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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DATE OF THE *VYUTPATTI*-TREATISES

GÉZA URAY

1. In the present paper[1] I try to clarify some vague points concerning the date of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises called in Tibetan *bkas-bčad rnam-pa gsum* "the three different kinds of prescriptions fixed by order", or *bkas-bčad* for short. Actually, it is three treatises written before the Great Revision of the Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts for the purpose of standardizing the Tibetan Buddhist terminology and the methods of translation.[2] The best known of them is the Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti / Bye-brag-tu rtogs-byed čhen-po* preserved in the *Bstan-'gyur*, of which Alexander Csoma de Kőrös already prepared an edition. It is also in the *Bstan-'gyur* that we find the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa*, otherwise known as *Madhyavyutpatti / Bye-brag-tu rtogs-byed 'briṅ-po*, which offers comments to some of the terms in the *Mahāvyutpatti* and guidelines for translation. The third treatise, **Kṣudravyutpatti***, or rather **Alpavyutpatti*** / *Bye-brag-tu rtogs-byed čhuṅ-ṅu* is unfortunately only known by title as the text has not come down to us.[3]

[1] The present paper was written in connection with the project entitled "Eine Einführung in die frühen tibetischen Quellen der Geschichte und Kultur Tibets bis zum Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts", worked out upon the initiative of Prof. Ernst Steinkellner under the auspices of the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde der Universität Wien and the Orientalist Research Centre of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. A previous short version of the paper was presented in German at the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium, Sopron, Hungary, 29 August, 1987. I owe word of thanks to Dr. Ildikó Ecsedy, who lent me valuable help in the use of the Japanese literature.

[2] Zhang Yisun 1985, vol. I, p. 80.

[3] The reading of the work's Sanskrit title is *kulya byutpa ta* in the Beijing *Bstan-'gyur* and *kralba* (or *kva lpa*?) *byutpa ta* in the *Sde-dge* edition. Relying on these readings, Simonsson (1957, p. 263: § 27) reconstructed **Kṣudravyutpatti*, and Sonam Angdu (1973, *Sgra*, p. 161) also gave this form, without mentioning the readings actually attested in the Ladakhi manuscripts. By contrast, Sakai (1955, p. 66 = 1) and Yamaguchi (1979, p. 9) reconstructed **Alpa-vyutpatti*. Semantically, both reconstructions are acceptable, as Prof. Steinkellner has advised me. Graphically, however, **Alpavyutpatti* is considerably closer to the readings attested in the *Bstan-'gyur* editions than **Kṣudravyutpatti*. — According to tradition, the work must have regulated the handling of various units of measures in the translations; cf. Zhang Yisun, *ibid.*

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I. How the historical tradition about the Great Revision changed

2. The uncertainties about the dating of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises can be traced back to contradictions in the sources and hesitations in identifying the king during whose reign the treatises were compiled and the Great Revision was performed, or at least started.

The basic sources are the introduction and the colophon of the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa*.[4] The introduction is an edict specifying, on the one hand, the bases and process of standardization and codification of the Buddhist terminology and on the other, laying down binding guidelines for fixing the terms in the future and for translating.[5] The date given for the issuing of the edict is a Horse year during the reign of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan. The colophon also names Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan as the person upon whose initiative the edict was released.[6]

With reference to the statements of Bu-ston, Padma dkar-po and the 5th Dalai Lama, Ferrari, Naudou, Alaka Chattopadhyaya and the anonymous author of the article "Mahāvyutpatti" in *Buddhist Text Information* nrs. 31 and 32 interpret the data of the edict in the sense that *Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan* was the name of Ral-pa-čan, and consequently the *Vyutpatti*-treatises were written under Ral-pa-čan.[7]

As against that, Tucci adduced a lot of arguments adopted by most of the authoritative scholars of the field to prove that Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan was the father of Ral-pa-čan whose regal name was *Khri Gcug-lde-bcan*. Consequently,

[4] Beijing *Bstan-'gyur* of 1724, vol. *ṄO*, fols. 1b1—3b8, 37b8—38a3, facs. Suzuki 1957, text nr. 5833, pp. 71—73, 87; ed., tsl. and comm. Simonsson 1957, pp. 238—264; ed. Sonam Angdu 1973, *Sgra*, pp. 1—7, 161; tsl. and comm. Yamaguchi 1979, pp. 2—9; pp. 18—23, n. 4—26. — Earlier, some European scholars assumed the introduction to *Sgra-sbyor* to have been the colophon of *Mahāvyutpatti*, cf. Ferrari 1944, pp. 536—537; Tucci 1950, p. 15. This interpretation can be traced back to the description of the Beijing *Bstan-'gyur* in Cordier 1915, pp. 486—487. Simonsson rightly contradicts this view by claiming that the part of text in question is the introduction to *Sgra-sbyor*. This assumption can be verified by the fact that the end of the controversial passage (§§ 24—25 in Simonsson's division) can also be found in the Dunhuang fragment Pelliot tibétain 845, fol. *kha* (*i.e.* fol. 2 !), ro., Ll. 1—4, before the terminological entries of *Sgra-sbyor*. Cf. Simonsson 1957, p. 214, n. 4; p. 238, n. 2; pp. 259—261.

[5] Yamaguchi 1979, pp. 10—12. A diplomatic analysis of the introduction is still to be performed. Nevertheless, it is already quite certain that the beginning of the introduction displays the customary pattern of dating of some Old Tibetan official documents, see Uray 1975, pp. 159—161.

[6] Beijing *Bstan-'gyur* of 1724, vol. *ṄO*, fols. 1b1—2, 38a2—3, facs. Suzuki 1957, text nr. 5833, pp. 71, 87; ed. and tsl. Simonsson 1957, pp. 239—240, 263; ed. Sonam Angdu 1973, *Sgra*, pp. 1, 161; tsl. Yamaguchi 1979, pp. 3, 9.

[7] Ferrari 1944, pp. 543—544; Chattopadyaya 1967/1981, pp. 261—263; Naudou 1968, p. 90; Mahāvyutpatti 1982, no. 31, p. 6; p. 7—8, n. 5.

the composition of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises and the Great Revision (or at least its beginning) took place during the rule of Ral-pa-čan's father.[8]

So far, however, no attempt has been made to clarify under what circumstances Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan became identified in the historical tradition with Ral-pa-čan and the date of the composition of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises and of the Great Revision shifted to the reign of Ral-pa-čan. I should like to look into this problem first.

3. The oldest known document on the succession of Tibetan kings in the late 8th century and the first half of the 9th is the so-called *Genealogy of Dunhuang*, a separate part of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, dating from around the middle of the 9th century. One can learn from this document, which unfortunately does not contain the nicknames of ruler preferably used in the later literature, that Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan was suceeded by his son Mu-ne-brcan, followed by his brother [Khri] Lde-sroṅ-brcan and he was succeeded by his son Khri Gcug-lde-brcan.[9]

4. Reports on the *Vyutpatti*-treatises and the Great Revision are to be found in historical works beginning with the mid-12th-century represent different types, corresponding to various lines and phases of the development of the tradition. When trying to establish facts about the processes of development, however, we must keep in mind that a lot of historical works, especially from before the 12th century got lost or have not been recovered yet. Consequently, reports reflecting early phases of development appear in relatively late works and vice versa. So, for the time being it is impossible to unravel the intricate filiation of the reports in all particular detail and we must rest content with the broad outlines of development.

a) Among the historical works accessible to me there are only two in which the Great Revision is attributed to reign of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan, fully in one and in part in the other. In the history of the Religion *Čhos-la 'jug-pa'i sgo* written by Bsod-nams-rce-mo in 1167 there is no mention of Mu-ne-brcan. Of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan's rule it reports, among others, that "many formerly untranslated (texts) were translated and the translated ones were improved according to the newly fixed language" (*sṅar ma bsgyur-ba-rnams kyaṅ bsgyur | bsgyur-ba-rnams kyaṅ skad gsar-bčad-kyis dag-par byas*). Next we can read a passage about the rule of Khri Gcug-lde-bcan, but it only says that "many

[8] Tucci 1950, pp. 14—15 and esp. pp. 18—19; Snellgrove 1957, p. 292, n. 35; Simonsson 1957, pp. 212—215; Yoshimura 1958, pp. 507—508; Tucci 1958, p. 48, n.; Yamaguchi 1978, p. 17; p. 44, n. 104—105; Harada 1979, pp. 912—909 = (50)—(53); Yamaguchi 1979, pp. 12—16; pp. 23—24, n. 31—38.

[9] Ms. Pelliot tibétain 1286 (earlier no. 249), Ll. 67—69; facs. Spanien and Imaeda 1979; pl. 556; ed. and tsl. Bacot *et alii* 1940—1946, p. 82, Ll. 31—35; p. 89, Ll. 3—7.

āgama-s and *śāstra*-s were translated and the teaching was spread" (*bka'-daṅ bstan-bčos du-ma bsgyur-te bstan-pa dar-šiṅ rgyas-par mjad-do*).[10] There is a more detailed but somewhat different account in Nel-pa *paṇḍita*'s history of the Religion *Me-tog phreṅ-ba* written in 1283. With the nicknames of the kings also indicated, the succession of ruler is given as follows: Khri Sroṅ-lde-bcan was succeeded by Mu-ne bcan-po, followed by Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan 'Jiṅ-yon, followed by Khri Gcug-lde-bcan Ral-pa-čan. It is reported both of the reign of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan 'Jiṅ-yon and that of Khri Gcug-lde-bcan Ral-pa-čan that in those days the translated works "were improved according to the newly fixed language" (*skad: gsar-bčad-gyis le(gs)-par bčos-te*) and "redacted" (*skad gsar-bčad-gyis gtan-la phab*), respectively. In Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan's days this activity was ascribed, apart from two persons whose names were apparently later interpolated, to the same persons as those named in the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* as compilers of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises, without the treatises themselves being named. From the time of Khri Gcug-lde-bcan Ral-pa-čan mostly other people are mentioned.[11]

b) An already altered tradition is preserved by the *Sba-bžed* redacted in the 11th—12th centuries and by the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ* written by Sa-skya-pa Bsod-nams-rgyal-mchan is 1373 or rather in 1368.[12] In the *Sba-bžed*, the two successors of Mu-ne bcan-po are given with the name *Khri Lte* [sic!] *-sroṅ-bcan* and with the nicknames *Sad-na-legs* and *Glaṅ-'jigs-yon*, and as *Khri Gcug-lde-bcan* without a nickname. This work attributes the Great Revision only to the reign of the latter ruler and to the persons who were claimed by Nel-pa *paṇḍita* to have been active under Khri Gcug-lde-bcan. It says: "As concerning the translated words, all words have been transformed as translated from Indian and redacted according to the newly fixed language, the religion was exercised rightly" (*sgra bsgyur-te sgra thams-čad Rgya dkar-po'i 'gyur-du bčos| skad gsar-bčad-kyis gtan-la phab-nas čhos-lugs bzaṅ-por mjad*).[13] According to the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*, the sequence of rulers ran as follows: Mu-ne bcan-po was followed by his brother Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan Sad-na-legs 'Jiṅ-yon, succeeded by an alleged son Ldeṅ-khri, followed by his son *mṅa'-bdag* Ral-pa-čan. It is reported of the time of the latter not only that "(the books of) the *dharma* were translated and all (the books of) the *dharma* were redacted according to the newly fixed language" but also that "the three different kinds of prescriptions fixed by order were carried out" (*čhos rgyur* [var. *bsgyur*]*-te|*

[10] *Sa-skya-bka'-'bum*, vol. *ÑA*, fols. 312b5—313a2, facs. Bsod nams rgya mtsho 1968, p. 343.

[11] Ms. of the Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, fols. 11a2—b5, ed., tsl., comm. and facs. Uebach 1987, pp. 102—107 and n. 484—486; pp. [171—172].

[12] Cf. Macdonald 1965, p. 434, and Sørensen 1986, pp. 29—64, esp. 64, respectively.

[13] Richardson ms., facs. Stein 1961, p. 68, Ll. 7—8, 13; p. 69, Ll. 4—6; p. 70, Ll. 10—11; p. 72, L. 15 — p. 73, L. 11.

čhos thams-čad skad gsar-bčad-kyis bstan [var. *gtan*] *-la phab* | *bka'-bčas rnam-pa gsum-du mjad-do*).[14]

c) Another version of the variant represented by the *Sba-bžed* and the *Rgyal-rabs gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*, which can be found in the *Čhos-'byuṅ Me-tog sñiṅ--po'i sbraṅ-rci'i bčud* by Ñaṅ Ral Ñi-ma-'od-zer (1136—1204) has special significance for further development. In it the name of Mu-ne bcan-po's successor is indicated by the defective form *Khri Lde-bcan* without *-sroṅ-*. Otherwise he has the nicknames *Sad-na-legs 'J̌iṅ-yon* also here, and the next king is called *Khri Bcun* [sic!] *-lde Ral-pa-čan* and *Khri Bcug-lde-bcan mṅa'-bdag Ral-pa-čan*. The Revision is again noted as an achievement of Ral-pa-čan's rule and is more detailed than in the *Sba-bžed*. In addition, the compilation of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises is also mentioned. One can read the following passage, for example: "As a means of assistance for the correction of former translations and for the use of prospective students of translating, the Great, [Middle] and Small *Vyutpatti* fixed by order ... were completed" (*sṅar-gyi bsgyur-ba-rnaṃs* [var.: *sgyur-ba-rnaṃs ni*] *mi ñaṃs-par bya-ba-daṅ* : *phyis 'gyur slob-la* [var.: *slob-pa-rnaṃs-la*] *phan-pa'i yan-lag-du* [var. : *-tu*] *big-pa-rta* [var. : *big-par-rta* ; read : *byud-pa-tti*] (*čhe-čhuṅ*) [var. : (*čhe-čhuṅ*)*-daṅ*] *bka'-bčad-daṅ* : ... *mjad-do*).[15]

d) There is a radical change in the tradition as described in the *čhos-'byuṅ* written in 1322 by Bu-ston Rin-čhen-grub. Data and passages from Ñaṅ Ral's history of the Religion and the edict introducting the *Sgra-sbyor* are intermixed. Mu-ne bcan-po's successor is named, defectively again, as *Khri Lde-bcan*. The next ruler is no longer *Khri Gcug-lde-bcan Ral-pa-čan* but *Khri Lde-sroṅ--bcan Ral-pa-čan*. The *Vyutpatti*-treatises and the Great Revision are accredited to the latter's reign but to the same persons as in the *Sgra-sbyor*.[16] (Mention must be made at this juncture of the *Hu-lan-deb-ther* written by Chal-pa Kun--dga'-rdo-rǰe in 1346 and the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* by Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag-'phreṅ--ba written in 1545—1565. Although both historical works call the rulers by their traditional names and nicknames *Mu-ne-bcan-po*, *Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan* / *Sad-na-legs 'J̌iṅ-yon* / *'J̌iṅ-yon Sad-na-legs*, and *Khri Gcug-lde-bcan Ral-pa-*

[15] Berlin ms., fols. 446a3, 446b2—3, 449a6—b2, 453b1—454b6, facs. Meisezahl 1985, Taf. 299—304; Sonam Sangpo ms., fol. 247a6—b7, facs. Ugyen Tempai Gyaltsen 1979, cols. 493—494. — It needs emphasizing that the Sanskrit title of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises was only mentioned by Ñaṅ Ral among the historiographers, in however partial and corrupted way.

[14] Lha-sa ed., fols. 89a—b (with variants from the Sde-dge ed.), ed. Kuznetsov 1966, p. 183, L. 29; p. 184, Ll. 7, 15—16, 26; p. 184, L. 31 — p. 185, L. 5. — For Ldeṅ--khri cf. Tucci 1950, p. 30, cf. also pp. 7, 8, 19, 68.

[16] *Bu-ston thams-čad mkhyen-pa'i bka'-'bum*, Lha-sa ed., pt. *YA*, vol. 4, fols 129b7—130b1, facs. Lokesh Chandra 1971, cols. 890—892. Cf. the partial ed. and tsl. in Ferrari 1944, pp. 539, 541—542; cf. also the tsl. of the Bkra-šis lhun-po ed. in Obermiller 1932, pp. 196—197 (with erroneous segmentation of the names !).

čan, to describe the Great Revision and the writting of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises, both the *Hu-lan-deb-ther* and the main text of the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* cite excerpts, while the work quoted in the *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston* without title cites an enlarged version, of Bu-ston's relevant report.[17])

e) Padma dkar-po goes a step further along the road staked out by Bu-ston in his *Čhos-'byuń Bstan-pa'i padma rgyas-pa'i ñin-byed* written in 1575 and revised in 1580. Similarly to Bu-ston, he mentions the rulers *Mu-ne bcan-po*, *Sad-na-legs Mǰiń-yon* alias *Khri Lde-bcan*, and at last *Khri Ral-pa-čan* by the regal name *Khri Lde-sroń-bcan*. The Great Revision is described only by the introductory edict of the *Sgra-sbyor* quoted in full with the identification of the source.[18]

f) The previously outlined course of development reached its apogee with the *deb-ther* of the 5th Dalai Lama written in 1643. The Great Fifth regarded it as an incontestable fact that the Great Revision had taken place during the reign of Ral-pa-čan, hence the data in the introducory edict of the *Sgra-sbyor* referred to the reign of Ral-pa-čan. As a consequence, he eliminated the corrupted name form *Khri Lde-bcan* which was reminiscent of *Khri Lde-sroń-bcan* and gave Mu-ne bcan-po's successor the name *Mu-tig bcan-po Sad-na-legs Mǰiń-yon*. He remarked: "That the name of this king is given as *Khri Lde-sroń-bcan* in some *rgyal-rabs* is a mistake (which derives from the fact) that the *Sgra-sbyor bam*(*-po*) *gñis-pa* and other (sources) have not been looked at" (*rgyal-rabs 'ga'-žig-tu rgyal-po 'di'i mchan-la Khri Lde-sroń-bcan-du 'čhad-pa ni Sgra-sbyor bam gñis-pa sogs ma mthoń-ba'i skyon-no*). The next king in the row; as with Bu-ston and Padma dkar-po, is called *Khri Lde-sroń-bcan Ral-pa-čan*. The presentation of the Great Revision is alleged to have been originated from the *Sgra-sbyor bam gñis-pa*; here there is no quotation but a paraphrase of the introductory edict together with passages from an older historical work, presumably the *Sba-bžed*.[19]

5. To sum up, we can differentiate the following main phases in the change of the tradition. According to the original version, the *Vyutpatti*-treatises were compiled under the reign of Khri Lde-sroń-bcan Sad-na-legs 'J̌iń-yon and at the same time did the Great Revision begin, continuing into the reign of Khri

[17] *Hu-lan-deb-ther*, Densapa ms., ed. Namgyal Institute 1961, fols. 18a2, a4—b1; tsl. Inaba and Satō 1964, pp. 95—96; p. 108, n. 147—158. Cf. also ed. Duń-dkar Blo-bzań-'phrin-las 1981, p. 38, Ll. 3—4, 9—10, 15, 16; p. 38, L. 18—p. 39, L. 4. — *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, Lho-brag-Gnas-kyi-gžis-kha ed., vol. *ǰA*, fols. 127a3—6, 131a6, b2—3, 132a2, 132b2—133a1, facs. Lokesh Chandra 1962, pp. 64, 66—67.

[18] *'Brug-pa Padma dkar-po'i gsuń-'bum*, Gnam-phu-'Brug-dgon ed., section *KA*: *ČHA*, fols. 165b1—168b4, facs. Lokesh Chandra 1968, cols. 330—336. Cf. also Ferrari 1944, pp. 536—537; p. 538, n. 1—12; p. 539, n. 1—11.

[19] 5th Dalai Lama 1957, p. 89, Ll. 13—14; p. 91, Ll. 8—12; p. 94, Ll. 6—8; p. 94, L. 14—p. 95, L. 16.

Gcug-lde-bcan Ral-pa-čan. Later it came to be held that the compilation of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises and the entire Great Revision had taken place at the time of Khri Gcug-lde-bcan Ral-pa-čan's rule, without changing the names of the kings, though. Some time later *Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan* became *Khri Lde-bcan* through text corruption. Finally, the narration of the Great Revision was replaced by the full text or a paraphrase of the edict introducing the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* including the dating formula with the mention of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan, and accordingly, *Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan* replaced *Khri Gcug-lde-bcan* as the regal name of Ral-pa-čan.

The identification of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan with Ral-pa-čan and the reference to the *Sgra-sbyor* as proof of their identity derives from the fact, as has been noted earlier by Tucci and more recently, independently of him, by Jampa L. Panglung "that certain historiographers came across the mention of the place 'On-čaṅ-rdo in the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* and they did not know that the place name denoted the place of the royal residence and the imperial assembly mentioned as early as the very first years of the 8th century (. . .), but that they only knew was that Ral-pa-čan had a temple built in 'On-čaṅ-rdo."[20]

The above outlined transformation of the tradition about the Great Revision coincides with the tendency of the Buddhist interpretation of history which ascribes all major achievements in the course of the first diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet to the three great religious kings Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, Khri Sroṅ-lde'u-bcan and Ral-pa-čan, regarded to be the incarnations of the *rigs-gsum-mgon-po* "the Protectors of the Three Families", i.e., Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi.[21]

It has not been cleared yet when exactly this historical conception evolved. I should like to contribute to the clarification of this question — without any attempt at a final solution — the following details.

a) The **Bhoṭasvāmidāsalekha** / *Rje-'baṅs-daṅ Bod-bcun rnams-la sprin-yig*[22] preserved in the *Bstan-'gyur*, in which Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po is called the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara[23] was, even according to its text and colophon, sent by Buddhaguhya / Saṅs-rgyas-gsaṅ-ba to Khri Sroṅ-lde'u-bcan and his subjects,[24] but in fact it originated from definitely later, around "entre 850 et 1000(?)", as R. A. Stein has established.[25] To verify this dating, Stein refers to a place in a letter in which there is a prophecy about the civil war between the grand sons

[20] Quotation from Panglung 1988, p. 355, n. 83. See also Tucci 1950, pp. 15—16.

[21] Cf. Snellgrove 1957, p. 163; cf. also pp. 65, 116.

[22] Ed. and tsl. Dietz 1984, pp. 79—84, 358—399; partial tsl. with comm. Snellgrove 1987, pp. 446—450.

[23] Dietz 1984, pp. 82, 358—359: stanza 1.1; Snellgrove 1987, p. 446.

[24] Dietz 1984, pp. 79—81, 358—359: stanza 1.1; pp. 360—363: stanza 1.7; pp. 398—399: Kolophon; Snellgrove 1987, pp. 446—447.

[25] Stein 1986, p. 185 and n. 39.

of Khri Sroń-lde'u-bcan and about the decline of the powerful military position of the Tibetan Empire.[26] In addition to that, there is another prophecy in the letter about Khri Sroń-lde'u-bcan's death[27] and an allusion to the Great Revision.[28]

b) In the Čhos-rgyal-sgrub-phug, alias Čhos-rgyal Sroń-bcan gzim-phug Chapel in the Potala one can find a statue which represents Sroń-bcan sgam-po as the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara, being the head of Amitābha is portrayed on his turban. In the opinion of M. M. Rhie, the statue should date from around 750—850.[29] If Rhie's dating were correct, it would mean that Sroń-bcan sgam-po was already seen as the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara at the time of the Tibetan Empire. Prof. Deborah Klimburg-Salter, whom I have consulted as an expert of art history, is sceptical about the dating proposed by Rhie, since this dating is founded on the "as yet unproved presumption that the evolution of Tibetan art was synchronic with East Asian artistic developments". That is why Prof. Klimburg-Salter agrees with Tucci, who dated Sroń-bcan sgam-po's statue in question to the 11th century on grounds of its "striking similarities" with a Boddhisattva statue in the temple of Tiak (Ti-yag) founded by Rin-čhen bzań-po (958—1055) in West Tibet.[30]

c) Undoubtedly dating from the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century, the manuscript Pelliot tibétain 849 (formerly 3531), the so-called "Formulaire sanscrit-tibétain" only mentions "Sroń-brcan sgam-po and bcan-po Khri Sruom-ldem-brcan (sic!) and bcan-po Khri Gcug-lde-brcan (alias) bcan-po Ral-pa-čan" as the rulers "who practised the religion of the Mahāyāna" (*theg-pa čhen-po'i čhos spyod-pa*).[31]

d) The *Sba-bžed* from the 11th—12th centuries begins with the formula "Salutation to the forefather and the grandsons, to the three, who — by being magic

[26] According to the tsl. in Snellgrove, 1987, p. 448, Ll. 9—12. Nevertheless Snellgrove is of the opinion that what we have here is an authentic letter by Buddhaguhya. He writes among other things: "It is in many respects a curious document, containing strange allusions that give the impression that either Buddhaguhya foresaw the end of the Yarlung dynasty in quite precise terms or that his letter has been suitably updated at a later time", cf. *ibid.*, p. 446. Dietz (1984, pp. 82, 366—369: stanza 2.2 and n. 31—32) gives a very different translation, regarded even by herself incomplete and tentative, meaning that the passage is about the "Streit zweier Ministerparteien".

