

On the Version of the *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* Used in the 18th Century Kalmyk Scrolls *

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The Tibetan collection kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, RAS, includes a number of items acquired by the Library of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences in the 18th century. Kalmyk manuscripts comprise an important part of them, being probably the world's biggest collection of the Kalmyk texts in Tibetan produced at the time. Some of these texts seem to have been found and brought to Saint Petersburg after a significant part of the Kalmyks migrated from the steppe region of southwestern Russia to their historical homeland Dzungaria, in 1771.¹ Without doubt, these are precious documents for the study of the Kalmyk book culture, bilingual from the very beginning as Tibetan was used along with Oirat (Kalmyk).² They can be divided into two main parts: 1) bundles of loose folios³ and 2) scrolls made to be inserted into the Buddhist prayer wheels.

In 2018–2019, two big scrolls of this kind, Tib. 960 and Tib. 963,⁴ were conserved and scrutinized (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: Tib. 960 and Tib. 963 after the conservation

* The study was supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, Project No. 18-012-00457.

¹ This migration is analyzed in-depth in Kolesnik 2003.

² Mongolian was also used but less frequently.

³ Some samples of this type are analyzed in Zorin, Kryakina 2019.

⁴ They were assigned such access numbers in 2014; previously, they had been kept among the unprocessed materials.

It is highly likely that they were listed by Johannes Busse (1763–1835), the librarian of the Saint Petersburg Academy of Sciences, in his addition to the first catalogue of the Academy's collection of Tibetan texts compiled by Johannes Jährig at the end of the 1780s (published in 1796). Busse's list (dated 1798) has the following entry:

25. Ein großes Gebinde von Manuscriptrollen tibätischer Schrift im Gebiete des Donischen Korps in der Erde in ausdrücklich dazu gemachten Hölen von vier Luftlöchern gefunden. Sie lagen in einer Tonne, die in der Erde zwischen 4 Säulen befestigt war und auf Eisengegitter stand, eingeschikt vom Hofrath Steriz und aus der Conferenz erhalten am 20 April 1797.

(25. A large bundle of mss. scrolls in Tibetan script, found in the soil in especially made caves with 4 airshafts, in the Don Voisko [Lands]. They were contained in a drum fastened to 4 columns in the ground and based on an iron grid; submitted by Court Councilor Shterich and received from the Conference⁵ on April 20, 1797.)⁶

The person who passed the bundle to the Academy can be identified. It must be Pyotr Ivanovich Shterich (Šterić), a son of a Serbian noble man who had moved to Russia from Hungary in 1752. He retired from military service in 1794 and lived, up to his move to Saint Petersburg in 1802, in the east of the so-called Novorossiia, a new imperial province of Russia formed in the second half of the 18th century as a result of the Russian-Turkish wars. During that period Pyotr Shterich managed exploration and mining of coal and iron ore in the territory of the present Luhansk Oblast (Ukraine) which then belonged partly to Novorossiia, partly to the Don Voisko Lands. It seems quite plausible that his people could find the drum (praying wheel) hidden in the soil by the Kalmyks who had decided to migrate from Russia and could not take all their sacral objects with them.⁷

It is not clear how many manuscripts the bundle contained. The scrolls Tib. 960 and Tib. 963 fit Busse's description best of all, being the largest items among the Kalmyk manuscripts obviously intended to be inserted into praying wheels or other sacral objects. Moreover, the six parts into which they were dismantled were numbered in the

⁵ The Conference of the Academy of Sciences was the main board of collective discussions of researches and other issues since the foundation of the Academy in Saint Petersburg in 1725.

⁶ Busse's list is edited and annotated in Walravens, Zorin 2016 (this entry is discussed on p. 668–669).

⁷ The Kalmyks took part in the Russian-Turkish wars and a part of them was integrated into the Don Cossack Host, see Maksimov 2016. Another possibility is that the Kalmyks who had lived for a while in the territory of the present Luhansk Oblast migrated for some reasons to another part of south-western Russia, without any connection with the great migration to Dzungaria.

style typical of the Russian documents from the late 18th to early 19th century. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that the “large bundle” could also include some other scrolls that are now held in the IOM RAS although the characteristic Russian numbering on these two items seems to indicate their separate origin.

In 2018 when the project aimed at the study and conservation of these and three other scrolls started,⁸ Tib. 960 consisted of four parts made of 86 sheets in total,⁹ while Tib. 963 consisted of two large parts: the first was made of 71 sheets, the second of 138 sheets, with two more, the only block printed segment, being loosely attached to the latter. At the end of 2019, after a conservation treatment was applied to both scrolls, it turned out that a part of Tib. 960 had been wrongly glued to the larger part of Tib. 963. When all the parts were arranged in a right way both scrolls proved to be complete (apart from minor fragments missing), each consisting of 147 sheets (not to count the above-mentioned block printed appendix attached to Tib. 963 only). A suspicion that it could not be a coincidence was immediately justified. When the uneven lower edges of the sheets of Tib. 960 were placed against the upper edges of the corresponding sheets of Tib. 963 they fitted each other perfectly well (Fig. 2). It means that one large scroll was originally produced but, for some reasons, it was cut into two parts. They were put into the drum as separate scrolls and were lying this way together for some time since their lower parts have traces of serious damage caused by water.

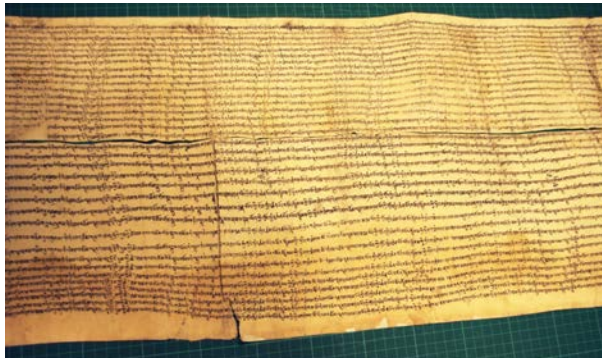


Fig. 2: a part of the initial larger scroll virtually reconstructed

⁸ Headed by Liubov Kryakina, the leading conservator of the IOM RAS; the author of this paper was responsible for the textological study and Svetlana Sabrukova for the digitization. The information about the project is available online: http://www.orientalstudies.ru/rus/collections/tibetica/projects_kalmyk_scrolls.htm. This website is in Russian but it provides links to the complete digital copies of the scrolls.

⁹ The sheets were joined with organic glue.

Each original sheet of paper (now cut into two parts) had a watermark of the Yaroslavl manufactory of Alexey Zatrapeznov dated from the middle of the 18th century (fig. 3).¹⁰ It means the scroll could be indeed produced before the Kalmyk migration from Russia in 1771.

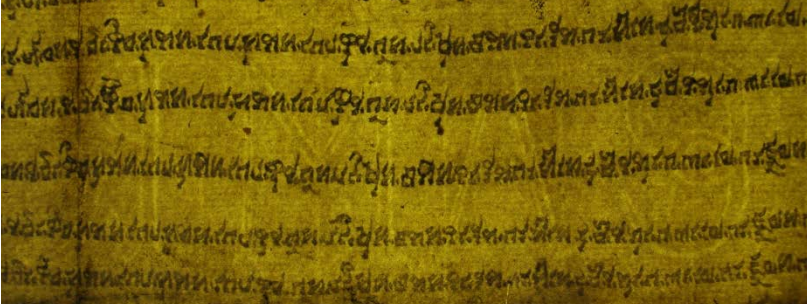


Fig. 3: the watermark with the Cyrillic letters ЯМАЗ
(the Yaroslavl Manufactory of Alexey Zatrapeznov)

Both Tib. 960 and Tib. 963 have traces of “restoration” made in the 18th or early 19th century. Numerous damaged fragments were replaced with new pieces of paper with the corresponding parts of Tibetan text written by another scribe. It would be natural to suggest that such work had to be done by the original owners, i.e. Kalmyks. However, it is more plausible that the “restoration” was made in Saint Petersburg since the pieces of paper used for this matter are not damaged by water and the paper seems to be more characteristic for the late 18th to early 19th century although the fragments are too small to contain any recognizable watermarks. It was definitely possible to find a person in Saint Petersburg who could copy the Tibetan text at the time. The handwriting is rather clumsy sometimes (Fig. 4). Moreover, the fact of the “restoration” carried out by the Kalmyks is more difficult to be explained because it means that they had to take the scrolls out of the drum for some reason and then place them back again.

¹⁰ See Klepikov 1959: 70.

