⁴ The identity of the Tocharians is a problem in itself. I follow here the *communis opinio* among Indo-Europeanists, who would hold that these people were Scythians, speaking an Iranian (*satem*) language, whereas the people speaking the so-called 'Tocharian' language were a different Indo-European group, speaking a *ken-tum* language.

other hand, it could also be possible that the name of the Baitai referred to particular clans among the respective confederations, and could thus be transmitted independently of the larger group identity.

As already mentioned (p. 52), the ruler of Rtsañ Bod was associated with the Tocharians, if only by name. This might corroborate a link between the Baitai, the Lesser Yuezhi, and perhaps also with what the Chinese sources describe as Qiang or more specifically as Fā Qiāng. One might thus perhaps think of a name transfer among ruling families, possibly preserved through some ancestor cult. In that case, the name would have lost any ethnical reference it ever might have had.

6. *Bhaṭa Hor, Pe.har(a), Du.har(a) nag.po – a Migratory Perspective*

This ethnic group is interesting, because the name might be, in one way or another, related to the Baitai, but also to another old ethnical group of Central Asia., the Hara or Gara. However, the following remarks can only be conjectural.

The Bhaṭa Hor are first mentioned in the context of an ‘invitation’ of their protecting deity Pe.har to Tibet allegedly in the late 8th century, but it is not exactly clear where Bhaṭa Hor were located at that time. The deity, who according to a minor Tibetan tradition originated in Khotan,²³⁵ was appropriated forcefully by Padmasaṃbhava – or rather the Tibetan army. The culprit(s) either plundered a ‘meditation school’ of the Bhaṭa Hor in Gansu,²³⁶ or the statue was taken as sign of victory after the Tibetan conquest of Beshbaliq (near Urumqi) in 790.²³⁷ Beshbaliq and lake Balkash might be too far in the north and northwest for a relation to the original Baitai, and it would be difficult to explain how the Bhaṭa Hor ended up in Gansu.

The Pe.har episode is referred to only in comparatively late historiographic works, such as the *Dkar.chag* of the *Snar.thañ Bkaḥ.hgyur*, the *Chronicle of the Vth Dalai Lama* (1617–1682) by Rgyal.rgod of Mi.ñag, and the *Dpag.bsam ljon.bzañ* of Sum.pa Mkhan.po Ye.śes Dpal.hbyor (1704–1788). The earliest mentioning of this episode is in the *gterma* literature concerning Padmasaṃbhava, starting approximately from the late 12th century.²³⁸ According to Sumpa Mkhanpo, as cited by R. A. Stein,²³⁹ the Hbandha (=Bhaṭa) Hor were located in Gansu, seven- or eight-days’ marches north of the Kokonor. Sumpa Mkhanpo described

²³⁵ Mynak R. Tulku 1967: 98.

²³⁶ Mynak R. Tulku 1967: 98. See R. A. Stein 1959: 122.

²³⁷ Everding 2007: 336. The identification apparently follows Thomas 1935: 299; but read lake Balkash instead of Baikal!

²³⁸ Lin Shen-Yu 2010: 8.

²³⁹ R. A. Stein 1959: 122.

them as Ša.ra Yu.gur, speaking a language analogous to that of Khotan. This would probably have been a Turkic language at that time. A local tradition links the ruins of a monastery in the area to the original seat of Pe.har.²⁴⁰

R. A. Stein thus posits the Bhaṭa Hor of the 8th century in the same region where they are found in the 17th or 18th century, referring further to the remnants of Tibetan troops, who after being sent against the Bhaṭa Hor in Gansu around 800, disbanded and settled there as well.²⁴¹

As the second name element indicates, the Bhaṭa Hor were perceived as Uyghur by the Tibetans of the 17th century. They may not have been perceived so in the 8th century.²⁴² But even if they were, this would not necessarily imply that they were ethnic Uyghur originally, since ethnic names are easily transferred. They could have taken up, or could have been forced under, this ethnic identity only a short time before the event in question. R. A. Stein rightly concludes that we do not know who the Bhaṭa Hor actually were. They ended up in Tangut (Miñag) territory. This territory was classified sometimes as Tibetan, because the Tibetans had once occupied this region and because many Tibetan tribes still settled there, and sometimes also as Uyghur (Hor), just because the land came into the possession of the Bhaṭa Hor, who were, rightly or wrongly, associated with the Uyghur.²⁴³ The Uyghur and Tanguts of Gansu were often confounded or even fused by the Tibetans; the *Dpag.bsam ljon.bzañ*, e.g., mentions the *Miñag Hor*, apparently instead of the Bhaṭa Hor.²⁴⁴

The Uyghur themselves seem to have been a mixed tribe, initially at least. According to the *Tangshu*, they were always associated with the 'nine clans of the Hu',²⁴⁵ that is, with either Iranian tribes or remnants of the Xiongnu. There is also some evidence that the Uyghur tribes absorbed a certain number of Sogdian refugees²⁴⁶ as well as Sogdian merchants and priests, who had been living in Gansu.²⁴⁷ The region of Gansu was quite obviously a melting pot, where Qiangic, Turkic and Mongolian, as well as Indo-European peoples replaced or superseded each other, and eventually mixed.²⁴⁸

Between the lines, one may get the impression that R. A. Stein, if pressed hard to decide for an ethnic identity of the Bhaṭa Hor, would

²⁴⁰ R. A. Stein 1959: 122; the last statement with reference to Damdinsüren 1957.

²⁴¹ R. A. Stein 1981: 12, 78. See also R. A. Stein 1961: 67–69.

²⁴² This would in part depend on the question, whether Uyghur started settling in Gansu before the breakdown of the Uyghur kingdom in 840 or only afterwards.

²⁴³ R. A. Stein 1951: 250.

²⁴⁴ R. A. Stein 1951: 234, n. 4.

²⁴⁵ R. A. Stein 1951: 252.

²⁴⁶ Michael Weiers, *Abrisse zur Geschichte innerasiatischer Völker: Uiguren*, URL 41.

²⁴⁷ R. A. Stein 1951: 235, n. 3.

²⁴⁸ R. A. Stein 1951: 252.

opt for the Miñag or Tangut. In his map, R. A. Stein posits the Bhaṭa Hor at Ganzhou.²⁴⁹ R. A. Stein also discusses a connection with the H̄bal or Sbal tribes or clans, attested in the Kokonor region. Their names would have been represented in Khotanese as *Ysbaḍä* (Sbal) or *Baḍä* (H̄bal).²⁵⁰ The first name does, in fact, appear in Khotanese documents, namely as *Ys(a)baḍä parrüm*,²⁵¹ where *parrüm* might stand for Phrom. Phrom is a region somewhere north of Tibet, most likely in Eastern Turkestan. The *Ys(a)baḍä parrüm* of the Khotanese document Ch 00269, l. 40 appears to be not too far from Shazhou. The writer's group, robbed of their riding animals, could reach there by foot.²⁵²

While the name *phrom* or its variant *khrom* originally referred to Byzantine Rome (via the forms *Fröm* and *Hröm*), R. A. Stein further suggests a relation with an epithet 'white'.²⁵³ R. A. Stein also points to the colour term **prum* or **prom* 'white' in several Qiangic languages.²⁵⁴ He also points unspecifically to Dunhuang documents containing this word. In fact, e.g., the document PT 1040, describing a funeral ritual mentions several times a *bal.mkhar dnul.phrom*, where *dnul* 'silver' and *phrom* are quite apparently synonyms (ll. 107, 112, 125). R. A. Stein further notes a celestial sister called *Kha.le ḥod.phrom*,²⁵⁵ where the second element apparently indicates a 'white' or perhaps 'brilliant light'. Martin lists a word *phrum* 'white', but adds that it "certainly is not the usual Z[hang-]Z[hungian] word for 'white' ".²⁵⁶ The same could be said about Tibetan. *phrum* is noted for milk products and milk processing in the THL Tibetan to English Translation Tool.²⁵⁷ It might be a loan or, if related to silver or 'light', a *wanderwort* from a northern language. Note also Burushaski *burüm* ~ *bürum* ~ *burum* 'white'.²⁵⁸ It is possible that some of the tribes in the north where somehow associated with the colour white.²⁵⁹

R. A. Stein further refers to the *Rgyal.rabs Bon.gyi ḥbuñ.gnas*,²⁶⁰ where the Sbal are mentioned as settling at the border of the land Gesar of the north. Since Gesar and Phrom are in most cases mentioned to-

²⁴⁹ R. A. Stein 1961, carte 1.

²⁵⁰ R. A. Stein 1961: 68–70.

²⁵¹ R. A. Stein 1961: 68.

²⁵² Bailey 1948: 617/ 621.

²⁵³ R. A. Stein 1959: 241.

²⁵⁴ R. A. Stein 1961: 38f. Matisoff 2003: 71, see also URL 42, suggests an original Proto-Tibeto-Burman root **plu* (with Written Burmese *phru*; a more related forms, closer to *phrum* and *phrom*; though linked to a root **pram* can be found under URL 43).

²⁵⁵ R. A. Stein 1961: 60.

²⁵⁶ Martin 2010: 148.

²⁵⁷ See URL 44.

²⁵⁸ Berger 1974.

²⁵⁹ See also Bailey 1937: 900 for Kuchā.

²⁶⁰ R. A. Stein 1961: 68. See ed. Das, Calcutta 1915: 3 = ed. Lupon Tenzin Namdak and Khedup Gyatso 1974 fol.11.

gether (and since the Hor are perceived to live in the neighbourhood), the Sbal Phrom or Ys(a)baḍā parrūm could be related to the Bhaṭa Hor.²⁶¹ It is not fully clear to me, whether R. A. Stein thinks of an identity (in which case the name *Bhaṭa* would be a misrepresentation of *Baḍū* or *Ḥbal*),²⁶² or whether he sees in the Sbal or Ḥbal remnants of the mercenaries who participated in the campaign against the Bhaṭa Hor, but then revolted and became an independent tribe.²⁶³ He concludes that the name *Sbal* may be a place name or the name of a Tibetan ethnic group, and may be localised *grosso modo* between Ganzhou and the Sining (Xining) river.²⁶⁴ R. A. Stein seems to take it for granted that the Sbal or Ḥbal are Tibetans or at least Tibeto-Burmans, and have always been so. However, since he also suggests that the mercenaries could have been slaves,²⁶⁵ this may not have been the case. It cannot be precluded that their name was Tibetanised at a later time, nor can it be precluded that their involvement in the Pe.har campaign was reinterpreted in later times.

Pe.har, the deity of the Bhaṭa Hor, is closely connected with another protecting deity of the north, Pañcaśika or Zur.phud lña.pa. Pe.har actually replaces Pañcaśika as protector of Bsam.yas,²⁶⁶ but according to one of the legends, Pañcaśika had suggested himself to invite “a king called Hu who descended from a Klu, in the family of Dmu”.²⁶⁷ This legend points to a basically Iranian origin of the deity and of its name.²⁶⁸

²⁶¹ R. A. Stein 1961: 69.

²⁶² Note also that in certain Amdo varieties final *d* is realised as final *l*. Unfortunately, it is unknown when this sound change came into being.

²⁶³ R. A. Stein 1961: 67.

²⁶⁴ R. A. Stein 1961: 69.

²⁶⁵ R. A. Stein 1961: 66.

²⁶⁶ R. A. Stein 1959: 286–87.

²⁶⁷ Haarh 1969: 221.

²⁶⁸ Hu was the Chinese cover term originally for the Xiongnu, later also for Iranian, in part also Turkic people. The Dmu (var. Rmu) are commonly understood as mythical beings, demons or gods, but there seems to be some evidence that the name once referred to a real group of Scythian, i.e., Iranian, or Dardic or perhaps mixed affiliation. For the Bonpos, the Dmu are the clan of their teacher Gšen.rab Mī.bo, and this indicates a western, if not Iranian origin. For the Baltis, *rmu* once meant something like ‘downriver’, Sprigg 2002: 142. Downriver from Baltistan would point to a place in the so-called ‘Upper Indus valley’, that is, along the Gilgit river and along the Indus below the confluence with the Gilgit river, a region typically associated with the ancient Darada.

In the Old Tibetan document PT 0126 *Phyao (phyva) envoys to the Dmu*, written in about the 10th century, the Dmu are located west of the Phyao (spelled as *phyva*) of Rtsaṅ and somewhat south-east of the Rākṣasa (Demon) country somewhere in the Pamirs or the Hindukush. This again points to the ‘Upper Indus’ region. Finally, the Bonpo text *Dri.med rtsa.baḥi rgyud* from the 10th or 11th century refers somewhat cryptically to Alexander the Great for whom the Dmu would have built a town, just before he returned. One of the towns Alexander founded lay on the

The name of the deity is spelled variously as *Dpe.kar*, *Pe.dkar*, *Spe.dkar*, *Dpe.dkar*, *Be.dkar*, *Dpe.hara*, *Pe.hara*, and, in an obvious attempt at etymologisation, also *Bihara* (referring to the *vihāra* at Bsam.yas). Apart from the latter form, the forms in *-hara* point to a tribal name, such as *Hara or *Gara, attested in various forms in Turkestan as well as in the Ordos region. As the name variants indicate, the spelling *dkar* most probably stands for an uvular or glottal fricative initial, thus [-χar] or [-har], reflecting an early sound change of fricativisation, which affected the initial clusters.²⁶⁹

The same sound change or conventions also underlie the spelling of Bukhara (*Bho.dkar* in the *Ĥdzam.gliñ rgyas.bšad* of Blama Btsanpo²⁷⁰) and of the Tocharians, which are found as *Tho.gar*, *Thod.gar*, *Thokar*, *Tho.dkar*, *Thod.dkar* (and *Phod.kar*).²⁷¹ The *Catalogue of the Ancient Principalities and a List of the Royal Genealogy*, PT 1286, ll. 7f. speaks of a White Moiety (?) or a Pe.har (?) [dominion] of Myaṅ.ro, *Myaṅ.roḥi Pyed.kar* (*Phyed.dkar* in the *Chos.ḥbyuñ mkhas.paḥi dgaḥ.ston*).²⁶⁹ Its ruler, styled as ruler of Rtsaṅ, bears a name that shows his Tocharian descent: *rje Rtsaṅ.rjeḥi Thod.kar* ‘as for the ruler, [he] is Thodkar, of [the lineage of]

river Acesines or Chenab.

The name of the Dmu could be related to the Śakamuruṅḍa, Scythians, who first settled in Khotan, but migrated to India, possibly also on the eastern side of the Pamirs, where some of them might have become part of the Dardic communities. More details will be hopefully found in Zeisler, to appear b.

²⁶⁹ The sound change *rk* (~*dk*) and *sk* > /h/ can be observed in some of the Kenhat dialects of Ladakh (see Sharapa /honmo/, Hamelingpa /hon/ *dkon(mo)* ‘scarce’; Sharapa, Hamelingpa /hunma/ *rkunma* ‘thief’; Sharapa /honce/ *skoncas* ‘dress sb’; Hamelingpa /hu/ *sku* ‘statue’). The fricativisation of former clusters is apparently one of the intermediate steps in the development of clusterless onsets, see Zeisler 2011a: 245–47.

The initial may or may not have been aspirated originally. For the Old Tibetan writing ‘convention’ of dropping the distinctive stroke when there is a subscript (including vowel *u*), see Zeisler 2004: 869, n. 335. PT 1285, *Story of Bon and Gshen*, r184 mentions a *Rtsaṅ.pho Phyed.kar*, PT 1290, *Catalogue of the Ancient Principalities*, r04, v05, gives *Myaṅ.roḥi Phyr.khar*. The latter spelling might indicate that we deal here with the name of a castle, but the document seems to be nothing more than a scribal exercise and may thus contain copy errors. The spelling *rtsaṅ.pho* might perhaps stand for **rtsaṅ-po* ‘river’ (for *sp* > /ph/ or /f/, see Gya-Sasomapa /safo/, Hamelingpa /sāfo/ for Shamskat /ltsaṅspo/ ‘river’). The spelling alternations might indicate that the writers did not really understand the name because of its foreign origin.

The position of the *tsheg* or the omission of the *d-* pre-radical is here irrelevant, the Kenhat dialects show that the fricativisation also operates across a morpheme boundary, cf., e.g., Hamelingpa /leha/ *las.ka* ‘work’ (s.k > h), /yarha/ *dbyar.ka* ‘summer’ (r.k > r, /fjafo/ *rgyal.po* ‘king’ (l.p > f), Sharapa /kaχfo/ *gag(s)-po* ‘difficult’ (s.p > f).

²⁷⁰ Blama Btsanpo 1962: 5.

²⁷¹ See Thomas 1935–1955, and the corresponding index 1963: 55b–56a, 63a.

the rulers of Rtsaṅ.²⁷² Since the vowels *e* and *i* had at some unknown time a palatalising effect on the preceding consonant,²⁷³ the spelling *p(h)yed* for 'half' could perhaps be an attempt of etymologisation for an original **Pe.har(a)*.

R. A. Stein points to another tribal name, that of the Du.har(a) nag-po, apparently settling in the Tsoṅ.kha province of A.mdo. The Du.har nag-po are mentioned in the *Btsun.mo bkaḥi thaṅ.yig* (p. 46–50), they appear in the *Lo.paṅ bkaḥi.thaṅ* (209b/62a) and the *Blon.po bkaḥi.thaṅ* (272b/60a) as Bal.po Du.har, while the *Gesar epic* mentions a district Du.ha.ra in Tsoṅ.kha as homeland of the minister Mgar.²⁷⁴ According to R. A. Stein, the *Padma thaṅ.yig* of O.rgyan Gliṅ.pa further mentions a minister and wise man from China, called *Ha.ra nag.po*.²⁷⁵ In the parallel version, the *Gser.gyi phreṅ.ba* by Saṅs.rgyas Gliṅ.pa,²⁷⁶ this person is actually called Du.har nag.po, and this is, as Schuh indicates, a master of divinations, and one of the most important Chinese scholars who came to the court of Khri.sroṅ Lde.brtsan.²⁷⁷

R. A. Stein thinks that the *-hara* forms of the names, both of Pe.har and the Du.har were extensions of an original *-har*,²⁷⁸ but he might well be mistaken. The name of the Du.ha.ra is, accidentally or not, fairly close to the old names of the Tocharians. *Hara* appears in Khotanese documents as a designation of a land (the initial possibly corresponds to either [ɣ] or [χ]). This land lies in the Ordos region and the name is represented in Tibetan transliterations as *Kha.a* (ཁ་ཨ་), with the glottal ཨ་ representing Khotan-Saka *ra* as in *ka.a.sta* (ཁ་ཨ་སྟཱ) for Khotan-Saka *karasta* 'skin, hide'.²⁷⁹ The name would correspond to Chinese Xia (夏) and the place would be found "middle of the loop of the Huang-ho,

²⁷² See also Zeisler 2011b: 128, n. 18 for the analysis of this name or title and its parallels in the document.

²⁷³ This palatalisation effect is reflected in Tibetan orthography: only very few words with vowel *i* or *e* do not show a palatalised consonant. Interestingly enough, the *e-ablaut* forms of verb stem I (the so-called 'present stem') never led to such palatalisation, which could indicate that these forms are a comparatively late development or first developed in a variety where the palatalisation effect did not take place. In some modern dialects, the palatalisation of consonants before *i* and *e* has likewise been neutralised, see Ladakhi [khi], rarely [kh'i] for Classical Tibetan *khyi* 'dog', [phet] for *phyed* 'half'. Such dialectal variance could easily lead to alternative spellings and the knowledge of such dialectal variance would make it easy to interpolate a *-y-* subscript to make a foreign name look more Tibetan.

²⁷⁴ R. A. Stein 1961: 69f.

²⁷⁵ R. A. Stein 1961: 70, n. 200. The name can be found in the online edition, URL 45, which corresponds, *inter alia*, to the edition Delhi 1988: fol. 178r, 189r, and 189v.

²⁷⁶ Edition Punakha/ Thimphu 1985: fol. 205v6, 206r1.

²⁷⁷ Schuh, Tibet-encyclopedia, Duhar Nagpo, URL 46.

²⁷⁸ R. A. Stein 1961: 70, n. 200.

²⁷⁹ Bailey 1985: 20f., 117, 129f.

eastward of Šuo-fang”.²⁸⁰ According to Bailey, the name *Ha.ra/ Kha.a* would most probably be related to the Gara or Lesser Yuezhi near Sha-zhou.²⁸¹ It has been suggested that the latter name Gara was preserved in the name of the mighty Mgar clan,²⁸² whose members were certainly anything else but black smiths. The Lesser Yuezhi, one may recall, had settled in approximatively the area, where the *Bætæ* were located, and at approximatively the same time.

All this points to a connection of *Pe.har(a)* with Iranian tribes, such as the Yuezhi, or perhaps also with the Hephthalites or White Huns (as far as they were speaking an Iranian language and / or adapting to Iranian culture). The spelling of *Pe.har* as *Spe.dkar* might well have referred to a *White Hara (Gara) group, with the element *spe-* corresponding to the *Spēt* or *Šveta* in the Iranian and Indian designations of the White Huns. Note that Chinese *pai* also means white²⁸³ (alternative explanations for the name *Pe.har* have been Turkish *bäg*, Persian *paihar* ‘picture, idol’²⁸⁴ or *paikār* ‘war, fight’, both ultimately from Avestan *paitikara*²⁸⁵). Possibly the second element of the deity’s name (*-har(a)* ? < /yara/ ~ /χara/) shows a fusion with the Tibetan word for white (*dkar* > /χar/ ~ /har/), so that the name forms *Pe.dkar*, *Spe.dkar*, *Dpe.dkar* and *Be.dkar* became translational compounds, meaning ‘White-White’, whereas the more common form *Pe.har* could represent the further phonological development from both an original **Spe.ha.ra* and an original *Spe.dkar* or *Dpe.dkar*.

It might be worth mentioning that Jäschke has the entry *Pe.te.hor* ‘name of a people’, as found in Isaak Jacob Schmidt’s dictionary.²⁸⁶ This name may well refer to the Bhaṭa Hor.

One could perhaps conclude that the tribe deprived of *Pe.har*, the Bhaṭa Hor, were originally in the possession of *Pe.har*, just because they were themselves (originally) *White Hara. It may well be that at the time of the contact with the Tibetans they had already acquired an Uyghur identity, but one should not rule out that the name element *Hor*, in this case, did not originally refer to the Uyghur but to a tribe with the name element *Xara* (*Hara*, *G(h)ara*) or *Xōr* (*Ghōr*). The form **Ghwār*, **Ghūr*, or **Ghōr* is possibly the Iranian designation of the

²⁸⁰ Bailey 1967: 100.

²⁸¹ Bailey 1985: 20f.

²⁸² Bailey 1985: 112.

²⁸³ Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 107.

²⁸⁴ According to Rainer Kimmig (p. c.), this should be *Paikar*, see Junker and Alavi 1997: 143b: “*pejkar* پيگر ‘figure, body form, appearance, image’”; Steingass 1892: 268: “*paikar* پيگر Face, countenance; form, figure, mould, model; portrait, likeness; an idol-temple”.

²⁸⁵ Nebesky-Wojkowitz 1956: 107 with further reference.

²⁸⁶ Jäschke 1881: 324b.

main tribe of the Hephthalites known by the Chinese as *hua* 滑, to be reconstructed as y^{wat} .²⁸⁷

7. Some Hypotheses – Listening to the Call of the Siren

The following figure presents a timeline for the identification of the respective people in question and the text sources. Since several identifications have been made retrospectively, and several centuries after the presumed facts, these identifications are unreliable and marked by light pink shading. Contemporaneous or historically probable identifications are marked with light green shading. Arrows on the right side of the scale point to authors and documents further down on the left side of the scale. Arrows on the left side of the scale point to identifications further up on the right side of the scale.

Author	Document	Time-line	Locating peoples in time & space
		101–102	retrospectively: Fā Qiāng beyond Gansu not in reach of the Han, → Fan Ye
Ptolemaios	<i>Geographike Hyphegesis</i>	2 nd c.	contemporaneous or slightly in retrospective: Baitai in the Tarim Basin
Fan Ye 范曄	<i>Hou Hanshu</i> 後漢書 → Fā Qiāng	5 th –6 th c.	
		ca. 5 th or 6 th –mid 7 th c.	retrospectively, but possibly historical: Rtsañ Bod, Western Tibet, conquered mid-7 th c. → <i>Old Tibetan Chronicle</i>
		ca. 6 th c.	retrospectively: Bhaṭṭa (/Bhāṭṭa) appear in Kashmīr, → Kalhaṇa
		6 th –7 th c.	retrospectively: Spu.(rgyal).bod, Bod.ka G'yag.drug, locations unclear, → Old Tibetan documents

²⁸⁷ Enoki 1959: 5.

Author	Document	Time-line	Locating peoples in time & space
	<i>Old Tibetan Annals</i>	ca. 650-765 c.	contemporary: Bod.yul in 641, 727, plus several entries in the Military Annals for 743-765, extension unclear
		mid-8 th c.	retrospectively: Bhaütta as victims of Lalitāditya-Muktāpīḍa's raids in the northwest, → Kalhaṇa
		late 8 th c.	retrospectively: Bhaṭa Hor appear in Gansu, → Padmasambhava <i>gterma</i> , → V th Dalai Lama, → Sum.pa Mkhan.po
	<i>Treaty Inscription</i>	821/822	contemporary: Bod.yul, extension unclear
	Old Tibetan documents → Spu.(rgyal).bod, Bod.ka G'yag.drug	ca. 8 th -9 th c.	
	<i>Old Tibetan Chronicle</i>	mid-late 9 th c.	contemporary: Bod.yul, extension unclear
Albērūnī	<i>Tahqīq mā li'l-Hind</i>	11 th c.	contemporary or slightly in retrospective: Bhatta in Afghanistan/Pakistan
Kalhaṇa	<i>Rājataranḡiṇī</i> → Bhaütta as neighbours of Kashmīr 6 th c., mid-8 th c.	12 th c.	contemporary: Bhuṭta probably on the upper Kishangaṅgā river
	Padmasambhava <i>gterma</i> → Bhaṭa Hor in Gansu	late 12 th c.	
Śrīvara	<i>Rājataranḡiṇī</i>	15 th c.	almost contemporary: Little and Great Bhuṭta, i.e., Baltistan and Ladakh, extensions unclear
Dalai Lama V	<i>Bod.kyi deb.ther</i> <i>Dpyid.kyi rgyal.mo'i glu.dbyaṅs</i> → Bhaṭa Hor in Gansu,	1643	

Author	Document	Time-line	Locating peoples in time & space
Sum.pa Mkhan.p o	<i>Dpaḡ.bsam ljon.bzañ</i> → Ḥbandha (=Bhaṭa) Hor in Gansu	1748	contemporary: Ḥbandha (=Bhaṭa) Hor in Gansu de- scribed as Turks from Kho- tan

Fig. 1 Timeline; light green: contemporary and/ or historical identifications;
light pink: retrospective and ahistorical identifications.