[27] Dietz 1984, pp. 368—369: stanza 2.6.

[28] Dietz 1984, p. 82 and n. 233; pp. 372—373: stanza 2.12.

[29] Rhie 1988, pp. 1201—1219 and XXVIII pls., esp pp. 1210—1217. For the names of the chapel and the disposition of its statues see Chayet and Meyer 1983, pp. 82—85. For the meaning of representing Amitābha on Avalokiteśvara's head cf. Snellgrove 1987, vol. II, pp. 322—323.

[30] Prof. D. Klimburg-Salter's letter from 31 August 1988 and oral communication of 22 October 1988; Tucci 1973, p. 89 and p. 86, fig. 69.

[31] Ll. 65—67 = 116—118, facs. Macdonald and Imaeda 1978, pl. 235; ed. and tsl. Hackin 1924, pp. 16*, 18, 36.

transformations of the Protectors of the Three Families — have tamed the flesh-eating Red-faces" (*rigs-gsum-mgon-po'i rnam-'phrul-gyis| |ša-za gdoṅ-dmar 'dul mjad-pa| | mes-dbon gsum-la phyag 'chal-te*). As R. A. Stein has proved on the basis of the context of the entire work, the persons meant here are Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, Khri Lde-gcug-bcan and Khri Sroṅ-lde-bcan.[32]

e) The oldest work known to me, which already mentions Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, Khri Sroṅ-lde'u-rcan and Khri Bcug-lde-bcan as the incarnations of Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi is Ñaṅ Ral's history of the Religion from the 12th century.[33]

Thus an analysis of the historical tradition concerning the Great Revision proves that the Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan of the introductory edict and colophon of the *Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa* is identical with Sad-na-legs and not Ral-pa-čan, and so it confirms once more that the data in later historical works referring to ancient Tibet must always be interpreted after an examination of the development of tradition.

II. The year of issuing the edict introducing the Sgra-sbyor bam-po gñis-pa

6. As its own text makes it explicit, the prefatory edict of the *Sgra-sbyor* was released in a Horse year during the reign of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan.

No definite information has come down to us about the beginning and end of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan's rule. As according to the data of the Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription at Lha-sa Khri Gcug-lde-brcan's enthronement took place in the Sheep year of 815/16 A. D,[34] Khri Lde-sroṅ-brcan may have died the same year of 815/16 or at the end of the previous Horse year of 814/15.[35] Another inference is suggested by the east inscription of Žva'i lha-khaṅ where "the later Dragon year" (*'brug-gi lo phyi-ma*) of Khri Lde-sroṅ-brcan's reign is mentioned.[36] That means, as Richardson already pointed out, that under this king there were

[32] Richardson ms., facs. Stein 1961, p. 1, Ll. 1—2, and the comments in Stein 1986, p. 171, n. 6.

[33] *Čhos-'byuṅ Me-tog sñiṅ-po'i sbraṅ-rci'i bčud*, Berlin ms., fols. 286b6—289b5, 294b2—3, 449b1—3, facs. Meisezahl 1985, pls. 194—196, 200, 302. Apparently, the subject is also presented in Ñaṅ Ral's *Čhos-rgyal mes-dbon rnam gsum-gyi rnam-thar Rin-po-čhe'i phreṅ-ba* which is unfortunately not available to me.

[34] Richardson 1952, p. 147; Li 1956, p. 70, n. to L. 58; Li and Coblin 1987, p. 114, n. to L. 58, cf. also p. 27.

[35] Cf. Richardson 1952, p. 150; Li and Coblin 1987, p. 27.

[36] L. 22—23, ed. and tsl. Richardson 1953, pp. 6, 8; Richardson 1985, pp. 56—57; Li and Coblin 1987, pp. 271, 292, cf. p. 296, n. to L. 22. Cf. also Richardson 1952, p. 150.

two Dragon years corresponding to 800/01 and 812/13 A. D. Consequently, the latest date for Khri Sroṅ-lde-brcan's ascension to power is 800/01.[37]

In the same way, the Horse year, in which the edict introducing the *Sgra-sbyor* was dated may in theory correspond either to 802/03 or 814/15 A. D. However, as Tucci observed, "the first date is too near to the accession of K'ri lde sroṅ btsan to be accepted; evidently the king was then busy with more important things, since, at that time, the Tibetan state was in a dangerous situation: when the difficulties were over, however, he might have thought of giving his patronage to a pious and meritorious work. Therefore I am of the opinion that the year of the horse is exactly 814." Yoshimura and Yamaguchi also identify the year of the Horse mentioned in the edict with 814.[38]

7. The views of Tucci, Yoshimura and Yamaguchi can be buttressed by the following information gleaned from the edict: *a*) It is stated in the dating formula that in the Horse year in question royal orders were carried out by the Great Councillor Uncle (*žaṅ*) Khri-zur Ram-šags and by Maṅ-rje Lha-lod. *b*) A later place in the edict reports that the Great Monk (*bande čhen-po*) Dpal-gyi Yon-tan and the Great Monk Tiṅ-ṅe-'jin presented to the king and the councillors the results of the work on the methods of translation and the terminology.[39]

These data can be compared with information on the highest-ranking dignitaries under Khri Lde-sroṅ-brcan and Khri Gcug-lde-brcan, namely: *a*) According to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the post of the great councillor was filled in chronological order by the following persons: 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-šags, Dba' Maṅ-rje Lha-lod, 'Bro Khri-sum-rje Stag-snaṅ.[40] *b*) In the west inscription of Žva'i lha-khaṅ the ruler's elder brother (*gčen*) Mu-rug-brcan, further — without name — the queens and petty kings (*rgyal-phran*) and downward of the councillors of government all the great and small uncle-councillors are named as the persons who swore by oath together with Khri Lde-sroṅ-brcan to respect the privileges specified in the inscription.[41] *c*) In Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan's edict, which was released on the occasion of founding the sanctuary of Dkar-čhuṅ (properly:

[37] Richardson 1985, p. 44; Li and Coblin 1987, p. 27; p. 296, n. to L. 22. Cf.also Richardson 1953, p. 10, n. 4.

[38] Tucci 1950, pp. 18—19; Tucci 1958, p. 48, n.; Yoshimura 1958, p. 508; Yamaguchi 1978, p. 17; Yamaguchi 1979, p. 10.

[39] Beijing *Bstan-'gyur* of 1724, vol. *ṄO*, fols. 1b3—4, 2b5, facs. Suzuki 1957, text nr. 5833, pp. 71, 73; ed. and tsl. Simonsson 1957, pp. 239—240, 246: §§ 1, 8; ed. Sonam Angdu 1973, *Sgra*, pp. 1, 3; tsl. Yamaguchi 1979, pp. 3, 5.

[40] Ms. Pelliot tibétain 1287 (earlier nr. 250), Ll. 115—117, facs. Spanien and Imaeda 1979, pl. 561; ed. and tsl. Bacot *et alii* 1940—1946, p. 102, Ll. 18—20; p. 132, Ll. 16—18.

[41] Ll. 48—50; ed. and tsl. Richardson 1952, p. 153, and 1953, p. 3, Ll. 26—29; Richardson 1985, pp. 50—53; Li and Cobin 1987, pp. 266—267, 279—280.

Skar-čhuń), the highest office holders after the queens and petty kings are enumerated in the following ranking: the Monk (*ban-de*) Bran-ka Yon-tan, the Monk Myań Tiń-'jin, the Great Councillor Uncle (*žań*) 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-šags, Uncle Mčhims-rgyal Bcan-bžer Legs-gzigs, Councillor (*blon*) Dba' Mań-rje Lha-lod.[42] *d*) According to the list in the Sino-Tibetan Treaty inscription of 823, the Tibetan dignitaries attending the treaty ceremony in 822 included the Great Monk Dpal-čhen-po Yon-[tan] and the [ ] Commander-in-Chief of the Army Uncle (*žań*) Khri-sum-rje as the two highest-ranking officials.[43]

The comparison of the presented data permits the conclusion that the west inscription of Žva'i lha-khań is older than the Dkar-čhuń edict and the edict introducing the *Sgra-sbyor*, because Mu-rug-brcan is only mentioned in the inscription and not in the edicts. Of the two edicts, undoubtedly the Dkar-čhuń edict is the older, as in it Uncle Mčhims-rgyal Bcan-bžer Legs-zigs ranks between the Great Councillor Uncle 'Bro Khri-gzur Ram-šags and the Councillor Dba' Mań-rje Lha-lod, whereas the edict introducing the *Sgra-sbyor* only names the latter two. Finally, the introductory edict is older than the Treaty inscription in which the Great Monk Tiń-ńe-'jin no longer appears among the dignitaries, and among the secular office-holders the first place is given to Uncle Khri-sum--rje, i.e., 'Bro Khri-sum-rje Stag-snań, the successor of 'Bro Khri-gzu Ram-šags and Dba' Mań-rje Lha-lod in the office of the Great Councillor, according to the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.

The above presented relative chronology of the relevant inscriptions and edicts indicates that the edict introducing the *Sgra-sbyor* does not date from the beginning of the reign of Khri Lde-sroń-bcan but corroborates the assumption that the edict was issued in 814/15.

III. About two strange attempts at dating

8. I should like to mention another two views which claim that the *Vyutpatti*-treatises were written or completed later than the first half of the 9th century.

The first view, that of Shirō Sakai, is based on the data from the edict introducing the *Sgra-sbyor* which says that in the Horse year "the envoy(s) of the Gar-log paid their homage (to the Tibetan ruler)" (*Gar-log-gi pho-ñas*

[42] *Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston*, Lho-brag-Gnas-kyi-gžis-kha ed., vol. *ĴA*, fols 129b7—130a3, facs. Lokesh Chandra 1962, p. 65; tsl. and ed. Tucci 1950, p. 54, Ll. 14—25; p. 103, Ll. 3—13.

[43] North inscription, Ll. 1—10; ed. and tsl. Li 1956, pp. 33—34, 50—51, 71; pp. 72—73, n. to Ll. 7—9 and 10; Richardson 1985, pp. 128—129; Li and Coblin 1987, p. 59; p. 63, n. 12—18; p. 117; p. 122, n. to Ll. 7—9 and 10.

phyag bcal).[44] Sakai assumes that the Gar-log meant here are the ones who, according to historical tradition, had taken the West Tibetan king Lha bla-ma Ye-šes-'od captive and demanded ransom for his release. Consequently, Sakai identifies the Horse year in the introductory edict with the year 1029 A. D. (sic instead of 1030 !).[45]

The dating Sakai proposed was rightly rejected by Yamaguchi on the grounds that the king's name *Khri Lde-sroń-bcan* mentioned in the edict does not occur in histories about Lha bla-ma Ye-šes-'od.[46]

Another flaw of Sakai's dating lies in the fact that he attributes a special chronological value to the mention of the Gar-log. Sakai does not seem to know that *Gar-log* is the Tibetan form of *Qarluq*, the name of an early Turkic tribal confederation which played a significant role in the history of Central Asia for several centuries as the Chinese, Runic Turkic and Moslem sources bear out, and is mentioned from as early as the beginning of the 7th century.[47] The Qarluq must also have been known in Tibet from the latter half of the 8th century the latest when they became trading partners and allies of the Tibetan Empire ; [48] their name *Gar-log/Gar-logs* is actually recorded in Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang.[49] Therefore the mention of envoy(s) from the Qarluq in itself does not refer to the 11th century at all.

Besides, the story of Lha bla-ma Ye-šes-'od's captivity and self-sacrifice is pure legend, as S. G. Karmay has proved. In an approximately contemporary West Tibetan source, the biography of Rin-čhen bzań-po (958—1055) entitled *Rnam-thar šel-phreń lu-gu-rgyud* by Rin-čhen bzań-po's immediate disciple Gu-ge-Khyi-thań-pa Dpal-ye-šes, there is no mention of Lha bla-ma Ye-šes-'od's captivity but is reported that the king died in his homeland of an illness.[50]

Thus Sakai's attempted dating is untenable for more than one reasons.

[44] Beijing *Bstan-'gyur* of 1724, vol. *ÑO*, fol. 1b3, facs. Suzuki 1957, text nr. 5833, p. 71; ed. and tsl. Simonsson 1957, pp. 239—240; § 1; ed. Sonam Angdu 1973, *Sgra*, p. 1; tsl. Yamaguchi 1979, p. 3.

[45] Sakai 1955, p. 65 = 2.

[46] Yamaguchi 1979, p. 13.

[47] Barthold 1927, pp. 820—821; Bosworth 1978, pp. 658—659; Ecsedy 1980, pp. 23—37.

[48] Beckwith 1980, pp. 34—35; Beckwith 1987, pp. 147—148, 153—162, 165.

[49] *Byań-phyogs-na rgyal-po du bžugs-pa'i rabs-gyi yige*, ms. Pelliot tibétain 1283, Ll. 60, 62, 65, 85, ed. and tsl. Bacot 1957, pp. 142—143, 146—147 = off-print, pp. 6—7, 10—11; facs: off-print, pls. [ii—iii]. — Ms. Pelliot tibétain 1066, l. 10, comm., ed., tsl. and facs. Blondeau 1972, pp. 150—151, 322—323; p. 326, n. 34 (falsely locating the Gar-log); pl. [xxvi]. — For occurrences of the name in the later Tibetan literature see Hoffmann 1950, pp. 190—198.

[50] Karmay 1980, p. 150 and p. 158, n. 4. Cf. also *Rnam-thar Šel-phreń lu-gu-rgyud*, tsl. and ed. by Snellgrove in: Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980, p. 92; p. 107, L. 32—p. 108, L. 1. — For the variants of the story of Lha bla-ma Ye-šes-'od's prison and self-sacrifice see Eimer 1976, pp. 182—199. Cf. also Hoffmann 1950, pp. 201—208.

9. R. O. Meisezahl holds a different view. He asserts that the *Mahāvyutpatti* is noted neither in the catalogue part of Bu-ston Rin-čhen-grub's history of the Religion (1322) nor in the *Bstan-'gyur* catalogues by Bu-ston Rin-čhen-grub (1335) and by Sgra-chad-pa Rin-čhen-rgyal-mchan (1362). Then he points out that in the 11th—13th centuries there were several people called *Dānaśīla* among the Indian scholars engaged in Tibet. From that Meisezahl infers that the *Dānaśīla* mentioned in the "foreword to the Sanskrit-Tibetan Dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti*" (i.e., the edict introducing the *Sgra-sbyor*) as one of the authors of the work is identical with a contemporary of Bu-ston's.[51]

Meisezahl has regrettably overlooked that the *Vyutpatti*-treatises and thus the *Mahāvyutpatti* are mentioned in Bu-ston's history of the Religion. Only, they are not indicated by their individual titles but by the collective designation of *bkas-bčad rnam-pa gsum* "the three different kinds of prescriptions fixed by order" in the account of the reign of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan Ral-pa-čan (sic !)[52] as well as by the designation *lo-paṇ maṅ-pos mjad-pa'i Bka'-bčad če-'briṅ-čhuṅ gsum* "the three, (i.e.,) great, middle and small, (treatises) written by many translators and scholars and fixed by order" in the catalogue part, precisely in a quotation from the so-called *'Phaṅ-thaṅ-ma* catalogue compiled under Khri Gcug-lde-bcan.[53] Furthermore, there are fragments of two *Sgra-sbyor* manuscripts among the Dunhuang finds as Simonsson has demonstrated, one of the folios even containing the end of the introductory edict.[54] These facts go in to prove that the three *Vyutpatti*-treatises were already finished in the first half of the 9th century.

Besides, Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-šes-sde are indicated as the translators and correctors in the colophons of the Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Ṣaḍakṣaravidyā* and the *Coravidhvaṃsananāmadhāraṇī*,[55] just as, among others, Jinamitra and Ye-šes-sde, the latter by the Sanskrit form *Jñānasena* of his

[51] Meisezahl 1977, pp. 563—572. [cf. additional note on p. 395 below!]

[52] *Bu-ston thams-čad mkhyen-pa'i bka'-'bum*, Lha-sa ed., pt. *YA*, vol. 4, fol. 130a7, facs. Lokesh Chandra 1971, col. 891; tsl. Obermiller 1932, p. 197, L. 9.

[53] *Bu-ston thams-čad mkhyen-pa'i bka'-'bum*, Lha-sa ed., pt. *YA*, vol. 4, fol. 207b4—5, facs. Lokesh Chandra 1971, col. 1046; ed. and register in Nishioka 1983, p. 116: nr. 2949—2951, pp. 121, 158; cf. also Yoshimura 1958, p. 506 = 195; De Jong 1959, p. 218, n. 4. For the *'Phaṅ-thaṅ-ma* and its relation to the *Ldan-dkar-ma* (recte: *Lhan-kar-ma*) and *Čhims-phu-ma* catalogues s. Yamaguchi 1978, p. 20; p. 48, n. 125—128; Yamaguchi 1985, pp. 2—15; pp. 41—45, n. 4—17. — I am unable to establish whether the *Vyutpatti*-treatises are listed in Bu-ston's and Sgra-chad-pa's *Bstan-'gyur* catalogues since there are no registers to them.

[54] Mss. Pelliot tibétain 843, 1 fol. without pagination, and 845, fols. *kha*, *ga*, *ṅa*, *ča*, *čha*, *ja*, *ña*, *ta*, *'a*; the end of the introducing edict see in the latter ms., fol. *kha*, ro., Ll. 1—4. Cf. Lalou 1939, pp. 185—186; Simonsson 1957, pp. 213, 239; pp. 259—261: §§ 24—25; cf. also note 4 above.

[55] Mss. Pelliot tibétain 51,2 and 79,2; see Lalou 1939, pp. 18, 26. For the activity of Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye-šes-sde as translators cf. also Naudou 1968, pp. 86—90.

name, are named next to Dānaśīla in the list of the collaborating teachers and translators in the edict introducing the *Sgra-sbyor*.[56]

It is therefore unwarranted to assume that it was Dānaśīla of the 13th century and his contemporaries, who carried out the "definitive revision of the dictionary *Mahāvyutpatti*".

IV. The problem of dating the individual Vyutpatti-treatises

10. It remains, however, to be answered when the *Vyutpatti*-treatises were written or completed as the Horse year is only named in the dating formula of the prefatory edict of the *Sgra-sbyor*, certainly only signifying the date of the issuing of the edict.

Concerning the genesis of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises the *narratio* of the edict provides us with some information. The beginning of the undertaking is described as follows: "An order was given out" that the named scholars and translators as well as others "shall put down in a register the (expressions) originating from the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna, translated from the Indian language into the Tibetan language and fixed as terms, and no one shall deviate from that text and (thereby) it shall be made easy to be learnt by all" (. . . *theg-pa če-čhuṅ-las 'byuṅ-ba'i Rgya-gar-gyi skad-las Bod-kyi skad* [var.: *Bod-skad*]*-du bsgyur-čiṅ* [var.: *-žiṅ*] *miṅ-du btags-pa-rnams dkar-čhag-tu bris-te*| *nam-du yaṅ gžuṅ-lugs de-las mi bsgyur-žiṅ kun-gyis bslab-* [var.: *slob-*] *tu* [var.: *du*] *ruṅ-bar gyis-šig čes bka' scal-nas*). And at the end of the *narratio*, also by way of a transition to the *dispositio*, one reads: "After the Great Monk Dpal-gyi Yon-tan and the Great Monk Tiṅ-ṅe-'jin as well as the others had gathered before the Mighty One (*bcan-po*) and made a report to the assembled ruler and councillors, the methods of translating the *dharma* and the terms (translated) from the Indian language into the Tibetan language (and) fixed were codified and (the following) was prescribed by order: . . ." (*bcan-* [var.: *bcaṅ-*] *po'i spyan-sṅar ban͡de* [var.: *ban-de*] *čhen-po Dpal-gyi Yon-tan-daṅ* | *ban͡de čhen-po Tiṅ-ṅe-'jin-la sogs-pa yaṅ chogs-* [var.: *'chogs-*] *te*| *rǰe-blon gdan 'jom-* [var.: *'joms-*] *pa-la žus-nas dhar͡mma* [var.: *dhar-ma*] *bsgyur-ba'i thabs-daṅ*| *Rgya-gar-gyi skad-la* [var.: *-las*] *Bod-kyi skad-du miṅ btags-pa-rnams* [var.: *miṅ gdags-pa'i rnam gžag*] *gtan-la phab-ste* | *bkas bčad-pa*).[57] From these quotations one cannot deduce conclusively whether all

[56] Beijing *Bstan-'gyur* of 1724, vol. *ṄO*, fols. 2a1—5b5—6, facs. Suzuki 1957, text nr. 5833, p. 73; ed. and tsl. Simonsson 1957, p. 241: § 2; ed. Sonam Angdu 1973, *Sgra*, p. 1; tsl. Yamaguchi 1979, p. 3.

[57] Beijing *Bstan-'gyur* of 1724, vol. *ṄO*, fols. 2a1—5, b5—6, facs. Suzuki 1957, text nr. 5833, p. 73; ed. and tsl. Simonsson 1957, pp. 241—243, 246: §§ 2—3, 8; ed. Sonam Angdu 1973, *Sgra*, pp. 1—3; tsl. Yamaguchi 1979, pp. 3—5.

three *Vyutpatti*-treatises had already been completed by the time of the release of the edict or only the *Sgra-sbyor* was ready, which the edict prefaced.

In this conjunction it is worth mentioning the views of Harada and Yamaguchi. They have inferred from certain, but unfortunately not explicated, differences between the *Sgra-sbyor* and the *Mahāvyutpatti*, as well as between the introductory edict and the colophon of the *Sgra-sbyor* that the *Mahāvyutpatti* was compiled later than the *Sgra-sbyor* and the colophon was only subsequently attached to the *Sgra-sbyor*.[58] Whether these assumptions, in themselves not untenable, are right or wrong could only be decided on the basis of a thorough textual comparison and analysis that is beyond the purview of this paper.

V. Final conclusions

11. We can summarize the above results and the further conclusions to be drawn from them as follows:

a) The Great Revision was begun under Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan, and in connection with that in the Horse year of 814/15 A. D. an edict was issued specifying the methods to be applied in the translation of Buddhist works.

b) Simultaneously with the release of the edict, the redaction of the *Sgra-sbyor* was completed and it was attached to the edict as a supplement.

c) Further textual analyses are necessary to explore whether both of the other two *Vyutpatti*-treatises were compiled at the same time as the *Sgra-sbyor*. At any rate, they cannot have been completed much later as they were indispensable for the implementation of the Great Revision.

d) According to the original historical tradition, the *Vyutpatti*-treatises were compiled and the Great Revision was begun during the reign of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan Sad-na-legs 'Jiṅ-yon, but the Revision went on under the rule of Khri Gcug-lde-bcan Ral-pa-čan. This version of the tradition is in keeping with historical reality since both the methodological guidelines for the Revision and the compulsory translation of the most important Buddhist terms into Tibetan were only laid down definitively in 814/15, and the last half to one and a half years of the reign of Khri Lde-sroṅ-bcan were certainly not enough to carry out the enormous work of the Revision.

e) The later tradition ascribes the completion of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises and the entire Revision to Ral-pa-čan's reign and in this way it corroborates the view of history which claims that all the major achievements of the early diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet are due to the activity of the incarnations of the Protectors of the Three Families, i.e., the kings Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, Khri Sroṅ-lde'u-bcan and Ral-pa-čan.

[58] Harada 1979, pp. 912–911 = (50)–(51); Yamaguchi 1979, p. 15–16.

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Additional note to p. 389 and n. 1. A compact presentation of the data of the Tibetan tradition concerning the three persons bearing the name *Dānaśīla* is to be found in D Seyfort Ruegg, *The literature of the Madhyamaka school of philosophy in India*. (J. Gonda [ed.], A history of Indian literature, vol. VII, fasc. 1.) Wiesbaden 1981, p. 117, n. 378. Comparing this note with Meisezahl's argumentation, I became aware that I was deluded by a mistakeable wording in Meisezahl 1977, p. 569. According to this text, Vibhūticandra and the third Dānaśīla, who came as young *paṇḍita*-s accompanying Śākyaśrībhadra alias Ka-čhe-paṇ-čhen in 1204 A. D. to Tibet, "dürften neben Bu ston als die bedeutendsten Sanskrit-Philologen in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts in Tibet anzusehen sein." In this passage "neben" is a *lapsus* for "vor" since Bu-ston was circa a century younger than the two Kaśmīrian *paṇḍita*-s.