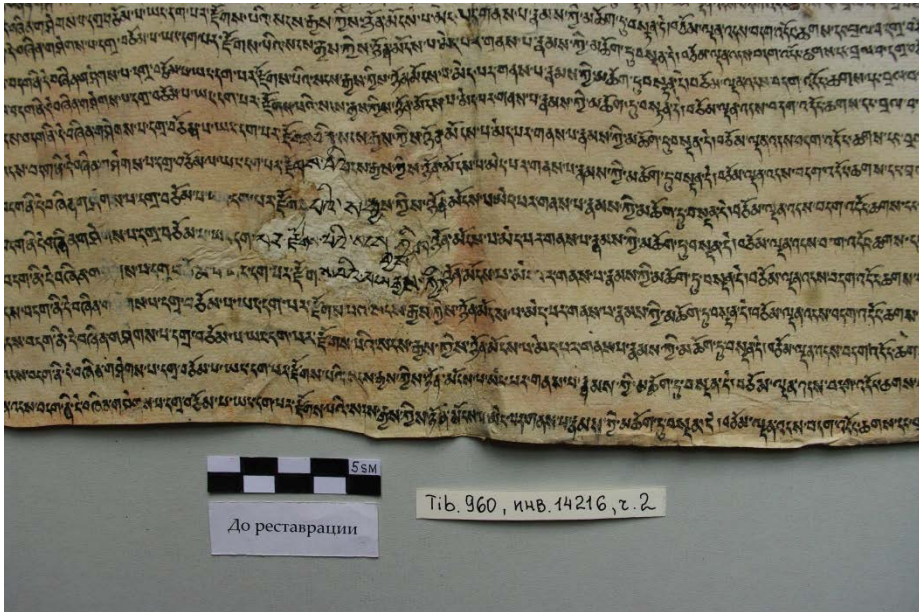


Fig. 4: one of the applications with the rewritten Tibetan text

The original manuscript contained thirty-five copies of *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, each of them occupying one single line of the entire scroll. The upper part of it, Tib. 960, consists of seventeen lines and, therefore, seventeen copies of the Sūtra, while the lower one, Tib. 963, of eighteen lines and eighteen copies. The scrolls in Tibetan with the text arranged like that seem to be rather rare. Apart from highly fragile remnants of three or four similar Kalmyk scrolls kept at the IOM, RAS and the Russian National Library (Saint Petersburg) some Buryat scrolls from the 19th century can be mentioned. But they have a certain difference since they contain several texts, each occupying a single line of the scroll, or one long text that consists of several sections (*bam po*), each occupying a single line.¹¹

It does not mean, though, that a more traditional way of arranging the text when the entire sheets are filled with it sequentially was not used. The IOM RAS holds a few 18th century Kalmyk scrolls of this kind. Several of them are of small size, being made of relatively narrow sheets of paper. But there is another large-formatted scroll,

¹¹ Two examples of such Buryat scrolls produced in the middle of the 19th century were processed within the same project headed by L. Kryakina in 2020. One of them contains *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*, each of its ten sections (*bam po*) occupying an entire line of the scroll, while each of the other ten lines presents a full copy of *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*. The other scroll has twenty-four lines, each of them containing a complete *bam po* of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.

Tib. 960-2, that was conserved and scrutinized in 2020 (Fig. 5).¹² It is composed of five parts: the first four are separate copies of the same Sūtra and the last one contains two copies but the last copy misses the ending so we cannot be sure if it did not have more of them.¹³ Russian paper of several producers was used and all the watermarks found are dated from the middle of the 18th century. Therefore, the scroll was probably produced before 1771, the year of the Kalmyk migration.



Fig. 5: Tib. 960-2 before the conservation

Having thus introduced the unique 18th century Kalmyk scrolls that were revived for the academic and cultural use by the conservation laboratory at the IOM RAS, we can turn to analysis of the text of *Vajracchedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* they contain. When preparing its

¹² These scrolls were mentioned above when the entry No. 25 of Busse's list was discussed. Theoretically, they could have been passed to the Academy by P. Shterich, too. However, I think it is more probable that they were collected independently of that acquisition.

¹³ All the sheets of the five parts were glued one by one, thus composing the scroll. The first part consists of 13 sheets (sheets 1–11 have 17 to 19 lines of the text per each; 12–13: 21 lines), the second of 11 sheets (1–7: 17 to 18 lines; 8–11: 21 lines), the third of 10 sheets (1–3: 17 to 19 lines; 4–10: 21 to 23 lines), the fourth of 9 sheets (1–7: 21 to 23 lines; 8–9: 25 and 24 lines), and of the last one only 21 sheets are found (1–15, 17: 17 to 19 lines; 16: 23 lines; 18–21: 22 lines).

transliteration, I realized it was different at certain points from the text found in the major block printed editions of the *Bka' gyur*. From my previous studies of some other Kalmyk manuscripts I knew that the Kalmyk scribes had made copies of *Vajracchedikā* in *pothi* format using for that purpose one of the versions of the *Mdo mang* collection produced in Tibet. Such copies are marked with the Tibetan letter *dza* in the margins while *Vajracchedikā* has this number in the structure of all known versions of this collection of texts that are believed to have a magical protective power. Therefore, I checked the text of *Vajracchedikā* included in the wide-spread *Mdo mang* collection produced in Kumbum monastery in the 18th century¹⁴ and made sure that the text of the scrolls basically followed its version. The text found in the even more famous *Gzungs bsdus* collection first compiled by Tāranātha Kun dga' snying po (1575–1634) is identical with that of the *Mdo mang*. However, it turned out that the text of the scrolls has some essential discrepancies with this version, too. Some of the points of difference between the versions found in the canon¹⁵ (including certain minor differences between the canonical editions), the *Mdo mang*/*Gzungs bsdus* and the Kalmyk scrolls are presented in the table below. The full list would take several pages, therefore I selected only the most significant points and added to them several secondary but representative points of difference.

	Bka' gyur (Dpe bsdur ma)	Mdo mang (Kumbum)	Tib. 963
1	chos gos bgos te page 327: line 9 ¹⁶	chos gos sku la gsol te folio 2a1	sheet 2
2	missing p. 328: l. 2 ¹⁷	de zas phyi ma'i bsod snyoms spangs pas f. 2a3	s. 3
3	zhal bsil te p. 328: l. 2	f. 2a4	zhabs bsil te s. 3

¹⁴ Available on the website of the Buddhist Digital Research Center (BDRC): <https://www.tbrc.org/#!/rid=W22348>.

¹⁵ The modern synoptic edition prepared in Beijing (Dpe bsdur ma 2006–2009) was used, where the Derge edition is taken as the basic texts and discrepancies with other editions are provided in a special list (*bsdur mchan*), the relevant ones are used by me in the footnotes. At certain points, when I was not sure in the correctness of the synoptic text, I consulted the original editions.

¹⁶ Note 8: Zhol: chos gos sku la gsol te.

¹⁷ Note 3: Zhol: +nas zas phyi ma'i bsod snyoms spangs pas.

4	blta'am p. 330: l. 19, etc.	blta bar bya snyam mam f. 4a5, etc.	s. 16, etc.
5	mi lta'o p. 330: l. 20 ¹⁸	blta bar mi bgyi lags so f. 4a6, etc.	s. 16, etc.
6	brgya stong du ma p. 331: l. 20 ¹⁹	'bum phrag du ma f. 5a1-2	s. 21
7	'dzin par 'gyur ro p. 335: l. 3, etc. ²⁰	'dzin par 'gyur lags so f. 7a3-4, etc.	s. 35, etc.
8	missing p. 335: l. 10	bcom ldan 'das gal te lan cig phyir 'ong ba 'di snyam du bdag gis lan cig phyir 'ong ba'i 'bras bu thob bo snyam du sems par gyur na de nyid de'i bdag tu 'dzin par 'gyur lags so sems can du 'dzin pa dang srog tu 'dzin pa dang gang zag du 'dzin par 'gyur lags so f. 7a6-7b1	s. 36-37
9	missing p. 343: l. 20	'di'i rnam par smin pa yang bsam gyis mi khyab pa nyid du rig par bya'o f. 13a2	s. 78
10	dper na mi zhig lus p. 348: l. 4	dper na skyes bu zhig mi'i lus f. 16a1	s. 98
11	sems kyi rgyud sems kyi rgyud ces bya ba ni de rgyud med p. 350: l. 4-5 ²¹	sems kyi rgyun sems kyi rgyun zhes bya ba ni de rgyun med f. 17a5-17a6	s. 108
12	de la mi mnyam pa gang yang med pas des na bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub ces bya'o bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub ni bdag med	de la mi mnyam pa dang mnyam pa gang yang med pas des na bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub ces bya'o bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang	mi mnyam pa gang yang med pas sems can med pa ²² gang zag med par mnyam pa ste dge ba'i chos de dag thams cad mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas so

¹⁸ Note 15: G.yung, Pe, Snar, Zhol: mi blta'o.