One millennium lies between the Baitai of Ptolemaios and the documentation of the name *Bhauṭṭa* or *Bhāṭṭa* in the *Rājataranḡiṇī*, while the Bhatta of Afghanistan or Pakistan appear in Arabic sources one hundred years earlier than in the *Rājataranḡiṇī*.

Six centuries lie between the Baitai of the southern Tarim Basin, Qilianshan, and Gansu and the recording of the Bhaṭa Hor in part of the same area.

Five centuries lie between the Baitai and the appearance of the Tibetans as a crystallising 'nation'; and perhaps yet one or two centuries passed before the name *bod* was adopted. Similarly, five centuries lie between the mentioning of the Fā Qiāng and the appearance of the Tibetans as a crystallising 'nation', while one or two more centuries may lie between the appearance of the Tibetans and the forceful rewriting of history on the part of the Chinese historians to make a connection between the two groups.

Still four centuries lie between the Baitai and the alleged first appearance of *Bhauṭṭa* in Kashmīr. Only two centuries lie between the *Bhauṭṭa* at the borders of Kashmīr and the Bhaṭa Hor in Gansu, but it is difficult to believe in a direct connection between these two.

The following conclusions are possible:

1. All five names or name groups are unrelated and the similarity in form is just accidental and a contraption of the *Sirene des Gleichklangs*. In particular, the Tibetan word *bod* only designates a group of 'speakers' of the same language or alternatively a 'command', that is, a dominion – in which case it would need a qualification, such as *Rtsaṅ* and *Spu.rgyal*.
2. There might be 3 name groups of different origin:
 - a) the Central Asian names of unknown origin, with the names of the Baitai of Ptolemaios and the Bhaṭa Hor, perhaps also the Bhadra-Aśva being related to each other; if being an eth-

nonym and not just a descriptive term, even the Fā 發 element of the Fā Qiāng may belong to this group;

- b) the Pamirian group: the Bhauṭṭa/ Bhāṭṭa of the *Rājatarangiṇī* and the Bhatta of Albērūnī being related to each other and the designation being independently derived from a Sanskrit or Prakrit word;
 - c) the Tibetan word *bod*, just designating a group of 'Speakers' of the same language or a dominion.
3. All names, except the Tibetan designation, are related: the Baitai of Ptolemaios, the Bhauṭṭa/ Bhāṭṭa of the *Rājatarangiṇī*, the Bhatta of Albērūnī, and the Bhaṭa Hor. The Tibetan word *bod*, just designating a group of 'speakers' of the same language or a 'dominion', is unrelated.
 4. The Tibetan word *bod* derives from a group of non-Tibetan Baitai, who emigrated from the Tarim Basin into Eastern Tibet.
 5. The Tibetan word *bod* is derived from the name of the non-Tibetan Bhauṭṭa/ Bhāṭṭa of the *Rājatarangiṇī*. The name was transferred onto the Tibetans, most probably because the Bhauṭṭa/ Bhāṭṭa were sitting in an area through which Tibet could be accessed.
 6. The word *bod* is Tibetan, but it merged with the perhaps more prestigious name of the non-Tibetan Baitai, who emigrated from the Tarim Basin into Tibet and particularly into Rtsaṅ.
 7. A combination of 5 and 6, that is, all three name forms merged. This could have been more likely, if the names of the Baitai and the Bhauṭṭa or Bhāṭṭa were, in fact, related, and if the people living between these two groups were still aware of the relationship in the 6th or 7th century.

No. 1 is the zero hypothesis, against which all other solutions should show a higher degree of feasibility, if not even evidence. Nos. 4 and 6 face the problem that an original *ai* would not easily turn into *o*.

Apart from this, the time frame and the regional distribution of the names do not really speak in favour of an ethnic identity, but the similarity in shape speaks against mere coincidence. The most likely solution is that the name wandered *and* got transferred.

In that hypothetical scenario, the name should perhaps be taken as a clan name rather than referring to an ethnic group. The original name,

transmitted as Baitai by the Greeks, must have been the name of a group in the southern Tarim Basin and in Gansu. This group was in all likelihood associated with the Yuezhi or with some of their subgroups or affiliated groups. Part of the group or all of them seem to have moved west, leaving their name associated with a particular location in Gansu, where the name could have been transferred to a group of different ethnic affiliation, such as the Bhaṭa Hor. Alternatively, a smaller part of the Baitai could have stayed back and merged with different ethnic groups in due course of time and may so have preserved the name. In the west, the name could have been carried along always with the same out-migrating group, but this group could likewise have changed its affiliation by being absorbed into a larger unit, say, of the Hephthalites and then of the Turks.

In any case, the appearance of the name *Bhaṭa* in part of the same area as the original Baitai does not seem to be mere accident, and it might indicate that the name transmitted by Ptolemaios not only had a dental, or rather retroflex, consonant in the middle, but also a voiced and aspirated initial. These sounds could not be recognised by the Greeks, as the retroflex dental and the voiced-aspirated labial are both foreign to Greek phonology. The so reconstructable *Bhaiṭai²⁸⁸ might then well be related to the Bhaṭṭa, and ultimately and indirectly perhaps even to the Bod.pa – if only by name.

What strikes me most, is that neither the Uyghur language nor Tibetan (originally) have retroflex dental finals and, even more importantly, that apart from them, none of the Tarim and Pamir languages, that is, Iranian, (modern) Dardic, and Burushaski (not to speak of the so-called 'Tocharian' language) have a systemic *media aspirata*. The only ancient language current in the area to show this feature is the North-Western Prakrit, but from the time of Aśoka, there is a growing tendency in the northern Prakrits not to distinguish aspirated and non-aspirated voiced consonants.²⁸⁹

Nevertheless, as there is no alternative candidate in view, it seems to be most likely that the name *Bhaṭa* belonged to, and was transmitted by, a North-Western Prakrit, which still kept the *media aspirata*, at least in names or prestigious words, where it was felt necessary to give them a Sanskrit appearance. In that case, there are several ways to interpret this form.

²⁸⁸ As a few names of in Ptolemaios' *Geographike Hyphegesis* show, the Greeks must have heard Indoaryan names via Persian, where the aspiration of voiced aspirated consonants was generally lost (Rainer Kimmig, p. c.).

²⁸⁹ The North-Western Prakrit of the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Niya, described by Konow, shows a strong tendency of deaspiration in the case of voiced consonants, but also the frequent occurrence of voiced aspirated consonants in place of voiced consonants, indicating that the distinction was no longer effective in the spoken language, see Konow 1936: 606.

Schmidt and Kohistani derive the form Bhaṭṭa from Sanskrit *bhāṭṭ* ‘husband, lord’.²⁹⁰

Martin suggests a relation with Sanskrit *bhaṭa* ‘mercenary’.²⁹¹ According to Monier-Williams, this latter word, which has the additional meaning ‘servant, slave’, was used for degraded tribes.²⁹²

While it is not unlikely that the *Bhaiṭ(t)a ~ Baitai developed out of a mercenary tribe, I think it somewhat less likely, although not impossible,²⁹³ that they adopted such a negative exonym for themselves and again somewhat less likely that other tribes appropriated the name as a name of prestige for themselves, except if the original meaning was already forgotten or reinterpreted in the above sense, or that the negative meaning was obscured by the other possible interpretations.

Some Old Tibetan documents apparently mention a division or regiment of Bzañ Hor: M.[=Mazār] Tāgh 0345: *bzañ.hor.gyi sde*,²⁹⁴ possibly also M. Tāgh a, iii, 0013 *bzañ.ho[rđ.gyi sde]*.²⁹⁵ Thomas further suggests that this designation refers to the Bhaṭa Hor,²⁹⁶ and that *bzañ* reflects the Sanskrit word *bhadra*.²⁹⁷ Among other things, *bhadra* has the meaning ‘blessed, fortunate, good, gracious, etc.’. As Thomas admits himself, the interpretation *bzañ* for *bhadra* might well have been the product of folk etymology. Furthermore, there is no regular sound change leading from *bhadra* to *bhaiṭ(t)a*. The word is attested in Younger Avestan as *baḍra* and in Dardic languages as *bhadda*.²⁹⁸ One would need very special pleading to arrive at a form that loses the voiced consonant word-internally but preserves not only voicedness but also aspiration word-initially. There might be, nevertheless, a more indirect relation between the ethnonym in question and the Sanskrit word.

Bhadra is a popular Sanskrit river name, and Paurāṇic sources speak of a river Bhadrā or Bhadrāsomā, flowing through the land of the Utarakuru.²⁹⁹ This river would originate from Mt Meru and flow into the northern ocean, that is, the Aral Sea. The river would thus have been the Iaxartes.

²⁹⁰ Schmidt and Kohistani 2008: 9–13; see also Monier-Williams 1899: 745a.

²⁹¹ Martin 2010: 154.

²⁹² Monier-Williams 1899: 745a.

²⁹³ It may be noteworthy in this context that Pelliot 1921: 324f. attempts to reconstruct the name of the Haṣa or more particularly the Chinese form *Achai* 阿柴 as being derived from a Xiongnu word for ‘slave’.

²⁹⁴ Thomas 1931: 832, 1951: 292.

²⁹⁵ Thomas 1930: 287.

²⁹⁶ This has to be taken with caution: unfortunately, Thomas is prone to misreadings, his (1935: 299) “Bzañ-Hor chief” of the Chronicle “ll. 196–7” turns out to be Ҳbro Чуñ.bzañ Ҳor.mañ, ll. 249f.

²⁹⁷ Thomas 1935: 299.

²⁹⁸ Mayrhofer 1996: 244.

²⁹⁹ See Ali 1966: 61f., 152.

According to an old semi-mythological four-river template, Mt Meru lies at the centre of the sources of four great rivers, flowing roughly in the four cardinal directions, and each one ending in an 'ocean' or at least the salt swamp of Lop Nor. These rivers can be easily identified. The eastern river, the Tarim, was believed to continue underground into the Yellow River, reaching thus even a real ocean. The Indus was the river to the south. Note that until the 19th century the Gilgit river was held as its source river. The Oxus was the western river, as a great amount of its water would flow via the now dried-up Uzboy into the Caspian Sea, while the Iaxartes would flow into the Aral Sea. The template of the sacred mountain and the four rivers has only later been transferred upon the Kailaś, where it does not really match the geography.³⁰⁰ Mt. Meru can thus be identified with one of the most prominent mountains of the Pamirs or the whole Pamir knot.³⁰¹

The 'eastern continent', 'where the Sītā, i.e., the Tarim flows, is called *Bhadrāśva* ('Excellent Horses' < *bhadra* + *aśva*), see e.g., *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*³⁰² 2,2,34. This designation might well refer to a horse-breeding people, perhaps even to the Aspakarai / Asparata, in whose name one may recognise the Avestan word *aspa* 'horse', the same word as Sanskrit *aśva* 'horse'.³⁰³ Ptolemaios' Aspakarai / Asparata are the immediate northern neighbours of the Baitai.

The older Paurāṇic concept of the continent's centres on the Pamirs. Hence, the 'continent' of the 'Excellent Horses', the Tarim Basin, lies in the east. With further adaptations in India and transmitted to China as the scheme of the Kings of the Four Quarters or the Four Sons of Heaven, this 'continent' shifts to the north. In R. A. Stein's corresponding list, two entries for the north are of great interest, as they note the Yuezhi as associated with plenty of (excellent) horses. The third entry, from Xuanzang's report, simply mentions the lord of the horses, *aśvapati*.³⁰⁴

- "I. K'ang T'ai (245–50)", i.e., the report of Kang Tai, an early Chinese traveller: "Yue-tche (Indoscythes), foule de chevaux";
- "III. *Che-eul yeou king* (392 AD)", that is, the *Fushuo Shi'er you jing* 佛說十二游經, roughly "The sūtra of the twelve stages of the Buddha's

³⁰⁰ See Zeisler [2011c] / to appear a.

³⁰¹ Note the element *mir*, which simply means mountain, and which seems to be related to the name Meru. The Pamirs are the more original 'roof of the world' (*Bami-Dunya*, see Encyclopaedia Britannica 1911, Vol. 20: 657.

³⁰² See ed. Schreiner 2013.

³⁰³ See also Lindegger 1993: 57, n. 4.

³⁰⁴ R. A. Stein 1959: 254–61.

vagrant life': "Nord-Ouest : [...] des Yue-tche (Indoscythes): beaucoup de bons chevaux";

- "IV. Hiuan-tsang (Si-yu-ki) (646)", i. e. Xuanzang's *Xiyu ji* "[...] 'Records of the western regions': "*aśvapati*, seigneur des chevaux [...] habitants cruel et violents; nomades".

Xuanzang further adds an interesting short description of the horse breeder's way of life:

The people of the country of "the lord of horses" are naturally wild and fierce. They are cruel in disposition; they slaughter (animals) and live under large felt tents; they divide like birds (going here and there) attending their flocks.³⁰⁵

A late echo of these conceptualisations is found in connection with the legends about the wooing of the Chinese princess. Here the king of Bhaṭa Hor appears as the king of the north.³⁰⁶

- XXIII a. "*rGyal rabs* (1508)", i.e. *Rgyal.rabs gsal.baḥi me.loñ*, "Roi des Bhaṭa Hor";
- XXV e. "dPa'o gCug-lag phren-ba (1545–1565) ... Ba-ta Hor".

R. A. Stein comments:

Les Yue-tche [...] ont été célèbres par leurs bons chevaux. [...] Mais les chevaux excellents (chevaux-dragons, *long-ma*) sont également célèbres à Koutcha aussi bien que dans le Kansou et le Kokonor, là précisément où les Yue-tche avaient d'abord vécu et où ils avaient laissé une partie des leurs, les Petits Yue-tche, mélangés aux K'iang. (The Yuezhi [...] were famous for their excellent horses. [...] But the excellent horses (the so-called dragon-horses, chin. *long-ma*) were renown at Kuchā as much as in Gansu and the Kokonor region, the latter region exactly being the place where the ancient Yuezhi had been living and where they left back a part of their population, the Lesser Yuezhi, who mixed with the Qiang.)³⁰⁷

Given the identity between the Tarim Basin and the 'continent' of the 'Excellent Horses', *Bhadraśva* and the relationship of these horses with the Yuezhi, given further the relationship of a section of the Yuezhi

³⁰⁵ See ed. Beal 1884 I: 14.

³⁰⁶ R. A. Stein 1959: 257.

³⁰⁷ R. A. Stein 1959: 269.

with the Kokonor region, it would be more likely that the name element Bhaṭa appearing in exactly this region may be indirectly associated with *bhadra* 'excellent', rather than being derived from *bhaṭa* 'mercenary'. There is also the possibility that the Paurāṇic designation implies some kind of folk etymology of an aboriginal name *Bhaiṭa or *Bhaṭa, combined with the knowledge about the source of 'excellent horses'.

The third option, the derivation of an original name form *Bhaṭ(ṭ)a from Sanskrit *bhārṭṛ* 'husband, lord' has the disadvantage that the meaning would be too unspecific for a tribal name to be endlessly perpetuated. It might be possible, however, that the designation was transmitted proudly by a family formerly associated with a royal lineage.

Whether or not any of these Sanskrit words might actually underlie the Greek rendering *Baῖται*, whether the original name as preserved by Ptolemaios has been re-interpreted by speakers of Indoaryan languages, or whether these two names are completely unrelated, must remain an unsolved question.

The relationship with *bod* is much more difficult to establish, and the following scenario is absolutely hypothetical.

If the name Pyed.kar of the people on the Yar.kluṅs Rtsaṅ.po or uppermost course of the Brahmaputra in Rtsaṅ may be analysed as *Spe.hara, then they may have shared their belief system with the Bhaṭa Hor and other tribes from Turkestan. They or a more western and southwestern offshoot could then have been known by the Kashmīrī as *Bhāṭṭa* or *Bhauṭṭa*.

Whether or not the name is of Prakrit or otherwise Indo-Iranian origin, there might have been an ethnical continuity from Turkestan to Afghanistan as well as over Baltistan to Purik, and possibly via Ladakh and Guge to the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra. This would further imply that an important group among the populations of Žaṅ.žuṅ was of (Indo-) Iranian or at least non-Tibeto-Burman origin. One might think of a name transfer directly from Turkestan to Rtsaṅ Bod, but then the vowel in the Tibetan designation *bod* would presuppose the same sound change that seems to have worked in Kashmīr. The likelihood is not very great.

As for the Tibetans-to-be, it would then seem that the name of the *Bhauṭṭa* was transferred onto them in the 6th century, when the Yar.kluṅs rulers first allied themselves with the Žaṅ.žuṅ rulers before they extended their power over Žaṅ.žuṅ, and particularly over Rtsaṅ Bod. Whether outsiders (that is, the Kashmīrī and other Indians) had misapplied the name by neglect or whether the Yar.kluṅs rulers appro-

appropriated a new identity and name for its prestige, must remain open. The *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, however, seems to betray a story of usurpation.³⁰⁸

It should have become clear that several ethnical groups with different social, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds contributed to the Tibetan 'nation'-to-be. It is thus not advisable, in fact, not possible, to identify the later Tibetans with any one of these groups. Certainly, Tibeto-Burman subgroups of the Qiang contributed to the ethnogenesis of the common people and in part also to that of the elite groups. The ruling elite, and with them also larger groups of dependants, definitely had also links to other ethnic and / or linguistic groups, and the ancestors of some of them may, in fact, have been living along the river Baútidos or the swamps of the Lop Nor. These distant links may then be indirectly responsible for the appearance of the name *Bod* with the 'Tocharian' rulers in Rtsañ and perhaps also in other regions of Tibet.

Appendix A: Byltai, Βύλται

In the context of Ptolemaios' Central Asian and Indian coordinates, two more names have been associated with the Tibetans, the *Βύλται*, *Býltai*, and the *Δαβάσαι*, *Dabásai*. The *Byltai* were (and may still be) taken for the inhabitants of Baltistan, see Cunningham:

Balti, or *Balti-yul* is called Palolo or Balor, by the Dards, and *Nang-kod* by the Tibetans. *Balti* is the most common name, and perhaps the oldest, as it is preserved by Ptolemy in *Byl-tae*.³⁰⁹

To the north are the people of *Balti*, *Ladak*, and *Chang-Thang*, who were known to Ptolemy as the *Byltae* and *Chatae Scythae*.³¹⁰

Similarly, Thomaschek writes:

Byltai (*Bύλται*), nach Marinus bei Ptol. VI 13, 3 ein Volk der sakischen Region, das von den Grynaioi und Toornai südwärts bis zu den Daradai an der Indusbeuge und bis zum Himavos (Himavat) reichte; es bewohnte demnach das entlang dem [echten] oberen Indus gedehnte Hochthal Baltistân mit

³⁰⁸ See Zeisler 2011b.

³⁰⁹ Cunningham 1854: 34.

³¹⁰ Cunningham 1854: 43.

dem Vororte Skar.do 35° 20' nördlich, 75° 44' östlich und das Sigarthal. (Byltai, after Marinus at Ptol. VI 13, 3 a people of the Saka region, extending from the Grynaioi and Toornai south up to the Dards at the bend of the Indus and up to the Imaon (Himavat); they, therefore, settled in the high valley of Baltistan extending along the [real] upper Indus, with the pre-historic place Skar.do 35°20' N 75° 44' E, and in the Shigar valley.)³¹¹

Francke basically agrees.³¹² Similarly, Smith writes, without noticing the contradiction in his statement:

Byltai must be the people of Balti (Baltistan, Little Tibet), the country on the [real] upper Indus, of which Skardo (Iskardo) is the capital (76° E., about 35° N.). The territory of the Sakai, as defined by Ptolemy, therefore, extended from the Iaxartes, across the basin of the upper Oxus, as far as the Indus; and comprised the tangle of mountains now known by the names Darwāz, Shighnan, the Pamirs, Baltistan, etc., equivalent, roughly speaking, on the modern map, to the rectangle enclosed between the meridians 70°–76° E., and the parallels 35°–40° N.³¹³

As in the case of the other names, the main question is: why should any traveller have heard from Baltistan, if even the Tibetan Plateau and the real upper course of the Indus remained *terra incognita*. Trade and pilgrim routes between Central Asia and India lead further west, mainly through the Pamirs. If the name should be associated with a modern name element *balt-*, at all, then one could equally think of Baltit in the Hunza valley. The originally rounded vowel of the name *Βύλται* fits neither Baltit nor Baltistan.

Herrmann opines that the association with the Balti can be precluded because this name would only appear in the 17th century³¹⁴ (he might think of the *La.dvags Rgyal.rabs*). Herrmann thus follows an earlier suggestion that the name should be corrected into "Baytai" (that is, Bautai). The wrong spelling would be the fault of Marinos.³¹⁵ A similar

³¹¹ Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft Bd. III,1 1897, Sp. 1106–07, URL 47.

³¹² Francke 1907: 16.

³¹³ Smith 1907: 411f.

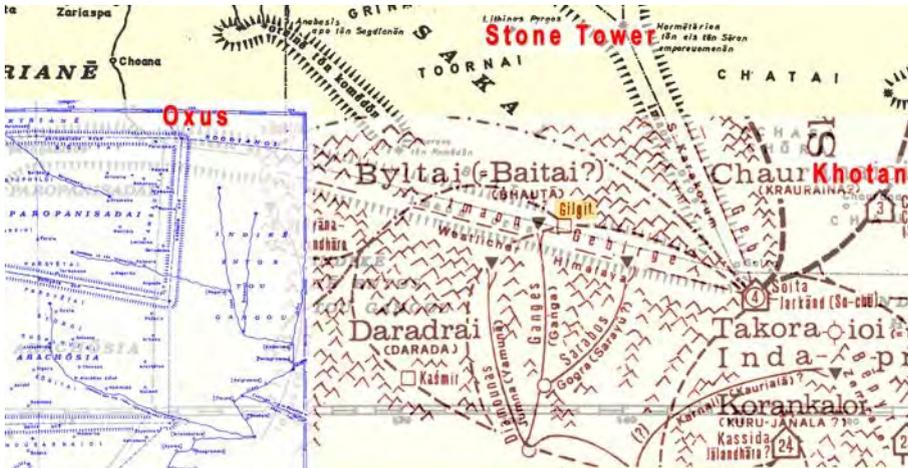
³¹⁴ Herrmann 1938: 137.

³¹⁵ Herrmann 1938: 145.

idea is followed by Lindegger, suggesting an identity with the ‘Bhautā’, i.e., the Bhautṭa of the *Rājataranṅinī*.³¹⁶

One might alternatively think of a relationship with the name of Bolor. Bolor or parts of it are also commonly identified with Baltistan, but this is most probably based on a misunderstanding of the ancient pilgrim routes.³¹⁷ The main centre of Bolor was Gilgit with the northern valleys of Yāsin, Ishkoman, and Hunza, plus parts along the ‘Upper Indus’, down to Chilās, most likely also parts along the Kunar Sindh down to Chitrāl, and perhaps also, intermittently, parts of present-day Baltistan.³¹⁸ Among the trade routes from Central Asia to South Asia, which usually led through the Pamirs down to Chitrāl,³¹⁹ a shorter route could have led via Hunza and Gilgit down to India, rather than over the Mustagh pass into Baltistan.

Ptolemaios, however, also lists a tribe called Bolitai. These are located in the northern part of the region of the Paropanisadai, an area assumed to be located at the Hindukush and to its south. Most commentators suggest that the name Bolitai were a mistake for Kabolitai, the people of Kābul,³²⁰ overlooking however, that Kābul and the Kābul river is much further south, even in the maps based on Ptolemaios. It is thus rather likely that the name Bolitai refers to the people of Bolor.



Map 17 — Composite map of the Pamir triangle.
Yellow background cutout from Ronca (1967, Tabula II).

³¹⁶ Lindegger 1993: Karte II.

³¹⁷ This will be discussed in detail in Zeisler, to appear c.

³¹⁸ See also the discussion in Zeisler 2010: 381–88.

³¹⁹ Zeisler, to appear c.

³²⁰ See, e.g., Stükelberger and Graßhoff 2006: 675, n. 254 apud Ptol. 6.18.3.

Blue-and white inset: cutout of Ronca (1967, Tabula III), proportions preserved.

Brown-and-white inset: cutout of Lindegger (1993: Karte II), proportions adapted to position, courtesy Tibet-Institut Rikon.



Map 18 – 21 — Upper left: Cutout from a Ptolemaian map by Bernardo Silvani, 1511, reproduction courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map and Education Center at the Boston Public Library, URL 48.

Upper right: Cutout from Septima Asiae Tabula, Claudii Ptolomei Cosmographie, by Nicholas Germanus, translation by Iacobus Angelus, ca. 1467, written between 1460 and 1477, Valencia, URL 49.

Lower left: Cutout from Septima Asiae Tabula, Cosmographia Ptolemaeus, Claudius, Ulm: Lienhart Holle, 1482, p.204. National Library of Finland,

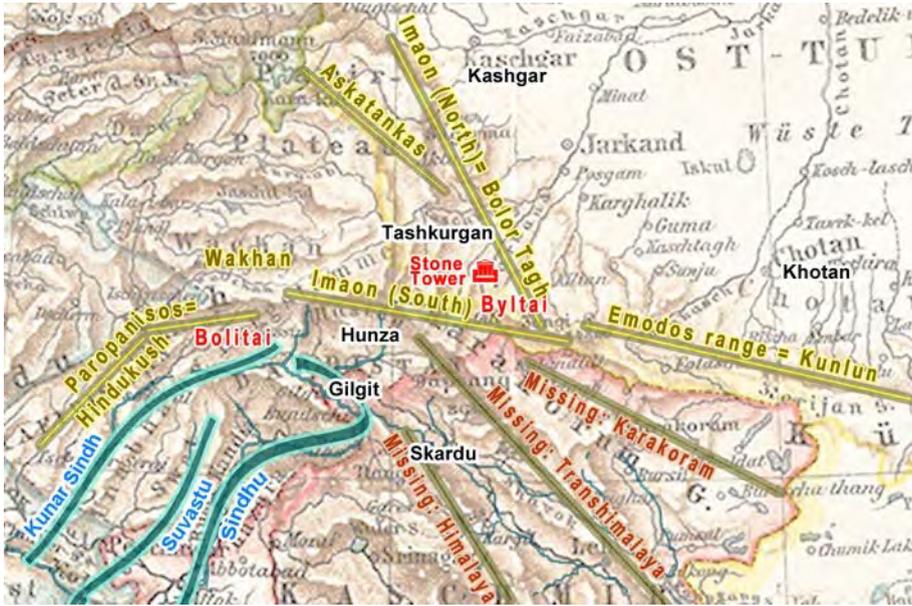
Helsinki, URL 50.