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EINIGE URKUNDEN ZUR MILITÄRVERWALTUNG UNGARNS ZUR ZEIT SÜLEYMĀNS DES PRÄCHTIGEN

CLAUDIA RÖMER (Wien)

Die Handschrift der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek A. F. 32 (Flügel I, Nr. 261) besteht aus 81 Originalurkunden aus den Jahren 1497—1683, die bis auf drei Stücke in osmanischer Sprache abgefaßt sind und unter unbekannten Umständen in einem Sammelband zusammengebunden wurden, ohne daß ihre chronologische Reihenfolge beachtet worden wäre.[1] Beim Binden wurden unbeschriebene Teile von Dokumenten, die für das Format des Bandes (21,5×12,5 cm) zu groß waren, abgeschnitten. Andere, viel kleinere Stücke wurden unverändert eingebunden. Einige Urkunden stehen mit dem Kopf nach unten. Als Einband wurde ein Pergamentblatt aus einer europäischen Handschrift verwendet, das einen zwischen Notenzeilen geschriebenen lateinischen Text über die Eucharistie sowie die Worte der Wandlung enthält. Die Tintenfarbe ist braun und z. T. sehr schwach, die Initialen sind mit roter Tinte geschrieben. Auf dem Rücken des Bandes steht mit schwarzer Tinte in Blockbuchstaben: "Epistolae".

Nur 50 der Stücke sind datiert, bzw. durch in ihnen vorkommende Daten oder Ereignisse datierbar. Die restlichen 31 Stücke lassen sich auf Grund des Schriftduktus grob ins 16. und 17. Jh. einordnen. Es handelt sich dabei um Dokumente ganz verschiedenen Inhalts: Fetwās (fol. 17, 19, 22), Beschwerden im Zusammenhang mit Steuerfragen (z. B. fol. 5, 6, 73, 74), Streitigkeiten zwischen Privatpersonen (z. B. fol. 16, 18, 54, 58, 60), Mitteilungen ganz privater Natur (z. B. fol. 10—13), usw. Außerdem befinden sich drei Stücke in der Handschrift, die keine Briefe sind, und zwar: ein Liebes-

[1] Flügel, a. a. O. nennt nur 78 Schreiben, doch liegen am Ende des Bandes drei noch original gefaltete Dokumente, denen im Einvernehmen mit Frau Dr. Eva Irblich von der Handschriftensammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek die Nummern a, b, c gegeben wurden. Nr. a ist ein Schreiben Meḥmeds IV. an die Kadis und anderen Würdenträger im Sanǧaq Požeǧa vom 1. Ǧumādā I. 1094 (28. 4. 1683) aus dem Feldlager zu Yāǧodina, versehen mit der Ṭuǧra. Wenn diese Urkunde, in der chronologischen Reihung die späteste, nun ursprünglich zu unserer Urkundensammlung gehört hat, so könnte man die Stücke der Sammlung als Beutestücke nach der Belagerung Wiens 1683 ansehen, bzw. da viele von ihnen ungarische, insbesondere Ofener Angelegenheiten behandeln, nach der Rückeroberung von Ofen 1686. Doch ist nicht gesichert, wann die Nummern a, b, c in den Band eingelegt wurden.

gedicht (fol. 14), arabische Gebete (fol. 23) und Zauberregeln betreffend die Verwendung der Körperteile des Wiedehopfs (fol. 26). Fol. 2 ist ein Brief in armenischer, fol. 41 ein privater Brief in persischer Sprache.

Von den datierten Stücken wurden fol. 36, die älteste Urkunde aus dem Jahr 1497, von Kraelitz,[2] und fol. 3 (Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Bālī Paša, den Beglerbegi von Ofen) von H. Neumann[3] ediert und übersetzt.

Unter den Dokumenten aus der Zeit Süleymāns des Prächtigen enthält die Sammlung eine Serie von 16 Schreiben der ersten beiden Beglerbege von Ofen, Süleymān und Bālī,[4] an die Pforte sowie fünf Berāte Süleymāns, die auf Grund von Schreiben der Beglerbege von Ofen Süleymān Paša, Bālī Paša und ʿAlī Paša[5] erlassen wurden. Diese 21 Dokumente betreffen alle Um- bzw. Neubesetzungen von militärischen Posten in der Festung von Ofen, bzw. in einem Fall von Hatvan (fol. 30). In dieselbe Zeit wie die obengenannten Urkunden fällt fol. 56, ein Gerichtsprotokoll des Kadi von Ofen, Meḥmed el-Ǧemālī[6] vom 21.—30.10.1542, in dem ein Ṭopčı aus der Festung Ofen und ein Mann aus der Festung Nemse[7] als Gesellschafter genannt werden. Auffällig ist, daß fol. 39 einen Auszug aus dem Mevāǧib Defteri der Mustaḥfiẓ und Ṭopčı der Festung Nemče von 17.4.—10.10.1542, geschrieben vom Kadi von Nemče, Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī, und mit dem Siegel Bālī Pašas versehen, darstellt. Da unter den Namen der dort eingetragenen Personen keiner der beiden Gesellschafter aus fol. 56 aufscheint, ist kein unbedingter Zusammenhang der beiden Dokumente miteinander bzw. mit den übrigen hier behandelten Urkunden abzuleiten. Da aber ein solcher nicht mit Sicherheit auszuschließen ist,

[2] F. Kraelitz, *Osmanische Urkunden in türkischer Sprache aus der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*. Wien 1921, Nr. 24, p. 106 ff., Taf. XIII b

[3] Türkische Urkunden zur Geschichte Ungarns und Polens. In: *Der Islam* VIII (1918), 113—125. Vgl. J. Matuz, *Herrscherurkunden des Osmanensultans Süleymān des Prächtigen. Ein chronologisches Verzeichnis*. Freiburg 1971, p. 55, Nr. 185

[4] Vezīr Mağār Süleymān Paša, 1541—42 (vgl. G. Jacob, Türkisches aus Ungarn. In: *Der Islam* VIII (1918), p. 238) und Bālī Paša (1542—43), der nicht, wie schon Jacob, a.a.O. festgestellt hat, mit Küčük Bālī Paša ident ist. Auf Grund der Feststellung von Sāmī Beg, *Qāmūs al-aʿlām*, II, Konstantinopel 1306/1889, p. 1218—19, daß Bālī Paša der Sohn des Yaḥyā Paša sei, vermutet Neumann, a.a.O., p. 121, daß Yaḥyā Paša zwei Söhne namens Bālī hatte, deren jüngerer, Küčük Bālī, jedoch schon 933/1526—27 starb, woraus auch er schließt, daß der Beglerbegi von Ofen nicht Küčük Bālī hieß. Aus dem Text der Siegelabdrücke Bālī Pašas auf den von ihm verfaßten Schriftstücken geht jedoch hervor, daß er kein Sohn Yaḥyā Pašas war und daß sein Vater Ḥamza hieß: *el-ʿabd el-faqīr el-ḥaqīr Bālī Ḥamza* (s. Faks. von Urkunde Nr. 21 / fol. 39 /)

[5] Ḫādim ʿAlī Paša, 1551—53 (vgl. Jacob, a.a.O., p. 238)

[6] Dies muß schon der zweite Kadi von Ofen sein, denn als ersten Kadi hatte Süleymān Ḫayreddīn Efendi eingesetzt (vgl. "Budin", in: İA II, p. 750)

[7] Nemse oder Nemče, serbokroat. Nemci, ungarisch Németi, Ort in Srem, 40 km nördlich von Mitrovica. Die Ǧizye dieses Ortes wurde zur Bezahlung von Gehältern in Ofen verwendet (vgl. L. Fekete, *Die Siyāqatschrift in der türkischen Finanzverwaltung*. Budapest 1955, I, p. 641 u. 805)

werden diese beiden Dokumente ebenfalls in die vorliegende Untersuchung miteinbezogen.

Von den 21 Dokumenten, die Stellenbesetzungen betreffen, sind, wie oben erwähnt, 16 ʿarż-i ḥāl der ersten beiden Beglerbege von Ofen und fünf Berāte Süleymāns des Prächtigen. Mit einer Ausnahme (fol. 30, Nr. 23) stammen sie alle aus den Jahren 1541 und 1542 und betreffen bis auf die genannte Nr. 23 ausschließlich Stellen in der Festung Ofen. Die zu besetzenden Posten lassen sich folgendermaßen zusammenfassen:

Oğaq/Rang	Anzahl	Sold	
		Aqče/Tag	Anzahl
Ṭopčı	10	6	3
		7	7
Ṭopčı/Bölükbaşı	2	7	1
		9	1
Ṭop ʿarabağısı	3	7	3
Ṭop neğğārı	1	7	1
ʿArabağı	2	7	2
ʿArabağı/Bölükbaşı	1	8	1
Qumbarağı başı	1	12→16	1
Atlu ʿulūfeği	1	9	1

Nach W. Björkman, *Ofen zur Türkenzeit* (Hamburgische Universität, Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde, 3 [Reihe B. Völkerkunde, Kulturgeschichte und Sprachen, 2]), Hamburg 1920, p. 64 f. wurden nach der Eroberung von Ofen 1541 162 Ṭopčı, vier Ṭop ʿArabağısı und zehn Qumbarağı stationiert. Die Angaben über die Gesamtstärke der Truppen in Ofen kurz nach der Eroberung schwanken sehr: während es bei Björkman heißt, daß sich 650 Mustaḥfiẓ (Garnisonssoldaten) in Ofen befanden,[8] und daß sich insgesamt "10 000 Türken" dort aufhielten,[9] gibt Fekete, *Buda and Pest under Turkish Rule* (Studia Turco-Hungarica, III), Budapest 1976, p. 17 die Zahl der Soldaten der "garrison" für 1541 mit 2653, für 1542 mit 2357 und für 1543 mit 2965 Mann an. Die hier behandelten Urkunden beleuchten jedenfalls nur einen kleinen Teil der osmanischen Truppen in Ofen.

Aus der Tabelle ergibt sich, daß der Sold eines einfachen Soldaten der Festung Ofen in den beiden untersuchten Jahren meist sieben, einmal sechs Aqče pro Tag ausmachte.[10] Ein Bölükbaşı erhielt den gleichen bzw. nur geringfügig mehr Sold. Ein etwas anderes Bild ergibt sich aus der Soldliste für die

[8] Björkman, a.a.O., p. 63

[9] Björkman, a.a.O., p. 67

[10] Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti teşkilatından Kapukulu ocakları*, II, Ankara 1944, p. 60 gibt für die Mitte des 16. Jh. sechs bis acht Aqče pro Tag als Sold eines einfachen Topčı und p. 104 für die erste Hälfte des 16. Jh. vier bis sechs Aqče pro Tag als Sold eines einfachen ʿArabağı an.

Ṭopčı und Mustaḥfiẓ der Festung Nemče (fol. 39, Nr. 21): während sowohl die Bölükbaşı der Mustaḥfiẓ als auch die der Ṭopčı zwischen sieben und acht Aqče Tagessold bekamen, hatten die einfachen Mustaḥfiẓ meist fünf bis sechs, ganz selten sieben Aqče pro Tag, die Ṭopčı dagegen zwischen fünf und 42 Aqče pro Tag. Die drei hohen Beträge dürften auf Erhöhungen auf Grund von besonderen Leistungen zurückzuführen sein.[11] Der Ṭopčıbaşı der Festung Nemče erhielt zehn Aqče pro Tag, gleich viel wie ein Qumbarağıbaşı im Jahre 978 (1570—71)[12]. Schmiede und Zimmerleute waren nach dem Mevāğib Defteri den Ṭopčı zugeordnet[13] und erhielten den geringsten Sold von nur fünf Aqče täglich. Der in unseren Urkunden vorkommende Ṭop neğğārı sowie die ʿArabağı und Ṭop ʿarabağıları der Festung Ofen unterscheiden sich in ihrem Sold nicht von den Ṭopčı.

Der einzige Atlu ʿulūfeği, der auf Grund seiner Zugehörigkeit zu den Sipāhī aus dem Rahmen fällt und dessen Berāt aus dem Jahr 1553 stammt, erhält einen Tagessold von neun Aqče (fol. 30, Nr. 23).[14]

Die Gründe, warum ein Posten neubesetzt wurde, sind die folgenden:

Grund	Anzahl	Urkunden-Nr.
Tod	3	5, 13, 23
Versetzung	2	12, 16
Abwanderung	1	2
Verschwinden	1	11
freiw. Ausscheiden	5	4, 6, 9, 17, 20
Vernachlässigung d. Dienstpflichten	7	3, 7, 8, 10, 15, 18, 19
Neueinstellung	2	1, 14

Sogar aus diesen wenigen Angaben läßt sich der Verfall des osmanischen militärischen Systems schon in der Mitte des 16. Jh. gut dokumentieren, denn in zwei Drittel der Fälle in unseren Urkunden (14 von 21) wird ein Posten

[11] So wurde z.B. der Sold eines Ṭopčı im Jahr 1080 (1669) wegen guter Dienstverrichtung von fünf auf fünfzehn Aqče angehoben, vgl. Uzunçarşılı, a.a.O., p. 90. In einigen Urkunden, die dem hier behandelten Zeitraum näher stehen, kommen allerdings nur Erhöhungen um jeweils ein Aqče vor, sodaß man an mehrmalige kleinere Erhöhungen denken muß, um auf Beträge von 32 und 42 Aqče täglich zu kommen (vgl. K. Schwarz, *Osmanische Sultansurkunden aus der Zeit Murāds III.*, Habilitationsschrift, Wien 1988, maschinschriftlich, p. 134—139).

[12] Vgl. Uzunçarşılı, a.a.O., p. 37

[13] so auch K. Schwarz, a.a.O., p. 122 (Urk. Nr. 66) für das Jahr 1583; für 1686 scheinen sie dagegen als 60. Bölük der Ṭop ʿArabağıları auf, vgl. Uzunçarşılı a.a.O., p. 102

[14] Im Jahr 1555 erhielt der Odabaşı der Atlu ʿUlūfeği in der Festung Bečūy acht Aqče Tagessold (vgl. Schaendlinger, A. C.: *Die Schreiben Süleymāns des Prächtigen an Vasallen, Militärbeamte, Beamte und Richter aus dem Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv zu Wien.* Wien 1986, Urk. 34, p. 52f.)

durch andere Umstände als den Tod oder die Versetzung des Inhabers vakant.[15] Bei den beiden Neueinstellungen wird im einen Fall (Urk. Nr. 14) weder ein Vorgänger des Einzusetzenden genannt noch ein Grund für seine Einsetzung, sodaß man mit einer neugeschaffenen Stelle rechnen muß. Im anderen Fall (Urk. Nr. 1) wird ein abgesetzter Qumbarağıbaši von Esseg auf Grund seiner Qualifikation und der Notwendigkeit eines Qumbarağıbaši für die Qumbarağı der Festung Ofen mit einer beträchtlichen Solderhöhung von 12 auf 16 Aqče pro Tag neu eingesetzt. Dieser Mann namens ʿAlī b. Meḥmed muß sich in irgendeiner Weise schuldig gemacht haben, denn nach Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Deyimleri ve Terimleri Sözlüğü*, I. İstanbul 1946, p. 854 konnte eine Qumbarağıbaši nicht abgesetzt werden, solange er nichts Unrechtes tat. Nach Hammer, *Des Osmanischen Reiches Staatsverfassung und Staatsverwaltung* II, Wien 1815, p. 230 und Uzunçarşılı, a. a. O., p. 119 gab es bis 1734 nur *tīmārlı* Qumbarağı, was durch den vorliegenden Fall widerlegt wird.

Vom diplomatischen Standpunkt aus gesehen sind die ʿArż-i ḥāl der Beglerbege von Ofen recht einheitlich. Sie beginnen nach der Invocatio (*huwa*) und einem sehr breiten Respektraum, der fast das ganze Blatt einnimmt,[16] mit folgenden Einleitungsformeln, wobei die Formulierungen von Süleymān Paša und Bālī Paša voneinander etwas abweichen: *Dergāh-muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya lā zāle ʿalīyen ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve čāker-i ḫākisār oldur ki* "Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Sklaven an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, der niemals aufhören möge, erhaben zu sein, ist die folgende" (Süleymān Paša) und *Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve zerre-i ḫākisār budur ki* "Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende" (Bālī Paša). Dieses Einleitungsformular besteht aus drei Teilen: 1) die Umschreibung der hohen Pforte im Dativ, verbunden mit 2) der Eulogie, 3) die Überleitung zur Narratio *ʿarż-i . . . budur ki* "Die Bittschrift des . . . ist die folgende". Diese beiden Formulierungen werden bei Fekete, *Einführung*, p. LIX nicht genannt. An das Einleitungsformular schließt sich die Narratio, die aus einem Satz besteht und etwas anders gestaltet ist als die "vier Pfeiler",[17] da der Eingabe der Beglerbege von Ofen (wahrscheinlich schriftliche) Gesuche der Bewerber zugrundelagen. Die Narratio (*beyān-i maṭleb* unter Auslassung der ersten beiden Pfeiler, vgl. Fekete, *Einführung*, p. LIX) beginnt mit einer Beschreibung der

[15] Zum Vergleich Angaben aus der Zeit Murāds III.: von 20 Neubesetzungen wurden neun mit dem Tod des Stelleninhabers begründet, eine durch eine Tīmārverleihung, acht durch Verzicht und zwei durch Fernbleiben vom Dienst (K. Schwarz, a.a.O., p. 99).

[16] Vgl. L. Fekete, *Einführung in die osmanisch-türkische Diplomatik der türkischen Botmässigkeit in Ungarn*. Budapest 1926, p. XII.

[17] Fekete, *Einführung*, p. LIX f.

zu vergebenden Stelle (mit Angabe des Ortes, der Abteilung, des Tagessolds und des Oğaq bzw. des Ranges), der Nennung des vorigen Inhabers — es sei denn, es handelt sich um einen neugeschaffenen Posten — (. . . Dativ *müteṣarrif olan* . . . ". . ., der über . . . verfügte"). Diese Periode endet mit der Begründung, warum die Stelle freigeworden ist: — *ub yėri ḫālī ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qalduġı eğilden / qaldı dėyü / gedügi maḥlūl olmaġın* "Da . . . seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet blieb / seine Stelle vakant ist" (vgl. z. B. Urk. Nr. 3, 2, 6). In zwei Fällen, die in die erste Zeit der Amtsübernahme Bālī Pašas fallen, wird dieser Abschnitt noch durch folgenden Satz erweitert: *yėrini merḥūm Süleymān Paša . . . -a/-e tevğīh ėdüb lākin ʿarżı żāyiʿ olmaġın/ʿarżını żāyiʿ ėtmegin* "hatte der verstorbene Süleymān Paša seine Stelle . . . zugewiesen. Da seine Bittschrift jedoch verlorenging/er seine Bittschrift verlor" (Urk. Nr. 3 und 4). Es muß also nach dem Tod Süleymān Pašas in der Kanzlei des Beglerbegi von Ofen zum Verlust einiger Dokumente gekommen sein. Es ist nicht anzunehmen, daß die Bittsteller selbst die sie betreffenden Eingaben verloren haben, wie dies mit Berāten gelegentlich geschah,[18] da diese ja nach einer (provisorischen) Zuweisung durch den Beglerbegi von Ofen als Grundlage zur Ausstellung eines Berāts an die Pforte geschickt werden sollten. In eben diesen beiden Fällen ist der Abschlußsatz der Narratio, der mit der Bitte (*istirḥām*, Fekete, *Einführung*, p. LX) verknüpft ist, erweitert: *berāt-i šerīf ṣadaqa buyurılmaq reğāsına südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı* "wurde dies auf seine Bitte, daß ihm ein erhabenes Ernennungsdiplom geschenkt werde, der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet" (Urk. Nr. 4). Sonst lautet die Formel *rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i riqqīyet . . . ile ağası/ṭopčıbasısı/* (etc.) *iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı* "Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, . . . und sein Ağa / Ṭopčıbašı / etc. bekanntgaben, daß . . ., wurde dies der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet".[19] Die Stellenbewerber wurden also ähnlich wie in vergleichbaren Fällen anderer Zeiten[20] von ihren unmittelbaren Vorgesetzten beim Beglerbegi für eine Stelle vorgeschlagen. Den Schluß bildet die Formel *ve-l-emrü aʿlā* "Der Befehl ist erhaben" (Süleymān Paša) und *bāqī fermān der-i ʿadluñdur/dergāh-i ʿālem-penāhuñdur* "Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit (der Pforte, dem Zufluchtsort der Welt,) zu." Keine

[18] Vgl. K. Schwarz, a.a.O. p. 93–96.

[19] Das Präteritum *ʿarż olundı* dürfte wie *buyurdum ki* in Herrscherurkunden eine Art Koinzidenzfall sein und könnte präsentisch übersetzt werden. Matuz, *Das Kanzleiwesen Sultan Süleymāns des Prächtigen*, Wiesbaden 1974, p. 114 et passim übersetzt zwar *buyurdum ki* präsentisch, ist aber p. 107 der Ansicht, daß das Präteritum durchaus als solches zu verstehen ist, da schon die Willensäußerung des Sultans — die Erteilung des Beurkundungsbefehls — die rechtssymbolische Handlung darstellt und nicht erst die Urkundenausstellung. *ʿArż olundı* ebenso zu interpretieren scheint nicht angebracht. — Fekete, *Einführung*, p. LX rechnet diesen Satz schon zu den Schlußformeln und trennt ihn nicht vom nächsten Abschnitt.

[20] vgl. z.B. K. Schwarz, a.a.O., p. 97f.

der beiden Formulierungen findet sich wörtlich bei Fekete, *Einführung*, p. LX. Die ersten beiden ʿArż-i ḥāl, die noch von Süleymān Paša stammen (Urk. Nr. 1 und 2), sind beide undatiert, und nur in Nr. 1 wird im Text das Datum genannt, von wann an die Ernennung gelten möge und von wann an der Sold rückwirkend ausgezahlt werden soll. Auch die ersten beiden ʿArż-i ḥāl Bālī Pašas (Urk. Nr. 3 und 4) sind noch undatiert und enthalten lediglich das Datum, von wann an bzw. wann Süleymān Paša dem Bewerber die Stelle zugeteilt hat. Sie wurden wahrscheinlich Anfang 1542 von Bālī Paša geschrieben. Die restlichen Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei Bālīs sind alle in arabischer Sprache mit der Formel *taḥrīren fī . . .* "Geschrieben am . . ." datiert. Die Unterschrift (*Imżā*, Fekete, *Einführung*, p. LX) lautet bei Süleymān Paša *aż'afu l-ʿibād Süleymān el-faqīr* "Der schwächste der Diener, der arme Süleymān" und bei Bālī Paša *bende Bālī* "Der Diener Bālī". Auf den Rückseiten befinden sich die Siegel der Beglerbege (vgl. Anm. 4).