¹⁹ Note 11: Snar, Zhol: brgya stong mang po.

²⁰ Note 2: Snar, Zhol: 'dzin par 'gyur lags so.

²¹ Notes 3-5: Snar, Zhol: [—] sems kyi rgyun ces / zhes bya ba ni de rgyun med.

²² Tib. 960-2 (as well as Tib. 980, No. 3 which is touched upon at the end of the paper) adds here srog med pa.

	pa dang sems can med pa dang srog med pa dang gang zag med par mnyam ste dge ba'i chos thams cad kyis mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya'o p. 352: l. 10–15 ²³	chub de ni bdag med pa dang sems can med pa dang srog med pa dang gang zag med par mnyam pa ste dge ba'i chos thams cad kyis mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas so f. 18b6–19a2	s. 119
13	phung po 'di la bsod nams kyi phung po snga ma des brgya'i char yang [Mdo mang: +nye bar] mi phod pa nas rgyu'i bar du yang mi bzod p. 353: l. 1–2 ²⁵	f. 19a4–19a5	phung po snga ma des brgya'i char yang nye bar mi 'gro ba nas rgyu'i bar du yang med(sic!) ²⁴ bzod s. 121
14	srog tu 'dzin pa dang gang zag tu 'dzin par 'gyur ro p. 353: l. 9	f. 19b1	gang zag tu 'dzin pa dang srog tu 'dzin par 'gyur ro s. 123
15	byang chub sems dpas p. 355: l. 1 ²⁶	f. 20b4	byang chub sems dpa' rnam kyis s. 131
16	gal te tshogs p. 355: l. 17	gal te rdul phra rab kyi tshogs f. 21a3	gal te rdul gyi tshogs s. 134
17	chos su 'du shes p. 357: l. 2	chos su 'du shes f. 22a1	chos su 'du shes s. 141
18	blangs nas 'dzin tam klog gam p. 357: l. 6–7	bris nas 'dzin tam gam f. 22a3	'chang ngam klog gam s. 142

The table shows that there are discrepancies of several types characterized with:

²³ Notes 4–5: Snar, Zhol: <...> byang chub de ni bdag med <...> mnyam pa ste <...>.

²⁴ Tib. 960-2 has *mi*.

²⁵ Note 1: Snar, Zhol: <...> yang nye bar mi bzod.

²⁶ Note 2: G.yung, Pe: byang chub sems dpa'.

- 1) use of synonyms (1, 6, 10, 11);
- 2) use of words with different meanings (3);
- 3) different arrangement of words in sentences (14);
- 4) small lexical additions/omissions (4, 5, 7, 15, 16, 17, 18);
- 5) additions/omissions of longer phrases and sentences (2, 8, 9);
- 6) combination of several types (12, 13).

The issue of the interrelation between the three versions has proved very complicated. The use of other available sources for their comparison helped to solve it only to a certain extent as will be shown below.

The canonical version is used consistently in the fragments of the Sūtra quoted in one of the two commentaries on *Vajracchedikā* found in the *Bstan 'gyur*, namely *Saptadārthaṭīkā* (*Don bdun gyi rgya cher 'grel pa*) ascribed to Vasubandhu. I could not find any cases when the quotations did not follow the canonical version.

The other *Ṭīkā* (*Rgya cher 'grel pa*), composed by Kamalaśīla,²⁷ shows a different approach. Its quotations of the Sūtra are of mixed character: while several major points in the last third (approximately) of the text correspond with the canonical version, there are many cases in the preceding part when another version is represented. It is not easy to identify clearly this version. First of all, it provides a third verb (neither *bgos* nor *gsol*) for the point 1 of the table: *chos gos mnabs* (f. 206b6). It does not provide a direct quotation for the point 3 of the table but its discussion of the relevant fragment shows that the author meant the feet (*zhabs*), not the face (*zhal*), that being characteristic for the Kalmyk scrolls in comparison with the *Mdo mang* version. The other points of the difference between the Kalmyk and *Mdo mang* versions (points 12–15 of the table) are the cases which either are not quoted in the *Ṭīkā* or follow the canonical version.

According to the colophon of Kamalaśīla's *Ṭīkā*, it was translated by Mañjuśrī, Jinamitra and Ye shes sde. The colophon of *Vajracchedikā* does not contain any information about its translators. However, the *dkar chag* of the Derge *Bka' 'gyur* attributes it to Śilendrabodhi and Ye shes sde, the same 8th century Tibetan lotsāwa who was mentioned above as one of the translators of the *Ṭīkā*, i.e. he is called the translator of the two texts which have a number of mutual discrepancies! The Derge *dkar chag* seems to be the earliest text that

²⁷ This *Ṭīkā* follows ideologically Vasubandhu's commentary, see the analysis of both of them along with a condensed versified commentary attributed to Āsaṅga in Tucci 1956: 39–171.

provides data on the translators of *Vajracchedikā*,²⁸ without any reference to its source. It also adds that a revised version (*skad gsar bcad kyi bcas pa*) was used. Bu ston rin chen grub (1290–1364), in the third part of his *Chos 'byung*, does not mention the names of the translators of *Vajracchedikā* but also informs us about a revised version (the same expression *skad gsar bcad kyi bcas pa* is used).²⁹ Even though the Derge editors could mean a newly revised version it had to be based on the text from the canonical collection codified by Bu ston. The text of the 18th century Narthang edition of the *Bka' 'gyur* could keep some traces of the earlier revision of the text, its minor discrepancies from the Derge version being generally closer to the Mdo mang version (see some examples in the footnotes to the table presented above).³⁰

If the initial *unrevised* version of the Sūtra is extant it must be found among the Dunhuang manuscripts in Tibetan dated from the 9th to 10th century. The A. Stein collection preserved at the British Library has a complete manuscript of *Vajracchedikā* (IOL Tib J 170) and fragments of four different manuscripts (IOL Tib J 100, 173, 174, 617)³¹ that are, nevertheless, seem to represent one version which is different from that of IOL Tib J 170. The latter is basically identical with the version reflected in Kamalaśīla's *Ṭīkā*³² and, therefore, it can certainly be the translation made by Ye shes sde (and Śīlendrabodhi). The table below shows the same eighteen points of the text as they are treated in IOL Tib J 170.

No.	IOL Tib J 170	F.	Version
1	chos gos gsol te	[58]a4	→ KS/Zhol (chos gos sku la gsol te)
2	missing	[58]b1	Derge/Narthang
3	zhabs bsll te	[58]b1	KS
4	blta bar bya snyam 'am	61a2–3	DM/KS
5	blta bar myi bgyi lags so	61a3	DM/KS
6	'bum phrag du ma	62a4	DM/KS

²⁸ Available on the website of the BDRC: <https://www.tbrc.org/#!/rid=W30532>, Vol. 103, f. 18b3–18b4. The *dkar chags* of other block printed editions do not provide such an information.

²⁹ Available on the website of the BDRC: <https://www.tbrc.org/#!/rid=W1NLM532>, f. 162b6.

³⁰ The latest block-printed edition made in Lhasa/Zhol most often follows the Narthang *Bka' 'gyur* but, eloquently enough, suggests *chos gos sku la gsol te* for the point 1.

³¹ They are catalogued in de la Vallée Poussin 1962.

³² It is different in regard of point 1 for which *Ṭīkā* uses the verb *mnabs*.