Lower right: Cutout from Thomas Porcacchi, *Tavola Settima Dell'Asia, Tabula Asiae VII, Padua 1620, University of Alabama Map Library, URL 51.*

Ptolemaios places the Byltai further north, in the region of the Sakai, a Scythian group, north of a western extension of the Pamirs, which most likely constitutes a range along the Wakhan corridor. The Byltai are located roughly on the same latitude as the Oxus source, which could point to a location in the Wakhan/ Little Pamir valley or the northern parallel, the Great Pamir valley. P'iankow suggests the area of Wulei or Puli,³²¹ which would roughly correspond to the region of Tashkurgan. The Byltai would then settle in the southernmost part. The very prominent acute angle formed by the two branches of the Imaon, visible in all maps, can be matched with reality, see Map 17, Map 18–21, and Map 22. I would not want to preclude the possibility that the names Bolitai and Byltai may have been related, nor the possibility that, despite the difference in the vowel, both names may have something to do with an ethnic name underlying the name of Baltit.

The three chains of the Karakoram, the Transhimalaya, and the main Himalayas are missing, and with them the complete Tibetan Plateau. At the same time, the more or less horizontal Kunlun-Emodos range functions as the northern border of India, and corresponds thus *also* to the Himalayas with respect to Ptolemaios' coordinates and maps of India.

³²¹ P'iankow 1994: 43b.



Map 22 — *Byltai and Bolitai. Schematicised mountain ranges and rivers. Background: Cutout of 'Karte Zentral-Asiens vor 1893' from Meyers Konversations-Lexikon, 4th edition (1885 -1890), URL 52.*

Whether the 'Stone Tower' should be located at Tashkurgan, as assumed here with Stückelberger and Graßhoff³²² and Falk,³²³ or further up north-west at Daraut-Kurghān in the Alai valley, as suggested by M. A. Stein³²⁴ and recently again by P'iankov³²⁵ is another question, which is of no further interest here.

The only thing that disturbs the picture is the position of the Gaṅgā, which is located much too close to the Indus, practically below the Byltai, having the source at Gilgit (see inset in Map 17). The Indus and the two parallel rivers, the Kunar Sindh and the Swāt river, are roughly in the correct position, although still too far in the west. Apart from this, the rest of India is too much compressed, especially also in the north-south direction. The compression is a result of using too small a circumference of the earth (see n.28 above). With the reduced circumference of the earth, the latitudes also shrink. Spreading of the north-south distances in the areas of Central Asia further reduces the

³²² Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006: 657, n. 186 apud Ptol. 6.13.2.

³²³ Falk 2014: 20.

³²⁴ M. A. Stein 1932: 22.

³²⁵ P'iankov 2015: 64.

available space in the south. In the case of India, this leads, apart from other distortions, also to an extreme compression of the north-south distances, only minimally compensated by setting the equator through Sri Lanka. This should be kept in mind.

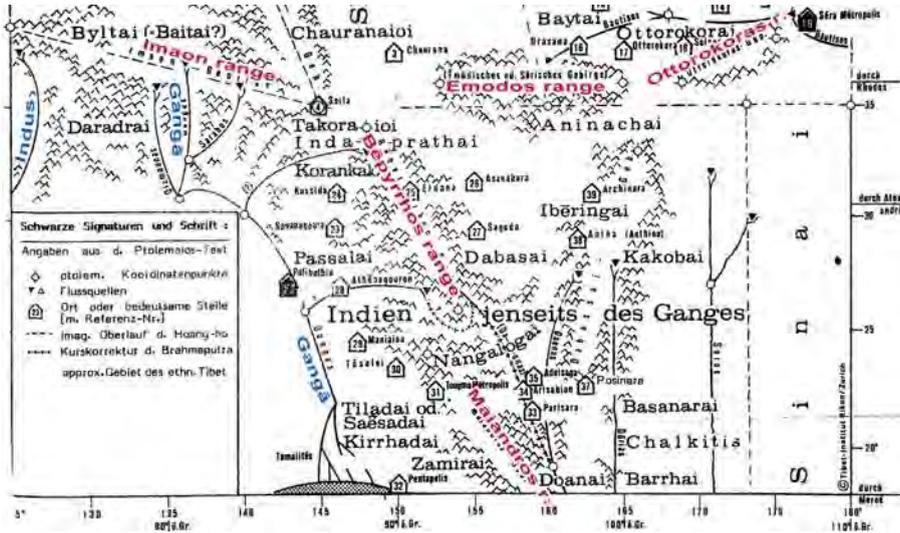
Appendix B: Δαβάσαι, Dabásai

According to Herrmann, the name Dabasai corresponds to the Central Tibetan province Dbus.³²⁶ This is hardly possible. First of all, if the Emodos range would be identical with the Himalayas as Herrmann suggests in his rendering of Ptolemaios' coordinates,³²⁷ see Map 1, then the Dabasai, being located to their south, would clearly settle in India. Secondly, given the meaning 'Central (Province)' of Dbus, this would presuppose that there would have been already a large tribal entity that could single out a central element. R. A. Stein, who does not seem to oppose the name identification, comments upon the implication "que l'organisation administrative du Tibet ancien était pareille à celle des temps historiques, ce qui est étonnant" (that the administrative organisation of ancient [i.e., protohistoric] Tibet would correspond to that of historical Tibet, which is surprising).³²⁸ Thirdly, the identification presupposes the presence of speakers of Tibetan (or the ancestral language) in the 2nd century or earlier in Central Tibet, something that has to be proven yet – exactly by the identification of the place name.

³²⁶ Herrmann 1938: 61. Herrmann refers back to August Herrmann Francke 1926: 98. Francke is often extremely rash in his identifications, but his wording: 'Dbus is supposed to be identical with Ptolemy's Dabasae', indicates an even earlier amateur identification. In fact, the identification is given by Cunningham (1894: 19): "the uncorrupted pronunciation is preserved by Ptolemy in *Dabasae*, who must be the people of dBus". Francke 1907: 16 adds "He [Ptolemy] speaks of the nation of the Dabasae and this has suggested itself to Tibetan scholars as being a Roman transliteration of the modern province of Ü (spelt dBus)".

³²⁷ Herrmann 1938: Tafel IX.

³²⁸ R. A. Stein 1940: 458.



Map 23 — Cutout of Lindegger (1993, Karte I), courtesy Tibet-Institut Rikon.

If we believe Ptolemaios' Indian coordinates, as, e.g., represented in Lindegger,³²⁹ the Dabasai should be located in India beyond the Gaṅgā, already quite to the south. It is clear that Ptolemaios knew a lot of Indian place names as well as their rough orientation, and especially also their latitude, but due to the contraction of the east-west distances and possibly other problems, his Indian coordinates are extremely skewed. Not only would the Gaṅgā rise in the Hindukush below Gilgit, but the river would also flow in a south-southeastern direction, instead of flowing east-southeast, see Map 23.

If one corrects the orientation of the Gaṅgā by turning the map, the Bēphyrros range could be associated with the central Himalayas as in Lindegger³³⁰ or with the with the eastern Himalayas as suggested by Stückelberger and Graßhoff.³³¹ The Dabasai to the north of that range would then be located near Lhasa.

³²⁹ Lindegger 1993, Karte I and Karte II.

³³⁰ Lindegger 1993: Karte II.

³³¹ Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006: 723 apud Ptol. 7.2.8, 938b.

61. About the following region, the course trending toward the east, lying out at sea toward the west is the island Palaesimundu, called by the ancients Taprobane [Sri Lanka]. [...]

62. [...] Beyond this region, sailing toward the east and crossing the adjacent bay, there is the region of Dosarene, yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic. Beyond this, the course trending toward the north, there are many barbarous tribes, among whom are the Cirrhadae [i.e., Kirrhadai], a race of men with flattened noses, very savage; another tribe, the Bargysi; and the Horse-faces and the Long-faces, who are said to be cannibals.

63. After these, the course turns toward the east again, and sailing with the ocean to the right and the shore remaining beyond to the left, Ganges comes into view, and near it the very last land toward the east, Chryse. There is a river near it called the Ganges, and it rises and falls in the same way as the Nile. On its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river, Ganges.

These Kirr(h)adai are quite apparently characterised as a mongoloid tribe (whether they were speaking a Tibeto-Burman language, as the Wikipedia wants to have it,³⁴⁰ is another question). While most of the earlier scholars suggest that the author of the *Periplus* simply misplaced the people or misunderstood their name, and that Ptolemaios thus took over the wrong name, and while other scholars also allow the aboriginal people to have originally spread across the whole Gangetic plain,³⁴¹ nobody ever seems to think of the possibility of an accidental name similarity or a name transfer so that neither the author of the *Periplus* nor Ptolemaios were mistaken, but rather those who made the identification.

One can observe, however, that, like in the case of the Qiang, the designation Kirāta may have been used both specifically, referring to a particular ethnic group, and also more generally, referring to non-Aryan tribes, mountain and forest dwellers, or even 'robbers'. Rainer Kimmig (p.c.) kindly points to an enumeration in the *Mahābhārata*³⁴² 3,48.20ff, where the name Kirāta is used for a people of the western kingdom, mentioned between the Pahlava (Persians) and Darada in the beginning of the enumeration, and the Yavana (Greeks), Śaka (Scythians), 'Robber Huns' (Hūṇa), 'Chinese' (that is, Cīna, a place or

³⁴⁰ See URL 56.

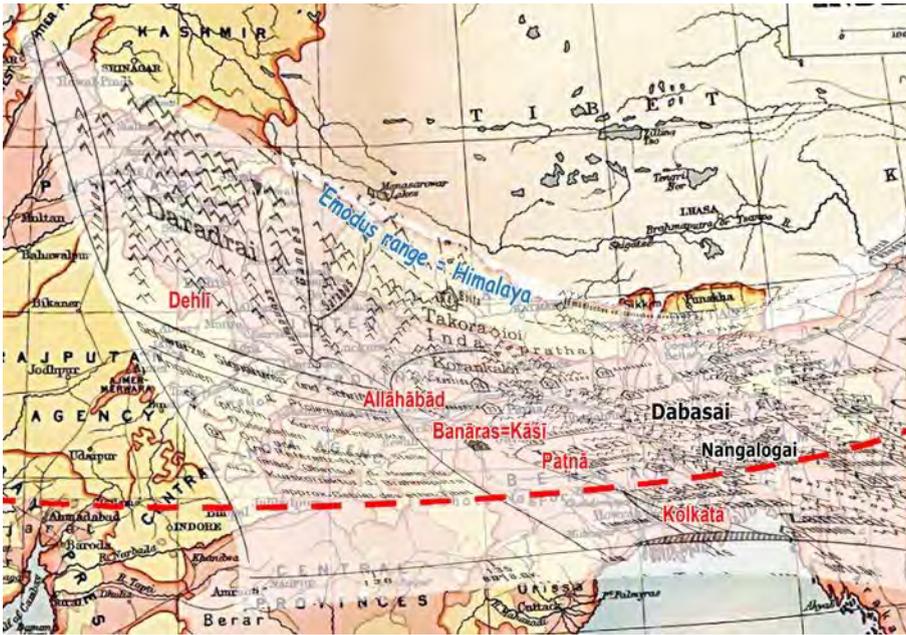
³⁴¹ See here McCrindle 1885: 192–94 with further references.

³⁴² See ed. van Buitenen 1975.

people in the Pamirs, later apparently attested in Kinnaur),³⁴³ and Tocharians in the continuation. Tucci lists more such passages in the *Mahābhārata*, in the *Manusmṛti*, and in the *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*.³⁴⁴ Tucci thus states “Kirāta, as known, indicates tribes of hunters or marauders, warriors outside the pale of orthodoxy. They are not only located in the East but chiefly in the West and North-West along with the Daradas, Kambojas, Cīnas [people], Sakas, Yavanas etc.”.³⁴⁵

Mayrhofer mentions also the meanings ‘merchant’ and ‘fraudulent merchant’ for the spelling alternative *Kirāta*.³⁴⁶ In that case, if the identification should hold, the Kirr(h)adai could simply be tribal merchants along the coast. In any case, there is no need to evoke ‘East Nepal’.

If one tries to adjust Ptolemaios conceptual errors not by turning the map but by warping it and shifting and extending the Indian part towards the east, one might get a better impression of what Ptolemaios’ Indian coordinates could have represented ideally, and one runs into much less inconsistencies.



³⁴³ See Tucci 1971, 1977: 82.

³⁴⁴ Tucci 1977: 11, 37. The *Manusmṛti* ed. Bühler 1886: X, 44 gives among others Kāmboja, Yavana, Śaka, Pārada, Pahlava, Cīna, Kirāta, Darada. The *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* of Varāhamihira. (ed. 1982), chapter 14: 17–19, lists the Kirāta in the southwestern quarter (!) together with many southwestern but and the above-mentioned northwestern tribes.

³⁴⁵ Tucci: 1977: 66, n. 90a.

³⁴⁶ Mayrhofer 1992: 353.

Map 26 — Cutout of Lindegger (1993, Karte I), courtesy Tibet-Institut Rikon, projected onto a cutout of Map of the British Indian Empire from *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1909, Edinburgh Geographical Institute; J. G. Bartholomew and Sons, URL 57. Red broken line: Tropic of the Cancer.

By such an exercise, if only approximatively as in Map 25 (further contortion would make it completely unreadable), it becomes clear that Ptolemaios did not and could not have any idea of the existence of Tibet. After all, it would have been extremely unlikely that any trader following the trade routes to the Tarim Basin or that any trader following the sea routes around India could have ever provided a single place name belonging to the Tibetan Plateau.

With 'East Nepal', the identification of the Maiandros range with the Araka Yoma would no longer hold, it would then rather correspond to the eastern Himalayas, and the Nangalogai would definitely be located north of Nepal, in Tibet. Finally, Lindegger's identifications would also have the Brahmaputra meet the Gaṅgā at Pāṭaliputra,³⁴⁷ i.e., Paṭnā, instead of in the Bay of Bengal. The Ghāghrā joins the Gaṅgā somewhat west of Paṭnā, the Gandakī follows somewhat east. The Gaṅgā is further joined by the Kosī halfway to the border to Bānglādesh.³⁴⁸ (When the map should simply be turned, the river would arise in the Everest area, and would then correspond to the Kosī).

Scholars who have treated Ptolemaios' Indian coordinates in more detail have taken the Emodos as the northern boundary of India without any hesitation. They have accordingly associated the Dabasai with tribes in north-east Bānglādesh³⁴⁹ or Upper Burma,³⁵⁰ i.e., Myanmar. The individual identifications are as speculative as the identification of the Dabasai with the name Dbus, yet better justified.

The south-eastern endpoint of the Bēphyrros range (154°E 20°N) lies slightly to the east of the north-western endpoint of the Maiandros range (152°E 24°N). However, in many of the Renaissance maps, the Bēphyrros range is followed on the same diagonal line by the Maiandros range, and it seems thus to be quite likely that the Bēphyrros range corresponds to the Patkai range, which is the northern (north-east-ward bent) continuation of the Araka Yoma. The smaller unnamed mountain range that follows further south, east of the Gulf of Sabarak (i.e., Gulf of Martaban), already belongs to Thailand.

In several Latin Renaissance editions of Ptolemaios' *Cosmographia*, the map of India is given with the Tropic of Cancer, see Map 27 from

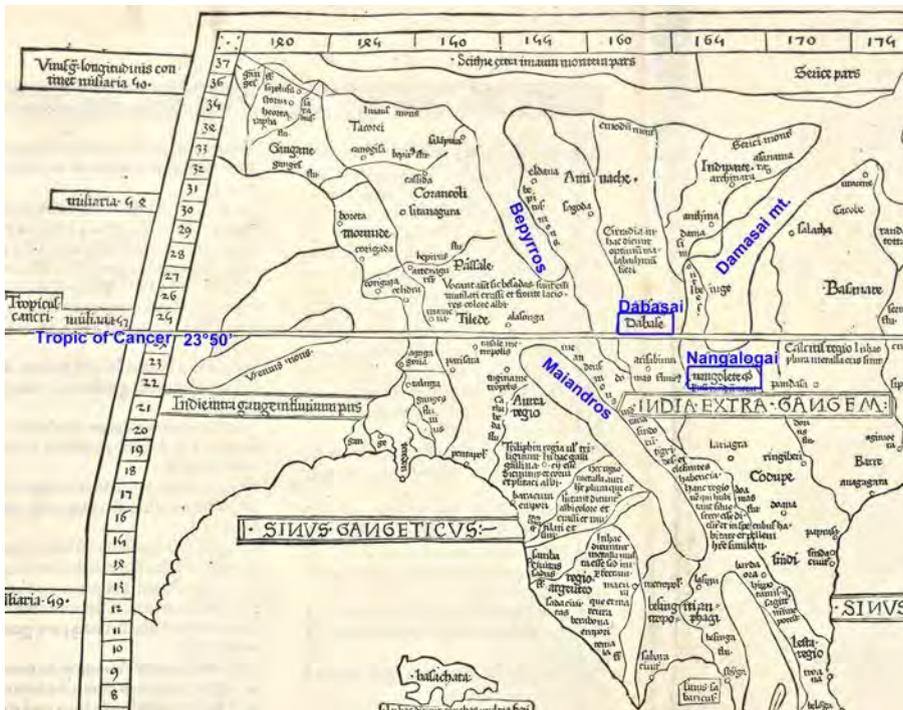
³⁴⁷ Lindegger 1993: Karte II.

³⁴⁸ See URL 58.

³⁴⁹ McCrindle 1885: 223.

³⁵⁰ Gerini 1909: 20.

the edition by the German Lienhart Holle, Ulm 1482. This corresponds to Ptolemaios' parallel of latitude $23^{\circ}50'$ from the equator. Ptolemaios' Tropic of Cancer passes through Syene, that is, present-day Assuan. This is practically also the latitude of the Tropic of Cancer today at $23^{\circ}26'$ N, at the northern end of the Nasser lake. In Map 27, the Dabasai are located only slightly north, the Nangalogai somewhat south. Since their positions are not fixed, one may also find the Nangalogai at the Tropic of Cancer and the Dabasai two degrees further north, see Map 28, where the Tropic had not been indicated, but the scale of degrees is found at the rim of the map (I have inserted the tropic and also a cutout of the rim).



Map 27 — Cutout of Map Asia XI, *Cosmographia Ptolemaeus, Claudius*, Ulm: Lienhart Holle, 1482, p.216. National Library of Finland, Helsinki.
URL 50.

In the real world of the Indian subcontinent, the Tropic of Cancer passes somewhat north of Ahmadābād and Ujjain, almost through Jabalpur and Bhopāl, north of Rāmcī and south of Dhākā, see the broken red line in Map 25. Even if the position of the two peoples are not exactly fixed, those of the mountains are, and it stands to reason, that

Ptolemaios had the corresponding information about their positions. The respective latitude was very easy to establish even for astronomically untrained persons. All they had to do is to either count the hours of the longest day or to measure the shadow of a gnomon. It is thus rather unlikely that Ptolemaios could have mistaken the eastern Himalayas for the Patkai range.



Map 28 — Cutout from Eleventh map of Asia (southeast Asia), in full gold border by Nicholas Germanus, translation by Iacobus Angelus, ca. 1467. Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library Digital Collections. URL 59.

Insets: miniature of full map and copy of the scale.

Yes, it is true, Ptolemaios used the wrong model of the earth and yes, the information he drew upon were extremely imprecise. He certainly messed up the coordinates of India and South-East Asia. However, one should ask oneself whether there is any likelihood that Ptolemaios' informants had more knowledge about places in Tibet than about places in northern India and Bānglādes̄h. If one accepts the Emodos as the northern boundary of India and Bānglādes̄h, and, at the same time, as the southern boundary of the Tarim Basin, not only the landscape of

India beyond the Gaṅgā is preserved, but also the question of the Baitais and the Baitai is solved.

Acknowledgements

I want to express my sincerest thanks to Rachel Meakin for her help with the Chinese sources, her readiness to discuss the question of the Qiang, and her generosity in sharing part of her unpublished work with me. I similarly enjoyed discussions with John E. Hill on the Fā Qiāng and related issues. Sincere thanks also go to Rainer Kimmig, not only for his help and suggestions concerning Sanskrit sources, Greek and Persian names, but also for the pleasure of discussing Ptolemaios' Indian coordinates. His scepticism was of great help. I also greatly benefited from the work of my favourite authority, the unreachable example, Rolf Alfred Stein, whom I was unfortunate enough to never have met.

I should also like to thank the editors, for the possibility to compose a contribution without page limits, for spotting errors, and for their patience with the intricate puzzle of where to place the maps.

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Traces of Clause-Final Demonstratives in Old Tibetan¹

Marius Zemp

(University of Bern, Switzerland)

1. Introduction

The Purik member of the Tibetic language family is spoken in the western periphery of the Tibetic linguistic area. In Purik, two demonstratives, *de* ‘that’ and *e* ‘the other’, occur not only pre- and pronominally, but also post- and proverbially, in which case they take scope over the sentence they terminate. The proverbial *de*, occurring instead of an existential predicate, locates an entity or property in the topical situation (which typically corresponds to the interlocutors’ current one). The postverbal *de*, occurring after a full-fledged sentence, has the effect of laying out the information conveyed by this sentence, inviting the addressee to retrace it, and implying that it should be clear. By contrast, pro- and postverbal *e* points to information that requires a shift of attention.

The present paper demonstrates that Old Tibetan (OT) *ga re* ‘where is (X)?’, clause-linking *(s)te ~ de*, and *V-ta re* ‘lest (it) will V’, and other phenomena found in written and spoken Tibetic varieties, are best understood if analysed as traces of the mentioned clause-final demonstratives. The comparative study of spoken Tibetic varieties thus not only contributes to our understanding of particular OT texts, but also sheds light on the development and dispersion of Tibetic during the Imperial Period (7th–9th centuries CE).

Purik is a phonologically archaic Tibetic variety spoken in the Purik area of Kargil district which, on 31 October 2019, came under the Union Territory of Ladakh, India. In Purik, two demonstratives, *de* ‘that’ and *e* ‘the other’, respectively refer to primary and secondary topics (see §2.1) not only pre- and pronominally, but also pro- and postverbally.

The distinction between Purik *de* and *e* is a prime example of what

¹ This paper is dedicated to the loving memory of Prof. Takeuchi Tsuguhito. It was funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (Grant numbers 159046 and 189281). I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for helpful comments on an earlier version.

Evans, Bergqvist, and San Roque proposed to call “engagement systems”.² These systems “encode the relative accessibility of an entity or state of affairs to the speaker and addressee”.³ Naturally, demonstratives play a prominent role in many such systems, and Evans et al. write that:

After a long period when the typology of demonstrative systems was dominated by their spatial properties (...), the field is unveiling a growing number of cases where demonstratives can best be understood as grammatical devices for bringing one’s interlocutor’s attention into line with one’s own (cf. Janssen, 2002).⁴

However, Janssen takes into consideration only “adnominal, pronominal, and local” demonstratives,⁵ but not demonstratives which take scope over entire clauses. As clause-scope demonstratives appear to generally be left unconsidered in the most well-known work on demonstratives,⁶ and the grammaticalization paths leading from demonstratives to copulas,⁷ and to complementizers,⁸ the degree to which the present study may draw from this literature is rather limited.

Nevertheless, for most of the Tibetic phenomena described in Sections 2 and 3 of this article, striking parallels have been identified (and will be discussed after the respective Tibetic phenomena) in Abui, an entirely unrelated language spoken on Alor Island in Eastern Indonesia.⁹

The present article is structured as follows: Section §2 discusses demonstratives in Purik, showing that from among those which occur pronominally (§2.1), *de* ‘that’ has left traces also in other positions of NPs in Purik and other Tibetic varieties (§2.2), while both *de* ‘that’ and *e* ‘the other’ are also employed post- and proverbially (§2.3). Section §3

² Evans et al. 2018.

³ Evans et al. 2018.

⁴ Evans et al. 2018: 123.

⁵ Janssen 2002: 162–63.

⁶ See for instance Himmelmann 1996; Fillmore 1997; Diessel 1999.

⁷ Stassen 1997: 76–91; Heine and Kuteva 2002: 108–09.

⁸ Hopper and Traugott 2003 [1985]: 190–94; Heine and Kuteva 2002: 106–07. Walleser, like the author of the present article, tried to show that Written Tibetan (*s)te* ~ *de* derives from demonstrative *de*; Walleser 1935. However, as he was unaware of the clause-final uses of this demonstrative in modern dialects such as Purik, his diachronic account has little in common with the one proposed here.

⁹ Kratochvil 2007; Kratochvil 2011. Note that clause-level demonstratives are also described for other Timor-Alor-Pantar languages in Schapper and San Roque 2011.

identifies traces of the clause-final demonstratives in OT and other Tibetic varieties, arguing that postverbal *-de* (§3.1) is reflected in the OT subordinator *(s)te ~ de* and OT V *ta re* 'lest (it) will V'; proverbal *de* in adjectives like *ts^hante* 'hot', which are widespread in dialects west of Lhasa; proverbal *e* (§3.2) in OT *ga re* 'where is ...?', from where it further developed into the preverbal *e* of early Written Tibetan (WT) and modern eastern Tibetic varieties on the one hand and the polar interrogative *(-):e* of Central Tibetic on the other. Section §4 concludes this paper by giving a unified diachronic account of how clause-final *de* and *e* developed in different varieties of the Tibetic language family.