Die fünf Berāte (Urk. Nr. 11—14, 23) gehören alle dem *Sebeb-i taḥrīr*-Typus an, d. h. nach Invocatio und Ṭuġra beginnt der Text mit der Einleitungsformel *sebeb-i taḥrīr-i tevqīʿ-i refīʿ-i hümāyūn oldur ki* "Der Anlaß der Ausfertigung des erhabenen großherrlichen Schreibens ist folgender".[21] Die Expositio beginnt in Urk. 11—13 fallbezogen mit *bundan aqdem* "vordem", in Urk. 14 ohne Einleitung, wobei aber *muqaddemā* "vordem" in der Mitte des Satzes steht, und wird mit *ḥālīyen* "nun" fortgesetzt. In Urk. 23 beginnt die Expositio ebenfalls ohne Einleitung, obwohl hier laut Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, p. 118, gestützt auf Uzunçarşılı, a. a. O., Taf. XVIII, *ḥālīyen* "nun" zu erwarten gewesen wäre. Doch behandelt die dort abgebildete Urkunde das Ansuchen eines Ṭopčı, der seinen Posten schon innehat (*ḥālīyen . . . ṭopčı olan dārende-i fermān-i šerīf*), um Erneuerung seines Berāts durch Süleymān den Prächtigen kurz nach seinem Herrschaftsantritt, während unsere Urkunde eine Neueinsetzung betrifft. Weder die vergleichbare Urkunde Nr. 35 aus Schaendlinger, a. a. O. noch die bei Schwarz, a. a. O. edierten Urkunden des *sebeb-i taḥrīr*-Typus (Nr. 55—72) weisen ein einleitendes *ḥālīyen* auf, und die erneuerten Berāte des *sebeb-i taḥrīr*-Typus aus der Zeit Murāds III. werden mit einer ganz anderen Formel eingeleitet (Schwarz, a. a. O., Urk. Nr. 1—15, 17—50). Die Expositio selbst besteht aus ein bis zwei Sätzen, die in den hier untersuchten Urkunden bzw. in vergleichbaren Urkunden Murāds III. gleich oder sehr ähnlich formuliert sind. Diese Formulierungen kann man jedoch nicht als Urkundenformular im engeren Sinn bezeichnen, da je nach dem Inhalt, der ausgedrückt werden soll, andere Formulierungen gewählt werden. In unseren Berāten werden die unseren Urk. Nr. 1—10 und 15—20 wahrscheinlich sehr ähnlichen Vorschläge (als *mektūb* "Brief" (Urk. Nr. 11, 12, 13), *mektūb ve defter* "Brief und Defter" (Urk. Nr. 14) bzw. *ʿarż* (Urk. Nr. 23)

[21] vgl. Fekete, *Einführung*. p. XLVI; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, p. 118; Schaendlinger, a.a.O., p. XIX.

bezeichnet) der Beglerbege von Ofen, Süleymān Paša (Urk. Nr. 11, 12, 13), Bālī Paša (Urk. Nr. 14) und ʿAlī Paša (Urk. Nr. 23) zitiert. Dabei werden folgende Angaben berücksichtigt:[22] *dārende-i fermān-i hümāyūn . . . mektūbı mūğibinğe . . . yėrine . . . yevmī . . . aqče ile . . . naṣb olunub . . . (bī-berāt müteṣarrif imiš ḥāliyen . . . berāt ṭaleb ėtmegin)* "Auf Vorschlag des . . . wurde der Inhaber des großherrlichen Befehlsschreibens, . . ., anstelle des . . . mit . . . Aqče Tagessold eingesetzt (und hat [die Stellung] ohne Ernennungsdiplom innegehabt. Da er nun . . . ein Ernennungsdiplom erbeten hat,)." Die eingeklammerte Periode wird nur bei entsprechenden Fällen angewendet, hier Urk. Nr. 11, 12, 13, 14. Bei Urk. Nr. 11, 12, 13 handelt es sich offensichtlich um Schriftstücke, deren Bearbeitung noch von Süleymān Paša eingeleitet und erst zur Zeit Bālī Pašas abgeschlossen wurde. Die Expositio endet also entweder mit einem *-ub*, das vom folgenden, die Dispositio einleitenden . . . *güninde(n) bu berāt-i hümāyūnı vėrdüm ve buyurdum ki* "habe ich diese großherrliche Ernennungsdiplom (vom) am . . . Tag (an) gegeben und befohlen"[23] aufzulösen ist, oder mit *-megin*. Die Dispositio selbst enthält fallbezogene Anweisungen, die sowohl in unseren Beispielen als auch in den Berāten des *sebeb-i taḥrīr*-Typus bei Schaendlinger, a. a. O., Nr. 34, 35 und Schwarz, a. a. O. Nr. 1—15, 17—50 annähernd gleich formuliert sind: *varub . . . (ke-mā kāne) . . . olub šolki vażāyif-i ḫidmātdur . . . . . mü'eddā qılduqdan ṣoñra ʿulūfesi . . . ḫavāle oluna* "daß er hingehe und (wie bisher) . . . sei. Nachdem er seine Dienstpflichten . . . verrichtet hat, möge ihm sein Sold . . . ausbezahlt werden." Merkwürdigerweise fehlt in unseren Urkunden Nr. 11—14 und in der Urkunde aus dem Jahr 1521, die bei Uzunçarşılı, a. a. O., Taf. XXXVIII abgebildet ist, die Anweisung, daß die *resm-i berāt*, die Berātabgabe oder Bestallungsabgabe, gezahlt werden möge. Im allgemeinen wurde der Sold erst ausbezahlt, wenn die Berātabgabe bezahlt worden war, bzw. wurde sie bei der Soldauszahlung direkt vom Sold abgezogen.[24] Auch weisen sämtliche bei Schwarz behandelten Urkunden diese Klausel auf, ebenso wie unsere Urk. Nr. 23 aus dem Jahr 1553 und die Urkunden Schaendlinger, a. a. O., Nr. 34, 35 aus dem Jahr 1555 (in Urk. Nr. 33 aus dem Jahr 1555, einem Berāt des Nišān-Typus, fehlt sie jedoch).

Sanctio (*šöyle bileler* "so mögen sie es wissen") und Corroboratio (*ʿalāmet-i šerīfe iʿtimād qılalar* "Sie sollen dem erhabenen Zeichen Vertrauen schenken")[25] entsprechen ganz der Norm.

[22] Da die Formulierungen nur geringfügig voneinander abweichen, wird nur eine der Möglichkeiten als Muster angegeben.

[23] Zu *buyurdum ki* vgl. Anm. 18; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, p. 118; Schaendlinger, a.a.O., p. XXI.

[24] Vgl. "Berat", in EI², I, p. 1171; Fekete, *Einführung*, p. XLVI; insbes. Schwarz, a.a.O., p. 14, wo für das Jahr 1548 die Höhe der Berātgebühren von Rūmėli mit über 2,5 Mill. Aqče angegeben wird.

[25] Vgl. Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, p. 118 und Schaendlinger, a.a.O. p. XXIII.

Die Datierung ist wie in allen *sebeb-i taḥrīr*-Urkunden von anderer Hand im Qırma-Duktus hinzugefügt (*taḥrīren fī . . .* "Geschrieben am . . ."). [26] Die Zeitabstände zwischen dem Datum der rückwirkend festgestellten Gültigkeit des Berāts und dem Datum seiner Ausstellung sind verschieden: nur zehn Tage für die Urk. Nr. 11—14, dagegen fast neun Monate für die Urk. Nr. 23, zehn bzw. acht Monate bei Schaendlinger, a. a. O., Urk. 34 und 35. Auch in dem von Schwarz, a. a. O. bearbeiteten Material schwankt die Periode von nur wenigen Tagen bis zu mehreren Monaten. Bis die Ernannten ihren Sold dann ausbezahlt bekamen, verstrichen wahrscheinlich noch weitere Monate. [27]

Der Ausstellungsort wird nur in der einfachsten Form angegeben: *bi-maqāmi Qosṭanṭinīye* "in der Residenz zu Qosṭanṭinīye". [28]

Auf den Rückseiten der Berāte befinden sich jeweils drei *quyruqlu imżā* "geschwänzte Unterschriften". [29]

Das Gerichtsprotokoll (Urk. Nr. 22) gliedert sich nach der Adresse *ḥażret el-mevlā el-maḥall* "An Seine Hoheit, den Richter des Ortes" in zwei Teile: 1) einen in osmanischer Sprache, 2) einen in arabischer Sprache. Teil 1 wird mit einer etwas komplizierteren und m. E. nicht korrekten *sebeb-i taḥrīr*-Formel eingeleitet (*sebeb-i taḥrīr-i kitāb ḥükmi ve bā'iṣ-i tasṭīr-i ḥitāb naqli budur ki* "Der Befehl der Ursache der Abfassung des Schreibens und die Übermittlung des Grundes der Niederschrift der Botschaft ist folgendes:"). Den eigentlichen Text macht die Nennung des Klägers und zweier Zeugen sowie die in direkter Rede wiedergegebene Zeugenaussage der beiden aus. Teil 1 schließt mit *dėyü* "sagend", worauf der Satz in arabischer Sprache ohne weitere Überleitung fortgeführt wird (Teil 2). In diesem zweiten Teil wird vom Kadi die Richtigkeit der gemachten Aussagen bestätigt und die Annahme durch den Adressaten erbeten. Die Abschlußformel lautet: *ǧarā ḏālika* "Dies gilt". Darauf folgt die Datierung *taḥrīren fī . . .* "geschrieben am . . ." mit der Angabe der Dekade des Monats. Zwei Zeugen des Vorgangs, d. h. der Zeugenaussage der beiden oben erwähnten Zeugen, werden unten genannt. Die Unterschrift des Kadi von Ofen ist nicht ganz leserlich. Mangels vergleichbarer Dokumente aus derselben Zeit kann nicht festgestellt werden, welche Passagen des arabischen Textes bloßes Formular darstellen. (Zum diplomatischen Aufbau der zur Gänze Osmanisch abgefaßten und an keine Person adressierten Gerichtsprotokolle s. V. Boškov: Die ḥüǧǧet-Urkunde — Diplomatische Analyse, in: *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata* (ed. A. Gallotta, U. Marazzi), Napoli 1982, p. 81—87 und die dort zitierte Literatur.)

[26] Vgl. Fekete, *Einführung*, p. XLVII; Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, p. 118 (anders als dort erwähnt, wird in unseren Urkunden auch der genaue Tag und nicht nur die Dekade der Ausstellung angegeben).

[27] Vgl. Schwarz, a.a.O., Urkunden Nr. 53—72.

[28] Vgl. Fekete, *Einführung*, p. XLVII, Matuz, *Kanzleiwesen*, p. 119.

[29] Fekete, *Einführung*, p. XLVII.

Nr. 1
fol. 50

27 × 17 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Süleymān Pašas

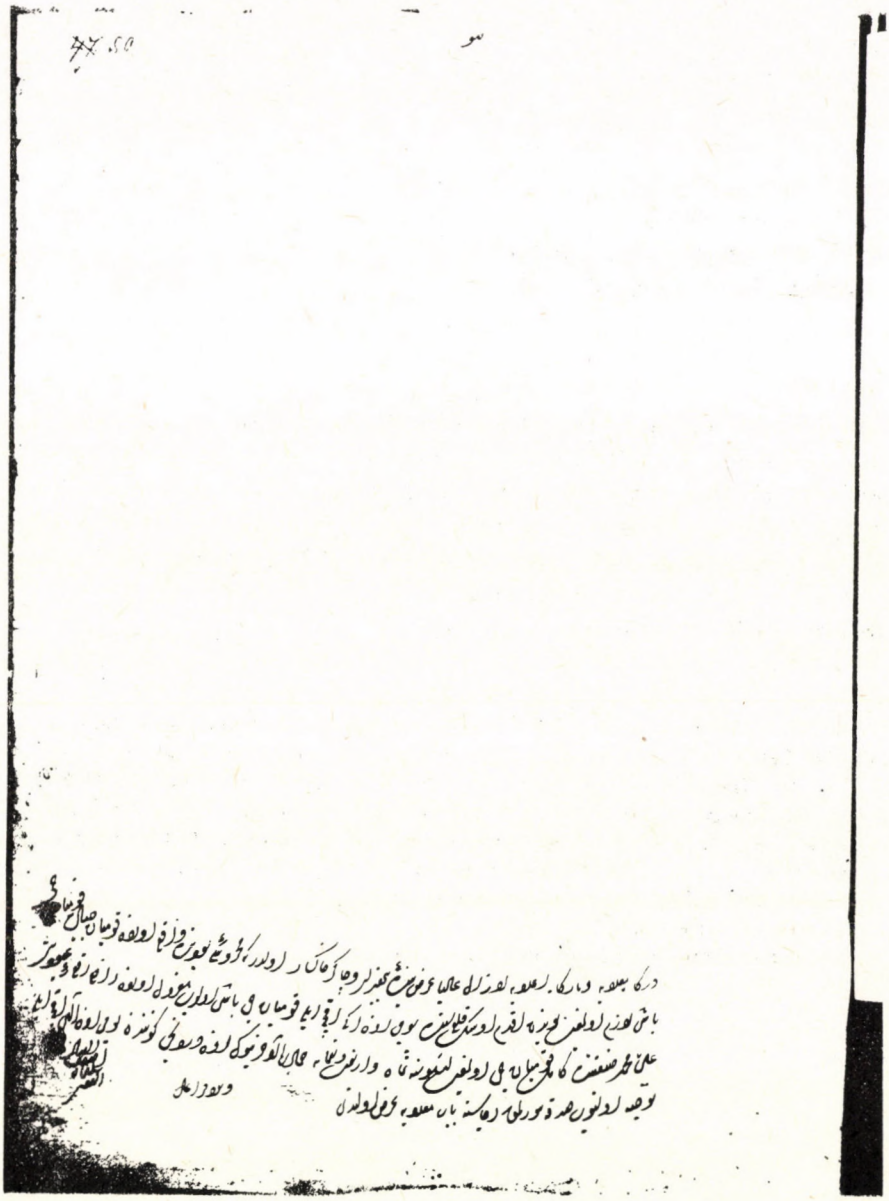
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya lā zāle ʿalīyen ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miq-
dār ve čāker-i ḫākisār oldur ki maḥrūse-i Būdīnde vāqiʿ olan qumbarağı-
2 lara qumbarağı || bašı lāzim olmaġın bundan aqdem Ösek qalʿesinde yevmī
on iki aqče ile qumbarağı bašı olub maʿzūl olan rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i ʿubūdīyet ||
3 ʿAlī b. Meḥmed ṣanʿatinde kāmil qumbarağı olmaġın išbu sene-i ṣemānin
ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin Ğemāẕīyü l-āḫirinüñ on dördünği güninden
4 yevmī on altı aqče ile || tevğīh olunub ṣadaqa buyurılmaq reğāsına bāb-i
muʿallāya ʿarż olundı ve-l-emrü aʿlā
aż'afü l-ʿibād Süleymān el-faqīr

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Sklaven an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, der niemals aufhören möge, erhaben zu sein, ist die folgende:

Da die Qumbarağı im wohlbehüteten Būdīn einen Qumbarağıbašı brauchen und der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, der früher abgesetzte Qumbarağıbašı in der Festung Ösek, der einen Tagessold von zwölf Aqče innehatte, ʿAlī b. Meḥmed, ein in seiner Kunst vollkommener Qumbarağı ist, wurde dies auf seine Bitte, daß (die Stelle) ihm vom 14. Tag des Ğemāẕīyü l-āḫir dieses Jahres 948 (5. 10. 1541) an mit einem Tagessold von 16 Aqče zugewiesen und geschenkt werden möge, der hohen Pforte unterbreitet.

Der Befehl ist erhaben.

Der schwächste der Diener, der arme Süleymān.



Nr. 2
fol. 49

22,5 × 18,5 cm
linker Rand beschädigt
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Süleymān Pašas

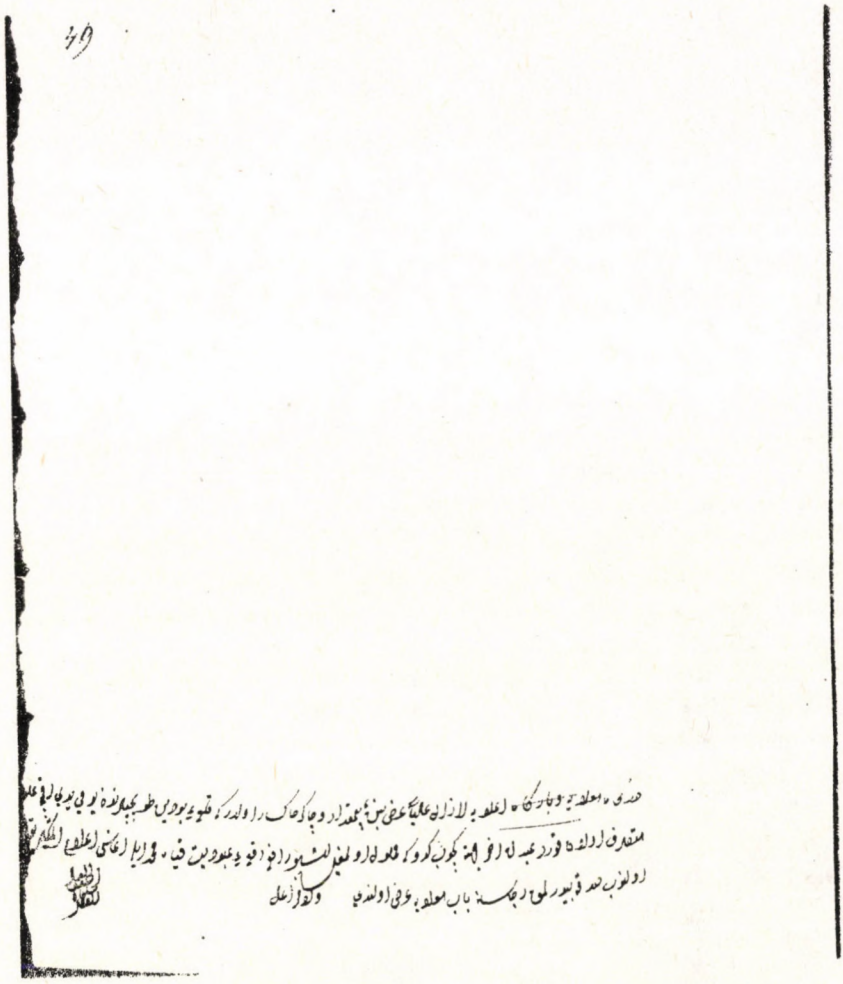
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya lā zāle ʿalīyen ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miq-
dar ve čāker-i ḫākisār (!) oldur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn ṭopčılarından yevmī yedi
2 aqče ʿulū(feye) || müteṣarrif olan Qurd ʿAbdallāh āḫer ğihete gečüb gedügi
maḥlūl olmaġın išbu rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i ʿubūdīyet Qaya b. Meḥmed ile aġası
3 iʿlām eylemegin tev(ğīh) || olunub ṣadaqa buyurılmaq reğāsına bāb-i
muʿallāya ʿarż olundı ve-l-emrü aʿlā
aż'afü l-ʿibād Süleymān el-faqīr

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Sklaven an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, der niemals aufhören möge, erhaben zu sein, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Qaya b. Meḥmed und sein Aġa bekannt gaben, daß Qurd ʿAbdallāh, einer der Ṭopčı der Festung Būdīn, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, an einen anderen Ort gezogen und seine Stelle vakant sei, wurde dies auf seine Bitte, daß (die Stelle) ihm zugewiesen und geschenkt werden möge, der hohen Pforte unterbreitet.

Der Befehl ist erhaben.

Der schwächste der Diener, der arme Süleymān.



Nr. 3
fol. 7

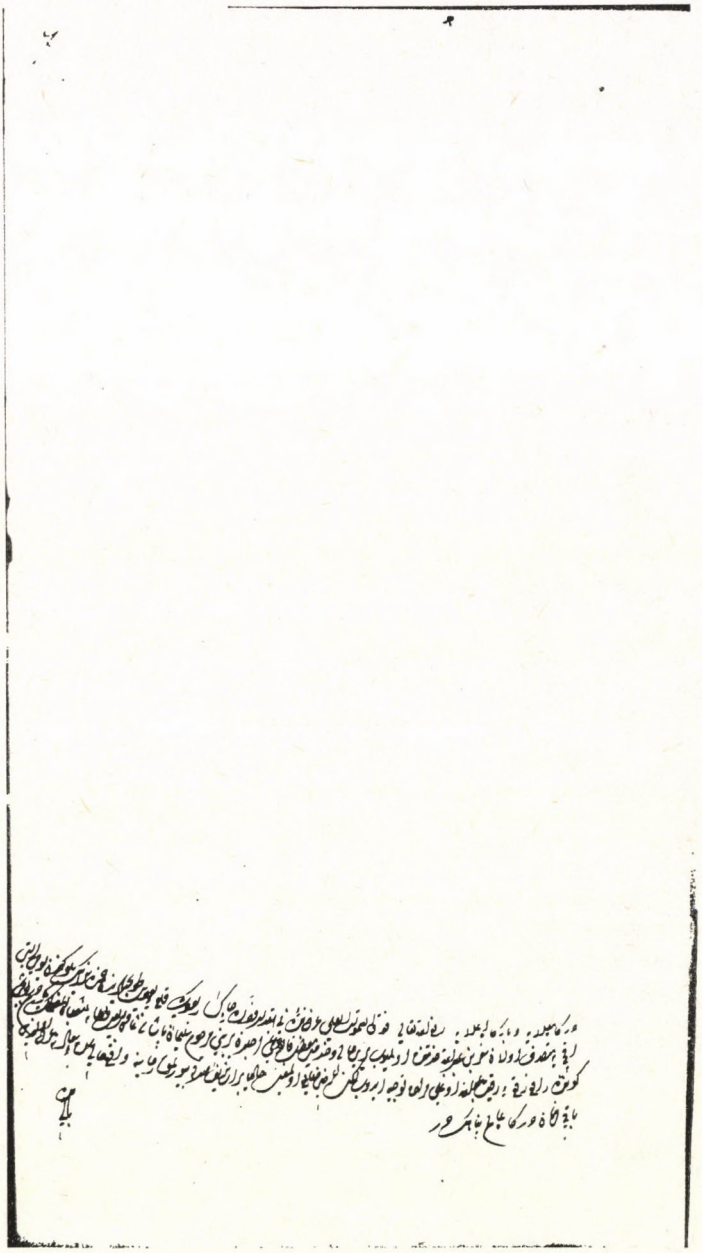
26 × 14,5 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-seme-
vāti l-ʿalī (!) ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i
2 Būdīn ṭopčılarından Ḥamza-i Selānīk bölüginden yevmī altı || aqčeye
müteṣarrif olan Sefer b. ʿAbdallāh ḫidmetinde olmayub yėri ḫālī ve
ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qalduġı eğilden yėrini merḥūm Süleymān Paša sene-i
ṣemānin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin Šaʿbānu l-muʿaẓẓamuñ yigirmi dör-
3 dünği || güninde rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet ʿAbdallāh oġlı Murāda tevğīh
ėdüb lākin ʿarżı żāyiʿ olmaġın ḫālīyen berāt-i šerīf ṣadaqa buyurılmaq
4 reğāsına vāqiʿ-i ḫāli südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı || bāqī fermān dergāh-i
ʿālem-penāhuñdur
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da Sefer b. ʿAbdallāh, einer der Ṭopčı der Festung Būdīn aus dem Bölük des Ḥamza aus Selānīk, der über einen Tagessold von sechs Aqče verfügte, seinen Dienst nicht wahrgenommen hatte, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet geblieben war, hatte am 24. Tag des geehrten Šaʿbān des Jahres 948 (20. 11. 1541) der verstorbene Süleymān Paša seine Stelle dem Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Murād, dem Sohn ʿAbdallāhs, zugewiesen. Da seine Bittschrift jedoch verlorenging, wurde der wahre Sachverhalt nun auf seine Bitte, daß ihm ein erhabenes Ernennungsdiplom geschenkt werde, der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte, dem Zufluchtsort der Welt, zu.
Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 4
fol. 63

28,5 × 14,5 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

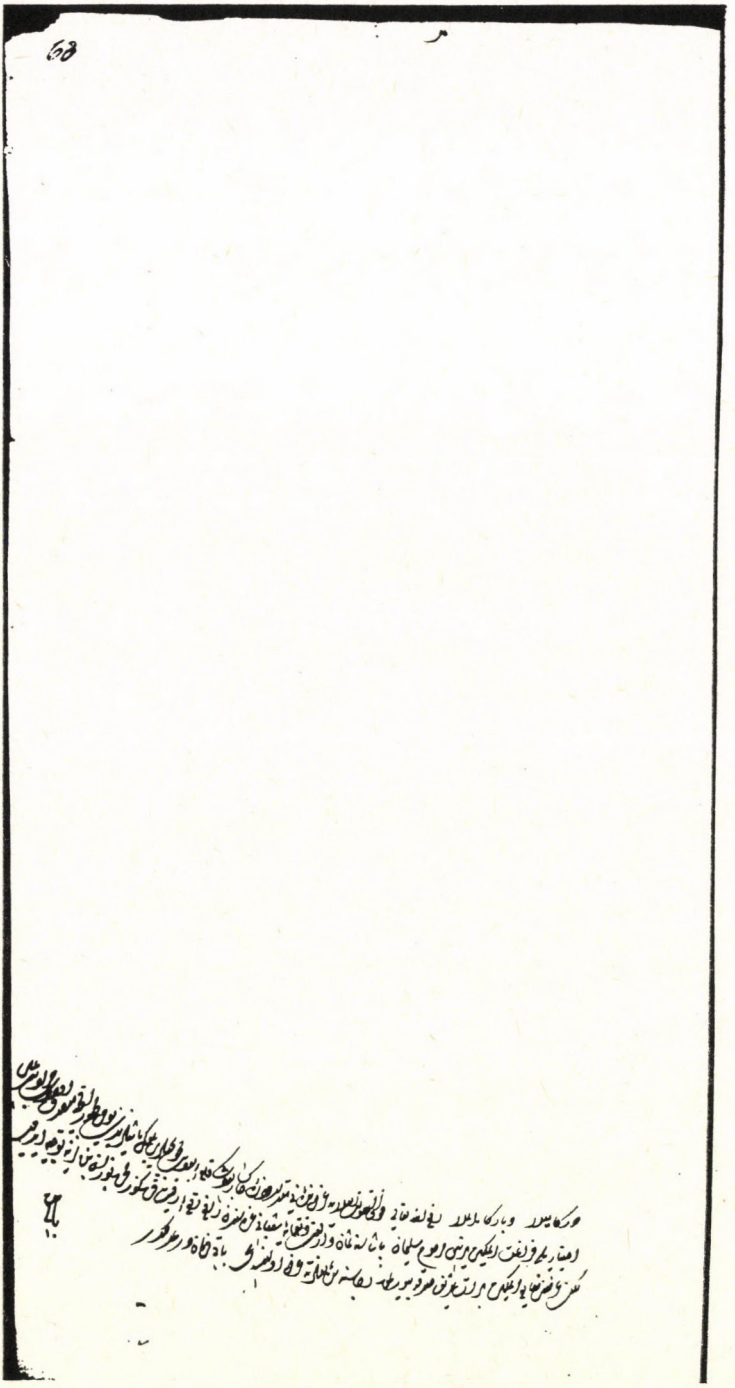
1 Dergāh-i muʿallā ve bārgāh-i aʿlā refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti
l-ʿalāya (!) ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i
Būdīn ṭopčıları bölük bašılarından yevmī ṭoquz aqčeye müteṣarrif olan
2 Murād b. ʿAlī || iḫtiyārıyle ferāġat ėtmegin yėrini merḥūm Süleymān
Paša sene-i ṣemānin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin Šaʿbānı ġurresinden rāfiʿ-i
3 ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet Qaragöz Meḥmed Bozan bendelerine tevǧīh ėdüb || lākin
ʿarżını żāyiʿ ėtmegin berāt-i šerīf ṣadaqa buyurılmaq reǧāsına südde-i
seʿādete ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān der-i ʿadluñdur
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da Murād b. ʿAlī, einer der Bölükbašı der Ṭopčı der Festung Būdīn, der über einen Tagessold von neun Aqče verfügte, freiwillig zurückgetreten war, hatte der verstorbene Süleymān Paša seine Stelle vom 1. Šaʿbān des Jahres 948 (20. 11. 1541) an dem Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Eurem Diener Qaragöz Meḥmed Bozan zugewiesen. Da er seine Bittschrift jedoch verlor, wurde (dies) auf seine Bitte, daß ihm ein erhabenes Ernennungsdiplom geschenkt werde, der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit zu.

Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 5
fol. 62

letzte Dekade Šawwāl 948 (7.—15.2.1542)
30,5 × 14 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

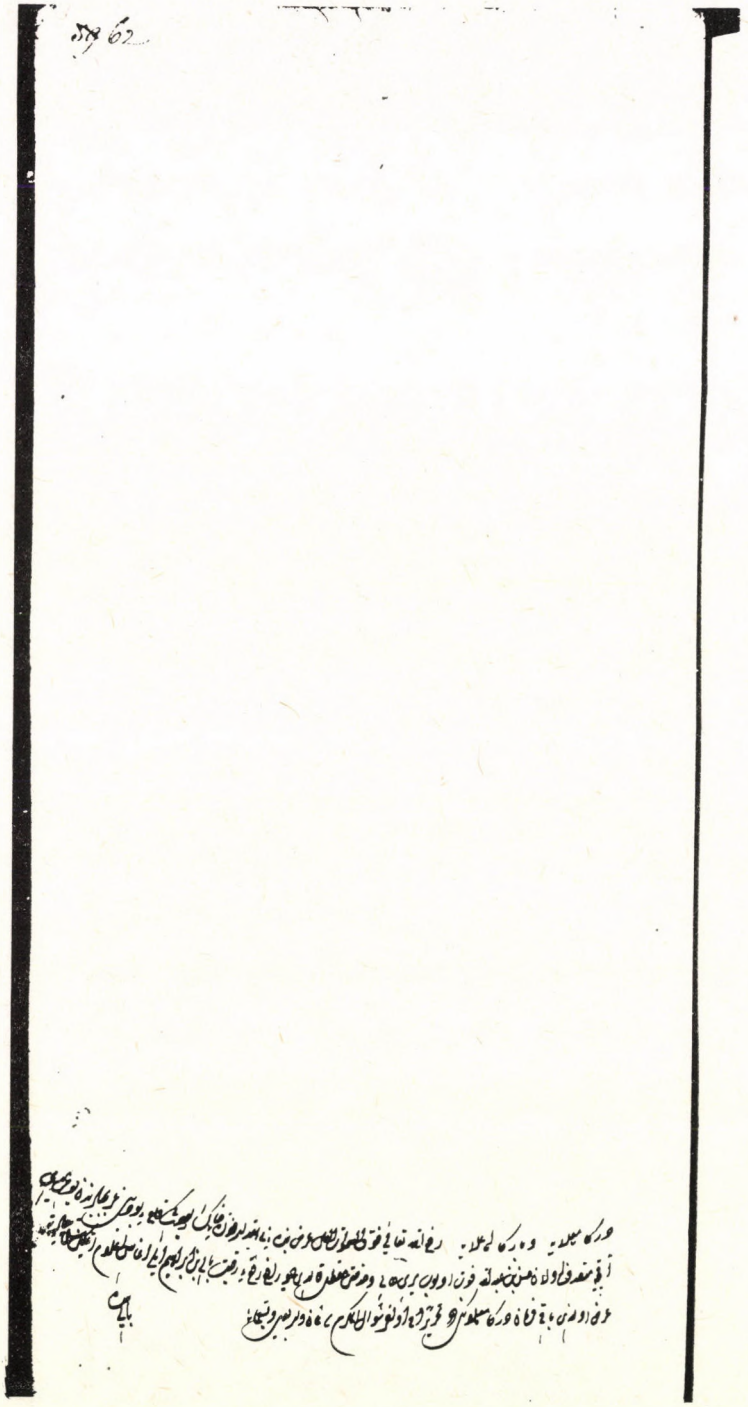
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār oldur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn
2 ʿarabağılarından yevmī yedi || aqčeye müteṣarrif olan Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh fevt olub yėri ḫālī (!) ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i
3 rıqqīyet Bālī b. Ibrāhīm ile aġası iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete || ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān dergāh-i muʿallānuñdur taḥrīren fī evāḫiri Ševvālini l-mükerrem senete ṣemānin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Bālī b. Ibrāhīm, und sein Aġa bekanntgaben, daß Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh, einer der ʿArabağı der Festung Būdīn, der über sieben Aqče Tagessold verfügte, gestorben sei, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der hohen Pforte zu. Geschrieben in der letzten Dekade des geehrten Ševvāl des Jahres 948 (7.—15. 2. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 6
fol. 67

13. Ṣafar 949 (29.5.1542)
30 × 15,5 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn
2 ṭopčılarından Qaragöz-i Ṭrabzon bölüginden || yevmī yedi aqčeye mütesarrif olan Ḫıżır b. Iskender iḫtiyārıyle ferāġat ėdüb yėri ḫālī (!) ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü qalʿe-i Ösek ṭopčıları maʿzūllerinden rāfiʿ-i
3 ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet || Yaḥyā b. Maḥmūd ile aġası iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān dergāh-i muʿallānuñdur taḥrīren fī 13 Ṣaferini l-muẓaffer senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Yaḥyā b. Maḥmūd, einer der abgesetzten Ṭopčı der Festung Ösek, und sein Aġa bekanntgaben, daß Ḫıżır b. Iskender, einer der Ṭopčı der Festung Būdīn aus dem Bölük des Qaragöz aus Ṭrabzon, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, freiwillig zurückgetreten sei, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der hohen Pforte zu. Geschrieben am 13. Ṣafer des Siegreichen des Jahres 949 (29. 5. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.

67

Nr. 7
fol. 65

9. Rabīʿ I. 949 (23.6.1542)
29,5 × 15 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn
2 ʿarabağılarından Ṭuraq-i Bosna bölüginden yevmī yedi aqčeye || müteṣarrif olan Keyvān b. ʿAbdallāh ḫidmetinde olmayub yėri ḫālī (!) ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü qalʿe-i Īloq ṭopčıları maʿzūllerinden rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i
3 rıqqīyet ʿAlī b. Qaragöz ič(ün) ? || aġası iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān der-i ʿadluñdur taḥrīren fī 9 Rebīʿi l-evvel senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da betreffend den Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, ʿAlī b. Qaragöz, einen der abgesetzten Ṭopčı der Festung Īloq, sein Aġa bekanntgab, daß Keyvān b. ʿAbdallāh, einer der ʿArabağı der Festung Būdīn aus der Kompanie des Ṭuraq aus Bosna, der über sieben Aqče Tagessold verfügte, seinen Dienst nicht wahrnehme, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit zu. Geschrieben am 9. Rebīʿu l-evvel des Jahres 949 (23. 6. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.

Nr. 8
fol. 72

13. Rabīʿ II. 949 (27.7.1542)
27,5 × 17 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

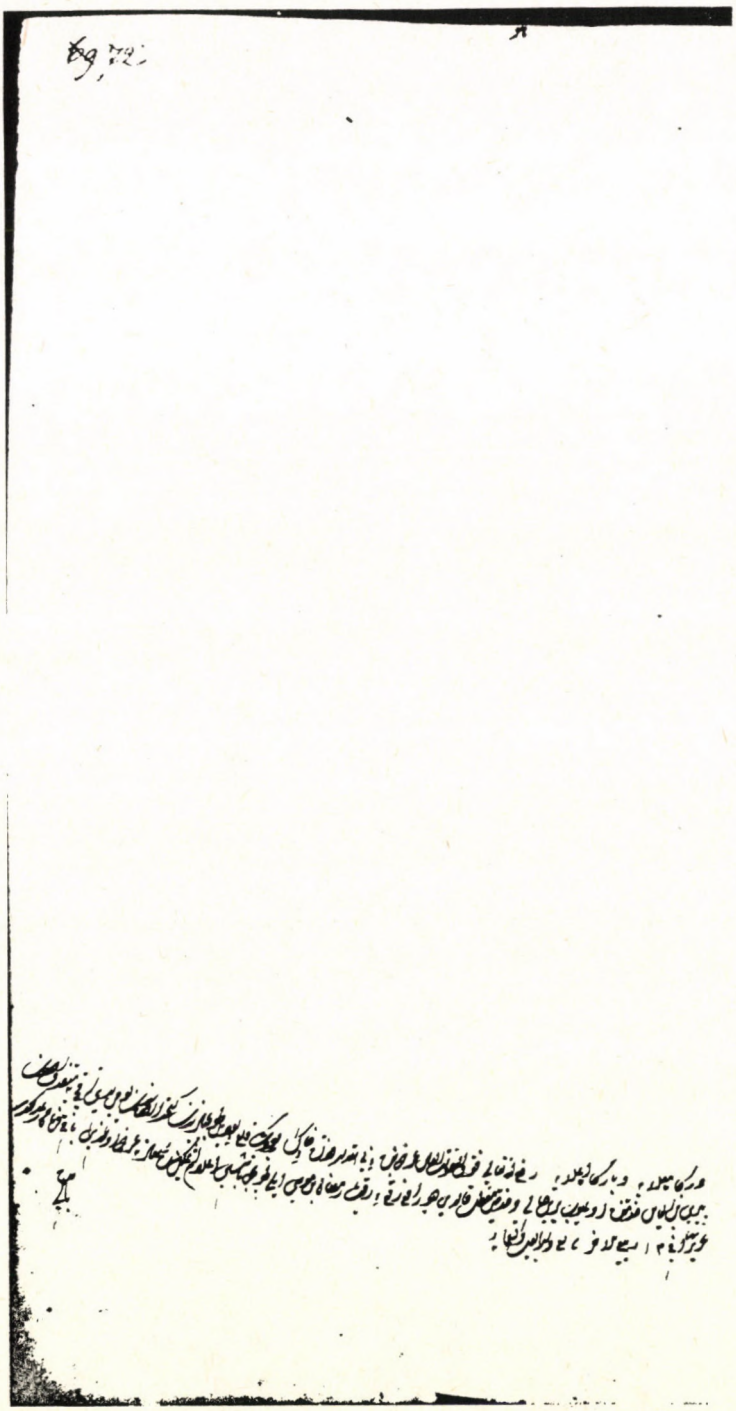
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-seme-
vāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn
2 ṭopčılarından ketḫüdā odasından yevmī yedi aqčeye müteṣarrif olan ||
Pīrī b. Ilyās ḫidmetinde olmayub yėri ḫālī (!) ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal
qaldı dėyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet Ramażān b. Mūsā ile ṭopčı bašısı iʿlām
3 ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān der-i ʿadluñdur || taḥrīren
fī 13 Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Ramażān b. Mūsā, und sein Ṭopčıbašı bekanntgaben, daß Pīrī b. Ilyās, einer der Ṭopčı der Festung Būdīn aus der Oda des Ketḫüdā, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, seinen Dienst nicht wahrnehme, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit zu. Geschrieben am 13. Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (27. 7. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 9
fol. 69

19. Rabīʿ II. 949 (2.8.1542)
29 × 16 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

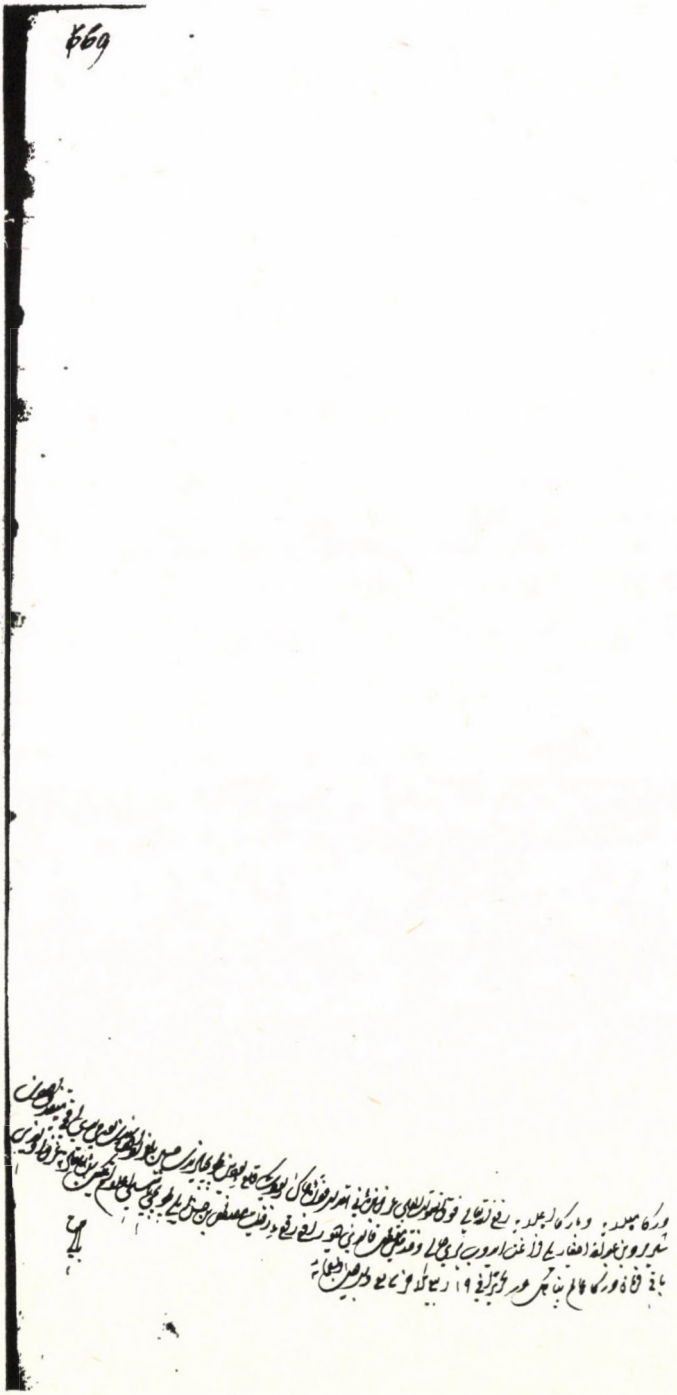
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-seme-
vāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i
Būdīn ṭopčılarından Ḥüseyn-i Belġrād odasından yevmī yedi aqčeye
2 müteṣarrif olan || Šīrmerd b. ʿAbdallāh iḫtiyārıyle ferāġat ėdüb yėri ḫālī
(!) ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet Muṣṭafā b.
3 Ḥasan ile ṭopčıbašısı iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı || bāqī
fermān dergāh-i ʿālem-penāhuñdur taḫrīren fī 19 Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete
tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Muṣṭafā b Ḥasan, und sein Ṭopčıbašı bekanntgaben, daß Šīrmerd b. ʿAbdallāh, einer der Ṭopčı der Festung Būdīn aus der Oda des Ḥüseyn aus Belġrād, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, freiwillig zurückgetreten sei, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte, dem Zufluchtsort der Welt, zu. Geschrieben am 19. Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (2. 8. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 10
fol. 66

24. Rabīʿ II. 949 (7.8.1542)
30 × 16 cm
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn ʿarabağılarından yevmī sekiz aqče ile bölükbašı olan Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh
2 ḫidmetinde olmayub || yėri ḫālī (!) ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet Yūsuf b. Ḥüseyn ile aġası iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i
3 seʿādete ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān dergāh-i ʿālem-penāhuñdur || taḥrīren fī 24 Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

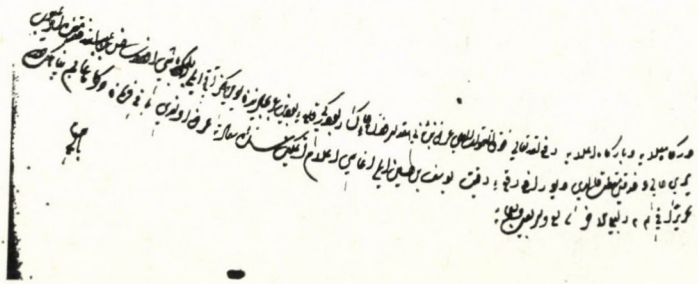
Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Yūsuf b. Ḥüseyn, und sein Aġa bekanntgaben, daß Ḥasan b. ʿAbdallāh, einer der ʿArabağı der Festung Būdīn, der mit einem Tagessold von acht Aqče Bölükbašı ist, seinen Dienst nicht wahrnehme, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte, dem Zufluchtsort der Welt, zu. Geschrieben am 24. Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (7. 8. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.

16



Nr. 11
fol. 31

26. Rabīʿ II. 949 (9.8.1542)
34 × 19 cm
Urkundentypus: Berāt (sebeb-i taḥrīr-Typus)
Ṭuġra: schwarz mit Goldstaub
Schrift: schwarz mit Goldstaub, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: drei "quyuruqlu imżā": el-faqīr Maḥmūd, el-ḥaqīr Ḥayder, el-faqīr Muṣṭafā

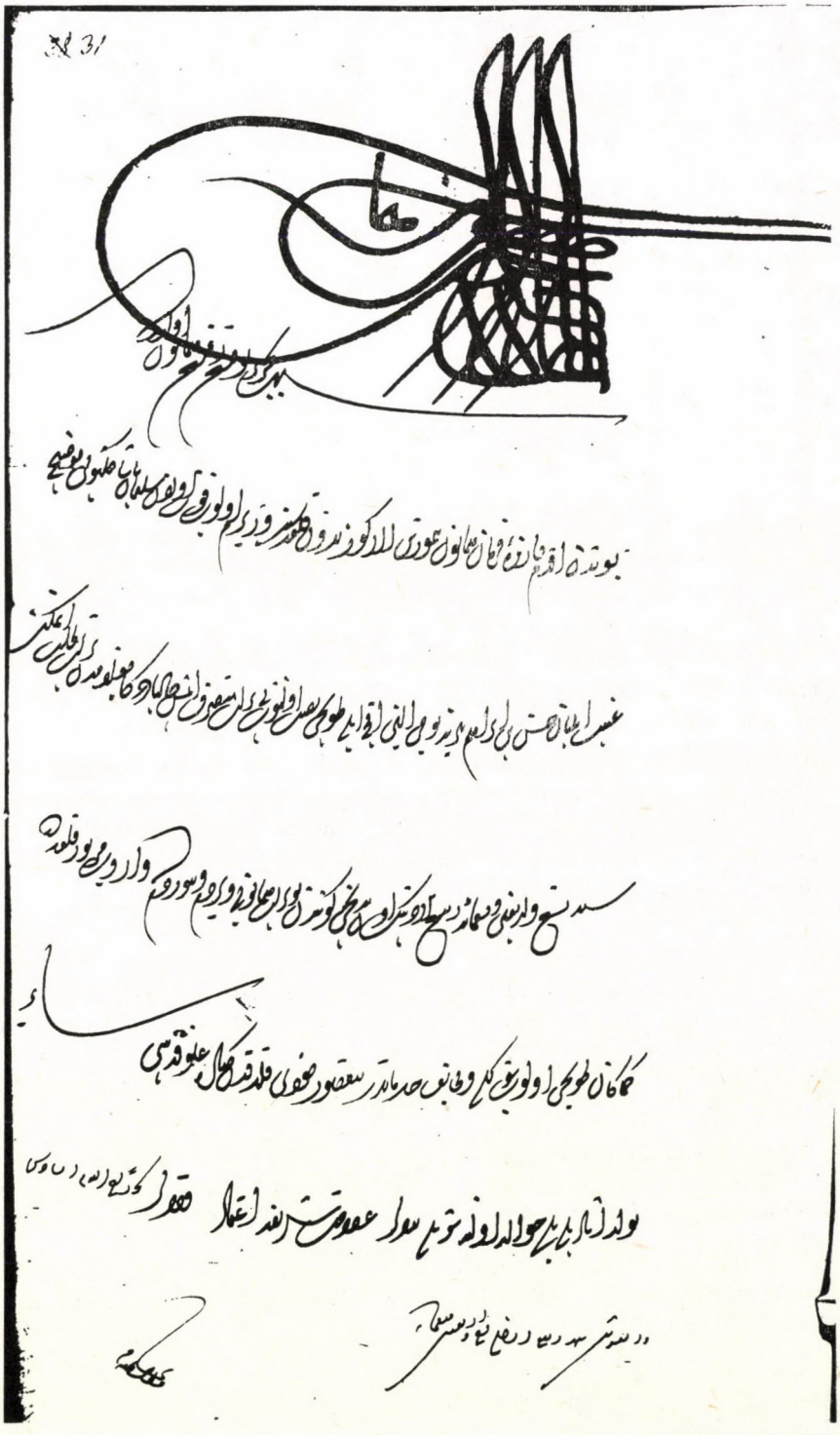
1,2 Sebeb-i taḥrīr-i tevqīʿ-i refīʿ-i hümāyūn oldur ki || bundan aqdem dārende-i
fermān-i hümāyūn Tīmūr b. Alagöz Budūn qalʿesinde vezīrüm olub fevt
3 olan Süleymān Paša mektūbı mūğibinğe || ġaybet eyleyen Ḥasan b.
Ibrāhīm yérine yevmī altı aqče ile ṭopčı naṣb olunub bī-berāt müteṣarrif
4 imiš ḥāliyen dergāh-i muʿallāmdan berāt ṭaleb étmegin || sene-i tisʿin
ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin Rebīʿu l-āḫirinüñ on yedinği güninden bu
5 berāt-i hümāyūnı vérdüm ve buyurdum ki varub mezbūr qalʿede || ke-mā
kāne ṭopčı olub šolki vaẓāyif-i ḥidmātdur bī-quṣūr mü'eddā qılduqdan
6 ṣoñra ʿulūfesi sāyir || yoldašlarıyle bile ḥavāle oluna šöyle bileler ʿalāmet-i
7 šerīfe iʿtimād qılalar taḥrīren fī l-yevmi s-sādisi || ve-l-ʿišrīne šehri Rebīʿi
l-āḫir senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bi-maqāmi Qosṭanṭinīye

Der Anlaß der Ausfertigung des erhabenen großherrlichen Schreibens ist folgender:

Vordem war auf Vorschlag meines Wesirs, des verstorbenen Süleymān Paša, der Inhaber des großherrlichen Befehlsschreibens, Tīmūr b. Alagöz, anstelle des verschwundenen Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm mit sechs Aqče Tagessold zum Ṭopčı in der Festung Budūn ernannt worden und hat (die Stellung) ohne Ernennungsdiplom innegehabt. Da er nun von meiner hohen Pforte ein Ernennungsdiplom erbeten hat, habe ich dieses großherrliche Ernennungsdiplom vom 17. Tag des Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (31. 7. 1542) an gegeben und befohlen, daß er hingehe und in der erwähnten Festung wie bisher Ṭopčı sei. Nachdem er seine Dienstpflichten tadellos verrichtet hat, möge ihm sein Sold wie allen seinen Kameraden ausbezahlt werden.

So sollen sie es wissen. Sie sollen dem erhabenen Zeichen Vertrauen schenken.

Geschrieben am 26. Tag der Monats Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (9.8.1542) in der Residenz zu Qosṭanṭinīye.