7	'dzin par 'gyur lags so	66a1, etc.	Narhang/DM/KS
8	missing	66a4	Derge/Narhang
9	missing	75a2	Derge/Narhang
10	dper na myi zhid lus	79b2	Derge/Narhang
11	sems kyI rgyun sems kyI rgyun ces bya ba ni de rgyun myed	81b3-4	DM/KS (→ Narhang)
12	de la myi mnyam ba gang yang myed pas des na bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang cub ces bya'o bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang cub de ni bdag myed pa dang [<i>sems can myed pa dang</i>] srog myed pa dang gang zag myed par mnyam ba ste dge ba'I chos thams cad kyis mngon bar rdzogs par 'tshang rgya'o	84a3- 84b1	→ Derge/Narhang (the missing part is put in the square brackets; it could be omitted by the scribe mistakenly)
13	phung po 'di la bsod nams kyI phung po snga ma des brgya'I char yang myi phod pa nas rgyu'I bar du yang myI bzod	84b4	Derge/Narhang/DM
14	srog tu 'dzin pa dang gang zag tu 'dzin par 'gyur ro	85a3	Derge/Narhang/DM
15	byang chub sems dpa's	87a2	Derge/Narhang/DM
16	gal te tshogs	88a1	Derge/Narhang
17	chos su 'du shes chos su 'du shes	89a4	Derge/Narhang/DM
18	blangs nas 'dzind tam klog gam	89b2	Derge/Narhang

As for the four Dunhuang fragments they do not have parts that overlap each other and so we cannot be sure if they really represent one and the same version of the Sūtra. However, one thing seems convincing. Each of the four items has inversions: IOL Tib J 174: *de'I tshe gal te vs gal te de'i tshe*, *'di la rab 'byor vs rab 'byor 'di la*; IOL Tib J 617: *de dag ni vs ni de dag*,³³ *ri rab rI 'i rgyal po vs ri'i rgyal po ri rab*, *chos nyId du ni sangs rgyas blta' vs sangs rgyas rnames ni chos nyid blta*; IOL

³³ KS has such an inversion, too.

Tib J 173: *gal te | bcom ldan vs bcom ldan gal te* (twice); IOL Tib J 100: *de 'di lta ste dper na rab 'byor vs rab 'byor 'di lta ste dper na*. In spite of these inversions and some other peculiarities, I believe it was a (more archaic?) variation of the same translation as the one found in IOL Tib J 170 rather than a completely different translation. The appendix to this paper contains an (artificially) reconstructed part of this translation juxtaposed to the later three versions. Its analysis shows that the (archaic?) version probably had no influence on the further transmission of the Tibetan *Vajracchedikā*.³⁴ It was the other version found in Dunhuang (represented in IOL Tib J 170 and Kamalaśīla's *Ṭīkā*) that served as a basic text for its further development.

It is impossible to say when exactly the three later versions of Tibetan *Vajracchedikā* appeared. In the Khara-Khoto collection of Tibetan texts kept at the IOM RAS there is an incomplete manuscript of *Vajracchedikā*³⁵ that must be dated from the 12th to 14th century. The extant folios³⁶ show that the manuscript contains a mixed version that combine features of the later canonical and *Mdo mang* / Kalmyk scrolls versions as well as some other features not attested in them. It is presently impossible to say if the Khara-Khoto manuscript reflects a transitory stage between IOL Tib J 170 and the *Mdo mang* / Kalmyk versions, mainly because it lacks too many folios with significant fragments of the text. Among the uncommon features of the manuscript the use of the verb *mnabs* (just as in Kamalaśīla's *Ṭīkā*) for point 1 of the table cannot be overlooked.³⁷

From the information recorded in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* we can assume that the revised version of the translation of *Vajracchedikā* existed in the 14th century already. Perhaps, it was the version that is known to us now, probably in a modified way, as the text included in

³⁴ However, I need to point out that there are several cases when minor specific details found in this version are also detected in the *Mdo mang* version and/or Kalmyk scrolls, the most important example being the order of words in the phrase *chos rnamshes bya ba de dag ni* (see the Appendix, IOL Tib J 617: n1a3 and the corresponding fragment of Tib. 963) vs *chos rnamshes zhes bya ba ni de dag* found in other versions.

³⁵ The fragment was divided between two items, XT-168 and XT-178, the latter having more folios. Two other items, XT-36 that consists of two folios and XT-191 that is just one half of a folio, are very small fragments of different copies of the *Sūtra*. The diplomatic edition of all these texts is included in the Catalogue of the Tibetan texts from Khara-Khoto kept at the IOM RAS that has been compiled by Alla Sizova, Anna Turanskaya and myself (the project is supported by the Russian Foundation for Basic Research, No.18-012-00386).

³⁶ The following folios are present: 2, 3, 7, 8, 13, 18–25, 27, 29, 32–39 and the last folio that has no number. Between f. 39 and the last one about two-fifths of the text had to exist.

³⁷ The preceding parts of the sentence are rearranged: *chos gos dang sham thabs mnabs vs sham thabs dang chos gos bgos/sku la gsol*.

the Narthang edition of the *Bka' 'gyur*. The editors of the Derge edition could take it and add some more changes or use a version that had been already modified.

It is tempting to make a link between the version found in the *Mdo mang* collection and translational activities of Zhalu Lotsāwa Chos skyong bzang po who edited the first block printed edition of this collection.³⁸ It was Chos skyong bzang po who finalized and edited the first of the above-mentioned canonical commentaries on *Vajracchedikā* ascribed to Vasubandhu. The colophon of this text states that it was mostly translated by “the all-knowing Gzhon nu dpal, the fourth hierarch of the Zhwa dmar sect” and the translation was completed by Chos skyong bzang po who, “having found an Indian manuscript of the work and comparing the book with the analogous expressions in the commentary of Kamalaśīla, endeavoured to correct the irregular forms and the disputed sentences or those somehow not perfectly translated”.³⁹ Thus, Chos skyong bzang po both edited the *Mdo mang* collection and had an access to some Sanskrit manuscripts related to *Vajracchedikā*. The problem is that the translation of *Saptadārthaṭīkā* keeps fidelity to the canonical version of the Sūtra. A closer investigation of his *Mdo mang* kept at the Bodleian Library may shed light on the circumstances of its compilation. Perhaps, Chos skyong bzang po could prepare a revised version of the Tibetan *Vajracchedikā* on the basis of the extant translation and with use of some Sanskrit manuscript(s).

It is as difficult to say when the version found in the Kalmyk scrolls came to being and whether it was derivative of the *Mdo mang* version or they two developed independently, being based on some older modification of the translation ascribed to Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde. According to the additional versified colophon found in the Kalmyk scroll Tib. 960-2, there was some block printed edition of *Vajracchedikā* which the Kalmyk scribes used when making this scroll.⁴⁰ If it can be found somewhere⁴¹ it may provide us with some

³⁸ This book was described in Meisezahl 1968.

³⁹ The complete English translation of the colophon was made by G. Tucci, see Tucci 1956: 16–17.

⁴⁰ All the copies of *Vajracchedikā* found in Tib. 960-s have orthographical mistakes but since they are written by different scribes and, therefore, have different mistakes it allowed me to edit the text of the colophon as follows: *rdo rje gcod pa'i spar shing bsgrubs pa las | mthun rkyen 'grub par byed pas lus can rnams | rje btsun byams pa mgon po'i zhabs drung du | theg chen chos kyi dpal la sbyor [sbyong] bar [spyod par] shog | dam pa'i chos la cung zad blo sbyongs [sbyangs] pa'i | rab 'byams blo bzang zhes bya sbyin bdag byas | yig mkhan dge slong blo bzang 'phrin las dang | rkos mkhan dge tshul blo bzang la sogs pa'i | 'e cel [cil; ci'al] tsa'i gnyis su spar du bsgrubs | 'di yi dge bas bdag gzhan 'gro ba kun | shi 'phos gyur pa mod la dga' ldan du | chos kyi mthong ba'i khang bzang der skyes nas | mi pham chos kyi sras kyi thu bor shog | dge ba*

additional information on the text it used.

One more puzzling aspect is provided by another 18th or early 19th century Kalmyk copy of *Vajracchedikā* made in the pothi format (Tib. 980, No. 3) that contains the same text as the scrolls but marks it with the marginal number *dza*, thus referring to the structure of the *Mdo mang* collection. Although it could be a mechanical combination of two textual traditions we cannot rule out that the Kalmyks had in their possession some *Mdo mang* where the version of *Vajracchedikā* found in the Kalmyk scrolls was represented.

In the end, I would like to note that, according to my initial research, it was the *Mdo mang* version of *Vajracchedikā* that was most often used for the production of separate editions or manuscripts of the Sūtra. The collection of the IOM RAS has a big number of such separate books. Working on this paper, I checked some of them rather randomly and the texts I consulted turned out to contain this version of *Vajracchedikā*. Perhaps, the more thorough investigation that is planned by me for 2022/23 will bring some alternative results. However, a recent detailed study of separate editions of some other sūtras kept at the IOM RAS⁴² showed that their canonical versions were not used as frequently as one could expect, many texts following some other textual traditions. Therefore, it is not a surprise that the separate editions of *Vajracchedikā* can often differ from the versions found in the *Bka' 'gyur*.