2. Demonstratives in Purik Tibetan

2.1. Prenominal Demonstratives

Purik has six demonstratives which occur pre- and pronominally, and which may refer to two related dimensions, namely a spatial and a textual (or discourse-deictic) one. Proximal *di* 'this' and distal *a(re)* 'that' primarily refer to the spatial dimension.¹⁰ The most important demonstrative of the textual dimension is anaphoric *de* 'that', which, as described for anaphoric markers in other languages, "refers to the referent of the antecedent expression with which it is correlated".¹¹ It occurs in its adjectival form *de* before nouns and before locative *-ka*, as in (1) and (2), but in its nominal form *d-o*—with the definite article *-o*, which has the form *-po* after consonants, see *las-po* in (1)—before dative *-a*, as in the second line of (2). The emphatic anaphoric *dja* 'that exact, that same'¹² may be used as in (3), and *ode* 'that very' refers to a newly identified topic as in (4). Note that *ode* may also be applied to the spatial dimension, namely when it refers to an entity which is situated next to the addressee and is therefore most readily identified by that addressee, as in (5).¹³

- (1) *k^ho-s na bo-s-p-in, de las-po mi ba zer-e*
 s/he-ERG oathput-PST-INF-EQ that work-DEF NEG do say-CNJ
 He's sworn to never do **that** (which we've talked about) again.

¹⁰ For a detailed discussion of pre- and pronominal demonstratives in Purik, see Zemp 2018: 212–48.

¹¹ Lyons 1977: 660.

¹² Purik *dja* likely reflects a fusion of *de* and the focus marker *-pa*, Zemp 2018: 241.

¹³ That the spatial use of *ode* derives from its discourse-deictic function (rather than the other way round) is suggested by the fact that *o* is used as an affirmative particle in most if not all spoken and written varieties of Tibetan, see Hahn 1996: 47.

- (2) *skambo fiŋ sum ʒbʒi de-ka taŋ-se ferpa tʃik*
 dry wood three four that-LOC give-CNJ wet one
taŋ-ma-na d-o-a tʃsam-ba zer-tʃ-in
 give-INF-CND that-DEF-DAT make.warm-INF say-INF2-EQ
 After putting three, four pieces of wood **there** (into the fire), when (you) put a wet one (there as well), **that's** called *tʃsamba* ('to make dry').
- (3) *kʰo-s tʃsaŋ-kʰan-po-la ʂmul rgj-ek taŋ-se-na*
 (s)he-ERG raise-NLZR-DEF-DAT rupee100-INDEF give-CNJ-CND
dʒa-o ʒot-en-dug-et
 that.exact-DEF brag-SIM-stay-FCT
 After (s)he gave a beggar 100 rupees, (s)he's been bragging about **this** all the time.
- (4) *le-a hoŋel-tʃi min-dug-a ode*
 Leh-DAT restaurant-INDEF NEG-EX.DIREV-Q that.very
tʃʰan-po-a bomw-ek min-duk-p-in-a
 side-DEF-DAT girl-INDEF NEG-EX.DIREV-INF-EQ-Q
 You remember the restaurant in Leh? And (do you remember) the girl that was (working) next to **that** (restaurant)?
- (5) *ŋa daŋ-tʃik ba-se-na*
 I moment-INDEF do-CNJ-CND
ode hoŋel-la joŋ-ed-hei
 that.very restaurant-DAT come-FCT-ok?
 I will come to **your** hotel after a little while, okay?

While *de* 'that' consistently refers to the most activated antecedent of the ongoing discourse, *e* 'the other' draws attention to what may be called a 'secondary topic', which is activated together with the primary topic but warrants a shift of attention.¹⁴ In (6), for example, *e* refers to the far end of a rope; in (7), the other half of a month; in (8), the opposite side of a valley; in (9), the one of three protagonists in a story who was not just mentioned; in (10), someone other than the speaker of the reported sentence; in (11), everyone around the subject of the sentence; in (12), away from the interlocutors' current location; and in (13), the next occasion on which speaker and addressee eat together.

¹⁴ Note that this notion of 'secondary topic' is not incompatible with the 'secondary (clausal) topic' used by scholars such as Givón 1979 and Nikolaeva 2001.

- (6) *no, dj-u len e-ka t^homs*
 here.you.go this-DEF take the.other-LOC hold\IMP
 Here! Grab a hold of this (rope) on the other end!
- (7) *ldzot tʃoʒa tʃik-pw-e-ka t^hoŋ-tʃ-in, e tʃoʒa*
 moon15 one-DEF-G-LOC be.visible-INF2-EQ the.other15
tʃik-pw-e-ka zat-tʃ-in, ts^har-e tʃ^ha-tʃ-in
 one-DEF-G-LOC wear.out-INF2-EQ be.finished-CNJ go-INF2-EQ
 The moon is seen during the first fifteen days; during the second fifteen it wanes.
- (8) *e ŋos-i p^harka grib in,*
 the.other side-GEN side.of.valley shade EQ
ɲima gor-e ʃar-ba-t
 sun be.late-CNJ rise-INF-FCT
 The other side of the valley is in the shade; the sun rises late (there).
- (9) *p^hono sum jot-p-in-suk, p^hono ɲis-pw-e ama*
 brother three EX-NR-EQ-INFR brother two-DEF-GEN mother
tʃik-tʃik, e p^hono tʃik-tʃik-pw-e ama
 one-one the.other brother one-one-DEF-GEN mother
loχso in-suk
 different EQ-INFR
 There were three brothers. Two brothers had the same mother, the third brother had a different mother.
- (10) *e tʃik-po ma t^har-na*
 the.other one-DEF NEG climb-CND
ŋa-a laqtfu t^homs zer-tʃ-in
 I-DAT hand hold\IMP say-INF2-EQ
 If the other person isn't able to get on top, (we) say "grab my hand!".
- (11) *e-en roza-a duk-tsa-na*
 the.other-PL fasting-DAT stay-SIM-CND
zba-se t^huŋ-ma rgo-f-in
 hide-CNJ drink-INF need-INF2-EQ
 While the others are fasting (you) need to drink secretly.
- (12) *ts^haχtsik e-tsa-ar-ik nur*

a.little the.other-LIM-AUG-INDEF move.aside
 Move a little to the side!

- (13) *dja-res-i-ka* *k^hje-s* *tozar* *toŋ*,
 that-turn-G-LOC you-ERG lunch give\IMP
e-res-i-ka *ŋa-s* *k^hjaŋ-a* *taŋ-et*,
 the.other-turn-G-LOC I-ERG you-DAT give-FCT
 This time you pay for the food, next time I will pay for you.

2.2. *Demonstratives in other Positions of Noun and Adverbial Phrases*

Before turning to the functions which Purik *de* and *e* serve in clause-final positions, the present section serves to show that *de* ‘that’ (and to a lesser degree ‘*di*’ ‘this’, where WT <’ > indicates prenasalization) left traces also in a number of other positions within NPs. Let us first look at the comparative evidence from other Tibetic varieties.

While demonstratives always precede the noun they determine in the westernmost Tibetic dialects Balti, Purik, and Ladakhi,¹⁵ they follow that noun in Written (including Old) Tibetan except in some fixed expressions such as *di skad du* ‘with these words’.¹⁶ Only the postnominal position is described for *ni* ‘this’ and *thi* ‘that’ in Shigatse Tibetan,¹⁷ and for enclitic *-ndə* ‘this’ and *-tə* ‘that’ in the Themchen dialect of Amdo Tibetan.¹⁸ In many other modern varieties of Tibetan, at least some of the demonstratives are found both before and after a noun, often both within the same NP, as in Southern Mustang,¹⁹ Dingri,²⁰ Nangchenpa,²¹ and Dongwang.²² In Kyirong, proximal *dī* and distal *q:* both occur before nouns that are often followed by enclitic *-de*. Even if this enclitic according to Huber serves as a determiner and never as a demonstrative,²³ it is without a doubt cognate with the demonstrative *de* found throughout Tibetic.

Many Tibetic dialects also exhibit forms consisting of two demonstratives. For Kyirong, Huber documents proximal *dedē* and distal *q:ḍi*

¹⁵ Bielmeier 1985: 79.

¹⁶ Beyer 1992: 206f.; Hahn 1996: 43.

¹⁷ Haller 2000: 51–52.

¹⁸ Haller 2004: 51–52.

¹⁹ Kretschmar 1995: 65.

²⁰ Herrmann 1989: 46.

²¹ Causemann 1989: 79.

²² Bartee 2007: 252.

²³ Huber 2005: 71–72.

as emphatic variants of simple *di* and *o*:²⁴ Bielmeier et al. list similar forms for a few more dialects, namely Tabo *hot̄ē*, Gergye *wur̄i*, and Nubri *auti* ‘that’.²⁵

Whereas Purik shows no traces of demonstratives occurring immediately after a noun, there is broad evidence for anaphoric *de* being used after spatial-deictic *a* ‘that’, *e* ‘the other’, and after the particle *o*. Modern Purik *ode* ‘that very’, for instance, which was described above as referring to a newly identified topic, clearly consists of the affirmative *o* found in perhaps all written and spoken Tibetic varieties and textual-anaphoric *de*. Accordingly, one may also translate *ode* as ‘yes, that one, the one we have just identified’.

At an earlier stage of Purik, *de* also regularly occurred after *a* ‘that (pointing, distal)’ and *e* ‘the other’, as witnessed by their forms *are* (< **a de*) and *ere* (< **e de*), which are highly preferred over *a* and *e* in the attributive position before a noun, compare (14) and (15).

- (14) *ribja a-ka-na p^hur, a-ka baps*
 wild.hen that-LOC-ABL fly that-LOC go.down
 A wild hen flew (up) from **over there** and came down **over there**.

- (15) *are nor-un skrot, rgjap-se ton*
 that sheep-PL drive.away\IMP hit-CNJ give\IMP
 Drive those sheep **over there** away!

The assumption that *are* and *ere* respectively derive from **a de* and **e de* is supported by the modern occurrence of an elongated *aa*—accompanied by pointing gestures—in front of another demonstrative, as illustrated in (16) and (17).

- (16) *k^ho-e nan-po aa a-o in*
 (s)he-GEN house-DEF that that-DEF EQ
 His house is **over there** (pointing at it).
- (17) *k^ho-e nan-po aa e luṅb-e-aṅ-nuk jot*
 (s)he-GEN house-DEF that the.other valley-G-INE-TERM EX.F

²⁴ Huber 2005: 71–73. While the distal Kyirong *o*:(*di*) as well as *oṛā* ‘we’ may indeed, as suggested by Huber 2005: 69, be related with the archaic determiner *o* ~ *u* discussed by Beyer 1992: 214, the *o*- in Purik *ode*, which refers to a newly identified topic (see §2.1), is more likely to be cognate with the affirmative WT *o*- preserved in interjections such as *o-na* “well, now, but”, *on-kyang* “nevertheless”, and *on-te* “on the other hand”, see Beyer 1992: 214, n. 15.

²⁵ Bielmeier et al. 2018.

His house is **over there** in **that** valley (**behind** the mountain ridge pointed to).

Furthermore, Purik *di* ‘this’ commonly occurs after genitive NPs, as illustrated in (18)–(21).

- (18) *ɲj-i di zu-u p^{hit}-de, ɲj-i dj-u p^{hit}*
 I-GEN this finger-DEF get.frostbite-TOP I-GEN this-DEF get.fb
This my finger has got frostbitten, you see, **this here** got frost-bitten.

- (19) *p^hru-i di-aŋ la fut-suk*
 child-GEN this-INE spirit fit.in-INFR
The child’s grazed **here** (the speaker, the father of the child, is pointing to the skin folds on his own arm).

- (20) *k^hir-i di faŋ-p-e-aŋ-nuk struŋ-fik,*
 you-GEN this consciousness-DEF-G-INE-TERM guard-OPT
k^hje-s dunjaat rilja taŋ-tfa duk
 you-ERG world down give-INF EX.DIREV
 With **this** wit **of yours**—beware! (Or) you will throw the world down the hill.

- (21) *k^hint-i di-tsoχs qaktar-un ɲatf-i*
 you.PL-GEN this-like doctor-PL we.PE-GEN
stranbu-n-i-aŋ k^hjams-e jot
 path-PL-G-INE wander.about-CNJ EX.F
 We have people like your doctors strolling around in our back-yard.

Locative and inessive adverbials such as *k^hint-i-re-aŋ* ‘in your home’ contain an element *-re-* (glossed as ‘associative’) which may be assumed to derive from a demonstrative *de* that occurred in the same position as *di* in (19). Further examples of such adverbials include *ɲatf-i-re-r* (we.PE-GEN-ASSOC-TERM) ‘at our place’ < **ɲatf-i de-r* ‘at our there’ (we.PE-GEN that-TERM), *abbas jot-s-i-re-ka* ‘at Abbas’ place’ < **jot-sa-i de-ka* (EX-place-GEN that-LOC) ‘where Abbas is, there’, *ɲisk-i-re-r* ‘at the place of these two’, and *e mi-in-i-r-er* ‘at the place of the other people’. In some contexts, we also find *-re-* (< *de* ‘that’) contrasting with *-ri-* (< *di* ‘this’) pointing to or towards the speaker’s present location. For in-

stance, while *ɲj-i-re-ka* 'at my place' is used by someone who is currently not at home, as in (22), *ɲatʃi-ri-ka* 'here at our place' is used by someone who is, as in (23). Similarly, the *-ri-* formant may point to the side which is closer to the present location of the speaker, as in *tʃʰumik-i-ri-ka* 'on this side of the water source' and *zamb-e-ri-ka* 'on this side of the bridge'.

(22) *kʰjeran* *ɲj-i-re-ka* *braŋsa-a* *duk*,
 you I-GEN-ASSOC-LOC hospice-DAT stay
 (You) stay at my place over night!

(23) *kʰjeran* *ɲatʃi-ri-ka* *braŋsa-a* *duk*
 you we.PE-G-ASSOC-LOC hospice-DAT stay
 (You) stay at our place here over night!

A final parallel for both rhotacized postvocalic *de* and the sequencing of demonstratives is provided by the temporal demonstrative *da* 'now' fossilized in the partially synonymous Purik *dare* and *daχsan* 'now' as well as *da(r)an* 'still'. That this temporal demonstrative ceased to be productive in an ancestor of modern Purik is suggested by the fact that WT (and Central Tibetan) *dā-lo* "this year, in this year"²⁶ has been replaced in Purik by *ditʃik* 'this year' < *'this one'. Nevertheless, Purik *dare* 'now' clearly derives from *da-dé* "Glr. and C. now",²⁷ which consists of a temporal-deictic *da* 'now' and a textual-anaphoric *de* 'that'. Finally, both rhotacized and non-rhotacized forms are also found in WT of the word *da-dúng* ~ *da-rúng* "still, still more".²⁸

In summary, the evidence discussed in the present section suggests that in Proto-Tibetan (PT²⁹), demonstrative *de* could occur in various positions of noun and adverbial phrases. This lends support to the assumptions made in §2.3 that the same *de* came to also take scope over entire clauses, occurring after or instead of the predicate, and that a second demonstrative, *e* 'the other', also came to be employed in these clause-final positions.³⁰ Having provided strong evidence, furthermore, suggesting that *-de* in conventionalized postvocalic positions turned into *-re* (for example after spatial-deictic *a* 'that', *e* 'the other',

²⁶ Jäschke 1881: 247a.

²⁷ Jäschke 1881: 247a.

²⁸ Jäschke 1881: 247a.

²⁹ PT stands for Proto-Tibetan when it is not followed by a number, but for Pelliot tibétain when it is.

³⁰ A reviewer of the present article drew attention to the fact that sentence-final particles such as *la* and *dang* are similarly employed on the levels of both noun phrases and clauses, see Tournadre 2010. For further transcategorial morphemes, see Zemp 2018: 12–27.

and genitive *-i*), I will argue in §3.1 that this also happened to clause-final *de*.

Excursus: Parallels from Abui (1)

Given that Abui, an entirely unrelated language spoken in Eastern Indonesia, exhibits striking parallels to the clause-final demonstratives and the clause-subordinator which developed from *de* in spoken and written Tibetic varieties (discussed in §3.1 below), the present section draws attention to a few parallels that exist between demonstratives occurring in the adnominal position.

First, example (24) from Kratochvil illustrates that Abui *do* may occur either before or after the noun.³¹ According to Kratochvil, “those demonstratives that precede the head noun indicate its spatial location; they are deictic demonstratives (DEICT). The demonstratives that follow the head noun indicate its discourse location; they are anaphoric demonstratives (DEM)”.³²

- (24) a. *do fala*
 PRX house
 this house (located by me)
- b. *fala do*
 house PRX
 this house (I talk about)

Second, Kratochvil shows that the deictic and the anaphoric demonstratives may co-occur within the same NP,³³ two of the numerous possible combinations are illustrated in (25).³⁴

- (25) a. *o bataa nuku do*
 MD wood one PRX
 the tree there
- b. *ò de-feela do*
 MD.L 3I.AL-friend PRX
 his own friend below

And third, given that *oro*, illustrated in (26) from Kratochvil, is the only demonstrative which is not monosyllabic,³⁵ it appears safe to assume that this *oro* derives from **o do*, just like Purik *are* derives from **a de*.

- (26) *oro fala*
 DST house

³¹ Kratochvil 2007: 162.

³² Note that the two Abui demonstratives *do* and *yo* according to Kratochvil 2007: 162, 163 form parts of deictic and anaphoric paradigms that seem somewhat more elaborated than those of their Tibetic correspondences *de* and *e*.

³³ Kratochvil 2007: 163.

³⁴ The deictic *o* has the variants *ó* pointing to something more elevated than the deictic *origo* and *ò* to something less elevated, for example Kratochvil 2007: 162.

³⁵ Kratochvil 2007: 110–11.

that house over there (far from us)

2.3. Sentence-Final Demonstratives

In Purik, from among the six demonstratives that are used pre- and pronominally (see §2.1), two are also used sentence-finally, namely anaphoric *de* 'that' and *e* 'the other'.³⁶ In this position, both *de* and *e* may occur either after or instead of the (sentence-final) predicate, in other words post- or proverbially. While *de* and *e* thus seem to contrast in Purik, comparative evidence from other Tibetan varieties (see §3) suggests that this was barely the case in PT, where sentence-final *de* must have mainly been used postverbally in statements, but *e* proverbially after interrogative pronominal adverbs such as *ga-r* 'where'.

The present section in turn discusses post- and proverbial *de* and then *e* in the same two positions.

2.3.1. Postverbal -*de*

As shown in §2.1, on the NP-level, demonstratives such as *de* and *e* serve to track participants in the preceding discourse and re-introduce them in the current utterance. In doing so, *de* and *e* appear to respectively refer to the most activated antecedent and an antecedent whose activation warrants a shift of attention. When the same demonstratives occur in the postverbal position, two things are different: First, their antecedent is an entire sentence (or proposition); and second, the postverbal demonstratives are adjacent to their antecedent. Under these particular circumstances, postverbal *de* appears to lay out in front of the interlocutors the information conveyed by the immediately preceding sentence, inviting the addressee to retrace it, and implying that it should be clear (hence, postverbal *de* may often be translated as 'of course'). A bunch of examples taken from two stories told by the late Syed Abbas from Gongma Kargil illustrate the function of postverbal -*de* (which is like proverbial *de* glossed as 'TOP', because it points to topical information).

In (27), the addressee uses -*de* after enumerating the people which had to share a single stack of brushwood and concluding that they add up to five people. Here, the sentence-final -*de* displays the addition in

³⁶ While I generally use the term 'clause-final' in this article, I prefer to use 'sentence-final' here in order to make clear that the sentence terminated by Purik -*de* and -*e* is fully autonomous.

front of the interlocutors, inviting the addressee to retrace it and implying that it should be clear.

- (27) *de-ka-na kʰoŋ ta-na dii, pʰono nis-ka, ane nis,*
 that-LOC-ABL they now-CND this brother two-all
 wife two
ʒbʒi, ama-na ka soŋ-de, kʰoŋ ʁ-e
 four mother-ADD five went-TOP they five-GEN
bar-la zbraχs tʃik-tʃik-tʃaa ldan-suk
 between-DAT stack.of.wood one-one-LIM become-INFR
 Then they, I mean, these two brothers, (their) two wives, (these) four, with the (brother's) mother that's five, **right?**—between the five of them, they only had one stack of brushwood (stored on the roof). (A story of three brothers, line 3³⁷)

In (28), the speaker uses *-de* at the end of a sentence in order to point to a state (which was induced by the addressees themselves) that is not only visible right in front of the addressees but also makes the speaker's plan seem entirely reasonable.

- (28) *wa ŋataŋ ttoχs-et, kʰintaŋ soŋ, ŋataŋ-a*
 hey we.INCL be.hungry.CRT you.PL go\IMP we.INCL-DAT
zan-tʃi kʰjoŋ-ma ŋa-na di-aŋ, kʰint-es zer
 food-INDEF bring-INF I-CNTR this-INE you.PL-ERG nail
taŋ-et-de, ŋa di-ka dug-et, jaa zer-aŋ,
 give-FCT-TOP I this-LOC stay-FCT yes say-ADD
 Hey, we are hungry, you guys go and get something to eat for us while I will [stay] here (in the coffin)—you guys put nails (to lock me in it), **remember?**—I will stay here, just say OK! (A story of three brothers, lines 47–48³⁸)

In (29), the information conveyed by the sentence preceding *-de* evidently follows from the given circumstances.

- (29) *de-ka-na e-aŋ tʃeb-a-na ama-z*
 that-LOC-ABL the.other-INE arrive-INF-CND mother-ERG
joŋ zer-e karpar ba-se ja tʃʰu-i-aŋ
 come\IMP say-CND flailing do-CNJ HES water-G-INE
kʰjer-ba-na pʰiŋ-ma joŋ zer-s-de,

³⁷ Zemp 2018: 918–19.

³⁸ Zemp 2018: 922–23.

take.away-INF-CND take.out-INF come\IMP say-PST-TOP

tsʰaŋka tʰu-s kʰe(r)-suk.

all water-ERG take.away-INFR

When they arrived there, their mother said “come!”, flailing her arms because the river was ripping her away, “come and save me!” she said, **naturally**, so the river took all of them. (A story of three brothers, lines 47–48³⁹)

The following examples are from another story about three brothers, one of which left home to do business but was killed and robbed by people offering him to stay at their home over night. The murderers were then lured into the home of the victim’s two brothers, who planned to kill them there. In (30), the narrator signals by means of *-de* that the information conveyed by the clause it terminates may have previously not been made clear enough, and implies that this information is crucial for the understanding of the story.

- (30) *kʰo tʰot-pa-na, wa mana ma tɛp pʰono,*
 s/he finish-NR-CND hey very NEG arrive brother
e pʰono nis-po, ta nis-po kʰaŋma-a jod-de,
 the.other brother two-DEF now two-DEF home-DAT EX-TOP
de nis-ka-s pʰono ma tɛp
 that two-all-DEF brother NEG arrive

After he had died, “Hey, he never came back, (our) brother!” (said) the other two brothers—now these two were at home, **of course!**—the two (said) “(our) brother did not come back!” (2:42)

Half a minute after saying that the protagonist’s horse is special in that it shits money (hidden in regular dung), the first use of *-de* in (31) implies that horses typically defecate around dawn, but the consecutive use repairs the first use, saying that this had to happen for the sake of the story (*rgos* ‘had to’, whose *-s* is voiced by a following *-de*, is also elsewhere used with this implication). The third instance of *-de* in (31), finally, reflects the narrator’s expectation that the addressee knows what horse dung looks like, and that the size of horse dung represents world knowledge.

- (31) *ot zuks-tʰig-a-na sta-a-s filan*
 light enter-guess-DAT-CNTR horse-DEF-ERG dung

³⁹ Zemp 2018: 922–23.

taŋ-z-de, filaŋ taŋ-ma rgoz-de, filaŋ taŋ-s,
 give-PST-TOP dung give-INF need-TOP dung give-PST
filaŋ taŋ-ma-na, de ūt-ei filaŋ dġ-u-ts-ig
 dung give-NR-CND that horse-GEN dung this-DEF-LIM-INDEF
jod-de, do-o-n-e-aŋ kʰo-s tʃand-e-aŋ-na
 EX.F-TOPthat-DEF-PL-GEN-INE s/he-ERG pocket-G-INE-ABL
pʰiŋ-se de-aŋ ūmul-tʃik taŋ-se di-ka ʒaŋ-s
 take.out-CNJ that-INE money-INDEF give-CNJ this-LOC put-PST
 When it dawned, the horse shit, **of course**; it had to shit (this was part of the plan!), **of course**; so it shit, and having shit, its dung was about this big, **of course** (as regular horse dung is about this big); (but) in this (dung) he had taken some money out of his pocket, put it in (the dung) and left it there. (4:26)

In (32) and (33), an informal explanation of (32), the speaker again signals by *-de* that the information just conveyed may have previously not been made clear enough, and implies that this information is crucial for the understanding of the story.

(32) *kʰo-s sna-a nor-tʃik sat-e ... nor-i loŋka*
 s/he-ERG first-DAT sheep-one kill-CNJ sheep-GEN intestine
ane-i skje-a taŋ-se-na, ane nalts-e-aŋ
 wife-GEN neck-DAT attach-CNJ-CND wife bed-G-INE
nal-e jod-de, kʰo nal, di-ka loŋs
 sleep-CNJ EX.F-TOP s/he sleep this-LOC rise\IMP
zer-s-pa, ma laŋs ane
 say-PST-FOC NEG rise wife
 He had first killed a sheep, and having put the sheep’s intestine around his wife’s neck—his wife was lying on her bed (**just pretending** to be dead)!—she slept, and (when her husband said) “Get up now!”, she didn’t get up. (8:27)

(33) *fi ma fi-a jod-de*
 die NEG die-INF EX.F-TOP
Of course, (she) hadn’t died (but only pretended to be dead).

Hence, by pointing back to the sentence just uttered, postverbal *-de* lays out this proposition in front of the interlocutors, invites the addressee to retrace it, and implies that it should be as clear to the addressee as it is to the speaker.

2.3.2. *Proverbal de*

While postverbal *-de* occurs after full-fledged sentences ending with a predicate, *de* itself functions as the predicate of the sentences it terminates. Accordingly, the information conveyed by the latter type of sentences is generally simpler than that conveyed by the former type. *de* may either locate an entity in a topical situation, as in (34) and (35), or attribute a property to a topical situation, as in (36). The topical situation often corresponds to the present situation of the speaker, but (35) shows that it doesn't have to. In (35), it is clear that *de* indicates the location of the speaker when the picture was taken, not in the situation in which he utters (35). Hence, we may conclude that *de* locates an entity or property in a topical situation.

- (34) *kulik-po di-ka p^hjal-la de*
key-DEF this-LOC hanging-DAT TOP

The key's hanging here (right in front of your eyes).

- (35) *ŋa k^hatful-la de*
I Kashmir-DAT TOP

I was in Kashmir here (on this picture, as you can see).