Nr. 12
fol. 32

26. Rabīʿ II. 949 (9.8.1542)
36 × 20,5 cm
Urkundentypus: Berāt (sebeb-i taḥrīr-Typus)
Ṭuġra: schwarz mit Goldstaub
Schrift: schwarz mit Goldstaub, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: drei "quyruqlu imżā": el-faqīr Maḥmūd, el-ḥaqīr Ḥayder, el-faqīr Muṣṭafā

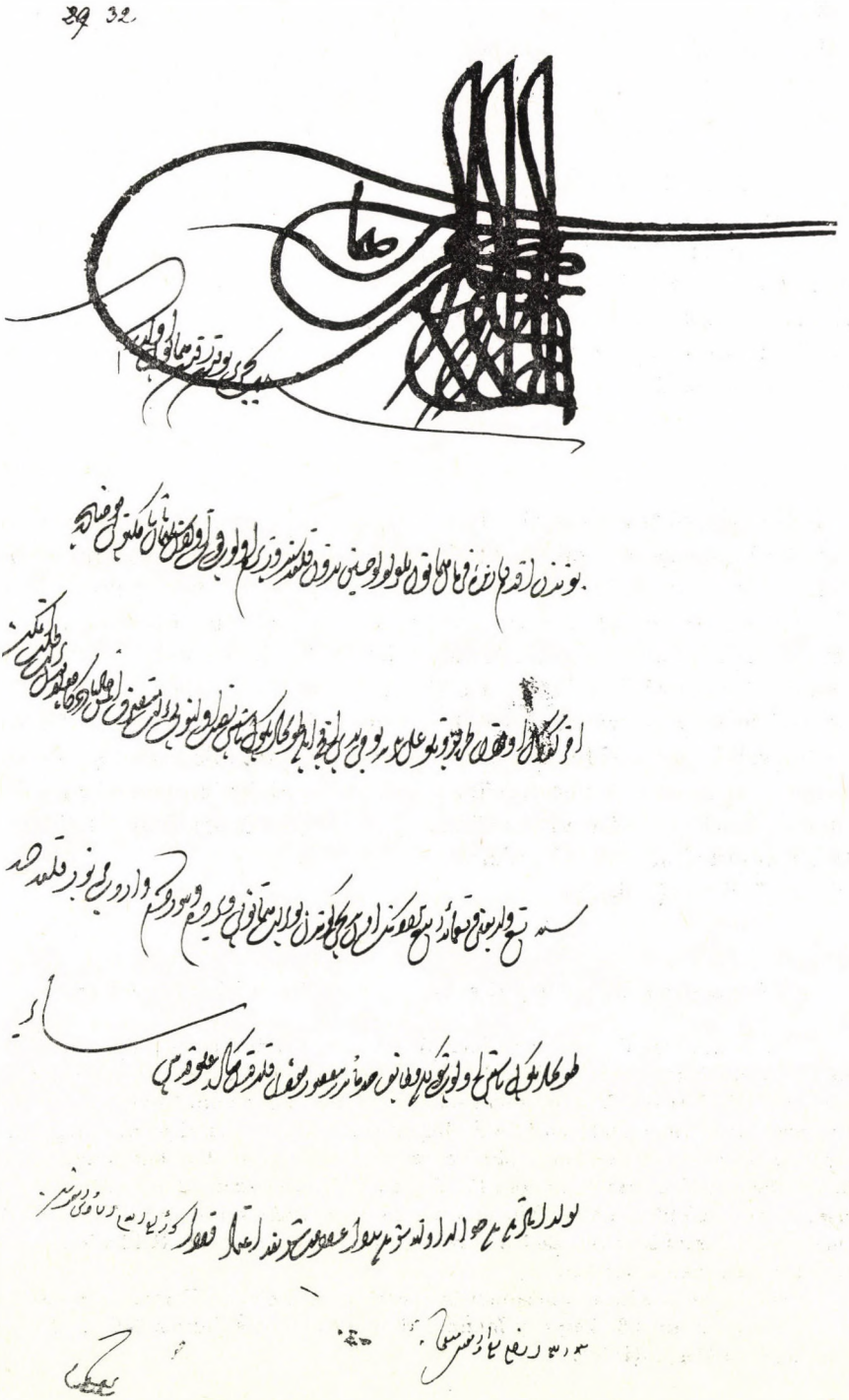
1,2 Sebeb-i taḥrīr-i tevqīʿ-i refīʿ-i hümāyūn oldur ki || bundan aqdem dārende-i
fermān-i hümāyūn Belġrādlu Ḥüseyn Budūn qalʿesinde vezīrüm olub fevt
3 olan Süleymān Paša mektūbı mūğibinğe || āḫer gedük olan Ṭrabzonlu ʿAlī
yérine yevmī yedi aqče ile ṭopčılar bölük bašısı naṣb olunub bī-berāt
4 müteṣarrif imiš ḥālīyen dergāh-i muʿallāmdan berāt ṭaleb étmegin || sene-i
tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin Rebīʿu lʿāḫirinüñ on yediñği güninden bu
berāt-i hümāyūnı vérdüm ve buyurdum ki varub mezbūr qalʿede ||
5 ṭopčılar bölükbašısı olub šolki vaẓāyif-i ḫidmātdur bī-quṣūr mü'eddā
6 qılduqdan ṣoñra ʿulūfesi sāyir || yoldašlarıyle bile ḥavāle oluna šöyle
bileler ʿalāmet-i šerīfe iʿtimād qılalar taḥrīren fī l-yevmi s-sādisi
7 ve-l-ʿišrīne || šehri Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bi-maqāmi Qosṭanṭinīye

Der Anlaß der Ausfertigung des erhabenen großherrlichen Schreibens ist folgender:

Vordem war auf Vorschlag meines Wesirs, des verstorbenen Süleymān Paša, der Inhaber des großherrlichen Befehlsschreibens, Ḥüseyn aus Belġrād, anstelle des anders-(wohin) versetzten ʿAlī aus Ṭrabzon mit sieben Aqče Tagessold zum Bölükbašı der Ṭopčı in der Festung Budūn ernannt worden und hat (die Stellung) ohne Ernennungsdiplom innegehabt. Da er nun von meiner hohen Pforte ein Ernennungsdiplom erbeten hat, habe ich dieses großherrliche Ernennungsdiplom vom 17. Tag des Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (31. 7. 1542) an gegeben und befohlen, daß er hingehe und in der erwähnten Festung Bölükbašı der Ṭopčı sei. Nachdem er seine Dienstpflichten tadellos verrichtet hat, möge ihm sein Sold wie allen seinen Kameraden ausbezahlt werden.

So sollen sie es wissen. Sie sollen dem erhabenen Zeichen Vertrauen schenken.

Geschrieben am 26. Tag des Monats Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (9. 8. 1542) in der Residenz zu Qosṭanṭinīye.



Nr. 13
fol. 34

26. Rabīʿ II. 949 (9.8.1542)
43 × 20 cm
Urkundentypus: Berāt (sebeb-i taḥrīr-Typus)
Ṭuġra: schwarz mit Goldstaub
Schrift: schwarz mit Goldstaub, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: drei "quyruqlu imżā": el-faqīr Maḥmūd, el-ḥaqīr Ḥayder, el-faqīr Muṣṭafā

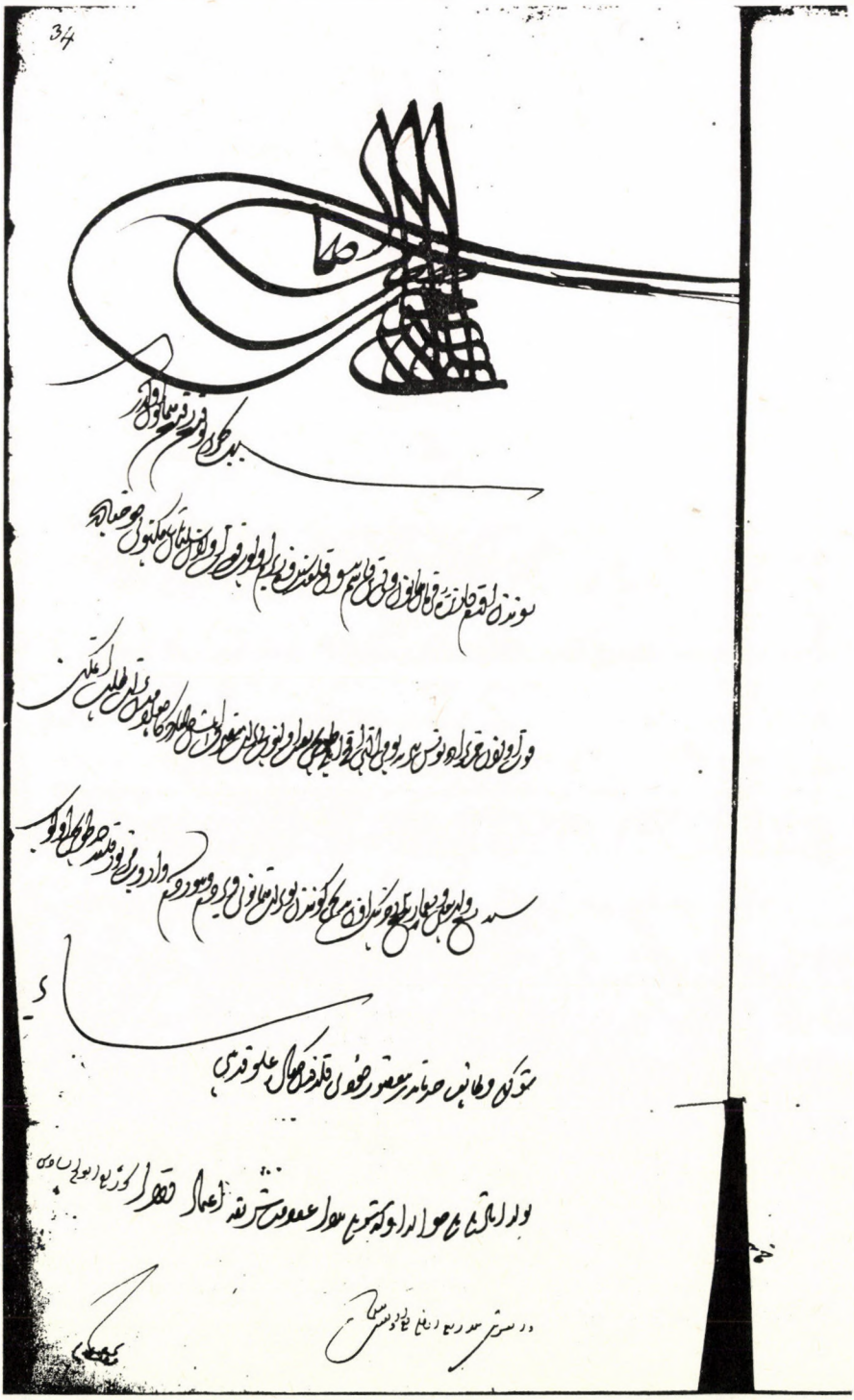
1,2 Sebeb-i taḥrīr-i tevqīʿ-i refīʿ-i hümāyūn oldur ki || bundan aqdem dārende-i
fermān-i hümāyūn Velī b. Qāsim Budūn qalʿesinde vezīrüm olub fevt
3 olan Süleymān Paša mektūbı mūğibinğe || fevt olan Ḥamza birāder-i
Yūnus yėrine yevmī altı aqče ile ṭopčı naṣb olunub bī-berāt müteṣarrif
4 imiš ḥālīyen dergāh-i muʿallāmdan berāt ṭaleb ėtmegin || sene-i tisʿin
ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin Rebīʿu l-āḫirinüñ on yedinği güninden bu
berāt-i hümāyūnı vėrdüm ve buyurdum ki varub mezbūr qalʿede ṭopčı
5 olub || šolki vaẓāyif-i ḫidmātdur bī-quṣūr mü'eddā qılduqdan ṣoñra ʿulūfesi
6 sāyir || yoldašlarıyle bile ḥavāle oluna šöyle bileler ʿalāmet-i šerīfe iʿtimād
7 qılalar taḥrīren fī l-yevmi s-sādisi || ve-l-ʿišrīne šehri Rebīʿi l'āḫir senete
tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bi-maqāmi Qosṭanṭinīye

Der Anlaß der Ausfertigung des erhabenen großherrlichen Schreibens ist folgender:

Vordem war auf Vorschlag meines Wesirs, des verstorbenen Süleymān Paša, der Inhaber des großherrlichen Befehlsschreibens, Velī b. Qāsim, anstelle des verstorbenen Ḥamza, des Bruders des Yūnus, mit sechs Aqče Tagessold zum Ṭopčı in der Festung Budūn ernannt worden und hat (die Stellung) ohne Ernennungsdiplom innegehabt. Da er nun von meiner hohen Pforte ein Ernennungsdiplom erbeten hat, habe ich dieses großherrliche Ernennungsdiplom vom 17. Tag des Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (31. 7. 1542) an gegeben und befohlen, daß er hingehe und in der erwähnten Festung Ṭopčı sei. Nachdem er seine Dienstpflichten tadellos verrichtet hat, möge ihm sein Sold wie allen seinen Kameraden ausbezahlt werden.

So sollen sie es wissen. Sie sollen dem erhabenen Zeichen Vertrauen schenken.

Geschrieben am 26. Tag des Monats Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (9. 8. 1542) in der Residenz zu Qosṭanṭinīye.



Nr. 14
fol. 35

26. Rabīʿ II. 949 (9.8.1542)
41,5 × 19,5 cm
Urkundentypus: Berāt (sebeb-i taḥrīr-Typus)
Ṭuġra: schwarz mit Goldstaub
Schrift: schwarz mit Goldstaub, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: drei "quyruqlu imżā": el-faqīr Maḥmūd, el-ḥaqīr Ḥayder, el-faqīr Muṣṭafā

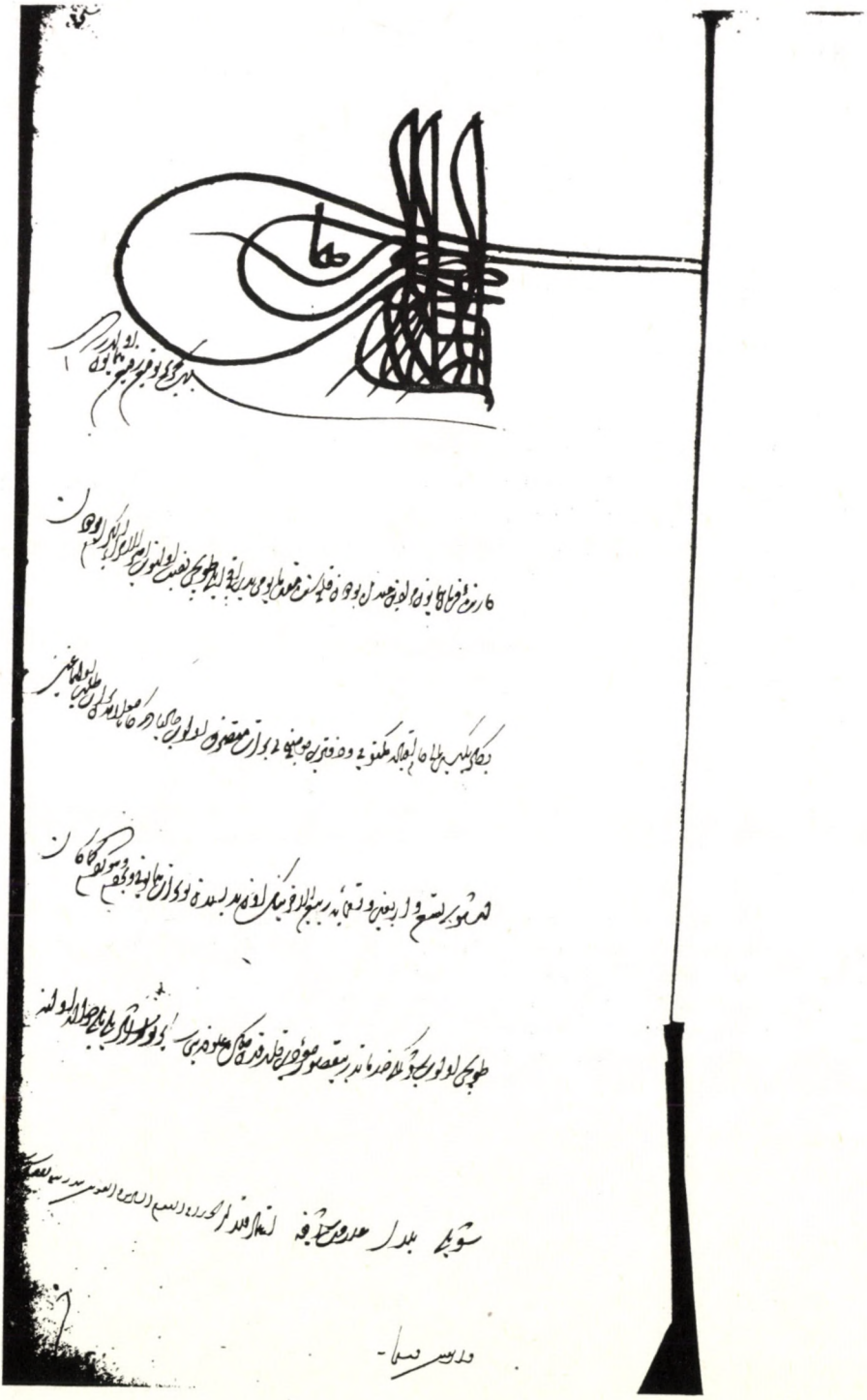
1,2 Sebeb-i taḥrīr-i tevqīʿ-i refīʿ-i hümāyūn oldur ki || dārende-i fermān-i
hümāyūn Murād b. ʿAbdallāh Budūn qalʿesinde muqaddemā yevmī yedi
3 aqče ile ṭopčı naṣb olunub emīrü l-ümerā'i l-kirām Budūn || beglerbegisi
Bālī dāme iqbālühū mektūbı ve defteri müğibinğe bī-berāt müteṣarrif
4 olub ḥālīyen dergāh-i muʿallāmdan berāt ṭaleb olunmaġın || išbu sene-i
tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve tisʿi mi'etin Rebīʿu l-āḫirinüñ on yedisinden bu berāt-i
5 hümāyūnı vėrdüm ve buyurdum ki ke-mā kāne || ṭopčı olub šolki ḫidmātdur
bī-quṣūr mü'eddā qılduqdan ṣoñra ʿulūfesi sāyir yoldašlarıyle bile ḥavāle
6 oluna || šöyle bileler ʿalāmet-i šerīfe iʿtimād qılalar taḥrīren fī l-yevmi
7 s-sādisi ve-l-ʿišrīne šehri Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete tisʿin || ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi
mi'etin
bi-maqāmi Qosṭanṭınīye

Der Anlaß der Ausfertigung des erhabenen großherrlichen Schreibens ist folgender:

Vordem war der Inhaber des großherrlichen Befehlsschreibens, Murād b. ʿAbdallāh, mit sieben Aqče Tagessold zum Ṭopčı in der Festung Budūn ernannt worden. Dem Brief und Defter des Emirs der ehrwürdigen Emire, des Beglerbegi von Budūn, Bālī, währen möge sein Glück, zufolge hat er (die Stellung) ohne Ernennungsdiplom inne. Da nun von meiner hohen Pforte ein Ernennungsdiplom erbeten wurde, habe ich dieses großherrliche Ernennungsdiplom vom 17. des Rebīʿu l-āḫir dieses Jahres 949 (31. 7. 1542) an gegeben und befohlen, daß er hingehe und in der erwähnten Festung wie bisher Ṭopčı sei. Nachdem er seine Dienstpflichten tadellos verrichtet hat, möge ihm sein Sold wie allen seinen Kameraden ausbezahlt werden.

So sollen sie es wissen. Sie sollen dem erhabenen Zeichen Vertrauen schenken.

Geschrieben am 26. Tag des Monats Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (9. 8. 1542) in der Residenz zu Qosṭanṭınīye.



Nr. 15
fol. 68

26. Rabīʿ II. 949 (9.8.1542)
30 × 16 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

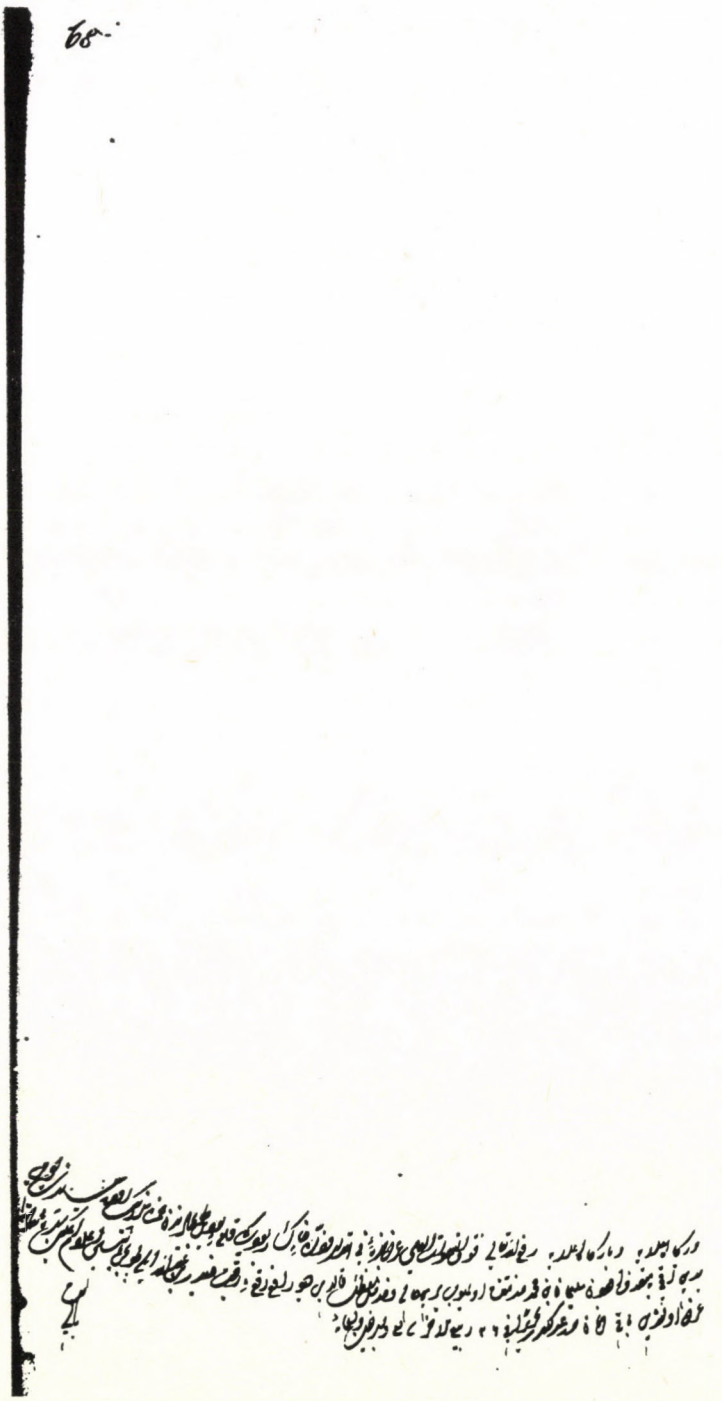
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn
2 ṭopčılarından Ḥamza-i Selānīk odasından yevmī || yedi aqčeye müteṣarrif olan Süleymān b. Meḥmed ḫidmetinde olmayub yėri ḫālī (!) ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet Ḥayder b. ʿAbdallāh ile
3 ṭopčıbašısı iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete || ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān der-i ʿadluñdur taḥrīren fī 26 Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Ḥayder b. ʿAbdallāh, und sein Ṭopčıbašı bekanntgaben, daß Süleymān b. Meḥmed, einer der Ṭopčı der Festung Būdīn aus der Oda des Ḥamza aus Selānīk, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, seinen Dienst nicht wahrnehme, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit zu. Geschrieben am 26. Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (9. 8. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 16
fol. 64

26. Rabīʿ II. 949 (9.8.1542)
25,5 × 14,5 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

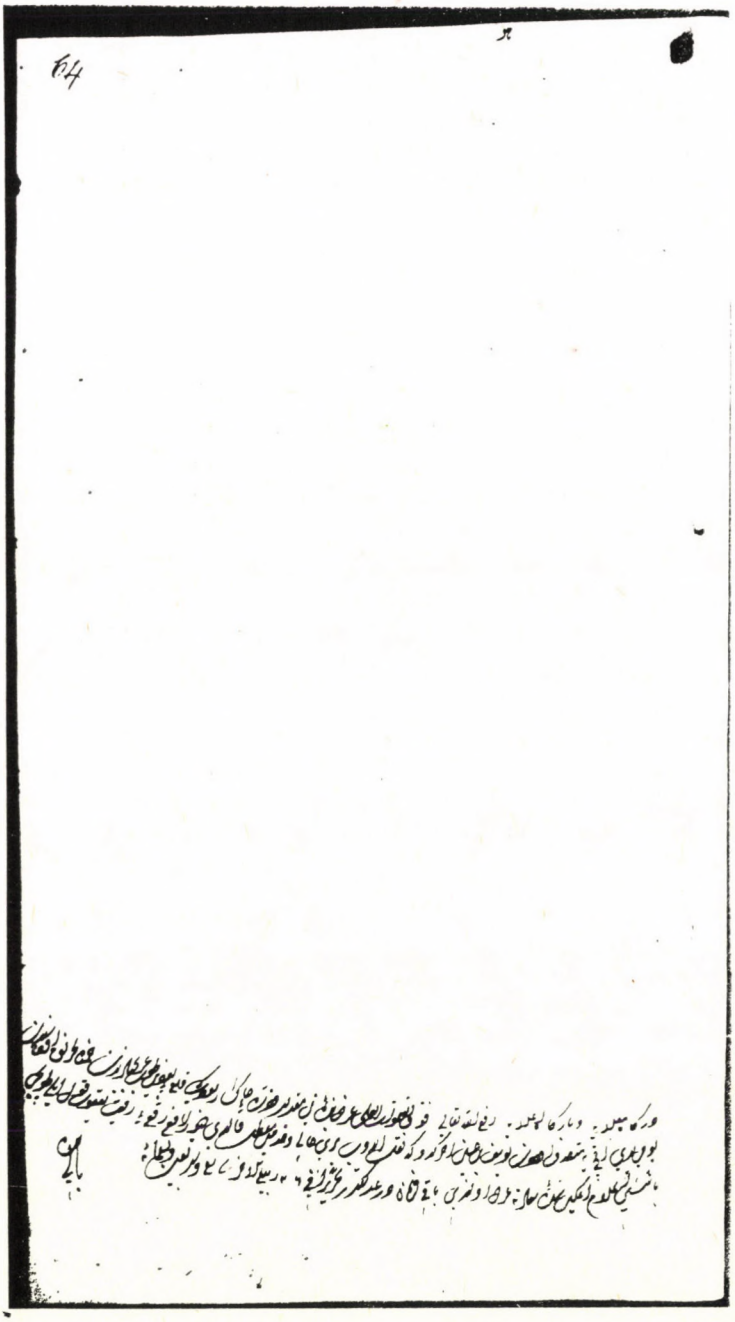
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn
2 ṭop ʿarabağılarından Ḥamza-i Ṭarnova odasından || yevmī yedi aqčeye müteṣarrif olan Yūsuf b. Ḥüseyn āḫer gedüge naql ėdüb yėri ḫālī (!) ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet Yaʿqūb Qul ile
3 ṭopčı || bašısı iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān der-i ʿadluñdur taḫrīren fī 26 Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Yaʿqūb Qul, und sein Ṭopčıbašı bekanntgaben, daß Yūsuf b. Ḥüseyn, einer der Ṭopʿarabağı der Festung Būdīn aus der Oda des Ḥamza aus Ṭarnova, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, einen anderen Dienst angetreten habe, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit zu. Geschrieben am 26. Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (9. 8. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 17
fol. 61