The study of local traditions of making books in Tibetan such as the virtually unknown early Kalmyk tradition can prove productive for dealing with various textological problems connected with the transmission of Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts.

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'di yis skye bo kun | bsod nams ye shes tshogs bsags shing | bsod nams ye shes las byung bas | dam pa sku gnyis thob par shog | sher phyin 'di yis yi ge klog byed rnam | sher phyin chos kyi dpal la sbyong bar [spyod par] shog | rdo rje gcod pa 'di yis klog byed rnam | rdo rje 'chang gi go 'phang myur thob shog | | |. The colophon copied from the block print contains the names of people involved in its production and the place where it took place (see also the next footnote) but the first copy of the text is concluded with an additional remark *lub bzang bi chi pe* ("written by Lubzang") that obviously records the name of the Kalmyk scribe!

⁴¹ It is not clear where and when it was produced. The place of the production is mentioned in the following line: *'e cel* (or *cil*) *tsa'i gnyis su spar du bsgrubs*. However, I do not know so far how to identify the name *'e cel* (*cil*) *tsa* (?) and what the word *gnyis* ('two') means here exactly.

⁴² It was done for the collective work Zorin, Sabrukova, Sizova 2020.

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Appendix. The archaic version of the Tibetan translation of *Vajracchedikā* as can be partly reconstructed from the four Dunhuang fragments preserved at the British Library,⁴³ and compared with three later versions of the Sūtra

BL	Text according to Dunhuang mss	Text according to the Derge Bka' 'gyur, Mdo mang of Kumbum (DM) and Kalmyk scrolls (KS) ⁴⁴
IOL Tib J 174 (ms I): f. 6	[a1] @ myi gnas par sbyin ba sbyin no ci la yang myi gnas par sbyin ba sbyin no gzugs la yang myi gnas par < <i>sbyin</i> > ⁴⁵	[330 lines 3–16] [3b5]<...> mi gnas par sbyin pa sbyin no [par bya'o] <u>chos</u> [ci] la yang mi gnas par sbyin pa sbyin no [par bya'o] gzugs la'ang [la yang] mi gnas par sbyin
	[a2] ba sbyin no sgra dang dri dang ro dang reg bya dang chos la yang myi gnas par sbyin ba sbyin no rab 'byor ji ltar ⁴⁶ mtshan mar 'du	pa sbyin no [par bya'o] [+de bzhin du] sgra dang dri dang ro dang reg bya dang chos [3b6] la yang mi gnas par sbyin pa sbyin no [par bya'o] rab 'byor ci nas [+kyang] mtshan mar 'du
	[a3] shes pa yang myi gnas par de ltar byang chub sems dpa' sbyin ba sbyin no de ci'i phyir zhe na rab 'byor byang chub sems	shes pa la'ang [la yang] mi gnas pa [par] de ltar [4a1] byang chub sems dpas sbyin ba sbyin no de ci'i phyir zhe na rab 'byor byang chub sems

⁴³ All the digital images are freely available on the website of the International Dunhuang Project: <http://idp.bl.uk/> (access 09.12.2020).

⁴⁴ The canonical text is used as the basic one, the punctuation marks being put in accordance with it; discrepancies with the *Mdo mang* and Kalmyk versions are put in the brackets: if these two have the same reading no abbreviations are used, if they are different the letters DM or KS specify which version is meant.

⁴⁵ The left edge of the folio is a little damaged and it is not clear if this syllable was written — it is more likely that it was missing. The syllables that could be supposedly found on the damaged parts of the Dunhuang manuscripts are marked (in both columns 2 and 3) in italics.

⁴⁶ Significant points of difference between the Dunhuang mss and the three later versions of the text are marked in bold: the Dunhuang mss basically correspond better with the Derge edition but, sometimes, they have closer parallels with DM/KS, in all these cases (i.e. if at least one of the three versions has the same text as the Dunhuang mss) the relevant fragments are not marked in bold.

	[a4] dpa' gang myi gnas par sbyin ba sbyin ba de'i bsod nams kyi phung po'i tshad ni rab 'byor tshad gzung du sla ba ma yIn no	dpa' gang mi gnas par sbyin pa sbyin pa de'i bsod nams kyi phung po ni rab 'byor tshad gzung bar sla ba ma yin pa'i phyir ro
	[b1] rab 'byor 'di ji snyam du sems shar phyogs kyi nam ka'I tshad gzung bar sla 'am rab 'byor gyis gsol pa bcom ldan	rab 'byor 'di ji snyam du sems [4a2] shar phyogs kyi nam mkha' [mkha'i] tshad gzung bar sla'am [snyam mam] rab 'byor gyis gsol pa bcom ldan
	[b2] 'das de ma lags so bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa' de bzhin du lho dang nub dang byang dang steng dang 'o<g gi?>	'das de ni ma lags so bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa [+rab 'byor] de bzhin du lho dang nub [4a3] dang byang dang steng ⁴⁷ dang 'og gi
	[b3] phyogs dang phyogs mtshams dang phyogs bcu'I nam mkha'i tshad gzung bar sla 'am rab 'byor gyis gsol pa	phyogs dang phyogs mtshams dang phyogs bcu'i nam mkha' [mkha'i] tshad gzung [DM: bzung] bar sla'am [snyam mam] rab 'byor gyis gsol pa
	[b4] bcom ldan 'das de ma lags so bcom ldan 'das kyIs bka' stsal pa' rab 'byor de bzhIn te	bcom ldan 'das de ni ma lags so bcom [4a4] ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa rab 'byor de bzhin du
	<...>	<...>
IOL Tib J 174 (ms I): f. 10	[a1] bdag tu 'dzIn par gyur to sems can du 'dzIn pa dang srog tu 'dzIn pa dang gang zag tu 'dzIn par gyur to gal	[332 l. 13 – 333 l. 4] [5b1] <...> bdag tu 'dzin par 'gyur zhing sems can du 'dzin pa dang srog tu 'dzin pa dang gang zag tu 'dzin par 'gyur ba'i phyir ro gal
	[a2] te chos ma yIn bar 'du shes 'jug na de nyid de dag gi bdag tu 'dzIn par gyur to sems can du 'dzin pa dang	te chos [+bdag] med par [5b2] 'du shes 'jug na yang de nyid de dag gi [DM: gis] bdag tu 'dzin par 'gyur zhing sems can du 'dzin pa dang

⁴⁷ Tib.960 and Tib.960-3 has *ste* here but Tib.960-2 has *steng*.

	[a3] srog tu 'dzin pa dang gang zag tu 'dzIn par 'gyur to de ci'i phyir zhe na rab 'byor chos kyang gzung bar myi bya ste	srog tu 'dzin pa dang gang zag tu 'dzin par 'gyur ba'i phyir ro de ci'i phyir zhe na <u>yang</u> [—] rab 'byor byang chub [5b3] sems dpas chos kyang log par gzung [DM: bzung] bar mi bya ste
	[b1] chos ma yIn bar yang ma yIn no de bas na de las dgongs te de bzhin gshegs pas kyang chos kyi rnam grangs gzings lta bur she<s>	chos ma yin pa yang mi gzung [DM: bzung] ba'i phyir ro de bas na de la [las] dgongs te de bzhin gshegs pas chos kyi rnam grangs [+di] gzings lta bur shes
	[b2] pa rnam kyis chos rnam kyang spang bar bya na chos ma yIn ba rnam lta ci smos shes bshad do gzhan yang bcom ldan	pa rnam kyis [5b4] chos rnam kyang spang bar bya na chos ma yin pa rnam lta ci smos zhes gsungs so gzhan yang bcom ldan
	[b3] 'das kyis tshe dang ldan ba rab 'byor la 'di skad ces bka' stsal to rab 'byor 'di ci snyam du sems de bzhin gshegs	'das kyis tshe dang ldan pa rab 'byor la 'di skad ces bka' stsal to rab 'byor 'di ji snyam du [5b5] sems de bzhin gshegs
	[b4] pas bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang cub tu gang yang mngon bar rdzogs par sangs sam de bzhin gshegs	<u>pas</u> [DM: pa'i] gang bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub [+tu] mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa'i chos de gang yang yod dam [snyam mam] de bzhin gshegs
	<...>	<...>
IOL Tib J 100 (ms II): section 2 ⁴⁸	[a1] myed do de 'di lta ste dper na rab 'byor skyes bu mun par zhugs pa lta gang dngos por lhu<ng>	[342 l. 21 – 343 l. 9] [12a6] med do rab [12b1] 'byor 'di lta ste dper na mig dang ldan pa'i mi zhig mun par zhugs nas [DM: na] ci yang mi mthong ba de bzhin du gang dngos por lhung

⁴⁸ It is a single folio of a concertina book; section 1 belongs to a different text.