- (36) *bi-a-na tan^htan t^ha-tf-in, dare dj-u ts^hetts^het de*
fall.out-INF-CNDBleak go-INF2-EQ now this-DEF bristly TOP

When (the hair) falls out, (the head) will become bald; now, this is (still) bristly (as you can see).

2.3.3. *Postverbal -e*

The meaning of postverbal *-e* is more easily grasped than that of *-de*. As illustrated in (37)–(39), *-e*—which may be elongated to *-ei*, as in (39)—signals that the addressee needs to follow the look of the speaker in order to retrace the information conveyed by the sentence it terminates. Like pre- and pronominal *e* (see §2.1), post- and *de* (*-e*) may thus be said to point to a secondary topic (hence the gloss 'TOP2').

- (37) *are jul-po donmo in-sug-e,*
that village-DEF warm EQ-INFR-TOP2
zbjarpa warpa dug-e
willow etc. EX.DIREV-TOP2

That village over there appears to have a warm climate; there

are willows and all, **look!**

- (38) *kʰo leb-e*
 (s)he arrive-TOP2
 (S)he's arrived, **look!**
- (39) *are-ka-na pʰru-ik but-e joŋ-z-ei*
 that-LOC-ABL child-INDF fall-CNJ come-PST-TOP2
 A child fell down over there, **look!**

2.3.4. Proverbal *e*

Like postverbal *-e*, proverbal *e* points to information which the addressee may retrace following the look of the speaker. As with post- and proverbal (*-de*), the information denoted by proverbal *e* is simpler than that denoted by the full-fledged sentences preceding postverbal *-e*. Hence, proverbal *e* in (40) and (41) locates an entity, and in (42) attributes a property to where the speaker draws attention to.

- (40) *tʃuli ma za-a jot, are-ka e*
 apricot NEG eat-INF EX.F that.distal-LOC TOP2
 (We) haven't eaten (all) the apricots, they're over there.
- (41) *saspol e*
 Saspol TOP2
 That's Saspol over there!
- (42) *squntfoqtfoq e*
 deep.green TOP2
 Look, how green it is over there!

A slightly different function of proverbal *e* is found after the interrogative pronominal adverb *ga-r* 'where'. While *e* in (40) and (41) above points to an entity to which the addressee has yet to attend, *e* after *ga-r* in (43) below asks the addressee to point out an entity to the speaker. (Note also that A in her answer—while acting in the desired way, pointing out the entity—uses *de* to signal joint attention to that entity.) Hence, proverbal *e* may be said to point to information which one of the interlocutors is yet to attend to—in statements, this person is the addressee, and in questions, that is, after an interrogative pronoun, this person is the speaker.

(43) A: *ŋj-i fite-a p^huʈw-ig jot*
 I-GEN side-DAT photo-INDF EX.F
 I have a photo with me.

B: *ga-r e*
 which-term TOP2
 Where is it?

A: *di-ka de*
 this-LOC TOP
 Here it is.

Excursus: Parallels from Abui (2)

In Abui as well, some of the demonstratives that occur on the NP-level are also regularly employed on the sentence-level. As such, they are always attached to the end of the sentence-final predicate.⁴⁰

The function of postverbal Abui *do* appears to be identical with that of Purik *de*. According to Kratochvil, *do* “stresses the urgency of the command” in (44).⁴¹ From what we find in Purik, we could hypothesize that Abui *do* has the mentioned effect also because it points back to the proposition conveyed the preceding sentence, lays it out in front of the addressee, and implies that it should be as clear to the addressee as it is to the speaker.

(44) *ko e-neng ru-fal ri-melang yaa do!*
 FUT 2S.AL-MAN 2P.REC-separate 2P.AL-village go PRX
 you will go with your husband to your village!

Another example of a postverbal *do* is (45). According to Kratochvil, *do* in this example serves an evidential function and “indicates the speaker’s immediate experience”.⁴² In my view, however, demonstrative *do* in (45) does not indicate how the speaker obtained the information conveyed but points to the evidence which attests to the speaker’s statement: the food that could not be swallowed.

(45) *na nala nee=ti beek-a do*

⁴⁰ I could only find postverbal, but no proverbal uses of these demonstratives in Kratochvil 2007; Kratochvil 2011.

⁴¹ Kratochvil 2011: 781.

⁴² Kratochvil 2011: 777.

1S something eat=PHSL.C bad-DUR PRX
 I couldn't eat up (swallow) anything.

While *do* thus points to information which both speaker and addressee may easily access at the moment of speaking, *yo* appears to point to information to which access is currently being provided. In a question, such as the first part of (46), the speaker asks the addressee to provide this access, and in a statement, such as (47), the speaker provides this access. (The addressee expected the subject of (47) to still be tied up, see Kratochvil.⁴³) Hence, the viewpoint switches from that of the speaker in statements to that of the addressee in questions, just like with Purik *e*.

(46) A: *mangmat,# ma e-ya yo?*
 foster.child be.PRX 2S.AL-mother MD.AD
 child, what about your mother?

B: *ni-ya ha-rik to!*
 1PE.AL-mother 3II.PAT-hurt PRX.AD
 my mother is sick (as you could see).

(47) *do-tik-i kaan-r-i yo,# hen*
 {3I.REC-stretch-PFV good.CPL-reach-PFV} MD.AD then
di awering do ha-b-i ya mara
 3A ladder PRX 3II.PAT-join-PFV SEQ go.up.CNT
fala=ng mara
 house=look go.up.CNT
 after he actually untied himself, he put up the ladder and climbed into the house.

This postverbal function of Abui *yo* corresponds to the function it serves postnominally, as illustrated by (48) and (49) from Kratochvil.⁴⁴

(48) *karong yo tirei=si taka kang*
 bag MD.AD inspect=PHSL.I be.empty be.good
 he looked into the bag (you heard about) and it was really empty.

(49) *he-kariang yo nala nee taka*

⁴³ Kratochvil 2011: 775.

⁴⁴ Kratochvil 2007: 115.

3II.AL-work MD.AD what eat be.empty
 he does nothing but eat (lit.: 'his work is actually only eating').

3. *Traces of Clause-Final Demonstratives
 in Old Tibetan and other Tibetic Varieties*

3.1 *Proto-Tibetan de*

3.1.1. *OT Postverbal (s)te ~de*

The most prominent trace of a clause-final demonstrative in OT is the *(s)te ~ de* (henceforth *STe*⁴⁵) which serves to link the clause or verb preceding it (= C1) with that following it (= C2).⁴⁶ While C1 and C2 may exhibit a temporal, causal, adversative, modal, or coordinating relationship (as described by Hahn for WT⁴⁷), *STe* must not be analysed as *encoding* any such relationship.⁴⁸ More adequately, we may say that whenever *STe* links two clauses, C1 denotes a premise of C2. This may be illustrated by four instances of *STe* found in the OT Chronicle. In (50), Zu tse had to cut off (*bchad*) the head of Mar mun (C1) in order to be able to give (*pul*) Mar mun's land to the emperor (C2). Hence, C1 did not cause or entail, but facilitated C2, so that C2 could not have taken place without C1 having taken place before. Similarly, turning to the second instance of *STe* in (50), by giving (*pul*) this land to the Emperor (C1), Zu tse proved to be loyal (*nye'o*) to the emperor. Again, C1 does not cause or entail C2, but facilitates it.

(50) *rtsang bod-kyi rjo bo mar mun mgo bchad-de //*

⁴⁵ In WT, the form *ste* occurs after *-g*, *-ng*, *-ba*, *-m*, and vocalic finals, *te* after *-n*, *-r*, *-l*, and *-s*, and *de* after *-d*, Hahn 1996: 148. In OT, there is still considerable variation in terms of spelling: instead of *bchad de* in example (50) from the Chronicle, fused forms like *bcade*, *sprade*, and *mdzade* are common in the *Annals* (IOL Tib J750), and instead of *pul te* in (50), we find forms like *'tsal de* and *bsgyur de* in PT 1101, contract 26 in Takeuchi 1995: 221.

⁴⁶ As this paper focuses on clause-final and—in the present section—postverbal uses of demonstratives, we will disregard the 'introductory' WT *(s)te* discussed by Beyer 1992: 279–81 and Hahn 1996: 151, which typically occurs after nouns, and which certainly derives from demonstrative *de* as well.

⁴⁷ Hahn 1996: 148–50.

⁴⁸ Compare the WT instance of *STe* which Hahn 1996: 149 analyses as causal: *'og na bu mchis par ma tshor te bu gum mo* 'Because [I] did not realize that there was a child beneath [the blanket on which I sat], the child died.' However, the child did not die (C2) because the speaker *did not realize* that it was beneath the blanket (C1), but because the speaker *sat on this blanket*. Accordingly, C1 in this example should be analysed as facilitating rather than causing C2.

Rtsang Bod-GEN lord Mar mun head cut-*STe*
rtsang bod khyim nyi gri // btsan po-'i
 Rtsang Bod household 20,000 Emperor-GEN
pyag-du pul-te / zu tse glo ba nye-'o
 hand-TERM give-*STe* Zu tse lung near-AFF
 “[Khyung po Spung sad (Zu tse)] cut off the head of Mar
 mun, the lord of Rtsang Bod, and gave twenty thousand fami-
 lies of Rtsang Bod into the hands of the emperor; [by doing
 so] Zu tse was loyal.”⁴⁹

In (51), the Emperor had to set out (C1) in order to lead his army (C2), and hence, C1 made C2 possible. The latter clause (*chaste drangs so*) in itself contains two verbs linked by *STe*, where C1 (*chaste* ‘moving’) denotes the mode of C2 (*drangs so* ‘led’). While it is very common for two verbs linked by *STe* to exhibit such a modal relationship, it is actually more typical for the motion verb to occur *after* *STe* (as in *khrid de 'ongs* ‘came leading’ in A 96 of the OT Rāmāyaṇa⁵⁰).

(51) *btsan po khri slon btsan-gyis / zhabs-kyIs btsugs-te /*
 Emperor Khri Slon btsan-ERG foot-ERG plant-*STe*
dmag khrI dang cha-ste drangs-so
 army 10,000 with go-*STe* lead-AFF
 “The Emperor Khri Slon btsan set out and led with an army of
 ten thousand.”⁵¹

The uses of *STe* observed in the Chronicle correspond to those found in most other OT and WT texts: The clause preceding *STe* (C1) denotes a premise (or, in what may be viewed as a subtype: a mode or manner) of the one following *STe* (C2). Now, the goal of the present section is to show that this clause-linking *STe* developed from a sentence-final *de* that worked as described for modern Purik in §2.3. Table 1 compares the OT construction (right column) with its assumed source (left column, where S stands for sentence).

	Purik	Old Tibetan
Construction	S- <i>de</i>	C1- <i>STe</i> C2
Meaning	S is laid out, should be clear to both interlocutors	C1 is a premise of C2

⁴⁹ Beckwith 1977: 208.

⁵⁰ de Jong 1989: 107.

⁵¹ Beckwith 1977: 205–06.

Domain of interpretation	discourse, <i>de dicto</i> —relevant for understanding the current context	real world, <i>de re</i> —a premise of the event
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Table 1: Comparing Purik *S-de* and OT C1-*STe* C2

We could assume then that *-de* was used after full-fledged sentences in PT—as in modern Purik—to lay out the information conveyed by this sentence in order to ensure that it is clear to the addressee. That this information must be highly relevant in the current context may be presupposed by the addressee, as it would be a severe violation of communicative standards shared by most humans to draw attention to information that is irrelevant in the current context. Hence, whenever the speaker's turn continued in PT, the following sentence would of course tie in with the current context and accordingly also with *S-de*, and in this constellation, *S-de* came to be understood as being highly relevant for the understanding of the following sentence. While this constellation became more and more conventional, the pause between *S-de* and the following sentence became shorter, and the sentence preceding *-de* was reanalysed as subordinate to the sentence following it. At the same time, the construction ceased to be interpreted in what Frajzyngier calls the domain of discourse (*de dicto*)⁵²—*S* is relevant for the understanding of the current context—while the real world (*de re*) interpretation—C1 denotes a premise of the event denoted by C2—was conventionalized.⁵³

As far as the formal aspects of the postulated change are concerned, the documented OT and WT forms of *STe* (see footnote 45) suggest that clause-final *de* was regularly preceded by the *-s*, from whose restriction to telic verb stems we know that it originally had a resultative-stative meaning.⁵⁴ They further suggest that this *-s* suffix developed into a *-d* after *-r*, *-l*, and *-n*, that the *-s* and *-d* variants became conventional also after atelic verb stems before *-de*, and, in turn, ceased to be meaningful, so that the *-s* was eventually reanalysed as part of the *-de*, whose dental stop was devoiced by both *-s* and *-d* (which suggests that the latter was itself voiceless).

The diachronic account postulated here is supported by evidence from OT: In the OT Rāmāyāna, as presently illustrated by means of

⁵² Frajzyngier 1991.

⁵³ The discussed change is thus an instance of hypoanalysis in the sense of Croft 2000: 126–27: “the listener reanalyses a contextual semantic/functional property as an inherent property of the syntactic unit. In the reanalysis, the inherent property of the context ... is then attributed to the syntactic unit, and so the syntactic unit in question gains a new meaning or function”.

⁵⁴ For details, see Zemp 2016.

three passages taken from de Jong's edition,⁵⁵ *STe* is not only used in the clause-linking function common throughout OT and WT, but sometimes also in what is assumed here to be its original function, that is, drawing attention to the preceding sentence in order to ensure that the information conveyed there is clear to the addressee. Typical for such uses is that the clause preceding *STe* does not denote a *premise* of the event denoted by the clause following *STe* (*de re*), but instead appears to be crucial for its *understanding* (*de dicto*). This often allows us to recognize that *STe* indeed has the same pragmatic effect that was described in §2.3 for Purik *-de*.

In passage (52) from the OT Rāmāyāna, for instance, while *brgyan te* 'having adorned' in line 96 denotes a premise of *khrid* 'lead', and *khrid de* 'leading' denotes the mode of 'ongs 'came', *de las bzang ba myede* 'there is no one better than him' (C1) in 94–95 seems to denote neither premise nor mode of what follows (*sbyibs legs la / mdog sdug* 'to a beautiful form, (he adds) a charming appearance', C2), which, conversely, may be seen as a premise of C1. In any event, the alternative to analysing C1 as subordinate to C2 is to analyse *de las bzang ba myede* as denoting information that should be clear to the interlocutors, and this latter interpretation turns out to be perfectly appropriate. The postverbal *de* here is owed to the fact that the farmers, which had sought in ten directions for a suitable companion of Rolrñedma, all agree that Hanumān, standing before them, is the perfect match.

OT Rāmāyāna, version A (IOL Tib J 737.1), lines 94–96:⁵⁶

- (52) *phyogs bcur btsal pa las // ra ma na dang prad de bltas na / 'jlg rten du skyes pa la / de las [95] bzang ba myede [nas del.] / sbyibs legs la / mdog sdug / bkrag che la / mdzes pa zhig nas // [96] rogs su rung bar dpyad de / bu mo cha byad kyis brgyan te / khrid de 'ongs nas // ra ma [la del.] na la gsol ba /* "They sought in the ten directions and came upon Ramana. They looked at him and concluded: 'Among human beings in the world [95] there is none more beautiful than he. His form is beautiful, his appearance charming, he is brilliant and graceful. [96] He is suitable to be Rolrñedma's companion.' They adorned the girl with [beautiful] clothing and took her with them. They said to Ramana:"

Accordingly, *ra ma na ma btub ste* 'Ramana was unable (to accept)' (C1) in (53) does not denote the premise of *srong bya bar dam bcas pas* 'having made a vow to live as a Seer' (C2) but vice versa, and again, this sug-

⁵⁵ de Jong 1989.

⁵⁶ de Jong 1989: 107 (OT text) and 18 (translation, following de Jong's orthography of proper names).

gests that C1 may be more adequately analysed as pointing to information that should be evident to the audience. This latter analysis again turns out to be perfectly appropriate, as the narrator previously told the audience about Ramana's vow. Accordingly, I suggest to translate *ra ma na ma btub ste* as 'Ramana was unable (to accept), of course (as you well know, since I told you about his vow).'

OT Rāmāyāna, version E (Pelliot tibétain PT 981), lines 111–16:⁵⁷

- (53) *de nas lag sha [112] nas pho bo la rgyal srid brtaps pa las // ra ma na ma btub ste drang srong bya bar dam bcas pas [113] myI 'dod ce zer ba dang //* "Thereupon Lagśana [112] offered the reign to his elder brother. Ramana was unwilling [to accept it], and said: 'I made a vow to live as a Seer and [113] I do not desire it.'"

Another passage whose understanding benefits from analysing *STe* as sentence-final rather than clause-subordinating is given in (54). If we analyse the *ste* in *srIn pos bsad par 'ong ste / gob shig* as making something clear to the addressee, this renders Queen Sītā's benevolent warning to Hanumān, who has snuck into her prison cell in order to give her a letter, much more urgent: 'I'm sure the demon has already come to kill you; hide!'

OT Rāmāyāna, A 256–58:⁵⁸

- (54) *da nas lha mo 'i zhal nas / spre 'u [257] las gthogs 'dod che myed kyis / srIn pos bsad par 'ong ste / gob shig ches bsgo ba dang /* "Thereupon the queen said: 'There is no greater meddler than a monkey. You will be killed by the demon. Hide yourself!'"

Hence, in the OT Rāmāyāna, *STe* is not only used in the clause-linking function common in OT and WT but also in its original function, pointing to information that should be clear to the addressee. That the pragmatically rich sentence-final and the pragmatically poorer clause-linking function of *STe* may coexist in one and the same language is supported by evidence from Kyirong Tibetan, where *-te/-de* is used both sentence-finally and as a clause-linker, with a C1 denoting a premise or a mode of C2.⁵⁹

In many other dialects, we find traces of either the sentence-final

⁵⁷ de Jong 1989: 106 and 18.

⁵⁸ de Jong 1989: 125 and 34.

⁵⁹ See Huber 2005: 119–20, 172, 167. While Huber 2005: 120 writes that the sentence-final *-te/-de* "is probably related to the non-final particle *-te*" (which also has a variant *-de*), the parallels of OT and western dialects discussed in the present paper suggest that we may safely drop the word "probably" in her statement.

or the clause-linking use: In Ladakhi, the allomorphs of a clause-linking *STe* according to Koshal have the same distribution as in WT, except that verb stems ending in *-n*, *-r*, and *-l* “may take either *-ste* or *-te*”.⁶⁰ As the *-s* in a common ancestor of OT and Ladakhi had turned into *-d* in these environments, Koshal’s observation suggests that the form *-ste* (with the *-s*) tends to be generalized in modern Ladakhi. In more eastern dialects, the *-s* seems to have been lost after having devoiced the following *-de*. In Western-Drokpa,⁶¹ Lhasa,⁶² and Derge,⁶³ furthermore, *-te* has been restricted to adversative contexts, while ablative *nas* came to be used whenever C1 and C2 exhibit a consecutive or causal relationship.⁶⁴

Excursus: Parallels from Abui (3)

A subset of Abui demonstratives occur in subordinate clauses which according to Kratochvil refer to the “relative time of the event described in the main clause” and “are followed by a pause”.⁶⁵ This clause-linking function is illustrated for *do* in (55) and (56). If we take the pause after *do* to suggest that the clause preceding it was—as in the case of PT *de*—once an autonomous sentence, it is interesting to note that Kratochvil still observes a pause after those Abui clauses which he analyses as subordinate. It appears safe to assume that sentence-final OT *STe* was originally also followed by a pause. As it became more and more common for the sentence terminated by *STe* to be re-analysed as subordinate to the following clause, this pause must have become shorter and shorter.

- (55) *na ha-tak do, # a he-roa*
 {1S 3II.PAT-shoot} PRX 2S 3II.LOC-watch.CNT

⁶⁰ Koshal 1979: 270.

⁶¹ Causemann 1989: 125.

⁶² Tournadre 1996: 204–05. A reviewer of the present article pointed out that this adversative *-de* in Lhasa Tibetan has “a very specific prosody (raising intonation, pause between the two clauses)” and that “it is clearly aspirated and it is the only “connective particle” that follows a verb fully marked for TAME”.

⁶³ Häsler 1999: 255.

⁶⁴ See Zeisler 2004: 277. Note that the clause-linking *-(s)e* found in Purik and Balti (*-e* after *-r*, *-l*, *-n*, and *-t*; *-se* everywhere else), given the complete absence of *-t*, is more likely to derive from the adverbial *-e* discussed in Uray (1953), which is widespread west of Lhasa in often deverbal adjectivals such as Purik *galagule* ‘agitated’ or *k^hjabak^hjobe* ‘staggering’, see §3.1.3.2 and Appendix B.1 in Zemp 2018: 146–49 and 924–27.

⁶⁵ Kratochvil 2011: 23.

when I shoot (with the bow), you watch it.

- (56) *di ya do he-taki-a bang mi*
 {3A water PRX 3II.LOC-loosen-DUR carry.on.shoulder take
sei buuk-buuk do, di moku do
 come.down.CNT red[consume]} PRX 3A kid PRX
ha-yar-i
 3II.PAT-give.birth.CPL-PFV
 she was continuously bringing water (and) drinking it, when
 she gave birth to her children.

3.1.2. OT/WT *V-ta re 'Lest (It) Will V'*

A second OT trace of postverbal *de* is found in the construction *V ta re* 'lest (it) will V', where the stop of *de* was rhotacized in the intervocalic position following 'imaginative' *ta* (discussed presently), and which is consistently used as in example (57) from the *Tripitaka*.

Tripitaka:⁶⁶

- (57) *dge slong dag khyed de bzhin gshegs pa la tshe dang ldan pa zhes ma
 rjod cig / khyed la yun ring por mi phan pa dang gnod pa dang / mi
 bde bar gyur ta re* "Do not address the Tathāgata with āyusmant
lest it result in harm, disadvantage, and unhappiness for you
 for a long time."

Simon, in trying to identify the meaning of the particle *re*, discusses a number of WT passages in which that particle sentence-finally follows *-a* to convey the meaning 'lest'.⁶⁷ However, I argue that the basic form of the construction Simon discusses is in fact *-ta-re*. In the majority of examples he cites, it occurs after *gyur*, as in *mi-bde-bar gyur-ta-re* 'lest it result in unhappiness'.⁶⁸ The fact that *gyur* is elsewhere regularly followed by a *-d* (the so-called *da drag*) devoicing following consonants in OT has lead Simon and other scholars before him to analyse the *-t-* of *-ta-re* as belonging to the preceding verb stem. At the same time, Simon, along with many scholars and native grammarians before him, interprets *skye-sta-re* and *skyes-ta-re* 'lest you be reborn' and *byung-ta-re* 'lest (it) will appear' as corrupted forms of *skyes-sa-re* and *byung-nga-re*.⁶⁹ If we assume, conversely, that the *-t-* is original, we are left with -

⁶⁶ Simon 1967: 120.

⁶⁷ Simon 1967.

⁶⁸ Simon 1967: 120.

⁶⁹ Simon 1967: 120, 123.

ta-re throughout the WT passages discussed by Simon (apart from *nor-ra-re*, *mchis-sa-re*, and *phog-la-re*, whose interpretation Simon himself finds problematic⁷⁰).⁷¹

The analysis proposed here builds on the fact that Purik and other modern Tibetic varieties have a *ta* whose meaning perfectly fits that of WT *ta re*. According to Simon, WT sentences ending in (*t*)*a re* warn the addressee “of the consequences which are bound to arise if he were to ignore the command or the prohibition” previously expressed.⁷² Purik *ta* is likewise commonly used after imperatives, as in (58) and (59), and indeed, *ta* reinforces the preceding imperative by implying that the neglect of the order will have consequences.

(58) *soŋ-ta*
 go \ IMP-IMA
 Go now (or else...)!

(59) *joŋ-aŋ-ta* *tʃʰa-a*, *gor-suk*
 come-ADD-IMA go-INF become.late-INFR
 Come on now, let’s go! We’re late!

Purik *ta* is not only used in orders, but also in statements, as in (60). That *ta* derives from the root *da* ‘now’, as assumed by Jäschke (1881: 246b) for the same particle in Ladakhi, appears likely given that the speaker by means of ‘imaginative’ *ta*⁷³ projects past or future situations into the present in order to assess their consequences.⁷⁴

(60) *de-war-la* *ŋa-s-aŋ* *lt-et-de* *ta*
 that-time-DAT I-ERG-ADD look-FCT-TOP IMA
kʰjaŋ *ŋj-i-ka* *re-n-dug-a* *mi-nduk*
 you I-G-LOC depend-SIM-EX.DIREV-Q NEG-EX.DIREV

⁷⁰ Simon 1967: 117, 124.

⁷¹ Even if Bacot, Thomas, and Toussaint 1940: 157, n. 4 are unable to make full sense of line 418 in the OT Chronicle, we understand enough of that passage to see that *-ta-re* was used in the meaning ‘lest’ already in OT: *sang pyi ni gnangs slad na sram gyis ni tshal ta re // nya mo ni mthong rgol zhig* “Demain, après-demain, le mangera la loutre. Sitôt vu le poisson, attaquez!” (“Tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, the otter will eat it. As soon as you see the fish, attack!”).

⁷² Simon 1967: 121.

⁷³ See Zemp 2018: §4.5.10 for more examples.

⁷⁴ Second generation emigrants from Dingri in Kathmandu use *-ta* in a similar fashion after infinitives, for example in *qo-je: ta qo-gi-jiē*, which literally means: ‘As far as (my) going is concerned, I’m going (there).’ Further uses of *da* in Lhasa are discussed by Roux 2011: 32–37, 57–59, which was kindly brought to my awareness by the reviewer of the present article.

[The speaker is disappointed by the addressee's not helping him.] Next time I will see whether you need my help or not!

The reconstruction of an 'imaginative' *da* for PT is supported by the corresponding use of this particle in OT, as illustrated in (61):

Li yul lung bstan pa:

- (61) *bdag ni nad 'dī las myI 'tsho ste da 'gum na | bdag gi bran dang nor phyugs rnams li dkon mchog gsum la ma gum bar 'bul bar ci gnang zhes gsol nas* "[the Kong-co asks the king] 'If I do not recover from this disease and die now, would you permit that I give my bondservants and cattle to the Triratna before I die?'" (translation of Tsuguhito Takeuchi)

In sum, the OT evidence of V-*ta-re* suggests that, at an earlier stage of this variety, speakers not only used imaginative *da* (or devoiced *ta*) to envisage the consequences of certain events, but they also regularly added demonstrative *de* when these consequences seemed inevitable.⁷⁵ The *de* reflected in V-*ta-re*, therefore, served exactly the function which postverbal *de* serves in Purik.