27. Rabīʿ II. 949 (10.8.1542)
29,5 × 16 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

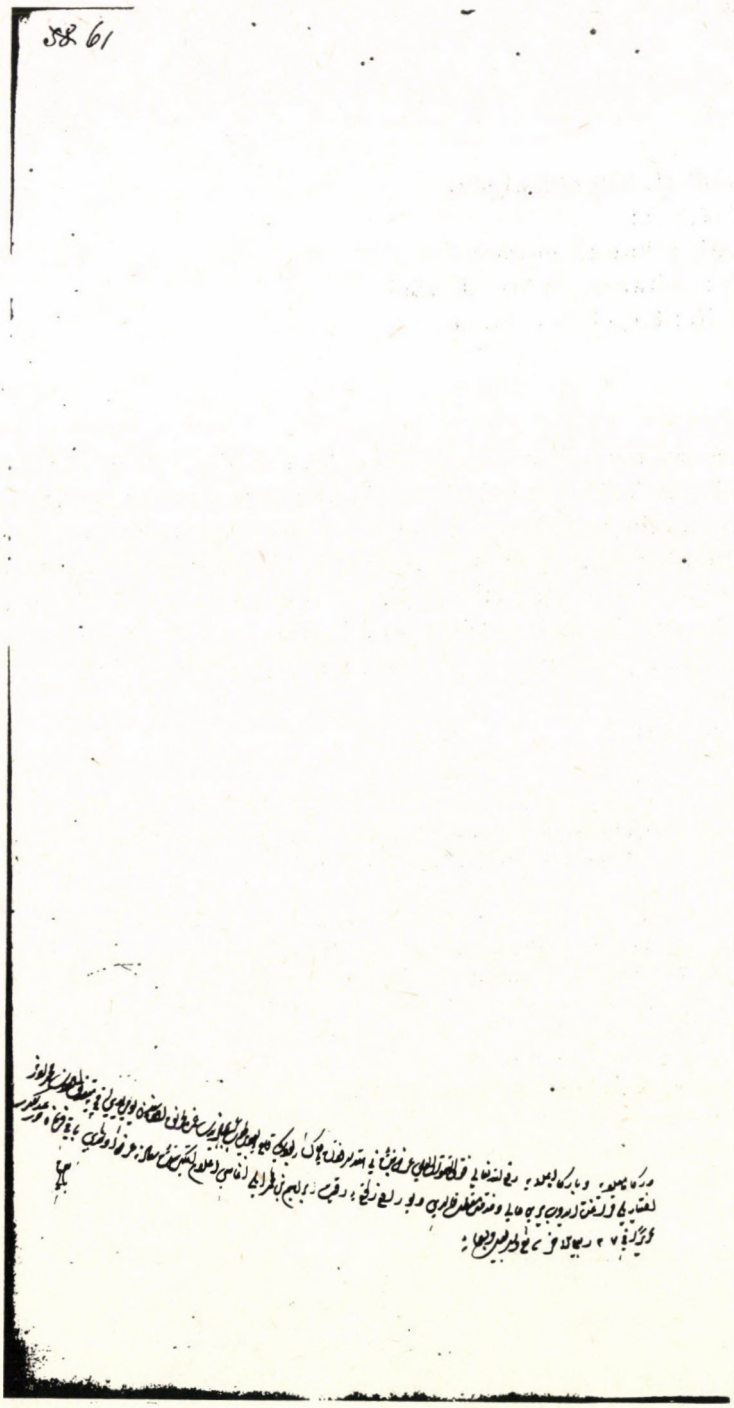
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-seme-
vāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn
ṭop ʿarabağılarından Ḥamza-i Ṭarnova odasından yevmī yedi aqčeye
2 müteṣarrif olan Meḥmed-i Edirne || iḫtiyārıyle ferāġat ėdüb yėri ḫālī (!)
ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyyet Ibrāhīm b. Meḥmed
ile aġası iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān der-i
3 ʿadluñdur || taḫrīren fī 27 Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi
mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Ibrāhīm b. Meḥmed, und sein Aġa bekanntgaben, daß Meḥmed aus Edirne, einer der Ṭopʿarabağı der Festung Būdīn aus der Oda des Ḥamza aus Ṭarnova, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, freiwillig zurückgetreten sei, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit zu. Geschrieben am 27. Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (10. 8. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 18
fol. 70

29. Rabīʿ II. 949 (12.8.1542)
29,5 × 16,5 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

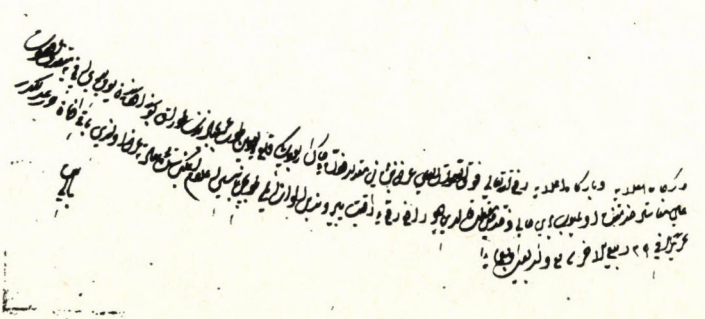
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-seme-
vāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn
ṭop ʿarabağılarından Ṭuraq-i Bosna odasından yevmī yedi aqčeye
2 müteṣarrif olan || ʿAlī-yi Manāstır ḫidmetinde olmayub yėri ḫālī (!)
ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet Pīrvend b. Elvān ile
ṭopčıbašısı iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān der-i
3 ʿadluñdur || taḥrīren fī 29 Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi
mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Pīrvend b. Elvān, und sein Topčıbašı bekanntgaben, daß ʿAlī aus Manāstır, einer der Ṭopʿarabağı der Festung Būdīn aus der Oda des Ṭuraq aus Bosna, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, seinen Dienst nicht wahrnehme, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit zu. Geschrieben am 29. Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (12. 8. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 19
fol. 71

1. Ǧumādā I. 949 (13.8.1542)
30 × 15,5 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

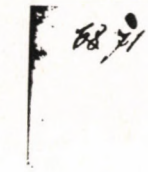
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn
2 ṭop neǧǧārlarından ʿAlī birāder-i Qul odasından yevmī yedi aqčeye || müteṣarrif olan Pervāne-i Mora ḫidmetinde olmayub yėri ḫālī (!) ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı dėyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet Ḥasan b. Ḫıżır ile
3 ṭopčıbašısı iʿlām ėtmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż || olundı bāqī fermān der-i ʿadluñdur taḫrīren fī ġurre-i Ǧemāziyi (!) l-evvel senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

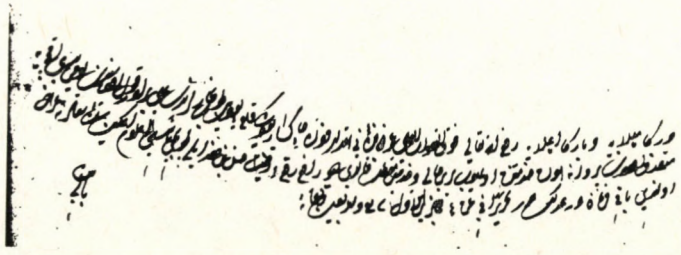
Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Ḥasan b. Ḫıżır, und sein Ṭopčıbašı bekanntgaben, daß Pervāne aus Mora, einer der Kanonenschreiner der Festung Būdīn aus der Oda des ʿAlī, des Bruders des Qul, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, seinen Dienst nicht wahrnehme, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit zu. Geschrieben am 1. Ǧemāẕīyü l-evvel des Jahres 949 (13. 8. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.





Nr. 20
fol. 59

10. Ǧumādā II. 949 (21.9.1542)
27 × 14 cm
Invocatio: huwa, schwarz
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: Siegel Bālī Pašas

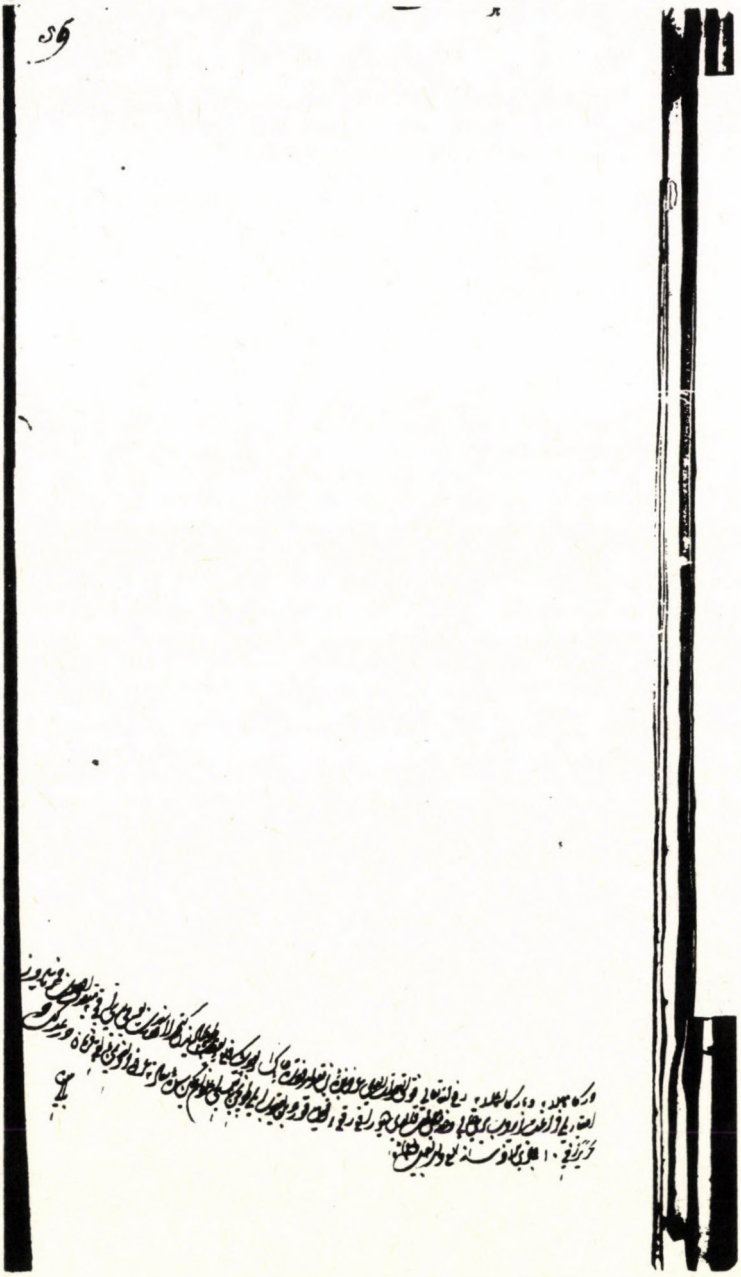
1 Dergāh-i muʿallāya ve bārgāh-i aʿlāya refaʿahū llāhu taʿālā fevqa s-semevāti l-ʿalī ʿarż-i bende-i bī-miqdār ve ẕerre-i ḫākisār budur ki qalʿe-i Būdīn ṭopčılarından ketḫüdā odasından yevmī yedi aqčeye müteṣarrif olan
2 Ḥamza-i Sīrūz || iḫtiyārıyle ferāġat édüb yéri ḫālī ve ḫidmeti muʿaṭṭal qaldı déyü rāfiʿ-i ruqʿa-i rıqqīyet Qurd b. Yaʿqūb ile ṭopčıbašısı iʿlām
3 étmegin südde-i seʿādete ʿarż olundı bāqī fermān der-i ʿadluñdur || taḥrīren fī 10 Ǧemāẕīyi l-āḫir senete tisʿin ve-erbaʿīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bende Bālī

Die Bittschrift des unwürdigen Dieners und minderen Staubkorns an die hohe Pforte und den höchsten Hof, Allah der Erhabene erhebe ihn über die hohen Himmel, ist die folgende:

Da der Überbringer des Schreibens der Unterwürfigkeit, Qurd b. Yaʿqūb, und sein Ṭopčıbašı bekanntgaben, daß Ḥamza aus Sīrūz, einer der Ṭopčı der Festung Būdīn aus der Oda des Ketḫüdā, der über einen Tagessold von sieben Aqče verfügte, freiwillig zurückgetreten sei, seine Stelle frei und sein Dienst unverrichtet sei, wurde (dies) der glückhaften Schwelle unterbreitet.

Im übrigen steht der Befehl der Pforte der Gerechtigkeit zu. Geschrieben am 10. Ǧemāẕīyü l-āḫir des Jahres 949 (21. 9. 1542).

Der Diener Bālī.



Nr. 21
fol. 39

Muḥarram—Ǧumādā II. 949 (17.4.—10.10.1542)
31 × 20,5 cm
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus: Siyāqat
links unten Siegel Bālī Pašas

rechte Spalte:

Mevāǧib-i ǧemāʿat-i mustaḥfiẓān-i qalʿe-i Nemče vāǧib-i šehr-i Muḥarrem ilā ġāyeti Rebīʿi l-evvel sene-i 949

Meḥmed Aġa	Muṣṭafā		Arslan
Dizdār	Qurd		Ḫalīfe
15	ketḫüdā		imām
	8		10

bölük-i ʿAlī-yi Hersek

meẕkūr	Pervāne	Yūsuf	Ḥasan-i	Qara Bekir
8	Maḥmūd	Bālī	Yeñi Bāzār	Iskender
	5	5	5	5

Yūsuf-i	Aḥmed-i	Ġāzī	Baḫtiyār
Hersek	Izvornīq	Šādī	Ḥüseyn
5	5	5	7

bölük-i ʿAlī Bekir

meẕkūr	Velī	Tīmūr	Bālī	Ḫıżır
7	ʿAbdallāh	ʿAlī	Yūsuf	ʿAbdallāh
	5	5	5	5

Muṣṭafā	Ḥasan	Ḫıżır	Muṣṭafā-yi	Naṣūḫ-i
Maḥmūd	Qul	ʿAlī	Manāstır	Bögürdelen
5	5	5	7	5

bölük-i Ġāzī Muṣṭafā

meẕkūr	Meḥmed	Fērhād-i	Ḥasan	Dāvud
8	Maḥmūd	Bosna	Maḥmūd	Aḥmed
	5	5	5	5

Ayās	Atlu	Velī-yi	Ḫıżır	Meḥmed
Ismaʿīl	Timurğān	Bosna	Qul	Donbāz
6	6	7	5	5

ğemāʿat-i ṭopčıyān
Šādī ʿAlī
ser-i ṭopčıyān
10

bölük-i Qāsim ʿAlī

meẕkūr	Dāvud	Ğaʿfer	ʿAlī-yi	Šaʿbān
8	Ḫamza	ʿĪsā	Hersek	ʿAlī
	7	6	42	32

Ğaʿfer	ʿAlī	Muṣṭafā	Yaḥyā	
ʿAlī	Iskender	Ismaʿīl	Dāvud	
32	6	neğğār	ḥaddād	
		5	5	

linke Spalte:

Mevāğib-i ğemāʿat-i mustaḥfiẓān-i qalʿe-i Nemče vāğib-i Rebīʿu l-āḫir ilā ġāyeti Ğemāẕīyi l-āḫir sene-i 949

Meḥmed Aġa	ketḫüdā	Arslan	
dizdār	Muṣṭafā	Ḫalīfe	
15	Qurd	imām	
	8	10	

bölük-i ʿAlī-yi Hersek

meẕkūr	Pervāne	Yūsuf	Ḫasan-i	Qara Bekir
8	Maḥmūd	Bālī	Yeñi Bāzār	Iskender
	5	5	5	5

Yūsuf-i	Aḥmed-i	Ġāzī	Baḫtiyār	
Hersek	Izvornīq	Šādī	Ḫüseyn	
5	5	5	7	

bölük-i ʿAlī Bekir

meẕkūr	Velī	Tīmūr	Bālī	Ḫıżır
7	ʿAbdallāh	ʿAlī	Yūsuf	ʿAbdallāh
	5	5	5	

Muṣṭafā	Ḥasan	Ḫıżır	Muṣṭafā-yi	Naṣūḥ-i
Maḥmūd	Qul	ʿAlī	Manāstır	Bögürdelen
5	5	5	7	5

bölük-i Ġāzī Muṣṭafā

meẕkūr	Meḥmed	Ferhād-i	Ḥasan	Dāvud
8	Maḥmūd	Bosna	Maḥmūd	Aḥmed
	5	5	5	5

Ayās	Atlu	Velī-yi	Ḫıżır	Meḥmed
Ismaʿīl	Timurğān	Bosna	Qul	Donbāz
6	6	7	5	5

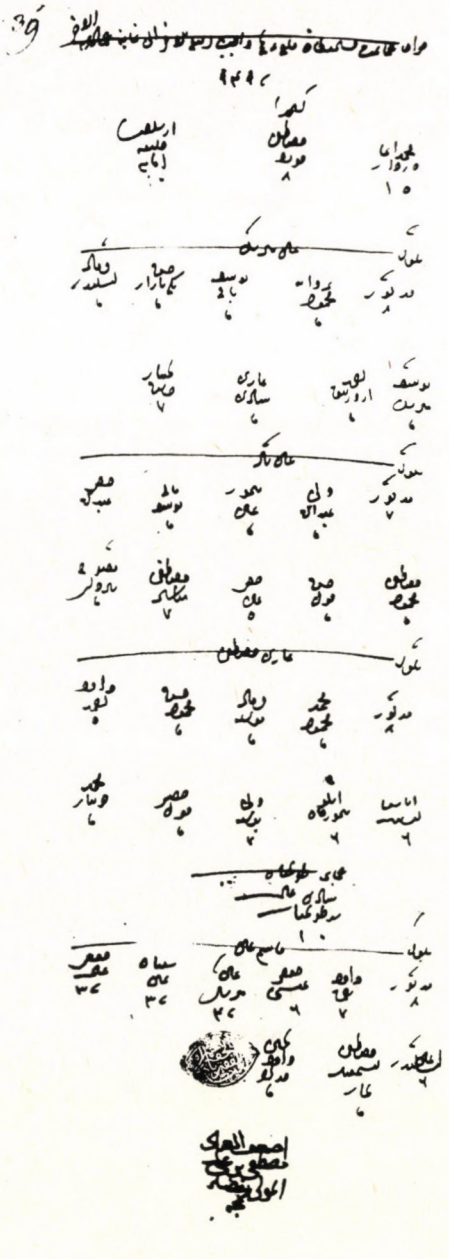
ğemāʿat-i ṭopčıyān
Šādī ʿAlī
ser-i ṭopčıyān
10

bölük-i Qāsim ʿAlī

meẕkūr	Dāvud	Ğaʿfer	ʿAlī-yi	Šaʿbān	Ğaʿfer
8	Ḥamza	ʿĪsā	Hersek	ʿAlī	ʿAlī
	7	6	42	32	32

ʿAlī	Muṣṭafā	Yaḥyā
Iskender	Ismaʿīl	Dāvud
6	neğğār	ḥaddād
	5	5

aż̇ʿafü l-ʿibād
Muṣṭafā b. ʿAlī
el-mevlā bi-qaż̇ā'i Nemče



Nr. 22
fol. 56

Mittlere Dekade Rağab 949 (21.—30.10.1542)
31 × 14 cm
Schrift: schwarz, Duktus Dīvānī

ḥażret el-mevlā el-maḥall

1 Sebeb-i taḥrīr-i kitāb ḥükmi ve bā'iṯ-i tasṭīr-i ḫiṭāb naqlı budur ki Būdīmde
ṭopčı olan rāfi'u l-kitāb Aydın b. Yūsufdan da'vā vu istišhāde ṣādir
2 olduqdanṣoñra || 'udūl-i müslimīnden ṭopčı Luṭfī ve Yūsuf odabašı
li-n-naqli ve-t-taḥvīl fī maḥalli l-ḫarği ve-t-ta'dīl ḫāżirān olub edā'-i
3 šehādet-i || šer'īye qılub eyitdiler ki šāhidlerüz šehādet ėderüz ki Siremde
4 Nemse nām qal'ede mütemekkin olan Murād b. 'Abdallāha || ḥāmilu
l-kitāb Aydın altı yüz aqčelıq bir gemi alıvėrdi ve altıyüz aqče daḫı
5 sermāye vėrdi meẕkūr Murād daḫı || qādir olduġınğa mālı čıqarub širket-i
'inānla išbu Aydın ile šerīk oldılar meẕkūr gemiyi 'Alī nām kimesneye
6 teslīm || ėdüb re'īs ėtdiler bundan aqdem meẕkūr gemi sefer ėdüb
7 Būdīme esbāb-i tiğāret ile geldükde ṭoquz biñ aqče fāyide eyledi || ẕikr
olan fāyideyi re'īs-i mezbūr 'Alī ile išbu Aydın šerīki Murāda gönderdi
8 ẕikr olan meblaġ māye-i || širketden ḥāṣıl olunmıš aqčedür dėyü šahādatan
ṣaḥīḥatan šar'īyatan wāqifatan mauqi'a l-qabūli li-kaunihim mina l-'udūl
9 fa-innahā ḥaqīqatu l-ḥāli wa-maṣdūqatu l-manāli ba'da ṭ-ṭalabi wa-s-su'āli
10 ilā aqḍā quḍāti l-islām || aulā wulāti l-anām mumayyizi l-ḥalāli 'ani
l-ḥarām al-muḫtaṣṣi bi-mazīdi 'ināyati l-maliki l-'allām al-ḥākimi l-'adli
11 bi-qaḍā'i || mazbūra dāmat faḍā'iluhū ka-mā ṭābat šamāyiluhū wa-ilā
12 kulliman yaṣilu ilaihi l-kitābu mina l-uṣūli wa-t-tawāb || ḫaffat ma'ahum
yaumu l-ḥisāb wa-l-ma'mūlu min karamihimu l-'amīm wa-luṭfihimu
l-ğasīm al-in'āmu bi-l-qabūl wa-l-'amalu bi-l-madlūl bi-'alāyati ṯ-ṯawābi ||
13 mina l-maliki l-wahhāb ğarā ḏālika wa-ḥurrira fī awāsiṭi Rağabin sanata
tis'in wa-arba'īna wa-tis'i mi'atin
14 šuhūdu ṭ-ṭarīq Ḥüseyn b. Sipāhī Na'lğı Qāsim
. . . . . Meḥmed el-Ğemālī el-mevlā
bi-dāri d-devlet Būdīn 'ufiye 'anhu

An Seine Hoheit, den Richter des Ortes

Der Befehl der Ursache der Abfassung des Schreibens und die Übermittlung des Grundes der Niederschrift der Botschaft ist folgendes:

Nachdem der Inhaber des Schreibens, Aydın b. Yūsuf, der in Būdīm Ṭopčı ist, eine Klage eingereicht und eine Zeugenaussage verlangt hatte, erschienen als muslimische Zeugen der Ṭopčı Luṭfī und der Odabašı Yūsuf zum Bericht und zur Darlegung am Ort des Falles und der Zeugenschaft, und sie legten ein šerīʿatsrechtliches Zeugnis ab und sagten: "Wir sind Zeugen, wir bezeugen, daß der Inhaber des Schreibens, Aydın, Murād b. ʿAbdallāh, der in der Festung Nemse in Sirem wohnt, ein Schiff im Wert von 600 Aqče übergab. Weitere 600 Aqče gab er ihm als Kapital. Und der erwähnte Murād holte Gewinn heraus, so gut er konnte und wurde Gesellschafter dieses Aydın in einer partnerschaftlichen Gesellschaft. Sie übergaben das erwähnte Schiff einem Mann namens ʿAlī und machten ihn zum Kapitän. Vordem fuhr (nun) das erwähnte Schiff, und als es mit Handelsware nach Būdīm kam, machte es 9000 Aqče Gewinn. Den erwähnten Gewinn schickten der genannte Kapitän ʿAlī und dieser Aydın seinem Gesellschafter Murād. Beim erwähnten Betrag handelt es sich um Geld, das vom Kapital der Gesellschaft erwirtschaftet wurde."