	[a2] bas sbyin ba yongs su gthong ba'I byang cub sems dpa'r blta'o de 'di lta ste dper na rab 'byor	bas sbyin pa yongs su gtong ba'i byang chub sems <u>dpar</u> [dpa'] blta'o [bar bya'o] [+yang] rab [12b2] 'byor 'di lta ste dper na
	[a3] myIg dang ldan ba'I skyes bus nam n(!)angs te nyi ma shar nas gzugs rnam pa mang po mthong ba de	nam langs te nyi ma shar <u>na</u> [nas] mig dang ldan pa'i mis gzugs rnam pa sna tshogs dag mthong ba de
	[a4] bzhIn du gang dngos por ma lhung bas byin yong-su gthong ba'i byang cub sems par blta'o	bzhin du gang dngos por ma lhung bas sbyin pa yongs su gtong ba'i byang chub sems [12b3] <u>dpar</u> [dpa'] blta'o [bar bya'o]
	[a5] yang rab 'byor rigs kyl bu 'am rigs kyi bu mo chos kyI rnam grangs 'di 'dzin pa	yang rab 'byor rigs kyi bu'am rigs kyi bu mo gang dag chos kyi rnam grangs 'di len pa dang 'dzin pa
	[a6] dang 'chang ba dang klog pa dang kun chub par byed pa dang gzhan dag la yang rgyas par rab tu ston <pa>	dang [+ 'chang ba dang] klog pa dang kun chub par byed pa dang gzhan dag [12b4] la <u>yang</u> [—] rgya cher yang dag par rab tu ston pa
	<...>	<...>
IOL Tib J 174 (ms I): foliation missing	[a1] sems can de dag thams cad bsod nams kyI phung po dpag tu myed pa dang ldan par 'gyur ro bs<od nams kyI phung po>	[344 l. 5–19] [13a5] <...> sems can de dag thams cad ni bsod nams kyI phung po dpag tu med pa dang ldan par 'gyur <u>ro</u> [—] bsod nams kyI phung po
	[a2] mtshungs pa myed pa gzhal du myed tshad myed pa'I bsod nams kyI phung po dang ldan bar 'gyur te sems ca<n ... >	bsam gyis mi khyab pa [13a6] dang mtshungs pa med pa dang gzhal du med pa dang tshad med pa dang ldan par 'gyur te sems can
	[a3] <...> nga'I byang chub phrag pa la thogs <so> par 'gyur ro de cI'I phyir zhe na rab 'byor chu ngu la dad pas cho<s ...>	<i>de dag thams cad</i> nga'i byang chub phrag pa la <u>thogs</u> ⁴⁹ par 'gyur ro de c'i phyir zhe na rab 'byor dman pa la mos [13b1] pa rnams kyis

⁴⁹ Tib.960 and Tib.960-3 has *thob* here but Tib.960-2 has *thogs*.

		chos <i>kyi rnam</i> grangs
	[a 4] <...> mnyan par myi nus bdag tu lta bas ma yIn sems can du lta ba bas ma yIn srog tu lta bas ma yI<n ...>	'di mnyan par mi nus te bdag tu lta ba rnam kyis ma yin sems can du lta ba rnam kyis ma yin srog tu lta ba rnam kyis ma yin [+zhing] <i>gang zag tu lta ba rnam</i> <i>kyis</i>
	[b1] <...> mnyan pa dang 'dzIn pa dang 'chang ba dang klog pa dang kun chub par byed myi nus te de ni gnas myed do	[13b2] mnyan pa dang blang ba dang gzung [DM: bzung] ba dang <u>b</u> klag [klog] pa dang kun chub par byed mi nus te de ni gnas med pa'i phyir ro <i>yang rab 'byor</i>
	[b2] <...> phy<o>gs gang tu mdo sde 'di<'i> ston pa'I phyogs de lha dang myi dang lha ma yIn du bcas pa'I 'jig rten gyI<...>	<i>sa</i> phyogs gang na mdo sde 'di ston pa'i <i>sa</i> phyogs de lha dang mi dang lha ma yin du [13b3] bcas pa'i 'jig rten gyis <i>mchod par</i> [DM: <i>pa</i>] [+ <i>bya bar</i>]
	[b3] 'os par 'gyur ro sa phyogs de phyag 'tshal bar 'os pa da(ng) ⁵⁰ bskor bar byas par 'gy<ur...>	'os par 'gyur ro sa phyogs de phyag bya bar 'os pa dang <u>b</u> skor [DM: skor] ba bya bar 'os par 'gyur te <i>sa phyogs</i>
	[b4] de mchod rten du 'gyur ro rab 'byor rigs kyi bu 'am rigs kyi bu mo gang 'di lta bu'I mdo sde '<...>	de mchod rten lta bur 'gyur ro [+yang] rab 'byor rigs [13b4] kyi bu'am rigs kyi bu mo gang dag 'di lta bu'i mdo sde'i <i>tshig</i>
	<...>	<...>
IOL Tib J 174 (ms I): f. 30	[a1] @ phung pos brgya'I char yang myI chog stong gi char yang brgya' stong gi char yang grangs su (+yang) bgrang ba(r)<'i> yang char yang	[345 l. 13 – 346 l. 4] [14a4] <...> phung po snga mas brgya'i char yang <u>mi phod</u> [nye bar mi 'gro] stong gi cha dang <u>brgya stong gi</u> ['bum gyi] cha dang

⁵⁰ Letters subscribed below are put in brackets.

dper	grangs dang cha [tshad] dang bgrang ba dang dpe
[a2] yang zlar yang rgyur yang myI bzod do rab 'byor de'I tshe gal te rIgs kyI bu 'am rIgs kyI bu mo de dag gis bsod nams	dang zla dang rgyur yang mi bzod do rab 'byor gal te [14a5] de'i tshe rigs kyI bu'am rigs kyI bu mo [+gang] dag bsod nams
[a3] kyI phung po ji tsam rab tu 'dzIn par 'gyur ba' rIgs kyI bu 'am rIgs kyI bu mo de dag gI bsod nams kyi phung	kyi phung po ji snyed rab tu 'dzin par 'gyur ba'i rigs kyI bu'am rigs kyI bu mo de dag gi bsod nams kyi phung
[a4] po ngas bshad na sems can rnam myos par 'gyur te sems 'khrugs par ' ong ngo yang rab 'byor chos kyI nam	po ngas brjod na sems can [14a6] rnam myo myo [myos myos] por 'gyur te [zhing] sems 'khrugs par ' gyur ro yang rab 'byor chos kyI nam
[b1] grangs 'di bsam gyIs myI khyab ste 'di'i nam par smyIn pa yang bsam gyis myi khyab bo de nas bcom ldan	grangs 'di bsam gyis mi khyab ste 'di'i nam par smin pa yang bsam gyis mi khyab par [DM: pa nyid du] rig par bya'o [14b1] de nas bcom ldan
[b2] 'das la tshe dang ldan pa rab 'byor gyis 'di skad ces gsol to bcom ldan 'das byang chub sems dpa'i	'das la tshe dang ldan pa rab 'byor gyis 'di skad ces gsol to bcom ldan 'das byang chub sems dpa'i
[b3] theg pa la yang dag par zhugs pas ji ltar gnas par bgyI ji ltar bsgrub par bgyi ji ltar	theg pa la yang dag par zhugs pas [pa rnam kyis] ji ltar gnas par bgyi [14b2] ji ltar bsgrub par bgyi ji ltar
[b4] sems rab tu gzung bar bgyi bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa di la rab 'byor byang chub sems	sems rab tu gzung [DM: bzung] bar bgyi [+de skad ces gsol pa dang] bcom ldan 'das kyis [+tshe dang ldan pa rab 'byor la 'di skad ces] bka' stsal pa [to] rab 'byor 'di la byang [14b3]