3.1.3. Western Tibetic Adjectives Ending in *-nte*

The only trace of proverbial *de* which I have been able to identify outside of Purik is the adjectival ending *-(n)te/-(n)te*, which is common in dialects from Purik in the west up to Shigatse in the east. Perhaps the most common instances are listed for Purik and Kyirong⁷⁶ in Table 2.

	Purik	Kyirong	
'hot'	<i>ts^hante</i>	<i>ts^hānde</i>	'hot'
'heavy'	<i>tʃinte</i>	<i>tʃinde</i>	'heavy'
'thick (fluid), turbid'	<i>skante</i>		
'fluid'		<i>lānde</i>	'fluid'
'bitter'	<i>χante</i>		
		<i>k^hānde</i>	'strong (taste)'
'firm'	<i>sante ~ šante</i>	<i>sānde</i>	'firm'

⁷⁵ Another rhotacized OT instance of PT *de* is found in *na re*, which is used to introduce direct speech as discussed by Simon 1968: 555–58 and thereby takes scope over the NP referring to its author, followed by contrastive *-na*, for which see Zemp 2019: slides 48–53.

⁷⁶ Huber 2005: 77.

		<i>nānde</i>	'ill'
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Table 2: Adjectives ending in *-nte* in Purik and *-nde* in Kyirong

Strikingly, these adjectives do not only have the same (or a similar) ending, they are also semantically similar in that they all relate to properties that typically cannot be asserted visually. This has to do with the fact that they are all derived from *-d* or *-n* nominalizations⁷⁷ of atelic verb roots, which do not have a salient result but may be more or less characteristic of an entity. Accordingly, it appears to have been common in early Western Tibetan varieties to use proverbial *de* after these nominalizations in order to attribute the denoted property to the situation the interlocutors were dealing with. Hence, **tsha-t/n-de* must have originally been an autonomous utterance meaning something like '(The thing you were/are about to touch) is hot!', **lci-t-de* '(The thing we are going to lift) is heavy!', and **kha-t-de* '(The tea I was served) is very sweet!', etc.

3.2 Proto-Tibetan *e*

3.2.1. OT *ga re* 'Where Is (X)?'

It was the finding of an OT instance of *ga re* evidently meaning the same as Purik *ga-r e* 'where is (X)?' which first suggested to me that clause-final demonstratives may reconstruct back to PT. Four further clear examples of an accordingly construed OT *ga re* substantiated that suspicion. Hence, it is argued here that the identical meaning of the OT and Purik constructions suggests that the demonstrative *e* was used as a predicate after the interrogative pronominal adverb *ga-r* in a common ancestor of the two varieties.

The clearest example of *ga re* 'where is (X)?' is found in version E of the Rāmāyaṇa found in Dunhuang,⁷⁸ see (62), which corresponds to *ga re* also in version B⁷⁹ but to *gar song* 'where did they go?' in D.⁸⁰ It is clear from the context that the only surviving demon in Langkapura,

⁷⁷ Purik provides evidence for a formerly productive *-d* or *-t* nominalization, Zemp 2018: §3.1.11 as well as for the nasalization of this *-d/t* before *m*, Zemp 2018: 91 and, more importantly, before *t(s)*; cf. WT *sbud pa* 'to light, kindle ...' Jäschke 1881: 404b, Purik *zbutpa* 'bellows', *zbut* 'dram. close door', but *zbuntse* 'wood chip(s)' (used to kindle a fire); and *k^hintan* 'you (pl.)' < **khyed-dang*. In any case, the diachronic account of *ts^hante* < **tsha-d/n-de* etc. proposed here works regardless of whether the involved nominalizations ended in *-d/t* or *-n*, cf. also Zeisler 2004: 278.

⁷⁸ de Jong 1989: 90.

⁷⁹ de Jong 1989: 90.

⁸⁰ de Jong 1989: 89.

the speaker of (62), is looking for his parents and other relatives.

Rāmāyaṇa, version E:⁸¹

- (62) *pha ma dang gnyen gdun ga re*
 father.mother and relatives.near where.is/are
 My parents and my nearest relatives, where are they?

That *ga re* is found in two versions but replaced by *gar song* in a third version suggests that *ga re* was common in the language of the time, but that speakers were unable to analyse it as consisting of the interrogative pronominal adverb *ga-r* 'where' and demonstrative *e*. That *ga-r* was common in the same language (and therefore not the problem) is made clear by *gar song* in version D. Accordingly, the scribes of the OT Rāmāyaṇa either transliterated *ga-r e* as consisting of two CV-syllables, thus avoiding the elsewhere unattested form *e*, or replaced it by a nearly synonymous construction which contained words regularly occurring elsewhere in the language, in other words, as *gar song* 'where did X go?'. That *ga re* (= *ga-r e*) 'where is X?' was regularly used in Tibetan at the time is supported by four further instances of OT *ga re*, which all clearly mean 'where is X?'.⁸²

Old Tibetan Chronicle (PT 1287), line 29:

- (63) *pha yod-na nga-'i pha ga re zhes zer-to*
 father EX-CND I-GEN father where.is thus say-AFF
 "If (I) have a father, where is my father?" he said.

PT 1096 (Judicial document regarding a missing horse), r16:

- (64) *nga-'i rta ga re zhes rmas-pa*
 I-GEN horse where.is thus said-INF
 "Where is my horse?" he said.

IOL Tib J 731 (End of the Good Age and tragedy of the horse and yak), v42–43:

- (65) *bo mo tseng 'gi rba ga ga re*
 girl Tseng gi rba ga where.is
 "Where is daughter Tseng gi Rba ga?"⁸²

IOL Tib J 731 is transliterated and translated by Thomas.⁸³ The subject occurring before *ga re*, *bo mo* 'the girl' *Tseng 'gi Rba ga*, is one of the protagonists of the story, and her name is mentioned in several other

⁸¹ de Jong 1989: 90.

⁸² Thomas 1957: 18.

⁸³ Thomas 1957: 1–39.

passages. I do not see any reason to doubt Thomas' interpretation of *ga re* as 'where is X?' and suggest to thus again analyse it as *ga-r e*.

In addition to the five clear OT instances of *ga re* in the Rāmāyaṇa (twice), PT 1287, PT 1096, and IOL Tib J, there is a less clear passage containing *ga re* in IOL Tib J 739, which deals with dice divination and is transliterated and discussed by Thomas.⁸⁴

IOL Tib J 739, 8v7/8:

(66) *kyi gnam srin ni zhal ga re*
 dog heavenworm EMPH mouth where.is

Where is the mouth of the Dog Heaven Worm?

Even if this last passage might be less clear, the evidence from five different documents strongly suggests that OT *ga re* means 'where is X?'. Hence, since Purik *ga-r e* has the exact same meaning, and since no alternative analysis is available for OT *ga re*, I propose to analyse it as *ga-r e*, that is, as consisting of an interrogative adverbial *ga-r* 'where' and demonstrative *e*.

3.2.2. WT e-V 'Where Is (Indication for) V?'

The firm evidence for proverbial *e* in PT allows us to account for a number of other phenomena encountered in Tibetic varieties. One of these is the construction *e-V*, which Hoshi⁸⁵ documents for WT texts from the 14th (*Rgyal rab gsal ba'i me long*, GSM) and 15th centuries (*Mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur*, MR, and *Deb ther sngon po*, DTN).⁸⁶

In both examples adduced by Hoshi⁸⁷ to illustrate *e-V* in the GSM, (67) and (68), *V* is instantiated by the existential copula *yod*, which makes the following diachronic account seem likely: from *ga-r e* 'where is (it)?', *e* must have become extended to contexts such as **thabs e* 'where is (your) plan?', whose interrogative force solely depended on *e*, and which presupposed that this force had become associated with *e*. Somewhat later, however, questions of this type came to be perceived as lacking a verb, and as they were about locating an entity, *yod* was added after *e*. Accordingly, the two examples from the GSM may still be analysed as respectively meaning 'where is your plan?' and 'where is your monk now?'.
'where is your monk now?'

⁸⁴ Thomas 1957: 141ff.

⁸⁵ Hoshi 2012.

⁸⁶ Whereas *e-V* according to Hoshi 2012: 77 "cannot be found in Old Tibetan".

⁸⁷ Hoshi 2012: 73.

- Rgyal rab gsal ba'i me long:*⁸⁸
- (67) *khyed rang rig pa can yin pas thabs e⁸⁹ yod*
 you learned.person EQ-NR-ERG plan DUB-EX
 As you are a learned person, **do you have** any good idea?
- (68) *rab tu byung ba da lta e yod*
 ordained.monk now DUB-EX
Is there an ordained monk now?

In the MR from the 15th century, see (69) and (70), we find full verbs occurring after *e*. Accordingly, *e*-V has ceased to be only about locating entities, but may be analysed as meaning 'where is (indication for) V?'.⁹¹

- Mi la ras pa'i rnam mgur:*⁹⁰
- (69) *e bden ltos shig*
 DUB-be.true look\IMP
 See **whether it is true** or not!⁹¹
- (70) *nga yun ring e sdod mi shes pas*
 I long.time DUB-stay NEG know-INF-ERG
 As I don't know **whether I will stay** long.

According to Hoshi, *e*-V in the MR regularly had a 'dubitative' meaning,⁹² which means that the speaker had doubts as to whether something was true. The DTN from the same century went a step further in that a negative inference appears to have become conventional, see (71) and (72) from Hoshi.⁹³

- Deb ther sngon po:*⁹⁴
- (71) *lung pa 'di na nga rang las*
 country this-LOC I-self-ABL
drag pa e yod dgongs pa byung
 superior DUB-EX thought arise
I don't think there is a better person than me in this country.

⁸⁸ Hoshi 2012: 73.

⁸⁹ I have replaced Hoshi's (2012) notation of < ^e > by < e >.

⁹⁰ Hoshi 2012: 77.

⁹¹ Note that Hoshi 2012: 77 translates this example as a statement, not an imperative. Unfortunately, Hoshi nowhere indicates where exactly the examples occurred in the WT texts referred to.

⁹² Hoshi 2012: 77.

⁹³ Hoshi 2012: 78.

⁹⁴ Hoshi 2012: 78.

- (72) *da nga yang yul du e sleb*
 now I-too country-TERM DUB-arrive
 (me too) I don't think I will find back home.

As this type of questions in which the main verb of the sentence is preceded by a vocalic particle (*e*, *a*, or *a*) is only found in eastern dialects, from Amdo and Kham up to Lhasa,⁹⁵ the discussed evidence confirms Hoshi's conclusion that this construction in WT emanates from eastern dialects.⁹⁶

3.2.3. Central Tibetic Polar Interrogative (-)ε(:)

Another reflex of the interrogative *e* drawn from *ga-r e* is found in Central Tibetic dialects such as those of Southern Mustang and Lhasa, where the *e* came to be used as a polar interrogative particle. As such, it may immediately follow the direct evidential copula *du(g)*, as in Lhasa *du-g-ε* 'is (it/s/he) there?',⁹⁷ or, as illustrated by (73) from Southern Mustang,⁹⁸ V-s (which may thus be identified as the original Simple Past, to which interrogative *-e* was suffixed directly, before direct evidential *-song* grammaticalized⁹⁹).

- (73) *k'o-la āle tōr-s-e*
 he-DAT money lose-PST-Q
 Did he lose money?

It is also common to use ε: without a (preceding) predicate, as in (74) from Standard Tibetan¹⁰⁰ and (75), which I recorded among Tibetans living in Kathmandu.

⁹⁵ See Hoshi 2012: 74–79. For further evidence not mentioned by Hoshi 2012, cf. Shigatse *ā-V*, Haller 2000: 114, Themchen-Amdo *a-V*, Haller 2004: 84, 156–57, Dege-Kham *ē-V*, Häslér 1999: 216–17, Dongwang *ā-V* Bartee 2007: 412–18, and the *a- ~ b- ~ ε-V* documented by Li 2015: 304 for the Qiangic language Guiqiong, suggesting that the construction was even diffused across language boundaries.

⁹⁶ Hoshi 2012.

⁹⁷ Tournadre and Sanga Dorje 2003: 85.

⁹⁸ Kretschmar 1995: 170.

⁹⁹ According to Kretschmar 1995: 170, the form employing *-song* is possible for *ñe-song-e* 'have (you) found it?', even if *ñe-s-e* 'have (you) found it?' is more common. I suspect that the *-song* variant is only possible when the addressee may be expected to have direct evidence for a past event, and that the variant without *-song* is preferred here and in (73) because losing something is typically not witnessed.

¹⁰⁰ Tournadre and Sanga Dorje 2003: 324.

(74) A: $\epsilon\epsilon:b\bar{a}r$ $l\bar{\epsilon}p-s\bar{o}$ $p^h\bar{\epsilon}:-ro-n\bar{a}$
 phone.call(h) arrive-DIREV come-help-give(h)
 There's a phone call, come!

B: su $\eta\bar{a}$ $\bar{\epsilon}:$
 who I Q
 Who? Me?

(75) A: $na\eta m\bar{i}$ $k^h\bar{a}ts\bar{\epsilon}:$ $j\bar{o}:re$
 family.members how.many EX.F.ALLO
 How many family members are there?

B: $\eta\bar{a}nts\bar{o}$ $na\eta-la$ $\bar{\epsilon}:$
 we:GEN home-DAT Q
 (Do you mean) in *our* home?

While Lhasa *du(g)* is directly followed by interrogative *-e*, a *-b-* intervenes between the other copulas and *-e*, as in *jin-b-ε*, *j̄b-b-ε*, and *r̄ε-b-ε*.¹⁰¹ Given that *-e* originally meant 'where is (it)?', it appears likely that the *-b-* preceding it derives from the nominalizer *-pa* (originally a focus marker)¹⁰², which conceptualized the preceding sentence as an entity which *-e* could then ask the addressee to point out.¹⁰³

4. Diachronic Account

Hence, the reconstruction of *ga-r e* 'where is (it)?' for PT is not only borne out by the retention of this exact expression in OT and Purik but also by three different local features that can be neatly explained as having derived from the proverbial *e* coined in *ga-r e*: Whereas both Eastern Tibetic *e-V* and Central Tibetic *(-)ε(:)* appear to have originally meant 'where is (indication for) ...?', clause-final *e* in Purik has an affirmative meaning everywhere except in *ga-r e*. Hence, in an ancestor of modern Purik, when the *e* in *ga-r e* became employed in other clause-

¹⁰¹ Tournadre and Sanga Dorje 2003: 85. The occasional *-w-* found before interrogative *-e* in Southern Mustang, Kretschmar 1995: 171, as in *mā-tso-(w)e* 'was it not sold?' and *mā-t^ho-(w)e* 'did (you) not see (it)?', likely reflects the same *-pa*.

¹⁰² See Bickel 1999 and Zemp 2018: 14–16.

¹⁰³ As pointed out by a reviewer, rather than assuming that this *-pa* occurred after some (e.g. *yin*, *yod*) but not other (e.g. 'dug, song) sentence-final auxiliaries, it is also possible that its labial stop was fully assimilated to the preceding velar in **dug-p-e* > *dug-e* (as in WT *nag po* 'black' > Lhasa *nako*).

final positions, the interrogative force must have been entirely attributed to *ga-r* (which indeed still means ‘where’ in modern Purik), whereas *e* was analysed as doing the pointing. This affirmative use of pro- and postverbal *e* (see §2.3) not only re-strengthened the old link to the adnominal *e* ‘the other’ (which seems to have been lost in most other varieties), but also established paradigmatic symmetry between *de* and *e* in post- and proverbal positions.

While traces of clause-final *de* and *e* identified in OT as well as other written and spoken Tibetic varieties thus make clear that both *de* and *e* were used clause-finally in PT, they also suggest that the two clause-final demonstratives were much less contrasted in PT than they are in modern Purik. Unlike in Purik (see §2.3), where *de* and *e* both occur post- as well as proverbially, comparative evidence suggests that in PT, while *e* was conventional only in the proverbial position after interrogative pronominal adverbs such as *ga-r* ‘where’, *de* appears to have been more commonly used in postverbal position.

We saw in §2.3 that *de* has two clearly distinct functions in the post- and the proverbial position. Occurring after a full-fledged sentence, postverbal *-de* points back to this sentence, lays out the information conveyed by it, invites the addressee to retrace it, and implies that it should be as clear to the addressee as it is to the speaker. Occurring instead of a predicate, proverbial *de* locates an entity or a property in a topical situation (which typically corresponds to the interlocutors’ situation at the moment of speaking).

While the postverbal *de* has left traces in the form of a subordinator in OT/WT as well as modern dialects from Amdo and Kham in the east to Ladakhi in the west, whereas Purik and Kyirong have retained its pragmatically rich sentence-final use (and Purik and Balti employed adverbial *-e* as a subordinator instead, see footnote 64 above), evidence for the proverbial *de* is only found in western dialects, namely fossilized in adjectives like *ts^hante* ‘hot’, and in the form of the copular Purik *de* illustrated in examples (34)–(36). In the absence of traces of proverbial *de* in OT or eastern dialects (—future research may well be able to identify such traces—), it appears that *de* was mainly used postverbally in late PT, while the proverbial use conventionalized only in western dialects.

By the time of the Tibetan Empire, with whose expansion in the 7th–9th centuries CE Tibetic was spread across much of Central Asia, postverbal *de* had developed into the clause-subordinator *STe* (having fused with the *-s* that had preceded it in a major proportion of contexts). It is left to future research to assess whether the original, pragmatically rich function of *STe* identified in the OT Rāmayāna (see §3.1) is also found in other OT texts, and whether this feature could have been characteristic of a particular geographic region already in OT

times. What seems clear is that Purik (and Balti), where sentence-final *de* never developed into a subordinator but retained the pragmatically vivid implication that the information conveyed by the sentence it terminates should be clear to the addressee, does not derive from the variety or varieties which most strongly influenced OT, but must have split off before *de* changed into a subordinator there. This scenario thus suggests that the Tibetic varieties presently spoken in Purik and Baltistan stem from those Tibetic speakers who came to the region when it was conquered in the second half of the 7th and the first half of the 8th century CE.¹⁰⁴ In any event, the present paper shows not only that the consideration of comparative evidence may increase our understanding of particular OT features, but also that generating diachronic scenarios in order to account for the evidence may shed light on the development and diffusion of these features as well as the Tibetic varieties they characterize. The identification of further traces of the PT clause-final demonstratives may well allow us to refine the diachronic scenario reconstructed here.

Abbreviations

- 3A - third person actor
- 3I - third person co-referential with actor
- 3II - third person other than actor
- ABL - ablative
- ADD - additive
- AFF - affirmative
- AL - alienable
- ASSOC - associative
- ASSUM - assumptive
- AUG - augmentative
- CND - conditional
- CNJ - conjunctive
- CNT - continuative stem
- CNTR - contrastive
- CPL - completive stem
- DAT - dative
- DEF - definite article
- DST - distal
- DUB - dubitative
- DUR - durative
- EQ - equative copula

¹⁰⁴ Denwood 2008: 149–54.

ERG - ergative
 EX.DIREV - direct evidential existential copula
 EX.F - factual existential copula
 EX.F.ALLO - allophoric factual existential copula
 FCT - factual
 FOC - focus marker
 FUT - future
 G(EN) - genitive
 IMA - imaginative
 IMP - imperative
 INCL - inclusive
 INDEF - indefinite article
 INE - inessive
 INF - infinitive (-pa)
 INF2 - (prospective) infinitive (-tfa)
 INFR - inferential
 LIM - limitive
 LOC - Tibetic: locative / Abui: location-type undergoer
 MD - medial
 MD.AD - addressee-based medial
 MD.L - medial low
 NEG - negation
 NLZR - nominalizer (-k^{han})
 OPT - optative
 P(L) - plural
 PAT - patient-type undergoer
 PE - plural exclusive
 PFV - perfective
 PHSL.C - phasal completive
 PHSL.I - phasal inceptive
 PRX - proximal
 PRX.AD - addressee-based proximal
 PST - past tense
 Q - question marker
 REC - recipient-type undergoer
 S - singular
 SIM - simultaneous
 TERM - terminative (case)
 TOP - topic
 TOP2 - secondary topic

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Final Particle =o in Old Tibetan: Morphosyntax, Semantics, and Grammaticalisation¹

Shao Mingyuan

(Sun Yat-sen University, Guangzhou)

1. Introduction

The particle =Co is widely distributed from Old Tibetan (OT)² of the 7th century to modern Written Tibetan. It is habitually called *rdzogs.tshig*, *slar.bsdu*, or *zla.sdud* by the indigenous Tibetan grammatical tradition. Among these terms, *rdzogs.tshig*, meaning ‘end-particle’ (*rdzogs* = to be completed; *tshig* = word, morpheme), is much more prevalent. In contrast to the former terms, modern linguists usually label it as a sentence-final particle, clause-final particle, statement particle, assertion particle, or as the indicative mood. It has ten allomorphs [-’o, -bo, -do, -go, -mo, -no, -ngo, -so, -lo, -ro], spelled with a reduplicated last letter of the preceding syllable+vowel -o (’o after vowels), which are conditioned variants of the same phoneme, as shown by the following table.

coda	མ	ན	ང	བ	ད	ག	ར	ལ	ས	-Cṡ	-VØ
	-m	-n	-ng	-b	-d	-g	-r	-l	-s	-Cd	VØ
variant	-mo	-no	-ngo	-bo	-do	-go	-ro	-lo	-so	-to	-’o

However, the prescriptive principle established by indigenous Tibetan grammars is not always in line with the textual corpora of OT,

¹ This article is a reworked version of a paper presented at the 50th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics, held at the Chinese Academy of Social Science, Beijing, China, on November 26–28, 2017. I would like to thank Qianzi Tian 田仟子 and other participants of the symposium for their suggestions. I’m also grateful to the anonymous reviewers of *Revue d’Etudes Tibétaines* for constructive comments on an earlier version of the article. The writing of this article was supported by the grant No. 16CYY057 “A Study of Evidentiality in Tibetic languages” by the National Social Science Fund of China.

² A complete list of abbreviations is given at the end of the article. The Wylie transliteration system for Tibetan records is adopted in this article.

for =*o* can be appended indiscriminately to any final consonant, as in (1).

(1) (མོ་)ཅི་ལ་བཏབ་གུང་བཟང་སབ་འོ།།

(mo) *ci=la* *btab* *kyangbzang* *rab='o//*
 (divination) whatever=ALLdo.PASTalso good auspicious=FP
 Whatever divined is very auspicious. (IOL Tib J 738, l. 23. Zheng
 Binglin and Huang Weizhong 2011a: 45)³

In (1), =*o* is appended to the predicate *rab* ended by consonant *-b* in a matrix sentence, which is contrary to traditional grammar. By contrast, in line 21 of the same document, IOL Tib J 738, =*bo* occurs in the same context with the host *rab*. This phenomenon is widespread throughout OT, which may suggest that =*o* in OT has not been completely grammaticised and still retains a certain degree of independence (see also Section 3 of the present article).

FP =*o* has existed in Written Tibetan since Tibetan script appeared in the 7th century, yet it has completely disappeared in modern Tibetic branches. It has attracted the attention of many Tibetan indigenous grammarians for more than a thousand years; their descriptions of this particle, however, are rather simplistic. Even though its semantic, morphological, syntactical and grammaticalisation processes have been studied extensively by modern linguists, descriptions are still inadequate and this has led to several controversies. Therefore, a comprehensive study of the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, and grammaticalisation aspects of FP =*o* is needed. Based on the perspective of historical linguistics, this article tries to make a comprehensive study of the above issues.

The structure of this article is as follows: A brief introduction of the topic will be given in Section 1. The background and controversies about FP =*o* will be illustrated in Section 2. The relevant syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic properties of FP =*o* will be discussed in Section 3. The grammaticalisation process of FP =*o* will be presented in Section 4. Evidence from cross-linguistic perspectives supporting the grammaticalisation process of FP =*o* will be demonstrated in Section 5. Discussion and conclusions will be presented in Section 6.

³ The Leipzig Glossing Rules are adopted to annotate the corpus in this article, according to which the two symbols most often used are as follows: '=': clitic; '-': affix. Moreover, sometimes ellipsis dots are used to express the words omitted in order to save space (since Tibetan is a clause-chain language). In addition, '.' is inserted into polysyllabic words to distinguish different syllables.

2. Background

Although indigenous Tibetan grammar literature has always paid close attention to the FP =o phenomenon, description and explanation of its morphology, syntax, and semantics has obviously been rudimentary. The oldest grammar in Tibetan history, the *Sum cu pa*, written by Thon mi Sam bho ʒa who lived in the Tibetan imperial period around the 7th century CE, adopted the concept *slar.bsdu* to describe it. However, he only presented its orthographic spelling in four verses, without any further description of its semantics and functions in detail. The grammar *Smra sgo mtshon cha*, written by Indian scholar Dran pa'i ye shes grags pa in the 10th century, used the term *zla.sdud* to describe it. Just like *Sum cu pa*, the *Smra sgo mtshon cha*'s description of semantics and syntax is inadequate.⁴ The grammar *Karma situ'i sum rtags 'grel chen*, written by Karma situ (1700–1774), not only describes the orthographic spelling of FP =o, but also tries to distinguish the different functions of the three terms *rdzogs.tshig*, *slar.bsdu*, and *zla.sdud* from the semantic coherence of the clause where FP =o occurs and their semantic relationship with the subsequent clause. Moreover, there FP =o is only regarded as a component without any semantics that brings to an end a section of a narrative or conversation.⁵ Unfortunately, the criteria adopted by Tibetan grammarians are not transparent enough and fail to comprehend the core function of FP =o in syntax and semantics.

Modern Tibetan scholars Bskal bzang 'gyur med and Bskal bzang dbyangs can insist that FP =o mainly occurs in OT: it is appended to the end of a declarative sentence, rather than an exclamation, command, or interrogative sentence, to express the end of the sentence, or the end of a paragraph without any structural connection to the subsequent clause.⁶ This opinion is obviously in line with traditional grammars and clearly has the same defects in terms of the accuracy and detail of its description of FP =o. In addition, due to the insufficiency of historical perspectives regarding language evolution in indigenous Tibetan grammar, FP =o has not garnered much attention until now.

Modern scholars have made further research into the morphology and syntax of FP =o based on the theory of modern linguistics that has resulted in great progress compared to traditional grammars, but the views of such scholars are not completely consistent. So far, the most comprehensive research has been done by Yamaguchi, in which he criticises traditional descriptive approach of FP =o, and innovatively

⁴ Dran pa'i ye shes grags pa 1999: 10 and 66.

⁵ Karma situ 2003: 45–48.

⁶ Bskal bzang 'gyur med and Bskal bzang dbyangs can 2004: 173.

describes its semantics, syntax, and grammaticalisation.⁷ Yamaguchi disapproves of the view held by the Tibetan scholar Karma situ, insisting that $FP=o$ has no necessary relationship to the end of a clause or sentence; it is rather semantically adopted to strengthen the agreement between the subject and predicate, just like the morpheme '*dearu / desu*' in Japanese.⁸ Historically, Yamaguchi adds, it mostly occurred in OT in the 7th–10th centuries, and then decreased greatly after the 10th century in Written Tibetan, and probably disappeared in spoken languages some time in the 14th century. Though Yamaguchi appropriately points out the problems of traditional grammar relating to $FP=o$ and gives many new arguments, his classification and explanation are cumbersome. In addition, he reconstructs the etymology of $FP=o$ as **bo* and insists it has a homologous relationship with the nominalisation markers *bo/po*, and *ba/pa*.⁹ In modern Amdo Tibetan, one of the definite pronouns and nominalisation markers is /wo/, which is one of the most powerful pieces of evidence to support the reconstruction above.¹⁰ Unfortunately, Yamaguchi does not associate it with demonstrative pronouns, which, in fact, are the etymological evolution of nominalisation markers.

Beyer defines $FP=o$ as a syntactically optional statement particle.¹¹ Particularly, he argues that when the particle occurs in a text that normally omits it, the particle carries extra information: firstly, it may be read as emphasising the assertive character of a performance; secondly, it may be read as concluding a thought unit such as a philosophical argument, a narrative paragraph, or side comment; or, finally, it may be read as marking the end of a sentence which has been embedded as a direct quote within another. Although the illustration above is not completely accurate, it implicates the core of the semantics of $FP=o$, that is, to strengthen emphasis or mark focus. Unfortunately, the source of these functions is not explained from the perspective of historical grammaticalisation of demonstrative pronouns. In this context, Denwood observes that in pre-classical texts there is a tendency to use $FP=o$ more as a 'paragraph-final' particle more than a 'sentence-final' particle.¹² However, Denwood does not present enough evidence on the distribution characteristics of OT and CT. Moreover, the two terms 'paragraph' and 'sentence' are easy to misunderstand and

⁷ Yamaguchi 1986: 697–736; Yamaguchi 1998: 496–507.

⁸ Note the term 'agreement' here is not the same as that which linguists adopted in the general morphosyntactic meaning, in fact, the author wants to indicate the semantic feature of information structure encoded by $FP=o$.

⁹ Yamaguchi 1986: 723–24.

¹⁰ Bskal bzang 'gyur med and Bskal bzang dbyangs can 2002: 221–22.

¹¹ Beyer 1992: 352–53.

¹² Denwood 1999: 249–50.

have not essential distinction in connotation.

One of the central debates in the literature on FP =*o* concerns its etymological analysis: Yamaguchi argues that it derives from the nominal marker **bo*.¹³ Simon is evidently the first one to relate it to the demonstrative pronoun *o* in OT.¹⁴ Moreover, he suggests that semantically it is probable that FP =*o* refers to the subject.¹⁵ Hahn also holds the same view.¹⁶ DeLancey relates it to the copular root **way* in Proto-Tibeto-Burman and interprets it as an obligatory final particle which does nothing but mark the end of a sentence.¹⁷ Furthermore, regarding its loss in Modern Tibetan, he argues that **way* persisted into CT as the sentence final particle, and subsequently abandoned its function as a copula. The arguments above reverse the order of the grammaticalisation processes (see Section 4 of the present article) and, just as DeLancey states, this etymon has no other reflex in modern varieties of Tibetan.¹⁸ According to Benedict, based on a cross-linguistic survey of Tibeto-Burman languages, FP =*o* and the copular verb **way* both derive from the demonstrative pronoun **o*.¹⁹

3. *Syntax and the Semantics of the Final Particle -o in Old Tibetan*

In this section, I will focus on the description of the semantics, syntax, and pragmatics of FP =*o* in OT, which is often very brief in the existing research. Four aspects will be discussed as follows: 1. the restriction between declarative and non-declarative sentences; 2. the classification of the host appended between verbal predicates and non-verbal predicate components; 3. the distinction between completed and non-completed aspects; 4. the possibility of optionality or obligatory with regard to pragmatics; and 5. whether it is a paragraph-final particle or a sentence-final particle, grammatically.

3.1. *Declarative vs. Non-Declarative*

Three basic sentence types (declarative, interrogative, and imperative) are traditionally distinguished according to language typology. In OT,

¹³ Yamaguchi: 723–24.

¹⁴ Simon 1942: 969.

¹⁵ Note that the notion of subject is problematic in Tibetan. According to morphosyntactic alignment, Tibetan is an ergative-absolutive language, it syntactically has no subject relating to nominative-accusative language.

¹⁶ Hahn 1996: 47.

¹⁷ DeLancey 2011: 352–54.

¹⁸ DeLancey 2011: 9.

¹⁹ Benedict 1983: 85–86.

the markers of sentence-type are mainly formal particles. Declarative sentences, primarily used for speech acts such as asserting, claiming, and stating, are the most frequent sentence type in any language.

FP =*o*, for the most part, occurs in declarative sentences in OT and CT, which can also be confirmed from the terms adopted by previous scholars such as statement particle, assertion particle, or indicative mood. In Tibetan, the predicate is always in a final position, but verbs, as well as noun phrases, can be predicative, as in (2)–(5).

(2) ཞང་སྤང་གློ་བ་རིང་ས་ནས། བཏུན་པ་བ་ནས་བཀུམོ།

[zhang].snang glo.ba rings=nas/ bkyon phab=nas
 PN lung revolt=CONV punish fall.PAST=CONV
 bkumo/
 kill.PAST.FP

Zhang snang revolted, (he) was punished and killed.
 (PT 1288, ll. 3–4. Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 3)

(3) ལུ་བ་རེ་མལ་རེ་འཕོའའོ།

nub re mal re 'pho='o/
 night DIP residence DIP move.NONP=FP

(He) changes residence every night. (PT 1287, l. 167. Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 29)

(4) ལུ་ན་རེ། རོང་གྱི་ཚོང་ཆེས་གཞུང། ལུ་ན་རེ། ཚོག་ཤེས་པས་ཚོང་གཞུངོ།

nu na.re/ nor=gyi drod chi=s gzung/
 younger.brother.ABL say treasure=GENheat what=E hold.FUT
 phu na.re// chog shes=pas drod gzungo//
 elder.brother.ABLsay satisfied know=CONV heat hold.FUT.FP

The younger brother asked: how should I treat the treasure? The elder brother answered: (you should) hold wealth knowing contentment. (PT 1283, ll. 408–409; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 407)

(5) དབའལ་དབྱི་ཚབ་དང། ཚེས་པོང་ནག་སེང་གཉིས་ནི། བཅོན་པོའི་སྤྱན་འབྲིན་ནོ།

dba's.dbyl.tshab dang/ tshes.pong.nag.seng gnyis ni/
 PN CONN PN two TOP
 btsan.po='i spyan.'dren=no/
 btsanpo=gen guide=FP

Dbā's Dbyl tshab and Tshes pong Nag seng are the *btsan po*'s guide.
 (PT 1287, ll. 181–82; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 29)

In both examples (2) and (3), it is obvious that FP =o is directly appended to the predicate in declarative sentences. What is interesting is case (4), in which =ngo only occurs after a declarative sentence spoken by the older brother; by contrast, the interrogative sentence said by the younger brother ends with a bare verb, despite both sentences ending with the same verb.

However, occasionally, FP=o can occur in imperative sentences in OT and CT, as in (6) and in (9) respectively.

(6) ལ་མས་.....སྐད་ཆེན་པོས་གསོལ་ལོ་མཚོན་ཅིག་ལྷ་སྐྱམ་དགོན་མཚོག་གསུམ།

a.ma=s skad chen-po=s gsol=lo mchod=cig
 mother=ERG voice big-NMLZ=ERG pray=FP sacrifice=CMD
dkon.mchog.gsum/

Triratna

Mother shout aloud: pray and sacrifice to the Triratna! (Rus pa'i rgyan can 1979: 29)

The comparison between 'lo' and 'cig' in the juxtaposition 'gsol=lo mchod=cig' expressing imperative mood is very interesting. Such distribution is extremely rare both in OT and CT, for imperative-verb inflection or the command particle 'cig' as shown in (6) 'mchod=cig' are usually adopted to construct the imperative sentence.

From reader's standpoint, the text presents only a pure objective description of the world, lacking specific context, as does the statement in its core function. But from the perspective of discourse or conversation, specific mood meaning can be manifested. This continuum may be the basis to explain the function extension (marking declarative sentences > marking imperative sentences) and the low-frequency of FP=o in OT and CT.

3.2. Predicative vs. Non-Predicative

FP =o most frequently is used after a bare verb or a verb phrase (note adjectives are a subclass to verbs in Classical Tibetan and Old Tibetan) and sometimes after nominalised verbs, such as V-pa-'o. Occasionally, it is found directly after a noun, pronoun, or numeral, and sometimes even after a case marker, a phenomenon which has also been observed by Denwood.²⁰ Although not many cases have been attested to in the documentation, they are still worthy of attention.

²⁰ Denwood 1999: 249.

(7) དེ་ནས་ལྷུང་འགོ་ཐང་ལག་སྐྱུལ་ཏོ།

de=nas lha='I dkor tham.shad stsal=to/
 dem=ABL god=GEN storehouse whole give.H.PAST=FP
 After that, (the *btsan po*) gave all the (treasures) in his storehouse
 to him. (PT 1287, l. 12; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 23)

(8) ཚོས་བཟང་སྲིད་མཐོ་སྤྱི་ཡོངས་ཀྱིས་སྤྲིད་དོ།

chos bzang srId mtho=ste/ myI yongs=kyis
 law good politic height =CONV person whole=ERG
skyid=do/
 comfortable=FP
 The law is good and politics is powerful: all people are happy.
 (PT 1287, l. 451; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 39)

(9) གཞིག་ནི། རྩོམ་བྱི། རོ་འཕྲལ་ཚོལ་པའོ། གཉིས་ནི། རྩོམ་བྱི་ལྷུགས་སྤྲོལ་པའོ།

gchig ni// ngon.thon=gyi/ ngon.'phral tshol-pa='o//
 one TOP diligent=GEN face.touch do.CMD-NOM=FP
gnyis ni/ ngon.thon=gyi phyugs spel-pa='o//
 two TOP diligent=GEN livestock foster-NOM=FP
 Firstly, in order to have an audience with the king, work hard, and
 secondly, foster livestock earnestly. (PT 1283, ll. 430–31; Wang Yao
 and Chen Jian 2008: 407)

In examples (7) and (8), FP=*o* is attached directly to the bare verb, while in (9) it is attached to nominalisation clauses. Both of them can be seen in OT documents, but the former is the most common, while the latter has a less frequent distribution. Semantically, there is no difference between the V-*pa-o* and V-*o* construction.

(10) རོར་སྤྱད་ཉེས་ན་ནི། དགའོ།

nor spyad nyes na ni// dgra='o/
 treasure use err CONJ TOP enemy=FP
 Wealth misused is an enemy. (PT 1283, l. 55; Wang Yao and Chen
 Jian 2008: 408)

(11) འཇོངས་ཀྱང་། རྗེ་དེ་ཙམ་མོ།

'dzangs kyang/ nI de.tsam=mo/
 wise also TOP such=FP
 [His] wiseness is as great. (PT 1287, ll. 82–83; Wang Yao and Chen
 Jian 2008: 26)

(12) ཡོངས་གྲང་། ཉེས་བྱེད་བྱེད་དེ་ལེགས་པ་ནི། བརྒྱའ་ལ་གཞིགོ། ལེགས་བྱེད་བྱེད་ལེགས་པ་ནི། ཀུན་ནོ།

yongs gyang/ nyes byed~byed=de legs-pa ni//
 whole also crime do.PRS~ RED =CONV good-NOM TOP
brgya'=la gchigo// legs byed~byed legs.pa ni//
 hundred=ALL one.FP good do.PRS~RED good TOP
kun=no//
 whole=FP

Whenever one does evil, he can only get one percent of good things, while when he does good deeds, he will get all the benefits. (PT 1283, ll. 77–78; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 396)

In the above three cases, FP =o is placed after the non-verbal component, which in (10) is a general noun, in (11) is a pronoun, and in (12) is a numeral and pronoun respectively; these phenomena are not rare in OT documentation.

‘Nominalisation clause+o’ and ‘NP+o’ are syntactically parallel when forming a proposition as predicate. Beyer mentions that sometimes the statement particle -o can mark the close of a proposition from which the equative verb has been omitted, e.g., *gzugs stong-pao* ‘form (is) empty’.²¹ As for the phenomenon of FP =o, it, in fact represents a pro-verb. Hu Shujin also holds a similar view.²²

In addition, sometimes FP =o can succeed the case marker, as in (13).

(13) སངས་རྒྱལ་ལ་ཡུག་འཚལ་ཉེ་ཐམས་ཅད་མཁྲིན་པ་ལ་འོ།

sangs.rgyas=la phyag.'tsal=te thams.cad mkhyen-pa=la='o//
 Buddha=ALL prostrate =CONV total know.HNOM=ALL=FP
 Prostrate to the Buddha and expect all wisdom. (PT 16+IOL Tib J 751, l. 40r3.²³)

At present, only the ‘allative case+o’ construction has been found in OT. However, in classical and modern Written Tibetan the ‘other case marker+o’ pattern can be found, as in (14). Indigenous Tibetan grammars call this phenomenon *snga.ma.sdud.pa* ‘restrict the former’.

²¹ Beyer 1992: 353.

²² Hu Shujin 2000: 126.

²³ The transliteration has been taken from the database of OTDO (Old Tibetan Documents Online), whose website is as follows: <https://otdo.aa-ken.jp/>.

(14) མྲོན་དུ་བྱུང་པ་ལས་བཤད་ཅེས་པ་ནི། གཞན་དག་གི་འོ་ཞེས་གསུངས་སོ།།

sngon=du byas-pa=las bshad=ces-pa
 front=TERM do.PAST-NOM=ABL speak=QUOT-NOM
ni/ gzhan=dag=gi='o=zhes gsung=so/
 TOP other=PL=GEN=FP=QUOT speak.H=FP

(He) said that speaking of previous theories, it refers to other works.' (Bu ston Rin chen grub 1988: 154)

3.3. Completed vs. Uncompleted Aspect

Occurring in a declarative sentence, FP =o has no restriction on aspect, completed and uncompleted aspect both occur in OT, which also has been observed by Denwood.²⁴ Therefore, it is certain that the aspect category has nothing to do with the distribution of FP =o, as shown below.

(15) ཡུལ་ངས་པོ་ལས་། འཕན་ཡུལ་དུ་སྒྲིང་སྒྲོས་སོ།།

yul.ngas.po=las/ 'phan.yul=du myIng spos=so/
 PLN=ABL PLN=TERM name change.PAST=FP

The place name Yul ngas po was changed to 'Phan yul. (PT 1287, ll. 184–85. Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 29)

(16) རྩ་ལྔ་བཞི་རྩུ་ལ་ཟེལ།

rta snga.ba ni rtswa=la za='o/
 horse.ABS front TOP grass=ALL eat.PRS=FP

The horse is grazing ahead. (IOL Tib J 731-r, l. 65; Zheng Binglin and Huang Weizhong 2011b: 8)

(17) ལྷོད་ཟེར་བ་བཞིན་བྱེད།

khyed zer-ba bzhin bya='o
 2SG.ABS say-NOM follow do.FUT=FP

Follow what you said to do. (PT 1287, l. 159; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 28)

The verb inflection (past in (15), present in (16), and future in (17)) in the above cases reflect the different aspect categories in essence, indicating that FP =o tends to be not selective with aspect.

²⁴ Denwood 1999: 249.

and was written as a formal document. (*The Rkong po Bde mo sa inscription*, line 11. Iwao Kazushi 2009: 16)

(20) གཏན་པ་ཆིས་ཀ་ཡི་མཛོ་རྒྱན་དང་། དེ་མཚོ་ལ་བཅས་ཏེ་སྲུག་རྒྱས་བཏབ།

gtan.pa chis.ka im.dzi.h'an dang/ den.tsheng.la
witness PN PN CONN PN

bcas=te sug rgyas.btab/
have=CONV [limb do.PAST]

Witnesses Chis ka, Im dzi h'an, and Den tsheng la were finger-printed. (PT 1203, ll. 10–12; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 181)

The three examples above all correspond to the end of a text, and there are no other syntactic components after them. However, FP=*o* is added to the final position of the first example, while in the last two, it is not. This makes it very clear that FP=*o* is not obligatory but optional in this context.

In (21) and (22), the semantic connection between the first and second clauses is relatively loose; FP =*o* could theoretically have been attached to the first clause, but it is not in practice.

(21) ངའི་ཚབ་སྲིད་འདོན་ཅིང་། ཞོ་ག་ཆེན་པོ་འབྲུལ་འབྲུལ་བ། གཙུག་ལྷན་གནང་བའི་མོ་།

[nga'i chab.srid 'don cing/ zho.sha chen-po
1SG=GEN regime promoteCONN thought big-NOM
*'bul~'bul-ba/]*₁ *[gtsIgs snga.ma gnang-ba'I.....]*₂
dedicate~RED-NOM treaty previously do.H-NOM

(He) promoted my regime and dedicated himself to it with deep will. When the treaty was signed previously... (*East inscription at Zhwa'i lha khang*, ll. 4–6. Iwao Kazushi 2009: 20)

(22) གཞན་གྱིས་སྲིད་མོག་ཁོང་ཏ་བདག་སྲིད་གཞན་ན་ཉི་མེད་དང་བཟང་ངན་སྲི་བརྗེ་བར་གནང་ངོ།།

*[gzhan=gyis myi-dbrog]*₁ *[khong.ta bdag myi-dga'=na*
other=ERG NEG-rob 3SG.ABS 1SG.ABS NEG-love=SUB
*nye.ring dang bzang.ngan myl-brje-ba=r gnang=ngo/ /]*₂
far.near CONN good.bad NEG-change-NOM=TERM do=FP

No one else is allowed to rob him (of his slaves, land, pasture, and so on.). If he does not want them anymore, a close or distant relative, whether he be wise or stupid should be given the property without any change. (*The Zhol inscription*, ll. n53-n55. Iwao Kazushi 2009: 9)

Between the clauses above, the topic has obviously been changed, and the first clause tends to be self-sufficient in semantics and syntax. FP=*o* is usually added in this context, but it is not the case here; on the contrary, the main clause ends with a nominalised verb (see 21) or bare verb stem (see 22).

The following example (21) may be more representative to explain this phenomenon.

(23) གནམ་ནི་པའོ་ས་ནི་མའོ། ཉི་མ་ནི་བྱོ། ལྷ་བ་ནི་རྒྱ་མའོ། འཇུག་པའི་གཡས་སོ། ལྷོ་ཕྱོགས་ནི་ཕྱིའོ།

<i>gnam</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>pha='o/</i>	<i>sa</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>ma'o/</i>	<i>nyi.ma</i>	<i>ni</i>
sky	TOP	father=FP	ground	TOP	mother.FP	sun	TOP
<i>khyo/</i>	<i>zla.ba</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>chung.ma='o/</i>	<i>shar.phyogs</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>g.yas=so/</i>	
husband	moon	TOP	wife=FP	east	TOP	right=FP	
<i>lho.phyogs</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>phyi'o/</i>					
south	TOP	outside.FP					

Sky is the father, and earth is the mother. Sun is the husband, and moon is the wife. East is the right, and south is the outside. (PT 1284, ll. 55–56; Zheng Binglin and Huang Weizhong 2011b: 215)

If FP =*o* was obligatory in practice, it should not be omitted after the word *khyo* in (23). One of the anonymous reviewers of this article queried, could example (23) be explained by the fact that the FP =*o* is fused with the homorganic vowel by the host *khyo* ending with the vowel *o*?²⁸ This possibility really cannot be ruled out, but even so, the above examples (19)–(22) are enough to prove that FP=*o* is optional rather than obligatory.

3.5. 'Paragraph-Final' Particle vs. 'Sentence-Final' Particle

Denwood argues that in many pre-classical texts (OT) there is a tendency to use this particle more as a 'paragraph-final' than a 'sentence-final' particle.²⁹ That is, it may be omitted from clauses which are not regarded as bringing a section of narrative or conversation to a close; other main-clauses end in a bare verb stem. However, discriminating the two terms may bring some confusion, for generally the end of a paragraph is also the end of a sentence (= the end of the last sentence that makes up the paragraph), what is more, 'paragraph' is not a lin-

²⁸ A similar question can also be seen in the following example (25).

²⁹ Denwood 1999: 249–50.

guistic term widely accepted; for example, it is not included in the linguistic dictionary edited by Crystal,³⁰ and I think it is difficult to define it syntactically and semantically.

However, the distribution of FP =*o* in OT observed by the author is very enlightening. In some sentence combinations that have semantic coherence, which alternatively can be expressed by the clause-chaining construction or coordinate construction, FP =*o* is added after each sentence. This phenomenon is more common in OT and significantly reduced in CT, as in (24)–(27).

(24) མཁར་ཡུ་སྐ་ནི་ཡབ་བོ། དགུ་གྲི་ཟེང་པོ་རྗེ་ནི་བརྒྱུག་གོ། མང་རྗེ་སུམ་བུ་ནི་དུ་གུ་ཡུལ་དུ་བོས་སོ།

[*mkhar yu.sna nI phab=bo*]₁/ [*dgu.grI.zing.po.rje nI*
town PLN TOP capture.PAST=FP PN TOP
brlag=go]₂/ [*mang.rje.sum.bu nI dru.gu yul=du*
annihilate=FP PN TOP Turkestan place=TERM
bros=so]₃/
flee.PAST=FP

Yu sna town was captured, Dgu grI Zing po rje was annihilated, and Mang rje Sum bu fled to Turkey. (PT 1287, l. 183; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 29)

(25) མྱི་མང་གི་སྒོན་བཏབ། ཡུལ་ཆེ་འོ་ནི་འདབ་བསྐྱེད་དོ།

[*myi.mang=gI snon btab*]₁/ [*yul che='I ni*
people=GEN [increase.PRS do.PAST] place big=GEN TOP
'dab bskyed-do]₂/
size expanded=FP

The people were conquered. The land expanded. (PT 1287, l. 345–46; Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 35)

(26) བྱ་འོ་མོ་མིང་དེ་སོང་དོ། ལྷ་འོ་དེ་རིང་མོ་འོ་ལྷོར་སྐྱར་གྱི་ལྷུ་དུ་བཅུག་སྟེ་བཏང་དོ། ཉ་ལྷ་གཉིས་ཀྱིས་བཅན་པོ་འོ་སྐྱར་བཅུང་

དོ། ལྷུ་འོ་སྐྱ འབྲུབས་གྱི་མགུར་དུ་བང་སོ་བཅིག་སོ།

[*bya='I bu.mo khrid=de song=ngo*]₁/ [*klu*
bird=GEN girl lead=CONV go.PAST=FP dragon
'o.de.ring.mo='i ltor spur=gyI klud=du bcug=ste
PN=GEN abode corpse=GEN substitute=TERM make.PAST=CONV
btang=ngo]₂/ [*nya lha gnyIs=kyis btsan.po='i spur*
do.PAST=FP PN prince two=ERG Tsanpo=GEN corpse

³⁰ Crystal 2008.

(28) ཇེ་ལུ་མ་ལོ་འདི་ལྷུ་གུ་ཡིག་ཅན་བཏབ་པ།

je'u.hwo.'do='i sug.yig tsad.btab-pha/
 PN=GEN fingerprint do.PAST-NMLZ

Je'u Hwo 'do took his finger-print. (PT 2127, l. 11. Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 185)

4. Grammaticalisation of Final Particle -o

As mentioned in Section 2, Simon first confirmed the relationship between FP=*o* and the demonstrative pronoun *o*.³³ Although it is a pity that he did not make a detailed analysis of its syntax and semantics in OT literature, it is still an inspiring discovery nonetheless. Tracing the etymology of FP=*o* to the demonstrative pronoun can also unify the views of Yamaguchi and DeLancey.³⁴ The former holds FP=*o* is derived from the nominalisation marker **bo*, while the latter insists it is derived from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman copular verb **wəy*: both of them (**bo* and **wəy*), as Benedict suggests, are in fact the result of different grammaticalisation paths of the demonstrative pronoun *o*.³⁵ Simon also argues that FP=*o* has the function of nominalisation.³⁶ Benedict, based on the analysis of Tibeto-Burmese languages, reconstructs the etymology of the demonstrative pronoun in Proto-Tibeto-Burman **(h)əw^A*, and further shows that it evolves to become the demonstrative pronoun 'o ~u' meaning 'that' in Written Tibetan.³⁷ Moreover, he explains that the copular verb **wəy* reconstructed by Thurgood in Proto-Tibeto-Burman is actually the result of grammaticalisation of the demonstrative pronoun **(h)əw^A*.³⁸ In addition, he also shows that there is a grammaticalisation of **(h)əw^A* as a sentence-final particle in the declarative mood in some Tibeto-Burmese languages. Although he does not clearly indicate that FP=*o* in OT has undergone the same grammaticalisation resembling the above, this theory is self-evident.

In short, according to Simon and Benedict, it can be concluded that as well as the syntactic and semantic features of FP=*o* represented in section 3 above, FP=*o* originates from the grammaticalisation of the demonstrative pronoun *o*, which is very old, and probably has a directional relationship with the evolution of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman

³³ Simon 1942: 969.

³⁴ Yamaguchi 1986: 723–26; Yamaguchi 1998: 496–507; and DeLancey 2011: 352–54.

³⁵ Benedict 1983: 85–86.

³⁶ Simon 1942: 970. Moreover, note FP=*o* and nominaliser are the different paths of the grammaticalisation of the demonstrative pronoun **bo*.

³⁷ Benedict 1983: 75.

³⁸ Thurgood 1982: 65–82.

demonstrative pronoun $^{*}(h)\text{ɔw}^A$. In Tibetan, the demonstrative pronoun ‘o~u’ ($<^{*}(h)\text{ɔw}^A$) usually is attached in the final position of the sentence to express emphasis under the discourse-pragmatic functions of anaphora, and gradually evolves to become a mood particle, which is explained in detail in the next section.