		chub sems
	<...>	<...>
IOL Tib J 617 (ms III): Section 1 (pt. 1) ⁵¹	[n1a1] 'o bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa 'i byang chub de srog myed pa dang sems can myed pa dang gang zag myed	[352 l. 12 – 355 l. 9] [18b6] <...> 'o bla na med pa [19a1] yang dag par rdzogs pa 'i byang chub [DM: +de] ni bdag med pa dang [KS: —] sems can med pa dang srog med pa dang [KS: —] gang zag med
	[n1a2] par mnyam pa ste dge ba 'i chos thams cad kyis mngon bar rdzogs par 'tshang rgya 'o dge ba 'i chos rnam(+s)	par mnyam [+pa] ste dge ba 'i chos [KS: +de dag] thams cad kyis [KS: —] mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya'o [sangs rgyas [19a2] so] rab 'byor dge ba 'i chos rnam
	[n1a3] dge ba 'i chos rnamshes bya ba de dag ni rab 'byor de bzhin gshegs pas chos myed par gsungs te	dge ba 'i chos rnamshes bya ba ni de dag [KS: de dag ni] de bzhin gshegs pas [DM: de dag] chos [KS: +de] med pa nyid du [DM: +de bzhin gshegs pas] gsungs te
	[n1a4] de'i phyir dge ba 'i chos rnamshes bya 'o yang rab 'byor byang chub sems dpa' (+gang) gis stong gsum	des na dge ba 'i chos rnamshes bya 'o yang rab 'byor rigs kyi bu'am rigs kyi [19a3] bu mo gang la la zhig gis stong gsum
	[n1a5] gyi stong chen po 'i 'jlg rten gyi khams kyi ri rab ri 'i rgyal po rnam ji snyed pa de tsam du rin po	gyi stong chen po 'i 'jig rten gyi khams na ri 'i rgyal po ri rab dag ji snyed yod pa de tsam gyi rin po
	[n2a1] che sna bdun gyi phung po mngon bar bsdus te sbyin pa byIn	che sna bdun gyi phung po mngon par bsdus te sbyin pa byin pa bas gang gis shes

⁵¹ It is a fragment of a concertina book (part 1 consists of four segments, part 2 of three segments, no text is missing between them, i.e. they are not two fragments of the book but one split into two parts); section 2 belongs to a different text.

bas gang gIs shes rab kyI pha rol tu	[19a4] rab kyI pha rol tu
[n2a2] phyIn pa 'di las tha na tshIlg bzhi pa'I tshigs su bcad pa tsam bzung nas gzhan dag la yang bstan na	phyin pa 'di las tha na tshig bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa [+gcig] tsam [KS: +yang] bzung nas gzhan [353] dag la yang [DM: +dag par] bstan na
[n2a3] rab 'byor bsod nams kyI phung po 'di la snga ma 'I bsod nams kyI phung pos brgya'i char yang myI phod	rab 'byor bsod nams kyI phung po 'di la <u>bsod nams kyi phung po</u> [KS: —] snga [19a5] ma des brgya'i char yang [+nye bar] mi <u>phod pa</u> [KS: 'gro ba]
[n2a4] pa nas dpe' 'i bar du yang myI bzod do rab 'byor 'di ci snyam du sems de bzhin gshegs pa 'di	nas rgyu' 'i bar du yang <u>mi</u> ⁵² bzod do rab 'byor 'di ji snyam du sems de bzhin gshegs <u>pa</u> [pas] 'di
[n2a5] ltar ngas sems can bkrol lo snyam du dgongs par 'dzin na rab 'byor de ltar myI blta 'o de ci 'i phyir zhe na	snyam du ngas sems can rnams bkrol lo zhes dgongs so snyam na [19a6] rab 'byor <u>de</u> [KS: —] de ltar mi <u>blta'o</u> [DM: lta'o] de ci 'i phyir zhe na
[n2a6] rab 'byor de bzhin gshegs pas bkrol ba'i sems can de dag gang yang myed do rab 'byor gal te	rab 'byor de bzhin gshegs pas gang bkrol ba'i sems can <u>de dag</u> [DM: —] gang yang med pa'i phyir ro rab 'byor gal te
[n3a1] de bzhin gshegs pas sems can gang yang bkrol bar gyur na de nyid de 'I bdag tu 'dzIn par 'gyur to	de bzhin gshegs pas sems can gang la la [19b1] zhig bkrol bar gyur na de nyid de bzhin gshegs pa'i bdag tu 'dzin par 'gyur
[n3a2] sems can du 'dzin pa dang srog tu 'dzIn pa dang gang zag tu 'dzin par 'gyur to rab 'byor b dag tu 'dzIn	sems can du 'dzin pa dang <u>srog tu 'dzin pa dang</u> gang zag [KS: gang zag tu 'dzin pa dang srog] tu 'dzin par 'gyur ro rab 'byor bdag tu

⁵² Tib.960 and Tib.960-3 has *med* here but Tib.960-2 has *mi*.

		'dzin
[n3a3] ces bya ba de 'dzIn pa myed par de bzhin gshegs pa gsung mod kyI byis ba so so 'i skye bo rnams kyIs gzung	ces bya ba ni [19b2] de [DM: —] 'dzin pa med par de bzhin gshegs pas gsungs na de yang byis pa so so 'i skye bo rnams kyis zung [DM: gzung]	
[n3a4] ngo rab 'byor byis ba so so 'I skye bo rnams shes bya ba de dag skye bo myed par de bzhin gshegs pas	ngo rab 'byor byis pa so so 'i skye bo rnams [KS: —] zhes bya ba ni de dag skye bo med par [pa nyid du] de bzhin gshegs pas	
[n3a5] gsungs te de 'i phyir byIs ba so so 'I skye bo rnams shes bya 'o rab 'byor 'dI ci snyam du sems	[19b3] gsungs te des na byis pa so so 'i skye bo rnams zhes bya 'o rab 'byor 'di ji snyam du sems	
[n3a6] mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhIn gshegs par blta 'am rab 'byor gyIs gsol pa'	mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin gshegs par blta' am [bar bya snyam mam] rab 'byor gyis gsol pa	
[n4a1] bcom ldan 'das de ma lags so mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin gshegs par myI blta 'o	bcom ldan [19b4] 'das de ni ma lags te [so] mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin gshegs par mi blta'o [blta bar mi bgyi lags so]	
[n4a2] bcom ldan 'das kyIs bka' stsal pa rab 'byor gal te mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhIn gshe°	bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa rab 'byor [+de de bzhin no] de de bzhin te mtshan phun [19b5] sum tshogs pas de bzhin gshegs par mi blta'o [DM/ KS: blta bar mi bya ste/'o] rab 'byor gal te mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin gshegs	
[n4a3] °gs par blta bar gyur na' 'khor lo sgyur ba'i rgyal po yang de bzhIn	par blta bar gyur na 'khor los [KS: lo] sgyur ba'i rgyal po yang de bzhin [19b6]	

	gshegs par 'gyur te de bas na	gshegs par 'gyur te de bas na
	[n4a4] mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin gshegs par myI blta 'o de nas bcom ldan 'das la tshe	mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin gshegs par <u>mi</u> <u>blta'o</u> [blta bar mi bya'o] de nas bcom ldan 'das [354] la tshe
	[n4a5] dang ldan ba rab 'byor gyIs 'di skad ces gsol to bcom ldan 'das bdag gIs ji ltar bcom	dang ldan pa rab 'byor gyis 'di skad ces gsol to [+bcom ldan 'das [20a1] bdag gis ji ltar] bcom
	[n4a6] ldan 'das kyIs gsungs pa'i don 'tshal pa ltar na mtshan phun sum tshogs pa de bzhin gshg(s)	ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa'i don <u>bdag gis</u> [DM: —]'tshal ba ltar na mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin gshegs
IOL Tib J 617 (ms III): Section 1 (pt. 2)	[n5a1] par myi blta 'o de nas bcom ldan 'das kyIs de 'i tshe tshlg-su bcad pa 'di gsungs so gang rnams nga la	par <u>mi blta'o</u> [blta bar mi bgyi lags so] de nas bcom ldan [20a2] 'das kyis de'i tshe tshigs su bcad pa 'di dag bka' stsal to gang dag nga la
	[n5a2] gzugs su mthong gang dag nga la sgra shes pa' log par spongs par zhugs pa ste skye bo de <?> yIs nga myi	gzugs su mthong gang dag nga la sgrar shes pa log par spong bar [pa'i lam du] <u>zhugs</u> ⁵³ pa ste skye bo de dag nga mi
	[n5a3] mthong chos nyId du ni sangs rgyas blta' 'dren pa rnams ni chos (+kyi) sku chos nyId rig par myI rung ste	mthong sangs [20a3] rgyas rnams ni chos nyid <u>blta</u> [lta] 'dren pa rnams ni chos kyi sku chos nyid <u>rig</u> [shes] par bya min pas
	[n5a4] de dag rnam par shes myi nus rab 'byor 'di ci snyam du sems mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin	de ni rnam par shes mi nus rab 'byor 'di ji snyam du sems mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin

⁵³ Tib.960 and Tib.960-3 has *bzhugs* here but Tib.960-2 has *zhugs*.