4.1. The Demonstrative Pronoun

The demonstrative pronoun ‘o~u’ meaning ‘that’ not only occurs in OT but also in some modern Tibetan dialects. It should be noted that ‘o~u’ tends to have an extremely low frequency at any time period. ‘O~u’ occurs in OT as shown in examples (29)–(31).

(29) ཁ་འོ་ཅོ་ཅི་དམར་སོ་འོ་རིང་ཅི་དགས།

kha ’o.de ni dmar so ’o ring ni dgar/

mouth DEM TOP red teeth DEM long TOP expose

That (open) mouth is bloody, and the long teeth are exposed. (IOL Tib J 734, ch.85.ix.4, *The age of decline*, l. 215. Zheng Binglin and Huang Weizhong 2011b: 65)

(30) ཇི་སྐྱིན་འབངས་ཀྱིས་བསབ་པ་ལུག་ལས་འགལ་ལུར་སྤྱི་ནང་གིས་རྒྱལ་བྱས་འོ་སྤོམས།

rje.skyin ‘bangs=kyis bsab-pa lugs=las ‘gal/

throne subject=ERG replace.FUT-NOM rule=ABL violate

pur.myi nang=gis rgyal byas ’o

servant inside=ERG king do.PAST DEM.ABL

myi-snyoms/

NEG-proportionate.PRS

A subject replacing the throne is against / contradicts the rules, and that servant being the king is against custom. (IOL Tib J 737D, ll. 334–35; Chen Jian and Wang Yao 1983: 174)

(31) ལུ་ནི་བརླུ་བའི་རི་དགས་ཡིན་བས།

’u ni bzlu-ba=’I ri.dags yin=bas/

DEM TOP cheat-NOM=GEN beast COP=CONV

As for that beast cheating people... (IOL Tib J 737A, *Rāmāyana stories*, l. 145. Chen Jian and Wang Yao 1983: 158)

In (29), the etymon *'o* and *de*, which have the same meaning, compose a compound demonstrative pronoun to encode *'that'*.³⁹ These are also pervasive in Tibetan dialects such as Mdungnag Tibetan in Gansu Province in China.⁴⁰ In (29) *o* serves as an adnominal demonstrative succeeding the head noun, while in (30) and (31) it functions as a pronominal demonstrative.

The demonstrative pronoun *o~u* can also be found in modern Tibetan, as in (32) and (33).

(32) ལུ་ལས་ཀ་དེ་བཏང་ཐལ།

y_l^H $l^L k^H \partial^H$ $d \partial^L$ $t^H \partial^L = t^H l^L$
DEM work DEM finish=VIS

That work has been done.'

(Bdechen Tibetan, in Yunnan Province, China, provided by Wang Lan 汪嵐, private conversation, 05/2018)

(33) ཡུལ་གླ་གིས་དབྱུག་པ་བོ་ལངས་བཏང་ནས། ལག་པ་འ་བརྟེན་ནས་ཕྱི་འགྲུང་བཞག་ཟླ།

$j o t^v = g \partial$ $^h j \partial k p a - w \partial$ $l a \eta$ $t a \eta = n \partial$, $l a k p a :$
earth.god =ERG stick-DEF take.PAST AUX=CONV hand.ALL
 $^h t a n = n \partial$ $\mathcal{S}^{w e} :$ $p \partial$ $t \mathcal{S} \partial k = z \partial k$.
lean on=CONV outside.ALL go.PAST AUX=INFR

The god of earth took the stick and put it in his hand, and then went out.' (Mdungnag Tibetan, in Gansu Province, China. Independent investigation, 07-08/2014)

In (33), the demonstrative pronoun */wɔ/* is attached to the noun *^h j a k p a/* 'stick' to strengthen definiteness. The phonetic value of the demonstrative pronoun in the two dialects above are a semivowel and voiced fricative consonant, respectively, which indicates that it should be reconstructed in Proto-Tibetan as **bo* or **bu*. The resulting form *'u* and *'o* have probably undergone a weakening process in OT.

The demonstrative pronoun meaning *'that'* and containing the vowel *'o~u'* is pervasive in Tibeto-Burman Languages, which has been explained comprehensively by Benedict.⁴¹ As for some newly discovered languages, the same law can also be seen, e.g., in Songlin (松林),

³⁹ At present, the functional difference between *o* and *de* in OT is not very clear; it is very likely that *o* was used in deeper layers than *de*, for in the context of OT, the latter is obviously far more frequently used than the former.

⁴⁰ In Mdungnag Tibetan, *okan* 'that'=*o+kan*, e.g., /okan-gə atʂəya re. / [3SG-GEN old.sister COP] (She) is her/his older sister.'

⁴¹ Benedict 1983: 75–77.

in the Tibetan Autonomous Region of China, the morphemes ‘a³¹⁻’ and ‘o³¹⁻’ constitute system opposition as follows, ‘o³¹mi⁵⁵’ (that; that person) versus ‘a³¹mi⁵⁵’ (this; this person) and ‘o³¹nda⁵⁵’ (there) versus ‘a³¹nda⁵⁵’ (here). In addition, the third person singular is ‘pu²⁴’, while the third person plural is ‘pə³¹se⁵⁵’.⁴²

4.2. Anaphora and Emphasis

Anaphoric reference is a rhetorical device marking the identity between what is being expressed and what has already been expressed.⁴³ Within the process of the demonstrative pronoun *o* > FP =*o*, the backwards-referring function of anaphora plays a key role. Pragmatically and semantically, FP=*o* is used to focus the hearer’s attention on entities in the preceding context; that is the reason why it tends to be optional rather than obligatory. Some scholars’ analyses of the semantics of FP=*o* has actually partially revealed this; e.g., Yamaguchi argues that the function of FP=*o* is to strengthen the agreement between subject and predicate.⁴⁴ Furthermore, one of the functions concluded by Beyer is that FP=*o* may be read as emphasising the assertive character of the performance;⁴⁵ this view is consistent with the above opinion.

The antecedent of the anaphor could not only be a concrete entity or property, as is *yig* in (34) and *rkong.po dkar.po* in (35), but also a preposition or comment, that is, the reference could be a nominal clause or a clause ending with a bare verb, as is *rtswa=la za* in (36).

(34) བྱང་ཕྱོགས་ན་རྒྱལ་པོ་དུ་བཞུགས་པའི་རྗེ་རབས་གྱི་ཡིག་འོ།

<i>byang.phyogs=na</i>	<i>rgyal.po=du</i>	<i>bzhugs-pa='i</i>
northern=LOC	king=TERM	reside-NOM=GEN
<i>rje.rabs=gyi</i>	<i>yig='o/</i>	
royal.genealog=GEN	record=FP	

Royal genealogies residing in the northern region. (PT 1283, ll. 1–2. Chen Jian and Wang Yao 1983: 279)

⁴² Song Cheng et al. 2019: 323–24. Note that the numbers on these words refer to tone. In particular, it should be pointed out that Songlin in fact is a pitch-accent language rather than a tone language; however, the prosodic system is inaccurately deemed to be the latter by those authors.

⁴³ Crystal 2008: 25.

⁴⁴ Yamaguchi 1986: 723–26; Yamaguchi 1998: 496–507.

⁴⁵ Beyer 1992: 353.

(35) ཉི་མྱི་ནི་རྫོང་པོ་དཀར་པོའོ།

nyi.khyi ni rkong.po dkar.po='o/
 PN TOP PLN PN=FP

Nyi khyi is the king of Rkong po Dkar po. (Wang Yao and Chen Jian 2008: 25, PT 1287, ll. 50–51)

(36) ར་མ་བཞི་རྩལ་ཟེའོ། གཡག་འཕྱི་བཞི་རྩལ་འཕྱི་བཞི།

rta snga.ba ni rtswa=la za='o/
 horse front TOP grass=ALL eat.PRS=FP
g.yag 'pyi.ba ni chu 'thung shig//
 yak back TOP water drink IND

The horse is eating the grass in front, and the yak is drinking water behind. (IOL Tib J 731, l. 65. Zheng Binglin and Huang Weizhong 2011b: 8)

The distribution of FP=*o* discussed above attracts the attention of Simon who asserts:

The final '*o*', while in its original sphere in nominal sentences only, may have encroached on the verbal sentences. Or, when occurring in verbal sentences, it may at first have been added when it properly belonged not to the final verb, to which it was appended, but to a verb of saying, thinking, believing, hoping, etc., which followed immediately after it, in a similar manner as the English 'conjunction' that originally belonged to the preceding verb as its object. Or, the addition of '*o*' may appear justified, or at least facilitated by the well-known nominal nature of the Tibetan verb.⁴⁶

Finally, he adds, "I content myself with mentioning several possible explanations for the occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun '*o*' at the end of a verbal sentence, without committing myself to any of them".⁴⁷ Simon obviously has realised the important role of the nominalisation mechanism in the grammaticalisation of FP=*o*.

DeLancey argues nominalisation has long been recognised as one of the driving processes of Tibeto-Burman syntax and syntactic change; Tibetan languages repeatedly innovate new, marked clausal constructions with a nominalised verb and finite copula.⁴⁸ The grammaticalisation of 'demonstrative pronoun > emphasis particle' reflects the process above.

⁴⁶ Simon 1942: 969–70.

⁴⁷ Simon 1942: 970.

⁴⁸ DeLancey 2011: 10.

Similar evidence from Purik tends to be more attractive. Zemp points out that, in Purik, the two demonstratives (-)de and (-)e may not only be used adnominally but also in the two clause-final positions, to wit, instead of or after the predicate.⁴⁹ The clause-final proximate *de* anaphorically points to information situated before the speech act participants. Its obviate correspondence *e* anaphorically points to information, the identification of which allows the addressee to follow the perspective of the speaker. Clause-final (-)de and (-)e clearly derive from the pre- and pronominal anaphoric demonstratives *de* ‘that’ and *e* ‘the other’. Moreover Zemp identifies the clause-final use of demonstratives as a feature of Common Tibetan.⁵⁰

4.3. Final Mood Particle

As Denwood notes, in many pre-classical texts (that is OT), there is a tendency to use FP =o more as a ‘paragraph-final’ than a ‘sentence-final’ particle, that is, it may be omitted from clauses that are not regarded as bringing a section of narrative or conversation to a close with other main-clauses ending in a bare verb stem.⁵¹ Although the terms ‘paragraph-final’ and ‘sentence-final’ are ambiguous and easy to misunderstand, the observation is insightful.

After OT, FP=o tends to occur more and more at the end of a combination of sentences having semantic coherence and a clause-chaining construction. Previous studies such as Beyer’s have also shown that it appears frequently in the archaic manuscripts from Central Asia, and occurs only infrequently in the biography of *Mi la ras pa* written by *Gtsang Smyon He ru ka*.⁵² Although rigorous statistical analysis based on the frequency of the distribution of FP=o in OT has not been carried out at present, one who has read the OT and CT literature probably would agree with this opinion. This change may reflect the process of desemantisation and decategorisation of FP=o as an emphasis particle, behaving more and more like a declarative mood particle with the erosion of the semantics of a pronoun. Note that given the ambiguities of different categories it remains unclear where the boundary between final mood particle and demonstrative pronoun is.

In addition, the process mentioned above can be found from some distribution, as the following cleft sentence shows.

⁴⁹ Zemp 2018: 689–94.

⁵⁰ Zemp’s thesis shows that he has written and submitted a paper on this topic, entitled “Clause-final demonstrative in Tibetan”; however, I have not read this paper at the date of this article going to press.

⁵¹ Denwood 1999: 249–50.

⁵² Beyer 1992: 353.

(37) གཏོན་ཆེད་པོ་ཞིག་ཁྱིམ་ལུང་ཡང་སྟོན་གྲུབ་པ་ལྟོགས་པ་དེ་ཡིན་འོ།།

gdon ched-po=zhig khyIm.phugs jod=pas/
ghost big-NOM=INDF house exist=CONV
bya.dgu=r yang myI-grub/-pa de yIn='o//
anything=TERM also NEG-complete.PAST-NOM DEM COP=FP

The fact is that a giant ghost was in the house, and nothing could be done. (IOL Tib J 738, ll. 39–40. Zheng Binglin and Huang Weizhong 2011a: 47)

In (37), the demonstrative pronoun *de* is the focus of the cleft sentence, and the copular verb *yIn* is the main verb. The *yIn* itself has a lower frequency in OT and, in general, is always employed to indicate emphasis from ancient times to the present.⁵³ Therefore, the co-occurrence of *de*, *yIn*, and *'o* is semantically redundant. Moreover, FP=*o* invariably occupies the final position of a paragraph or a sentence, where the mood particle most naturally occurs. In general, the particle used in declarative sentences is there to strengthen the indicative mood, and usually takes the whole sentence as its scope. Along with the weakening of its emphasis function, it becomes more and more like a pure mood particle with empty semantics.

Indigenous Tibetan grammars habitually called the FP=*o* *rdzogs.tshig* 'particle indicating the sentence end', which may also reflect a grammaticalisation change, for traditional grammars are established based on CT and subsequent literature, in which FP=*o* tends to be less frequent than in OT. This phenomenon is even more typical if we consult the literature in the style of the ancients written by modern Tibetan scholars. Yamaguchi deduces that, in the spoken language around the 14th century, FP=*o* may have disappeared and become a fossil component in written style.⁵⁴ Although it is difficult to determine the specific time of its disappearance in colloquial style, it is an indisputable fact that it appears less and less after OT.

It is necessary to note that, when FP=*o* is attached to NP (e.g., NP phrase or normalisation clause), it behaves like a copular verb, and indeed in some Tibeto-Burman languages the demonstrative pronoun has a homological relationship with the Tibetan FP=*o*, having undergone an evolution of grammaticalisation under the same circumstances.⁵⁵ However, *o* in Tibetan has not undergone that process.

⁵³ The semantics feature embodied in the copula verb not only can be found in OT, but can also be found in many Tibeto-Burman Languages, as shown in Shao Mingyuan 2016.

⁵⁴ Yamaguchi 1998: 496–507.

⁵⁵ Benedict 1983: 85.

In short, FP=o in Tibetan has undergone the following grammaticalisation process: 'demonstrative pronoun > emphasis particle > mood particle', which is pervasive in human languages (see Section 5).

5. Evidence from Modern Tibetan Dialects / Tibetic Languages and a Cross-Linguistic Perspective

It is common cross-linguistically that demonstratives develop into focus/emphasis markers and mood particles through the function of anaphora. In the following section, from a cross-linguistic and typological perspective, I will show a similar path occurring in Lhasa Tibetan, Dayang Pumi, Old Chinese, and Xiaohua Hmong to provide more evidence for the study of FP=o in OT.

5.1. Lhasa Languages

Here I consider modern Tibetic data to constitute cross-language evidence since they have undergone great evolution compared with OT. Demonstrative pronouns attached to the end of a clause to convey the meaning of emphasis is widespread in modern Tibetic languages; this is one of the most powerful pieces of evidence to support the claim that FP=o originates from demonstrative pronouns in OT. Meanwhile, it also reflects the parallel grammaticalisation of the demonstratives between Old and Modern Tibetan.

Denwood regards *da*, *ga* and *nga* postponed to verb phrases in Lhasa Tibetan as emphatic markers, and argues they are essentially mood particles,⁵⁶ as in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 Indicative and emphatic form in Lhasa Tibetan

Glossary	be:EG O	be:FAC T	ex- ist:EGO	ex- ist:MIR	come:EG O	befall:EGO	go:PAST:VI S
Indicative	<i>yin</i>	<i>red</i>	<i>yod</i>	<i>'dug</i>	<i>yong</i>	<i>byung</i>	<i>song</i>
Emphatic	<i>yin=d a</i>	<i>red=da</i>	<i>yod=d a</i>	<i>'dug=g a</i>	<i>yong=nga</i>	<i>byung=ng a</i>	<i>song=nga</i>

⁵⁶ Denwood 1999: 129–30.

- (38) *khong=la* *mang-po* *yog.red=da*.
 3sg=LOC many-NOM exist.FACT=EMPH
 She certainly has a lot.

However, he does not point out whether these morphemes have a homologous relationship, and also does not give any opinion on their etymology. In terms of distribution, *da*, *ga* and *nga* are obviously complementary (see Table 1.2 after rearrangement), which implies they are variants of the same word. Under the same circumstance, Amdo Tibetan adopts nothing but *da* to convey the same meaning.⁵⁷ Benedict contends that in some Tibeto-Burman languages, the emphasis marker *da* deriving from the demonstrative pronoun *da* is employed to strengthen the sentence mood.⁵⁸ To sum up, the emphasis marker *da* occurring in Lhasa and Amdo Tibetan show a similar function as FP=*o* in OT.

Furthermore, the table above shows that *da* occurs after an evidential marker, occupying the position of the modal particle. Denwood especially argues that *da* generally has a falling pitch in Lhasa Tibetan, which is generally consistent with the pitch declarative sentence used to express emphasis. In addition, it is optional rather than pragmatically obligatory. All these properties are similar to FP=*o* in OT.

Of course, the emphatic particle *da* in Lhasa Tibetan also shows a few differences in distribution and grammatical function when compared to OT FP=*o*, which need to be studied further in the future.

5.2. Dayang Pumi

Dayang Pumi (大羊普米語) is a language sub-grouped to the Qiangic branch of the Tibeto-Burman group. It is used in Dayang village, Hexi Township, Lanping Bai and Pumi Autonomous County, Yunnan Province. The proximal demonstrative pronoun *də*³¹ and the distant demonstrative prefix *o* in Dayang Pumi obviously are paronym with demonstrative pronouns *'di* and *o* in Written Tibetan, respectively. Interestingly, Jiang Ying claims that *də*³¹ has undergone grammaticalisation to express emphasis in declarative sentences as a copula, as in (39)–(40).⁵⁹

⁵⁷ For instance *di.mo.zig red-ya-da*. [of.that.kind COP-MP-FP] 'It is of that kind indeed.'

⁵⁸ Benedict 1983: 82.

⁵⁹ Jiang Ying 2015: 73–74 and 144–45.

- (39) *mə*²⁴ *gui*⁵⁵ *tʂʰuŋ*⁵⁵ *qa*³¹ *də*^{24/31}.
 sky rain fall be.going.to COP
 It is certainly going to rain.

- (40) *tə*⁵⁵*gu*⁵⁵ *gu*⁵⁵*maŋ*²⁴ *ti*^{24/55} *də*^{24/31}.
 3SG teacher INDF COP
 He is certainly a good teacher.

As a copula, besides the basic function of linking subject and predicate, *də*^{24/31} can also be used to strengthen the emphasis of an assertion. In linguistic typology, one of the main sources for copula are demonstrative pronouns. Copula and final particles represent two differengrammaticalization paths of the demonstrative pronoun, but in any case, they must undergo the stage of emphasis based on anaphora, which Benedict also noticed.⁶⁰

5.3. Old Chinese

There are lots of examples of demonstratives that developed into sentence-final assertive particles in Old Chinese, such as ‘*ye*’ (也), ‘*yi*’ (矣), ‘*er*’ (爾), and ‘*yan*’ (焉).⁶¹ Such is the example of ‘*er*’ (尔) given by Guo Xiliang below.

- (41) 郁陶，思君爾。
yutao si jun er
 sad miss you ASRT
 I’m sad because I miss you. (*Mencius*, chapter *Wangzhang* 孟子·萬章)

In example (41), Guo Xiliang states that *er* is a polysemic morpheme with the function of a demonstrative pronoun and modal particle. Its primary semantic value is emphasis, that is, to draw the hearer’s attention to the content of the utterance. Since it occurs at the end of the sentence, the meaning of reference is weaker than that of declarative modality, which causes many scholars to regard it as a pure modal particle.

Another interesting example is ‘*er*’ (而), which is also placed at the end of a sentence in Old Chinese, and traditionally is regarded by Chi-

⁶⁰ Benedict 1983: 93.

⁶¹ These are advocated for in Benedict 1983 and Guo Lixiang 1989.

nese scholars as a pure modal particle to denote mood. However, Simon defines 'er' in Old Chinese as a 'resumptive pronoun'.⁶² Although he does not explicitly prove whether the sentence-final particle 'er' has anaphoric function, other researchers, such as Shen Jiaxuan and Xu Liqun explicitly state that it does.⁶³ According to them, this particle is used to refer to and emphasise a state, and is a cognate with the demonstrative pronoun. Because it occurs at the end of sentence with a relatively weak referential meaning, many scholars mistake it for a pure modal particle, as in (42)–(43).

(42) 豈不爾思，室是遠而。

qi bu er si shi shi yuan er
Q NEG you miss house DEM far.away ASRT

Don't I miss you? It's just that the place where I live is too far away.

(*Analects of Confucius: Zihan* 論語·子罕)

(43) 已而，已而，今之從政者殆而。

yi er yi er jin zhi cong.zheng.zhe
give.up ASRT give.up ASRT now GEN politician

dai er
dangerous ASRT

Forget it! Forget it! People in politics these days are dangerous! (*An-*

nalects of Confucius, Weizi 論語·微子)

5.4. Xiaohua Hmong

Xiaohua Hmong 小花苗语, affiliated with the Hmong-Mien family, is mainly spoken in Xingfa Miao-Yi Xiang Minority Village (Hezhang County, Bijie City, Guizhou Province). According to Li Yunbing and Luo Jun, its demonstrative pronoun *i*⁵⁵ 'that', occurring only in assertive propositions, has evolved into a sentence-final modal particle conveying emphasis function, as in (44)–(45).⁶⁴

(44) *du*³³ *na*⁵⁵ ʒɔ⁴⁴, *du*³³ *i*⁵⁵ tɕɿ⁴⁴ ʒɔ⁴⁴.
CL DEM.this good CL DEM.that NEG good
This one is good, that one is bad.

⁶² Simon 1951: 46–67.

⁶³ Shen Jiaxuan and Xu Liqun 2016: 3.

⁶⁴ Li Yunbing and Luo Jun Forthcoming.

- (45) *ku*⁵⁵ *du*³³ *na*³³ *zɔ*³³ *a⁴⁴nu³³gi³¹* *da*³¹ *i*⁵⁵.
 me GEN uncle is yesterday come ASRT
 It was yesterday that my uncle came.

In (44), *i*⁵⁵ is a demonstrative pronoun, while in (45), it has become a modal particle after the sentence-final verb to express emphasis. In this process, subjectivisation gradually increases along with the demonstrative pronoun undergoing decategorisation.

In general, the evolution from demonstrative pronoun to emphatic and modal particle in the four languages above can hardly be accidental; it must be the result of parallel grammaticalisation under the common cognitive mechanism, which reflects the universality of human languages. For more discussion on this process one can refer to Heine and Kuteva.⁶⁵

6. Summary and Conclusion

This article deals with the syntax, semantics, and grammaticalisation of FP =*o* in Tibetan, which is one of the issues that indigenous Tibetan grammars have always been concerned with and have been discussing for more than one thousand years. Modern scholars have also studied it from different perspectives and have drawn many valuable conclusions. However, there is no consensus on its syntactic and semantic features, and the existing research tends to be neither comprehensive nor systematic. Of course, ascertaining the relationship between FP =*o* and the demonstrative pronoun *o* and interpreting its semantic emphasis are the two greatest contributions of our predecessors to the issue, which has laid the foundation for this study.

Based mainly on OT (7th–10th century), this article comprehensively and systematically discusses the distribution, syntax, semantics and pragmatics of FP =*o*, in which I agree with Simon and Benedict's argument that the origin of FP =*o* is from the demonstrative pronoun *o* meaning 'that'.⁶⁶ On the basis of previous studies, I attempt to prove that, when FP =*o* is appended to the end of a clause, it was originally used to emphasise the component (word or phrase) involved in the sentence, that is, to convey what the speaker thinks is important to interlocutors. Within the process, anaphora—the pragmatics function contained in demonstrative pronouns—plays a key role.

The distribution of FP =*o* in OT, compared with CT, is more diverse and complex. FP =*o* is more frequent in OT than in CT. However, on

⁶⁵ Heine and Kuteva 2002: 108 and 111.

⁶⁶ Simon 1942: 968–69; and Benedict 1983: 75–76.

the other hand, the cases where FP =*o* occurs at the end of a combination of sentences and clause-chaining constructions is more common in CT than in OT, which is an important distinction. This may imply that FP =*o* still retains more emphasis functions in OT as a demonstrative pronoun but, in CT, it has become more and more empty semantically and the function of presenting emphasis is weakening, as it strengthens the subjectivity of expressing declarative mood, behaving more and more like a mood particle.

According to a cross-linguistic comparison, the grammaticalisation path of 'demonstrative pronoun > emphasis particle > modal particle' is very common in linguistic typology. Chapter 5 of this article provides more reference for the same evolutionary process based on the analysis of several languages in East Asia that may or may not be related to Tibetan. This implies that the similarity and coincidence of the grammaticalisation of the demonstrative pronoun between different languages is not occasional, but lies in cognitive function and linguistic typology.

Abbreviations

ABL	ABLATIVE
ABS	ABSOLUTE
ALL	ALLATIVE
ASRT	ASSERTIVE PARTICLE
AUX	AUXILIARY
CL	CLASSIFIER
CMD	COMMAND (VERB INFLECTION)
CONN	CONNECTIVE
CONV	CONVERB
COP	COPULA
CPL	COMPLETED (ASPECT)
CT	CLASSICAL TIBETAN
DEM	DEMONSTRATIVE
DIP	DISTRIBUTIVE PRONOUNS
EGO	EGOPHORIC
ELA	ELATIVE
EP	EMPHATIC PARTICLE
ERG	ERGATIVE
FACT	FACTUAL
FP	FINAL PARTICLE
FUT	FUTURE (VERB INFLECTION)
GEN	GENITIVE
H	HONORIFIC

IND	INDEFINITE MARKER
INF	INFERENTIAL
LOC	LOCATIVE
MP	MODAL PARTICLE
NDEM	NEUTRAL DEMONSTRATIVE
NMLZ	NOMINALISER
NONP	NON-PAST FORM (VERB INFLECTION)
OT	OLD TIBETAN
NEG	NEGATION
PAST	PAST FORM (VERB INFLECTION)
PERF	PERFECT
PL	PLURAL
PLN	PLACE NAME
PN	PERSON NAME
PRES	PRESENT
PRON	PROPER NOUN
Q	QUESTION PARTICLE
QUOT	QUOTATIVE
RED	REDUPLICATE
SG	SINGULAR
TERM	TERMINATIVE
TOP	TOPIC MARKER
UNC	UNCOMPLETED (ASPECT)

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