[n5a5] gshegs pa bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon bar rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa snyam du	gshegs [20a4] pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i [+byang chub tu mngon par rdzogs par] sangs rgyas so snyam du
[n5a6] 'dzIn na rab 'byor de ltar myi blta 'o rab 'byor mtshan phun sum tshogs pa ni de bzhin gsheg(s)	'dzin na rab 'byor khyod kyis de ltar <u>mi blta</u> [blta bar mi bya] ste rab 'byor mtshan phun sum tshogs pas de bzhin [20a5] gshegs
[n6a1] pa bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa 'i byang chub mngon bar rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa myed do rab 'byor	pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i <u>sangs rgyas kyis bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i</u> [—] byang chub [+tu] mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa med do rab 'byor
[n6a2] byang chub sems dpa 'i theg pa la yang dag par zhugs pa rnam kyIs chos gag kyang rnam par bshig pa 'am	[+khyod] ' di ji [—] snyam du sems [—] byang chub sems dpa 'i theg pa la yang dag par zhugs pa [20a6] rnam kyis chos [+ gang] la la zhi g rnam par bshig <u>gam</u> [pa 'am]
[n6a3] chad pa btags pa snyam du khyod de ltar 'dzin na rab 'byord de ltar myi blta 'o byang chub sems dpa 'I theg pa la yang	chad par btags <u>pa</u> [pa'o] snyam du 'dzin na rab 'byor [+de] de ltar <u>mi blta</u> [blta bar mi bya] ste byang chub sems <u>dpa'i</u> ⁵⁴ theg pa la yang
[n6a4] dag par zhugs pa rnam kyis chos gag kyang rnam par bshig pa 'am chad pa btags pa myed do yang rab 'byord	dag par zhugs pa rnam [20b1] kyis chos gang la [—] yang rnam par bshig pa 'am chad par btags pa med do yang rab 'byor
[n6a5] rigs kyi bu po 'am rIgs kyI bu mo gang gis gang 'ga'I klung gI bye ma snyed kyI 'jig rten gyi khams rin po che sna	rigs kyi bu 'am rigs kyi bu mo gang gis ' jig rten gyi khams gang gā'i ⁵⁵ klung gi bye ma snyed dag rin po che sna [20b2] bdun gyis

⁵⁴ Tib.960 and Tib.960-3 has *dpa'* here but Tib.960-2 has *dpa'i*.

⁵⁵ Tib.960 and Tib.960-3 has *ga+nggā'i* here but Tib.960-2 has *gang gā'i*.

	bdun	
	[n6a6] rab tu gang bar byas te sbyIn ba byin ba bas byang chub sems dpa' gang gIs chos rnam bdag myed skye ba myed pa la	rab tu gang bar byas te sbyin pa byin pa bas byang chub sems dpa' gang <u>zhig</u> [gis] chos <u>rnam</u> [kyi rnam grangs 'di] bdag med cing skye ba med pa la
	[n7a1] bzod pa rab tu thob na de dag de'I gzhi las bso(d) nams kyI phung po ches mang du skyed do yang rab 'byor byang chub	bzod pa thob na de nyid gzhi de las bsod nams kyi [355] phung [20b3] po ches mang du [+grangs med dpag tu med pa] skyed [bskyed] do yang rab 'byor byang chub
	[n7a2] sems dpa' bsod nams kyI phung po kun myI bzung ngo tshe dang ldan ba rab 'byord gyis gsol pa' bcom	sems dpas [KS: dpa' rnam kyis] bsod nams kyi phung po yongs su gzung bar mi bya'o tshe dang ldan pa rab 'byord gyis gsol pa bcom
	[n7a3] ldan 'das byang chub sems dpa'as bsod nams kyI phung po kun bzung bar bgyi 'am bcom ldan 'das kyis	ldan [20b4] 'das byang chub sems dpas bsod nams kyi phung po yongs su gzung bar mi bgyi lags sam bcom ldan 'das kyis
	[n7a4] bka' stsal pa rab 'byord kun bzung mod kyI log par myi bzung ste de'I phyir kun bzung zhes bya'o rab 'byord	bka' stsal pa rab 'byord yongs su gzung mod <u>kyis</u> [KS: kyi] log par mi gzung ste des na [20b5] yongs su gzung ba zhes bya'o [+yang] rab 'byor
	[n7a5] gang la la zhig de bzhIn gshegs pa bzhud dam byon tam bzhengs sam bzhugs sam mnal pa mdzad do zhes	gang la la zhig ' di skad du de bzhin gshegs pa bzhud dam byon tam bzhengs sam bzhugs sam mnal ba mdzad do zhes
	[n7a6] <...> des ngas bshad pa'I don myi shes so de ci'i <phy>i<r zhe na>rab 'b<y>ord de bzhin gshegs pa zhes bya ba ni	<i>de skad</i> [—] <i>zer na</i> des <u>na</u> [—] ngas bshad pa'i [20b6] don mi shes so de ci'i phyir zhe na rab 'byor de bzhin gshegs pa zhes bya ba

		ni
	<...>	<...>
IOL Tib J 173 (ms IV): f. 2	[a1] @ yang rab 'byor rigs kyi bu 'am rigs kyi bu mo gang gis stong gsum gyI stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams kyi sa'i rdul rnams ji snyed	[355 l. 12 – 356 l. 6] [21a1] <...> yang rab 'byor rigs kyi bu'am rigs kyi bu mo gang [+la la zhig] gis stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams na sa'i rdul <u>rnams</u> [—] ji snyed
	[a2] pa de 'di lta ste rdul phra rab kyi tshogs bzhin du phye mar byas na rab 'byor 'di ji snyam du sems rdul phra rab kyi tshogs	yod pa de dag [21a2] 'di lta ste dper na rdul phra rab kyi tshogs bzhin du phye mar byas na rab 'byor 'di ji snyam du sems rdul phra rab kyi tshogs
	[a3] de mang ba yin nam rab 'byor gyis gsold pa bcom ldan 'das de de bzhin te rdul phra rab kyi tshogs de mang ba lags so	de mang ba yin <u>nam</u> [snyam mam] rab 'byor gyis gsol <u>pa</u> [DM: ba] bcom ldan 'das de de [21a3] lta [lta] lags te rdul phra rab kyi <u>tshogs</u> [chos] de mang <u>ba</u> [KS: —] lags so
	[a4] (de ci'i slad du zhe na gal te) bcom ldan 'das de dag tshogs lags na bcom ldan 'das kyis rdul phra rab kyi tshogs shes bka' myi stsald to de ci 'i slad du	de ci'i slad du zhe na bcom ldan 'das gal te [DM: +rdul phra rab kyi; KS: +rdul gyi] tshogs shig mchis par gyur na bcom ldan 'das kyis rdul phra rab kyi tshogs zhes [21a4] bka' mi <u>stsal</u> [DM: stsol] ba'i [KS: pa'i] slad du'o de ci'i slad du
	[b1] zhe na bcom ldan 'das kyis gang rdul phra rab kyi tshogs su gsungs pa de tshogs ma mcis par de bzhin gshegs pas gsung+ste de bas na rdul phra rab kyi	zhe na bcom ldan 'das <u>kyis</u> [DM: kyi] rdul phra rab kyi tshogs zhes gang gsungs pa de tshogs ma mchis par de bzhin gshegs <u>pas</u> [DM: pa'i] gsungs pa'i slad du ste des na rdul phra rab [21a5] kyi

	[b2] tshogs shes bgyi'o gang de bzhin gshegs pas stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams su gsungs pa de khams	tshogs zhes [356] bgyi'o de bzhin gshegs pas stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams zhes gang gsungs pa de khams
	[b3] ma mchis par de bzhin gshegs pas gsungs te de bas na stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams shes bgyi'o	ma mchis par de bzhin gshegs pas gsungs te des na stong gsum gyi stong [21a6] chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams zhes bgyi'o
	[b4] de ci'i slad du zhe na gal te bcom ldan 'das khams de ma mcis par gyur na de nyid rild por 'dzind par 'gyurd to de bzhin gshegs	de ci'i slad du zhe na bcom ldan 'das gal te [+ 'jig rten gyi] khams shig mchis par gyur na de nyid ril por 'dzin par 'gyur ba'i slad du'o [+de ci'i slad du zhe na] de bzhin gshegs