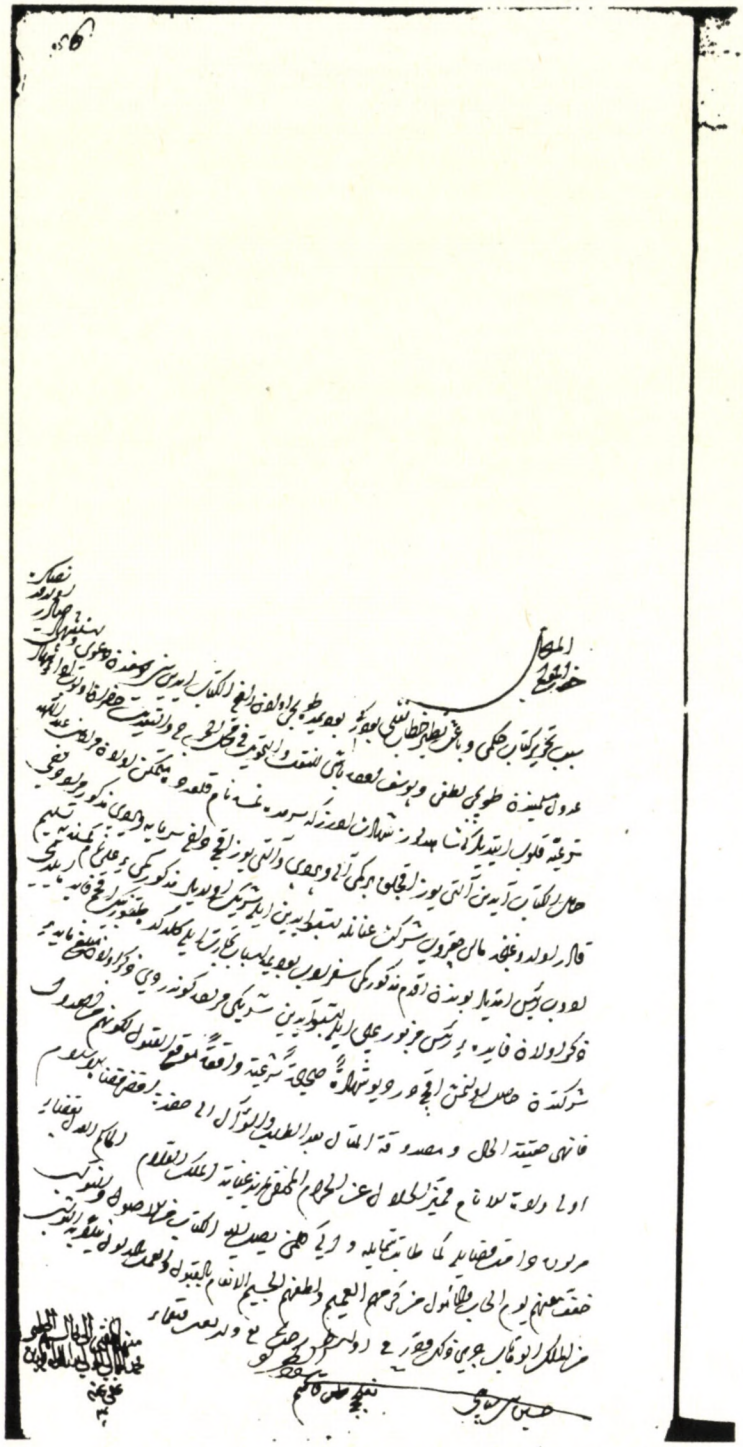
So legten sie ein šerīʿatsrechtliches, richtiges Zeugnis ab, dessen Annahme feststeht, da sie zu den Zeugen gehören. Und dies ist der tatsächliche Vorgang und der wahre Besitz(stand), nachdem der gerechteste der Richter des Islam, der beste der Vertreter der Menschen, derjenige, der das Erlaubte vom Verbotenen trennt, der durch die reiche Gnade des allwissenden Königs Ausgezeichnete, der Richter der Gerechtigkeit im erwähnten Gerichtsbezirk, währen mögen seine Tugenden, so wie seine Eigenschaften gut sein mögen, und jeder der Vornehmen (?) und Nā'ib, den das Schreiben erreicht (hat) aufgesucht und gefragt wurden. Und von ihrer umfassenden Güte und reichen Huld wird erhofft, daß sie (dies) anzunehmen geruhen und in der vorgegebenen Weise handeln unter hoher Belohnung durch den schenkenden König.

Dies gilt, und es wurde in der mittleren Dekade des Raǧab im Jahr 949 (21.—30. 10. 1542) geschrieben.

Zeugen des Vorgangs: Ḥüseyn b. Sipāhī Naʿlġı Qāsim

. . . . . Meḥmed el-Ǧemālī, der Richter

im Hause des Glücks, Būdīn, es möge ihm verziehen werden.



Nr. 23
fol. 30

2. Rabīʿ II. 960 (18.3.1553)
35,5 × 19,5 cm
Urkundentypus: Berāt (sebeb-i taḥrīr-Typus)
Ṭuġra: schwarz mit Goldstaub
Schrift: schwarz mit Goldstaub, Duktus Dīvānī
Rückseite: drei "quyruqlu imżā": el-faqīr Muṣṭafā, el-faqīr Isḥāq, el-faqīr Meḥmed

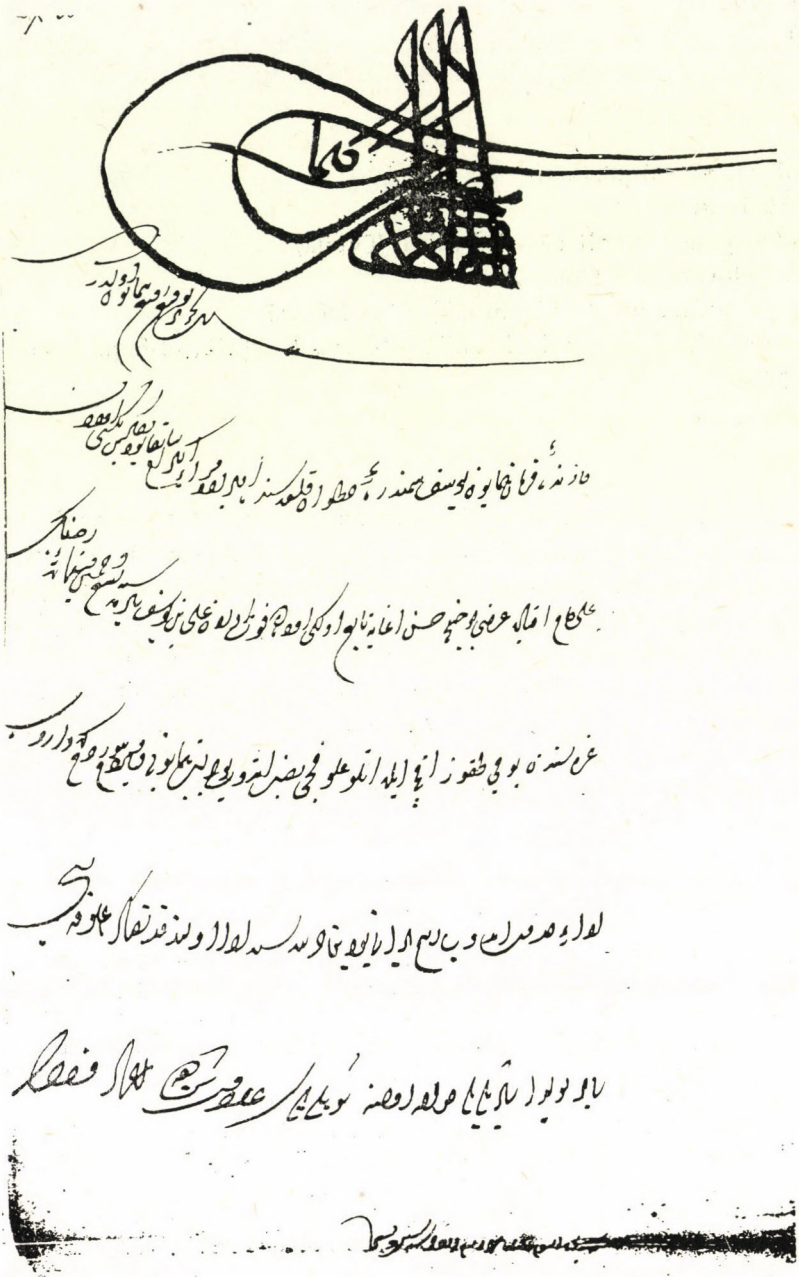
1,2 Sebeb-i tahrīr-i tevqīʿ-i refīʿ-i hümāyūn oldur ki || dārende-i fermān-i
hümāyūn Yūsuf-i Semendireyi Ḥaṭvān qalʿesinde emīrü l-ümerā'i l-kirām
3 sābiqan Būdīn beglerbegisi olan || ʿAlī dāme iqbālühū ʿarżı mūğibinğe
Ḥasan Aġaya tābiʿ evvelki odada fevt olan ʿAlī b. Yūsuf yérine sene-i
4 tisʿin ve-ḫamsīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin Reğebinüñ || ġurresinden yevmī ṭoquz
aqče ile atlu ʿulūfeği naṣb édüb bu berāt-i hümāyūnı vérdüm ve bu-
5 yurdum ki varub || edā'-i ḫidmet édüb resm-i berātı Būdīn ḫazīnesine
6 edā olunduqdanṣoñra ʿulūfesi || sāyir yoldašlarıyle bile ḥavāle oluna
7 šöyle bileler ʿalāmet-i šerīfe iʿtimād qılalar || taḥrīren fī l-yevmi ṣ-ṣānī
šehri Rebīʿi l-āḫir senete sittīne ve-tisʿi mi'etin
bi-maqāmi Qosṭanṭinīye

Der Anlaß der Ausfertigung des erhabenen großherrlichen Schreibens ist folgender:

Auf Vorschlag des Emirs der ehrwürdigen Emire, des früheren Beglerbegi von Būdīn, ʿAlī, währen möge sein Glück, habe ich den Inhaber des großherrlichen Befehlsschreibens, Yūsuf aus Semendire, anstelle des in der Ḥasan Aġa unterstellten ersten Oda in der Festung Ḥaṭvān verstorbenen ʿAlī b. Yūsuf vom 1. Reğeb des Jahres 959 (23. 6. 1552) an mit neun Aqče Tagessold zum berittenen ʿUlūfeği ernannt, dieses großherrliche Ernennungsdiplom gegeben und befohlen, daß er hingehe und den Dienst verrichte. Nachdem die Bestallungsabgabe dem Schatz von Būdīn bezahlt worden ist, möge ihm sein Sold wie allen seinen Kameraden ausbezahlt werden.

So sollen sie es wissen. Sie sollen dem erhabenen Zeichen Vertrauen schenken.

Geschrieben am 2. Tag des Monats Rebīʿu l-āḫir des Jahres 960 (18. 3. 1553) in der Residenz zu Qosṭanṭinīye.



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ON THE ORIGIN OF TURKIC NEGATIVE SUFFIX (-mA-)

TALÂT TEKIN

(Ankara)

As is known. the word stress in Turkic is on the last syllable in general, and when a suffix is added to a word the stress shifts to the last syllable again, e.g., *balík* "fish", *balïkčí* "fisherman", *balïkčılár* "fishermen", *balïkčılarïmíz* "our fishermen", *balïkčılarïmïzdán* "from our fishermen", etc.

Some suffixes, however, are unstressable, i.e., they do not take the stress over themselves. The personal suffixes of pronominal origin are good examples for such suffixes, e.g., Trk. *gelírim* "I come", *gelírsin* "you come", *gelíriz* "we come", etc. The reason why these suffixes are unstressable is that the words formed with them are essentially phrases (attributive phrases) consisting of two words: *gelírim / kelír ben* "I am the one who comes", *gelírsin / kelír sen* "you are the one who comes", *gelíriz / kelír biz* "we are ones who come", etc. The stress of these ancient phrases was on the last syllable of the first element. In other words, it it was a phrase stress or accent. The postposited personal pronouns in such constructions went through less or great phonetic changes in the course of time and became suffixes finally, but the phrase accent has preserved its original place.

The stress of the Turkish present continuous tense suffix (-Íyor), too, is on the first syllable, e.g., *gelíyor* "he is coming", *gidíyor* "he is going", etc. The reason for this is the fact that such forms, too, phrases (verbal phrases) originally consisting of two verb forms: *gelíyor/ geléyor / geléyoru / gel-é yoru-r* (lit. "coming he walks", i.e., "he keeps on coming").

The stress of Kazakh *kelédi* "he is coming", too, is on the medial syllable of the word, for, this form, too, goes back to a verbal composition historically: *kelédi / kelédu / kelédur / kel-é tur-ur* "he keeps on coming".

*

One of the most common unstressable suffixes in Turkic is the negative suffix (-mA-) forming negative stems of verbs: Turkish *gél-me-* "not to come", *konúṣ-ma-* "not to speak", *anlaṣíl-ma-* "not to be understood", etc. The fact that this suffix is unstressable indicates that words formed with this suffix are verbal compositions or compounds originally. Turkologists who advanced theo-

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ries on the origin of this suffix set out mainly from this point in establishing their theories.

As far as I know, Bang, the founder of the Turkic comparative studies, was the first to express a view on the origin of the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-). He stated as follows: "In *-ma-* sehe ich keine 'Partikel' oder dergl., sondern den Reste eines verschollenen Zeitworts, das mit *m-* angelautet haben mag oder auch **ama-*, *uma-*, **ama-*, *ümä-* usw. lautete und etwa 'unterlassen' bedeutete."[1] Bang hinted that this postulated verb might be connected with Kirghiz *umut-* "to forget", Yak. *umun-* id., Uig., etc. *unut-* id., No. *umarta-*, *marta-* and Tungus *omŋo-* id. He also added that this once independent verb was probably added to gerunds in *-a/-ï*, i.e., **tapama-*, **tapa-uma-* "not to find", and from such forms, with the elision of the vowel of the medial syllables, the suffix (-mA-) came into being.

The weakest part of Bang's theory is that in a verbal composition like **tapa-ma-* the phrase accent would have been on the medial syllable, and a stressed (a) in the medial syllable would not have been dropped.

The second theory on the origin of the negative suffix (-mA-) was put forward by Ramstedt, the founder of the comparative Altaic studies. Ramstedt assumed that the Turkic negative suffix resulted from the combinations of verbal nouns in *-m* with the inflected forms of a Pre-Turkic *(Vortürkisch)* defective verb **e-* "not to be", e.g., Old Turkic *bolmaŋ* "don't be!" */*bolm-aŋ* */*bolum* + *eŋ*, i.e., the imperative form of the negative verb *e-* which survives in Chuvash prohibitive *an* "don't" */*eŋ* */*e-ŋ*.[2] Ramstedt maintained that this Pre-Turkic verb of negation is identical with Tungus auxiliary verb *e-* "not to be". He also claimed that the hypothetical Pre-Turkic **e-* "not to be" originally meant "to be" and was probably identical also with Turkic auxiliary verb *är-* "to be".[3]

It should be emphasized that Ramstedt's theory is sound and satisfactory as far as the coming about of the suffix is concerned. But his equation of the Tungus negative verb *e-* "not to be" with Turkic *är-* "to be" cannot be accepted. This view equating the two verbs which have exactly opposite meanings cannot be correct. Apart from this, Ramstedt's view is erroneous also from the point of phonetics, for, while the Tungus verb consists of a single vowel (*e-*) the Turkic verb has the shape of *är-*. As is known, the phoneme (r) in Turkic *är-* was lost much later, i.e., in the Old Anatolian Turkish (13th—14th centuries) and in Chaghatay (15th century).

Ramstedt's theory on the origin of the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-) has generally been accepted by Turkologists, and among them also by Menges.

[1] W. Bang, Das negative Verbum der Türksprachen. *SBAW* XVII (1923), p. 16.

[2] G. J. Ramstedt, Die Verneinung in den altaischen Sprachen. Eine semiologische Studie. *MSFOu III* (1924), pp. 210, 211.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 212, 213.

Menges, without mentioning Ramstedt's name, advanced that the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-) resulted from the combinations of verbal nouns in *-m*, *-ma* or *-mï* with the negative verb *e-*.[4] According to him, this negative verb was placed after the main verb as opposed to the fact that in the Tungus and Uralic languages it preceeds the main verb.[5]

Most recently, Menges has claimed that the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-) came into being from the combinations of verbal nouns in *-ma/-ma* with the inflected forms of the Altaic negative verb **e-*.[6] According to him, the Turkic forms *kälmätim* and *qalmatïm* for instance, go back to earlier **käl-mä e-ti-m* and **qal-ma e-ti-m*.[7]

It should be stated right away that this theory of Menges is weak phonetically, for it neglects the most important point of the etymology, i.e., the accentuation of the suffix (-mA-): If the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-) had been derived from such combinations, it would have been stressable, not unstressable, i.e., **kälmá etim* would have resulted in **kälmátim*, and **qalmá etim* in **qalmátïm*.[8] Turkish compounds like *cumártesi* "Saturday" (/ *cumá ertesi*) and Kazakh compounds like *Almáta* (/ *Almá Ata*) clearly show that the phrase accent preserves its place in such combinations.

The most recent theory on the origin of the suffix (-mA-) has been put forward by A. N. Kononov. The late Soviet Turkologist postulated that the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-) resulted from the combinations of the gerunds in *-a* or *-i* of the main verb with the gerund in **-pa(n)/-ba(n)/-ma(n)* of the negative verb **a-/ä-*.[9] Kononov assumed that first to a gerund like **al-ï/al-a* "taking", for example, the gerund in *-pa/-ba/-ma* of the negative verb **a-* was added (i.e., *al-ï a-pa*); this then resulted in **alapa* through haplology, and, finally, with the loss of the vowel (a) in medial position, the dissyllabic negative stems came into being: **àlapá* > **alpa-/alba-/alma-*.[10]

It goes without saying that Kononov's theory is wrong in many respects:

[4] Karl H. Menges, *The Turkic Languages and Peoples: An Introduction to Turkic Studies*. Wiesbaden 1968, p. 144.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Karl H. Menges, *Altaische Studien II: Japanisch und — Altaisch*. Wiesbaden 1975, p. 103.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] In connection with this, it should be noted that Menges has mistaken also in the reconstruction of the Turkic past tense suffix. This suffix was not *-t* but *-d* originally and it probably occurred as *-t* only after the sonants (r, l, n) in Pre-Turkic. This is evident from the past tense forms in Orkhon Turkic (*ber-t-im* "I gave", *qal-t-ım* "I remained", *in-t-imiz* "we went down") and present-day Chuvash, e.g. *te-r-ĕm* "I said" (/**te-d-im*), but *pa-t-ăm* "I gave" (/**ber-t-im*), *yul-t-ăn* "you remained" /**qal-t-iŋ*), *an-č-ĕ* "he descended (/**en-t-i*).

[9] A. N. Kononov, *Grammatika jazyka tjurkskix runičeskix pamjatnikov VII—IX vv.* Leningrad 1980, pp. 172, 173.

[10] *Ibid.*

(1) The original form of the Turkic negative suffix is *-ma-/-mä-* with (m) and forms with (b) and (p) are only secondary.

(2) The gerundial suffix (-pAn) does not have an allomorph without (n).

(3) The gerund in (-pA(n)) or in any other suffix could not have developed into a verbal stem.

(4) Finally, in a form like **alapa* originating from **al-ḯ/al-á apa* the medial syllable would have been stressed, not unstressed and its vowel would not have been dropped.

These are the theories put forward so far on the origin of the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-).

Among these theories, as I have already pointed out, only the one advanced by Ramstedt is sound and satisfactory. He rightly assumed that the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-) resulted from the fusion of verbal nouns in *-m* with an ancient Pre-Turkic (*Vortürkisch*) negative verb **e-* "not to be" which was cognate with Tungus *e-* "not to be". But, as I have also pointed out above, Ramstedt was not very convincing when he at the same time claimed that this Pre-Turkic verb of negation originally meant "to be" and was probably identical also with the Turkic auxiliary verb *är-* "to be" and Mo. *a-* "to be". By making such claims, I believe that Ramstedt complicated things considerably and dimmed his view on the origin of the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-).

In this paper, I would like to take the subject in hand once more and to try to clarify Ramstedt's view on the origin of this suffix.

*

The problem of the origin of the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-) can be best solved with the help of the negative verb forms in the Tungus languages, as suggested by Ramstedt more than half a century ago.

In most of the Tungus languages, negative forms of verbs are formed with the auxiliary negative verb *e-* "not to do, not to make". The main verb is in the shape of a verbal noun in *-ra* (and also in *-na, -sa, -da*) and the inflected form of the negative auxiliary *e-* is placed before the main verb. The inflected forms of the verb *e-* are *e-si-* (present tense), *e-či-* (past tense) and *e-tē-* (future tense):[11]

Evk. *e-si-m sā-re* "I do not know" (*sā-re-m* "I know")
Evk. *e-či-n sā-re* "He did not know" (*sā-re-n* "he knew")
Ev. *e-te-m hā-r* "I will not know"
Ev. *e-te-n hā-r* "He will not know"[12]

[11] V.İ. Tsinttsius, *Sravnitel'nyj slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskix jazykov* II. Leningrad 1977, p. 432.

[12] K. A. Novikova, Êvenskij jazyk. *Jazyki Narodov SSSR* V, p. 99.

The negative imperative forms of verbs, too, are formed with the negative particles *ekel/exel, eǰi*, etc. all derived from the negative verb *e-* :

Evk. *ekel bū-re* ! "Do not give !"
Neg. *exel būye* (/**bū-re*) "Do not give !"
Nan. *eǰi bū-re* ! "Do not give !"[13]

These Tungus negative forms in which the negative auxiliary is placed before the main verb are archaic. The newer negative forms are found only in Nanay and Ulcha. In these languages the inflected form of the negative verb *e-* are placed after the main verb in the present and past tenses. Thus, through fusion or contraction, the negative suffixes *-si-* (present tense) and *-či-* (past tense) have come into being in Nanay and Ulcha :

Nan. *būresii* "I don't give" (/ *bū-re e-si bi*)
Ulcha *būresimbi* "I don't give" (/ *bū-re e-si-n bi*)
Nan. *būrečimbi* "I didn't give" (/ *bū-re e-či-n bi*)
Ulcha *būresisi* "you don't give" (/ *bū-re e-si si*)

The Tungus negative verb *e-* and its derivatives have cognates in Mongolian and Turkic. The Mongolian negative particle *ese* which is at the same time the stem of the defective verb *ese-* "not to be" seems to be cognate with Tungus *e-si(n)*, i.e., the present tense of the negative verb *e-* "not to do" : [14]

Mo. *kele-be* "he said", *ese kele-be* "He did not say"
Mo. *ire-be* "He came", *ese ire-be* "He did not come"
Mo. *yabu-qu* "to go", *yabu-qu ese-kü* "to go (or) not to go"
Mo. *ki-kü* "to do, make", *ki-kü ese-kü* "to do (or) not to do"
Mo. *ire-gsen-i* "his having come", *ire-gsen ese-gsen-i* "his having come (or) not having come".[15]

The Tungus negative verb *e-* "not to do" has cognates also in Turkic. These are Chuv. *an* "don't !", MK (Oghuz) *äŋ* "no, not", MK *äp. . .äp* "neither . . . nor", Kirg. *elek* "not yet" and Yak. *ilik* id.

1. It is very curious that Chuv. particle of negation *an* is still used prepositively to form negative imperatives :

kala ! "Speak !", *an kala* ! "Don't speak !"
par ! "Give !", *an par* ! "Don't give !"
kil ! "Come !", *an kil* ! "Don't come !"

[13] V. I. Tsintsius, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

[14] Nicholas Poppe, *Introduction to Mongolian Comparative Studies*. Helsinki 1955, p. 287.

[15] Nicholas Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian*. Wiesbaden 1954, p. 175.

This usage which is peculiar only to Chuvash among the Turkic languages is one of the many archaic features of this language. Ramstedt has rightly driven it back to an original **eŋ* (*/e-ŋ*) and regarded it as a cognate of Tungus *e-* as early as 1924. It goes without saying that the final *-n* in Chuv. *an* "don't !" is the Common Turkic imperative suffix of the plural.

2. The Oghuz negative particle or exclamation *äŋ* "no, not", e.g. *äŋ, äŋ* ! "no, no !" (MK I 40) is probably cognate with the Tungus particle of negation *eŋi* "impossible, no", e.g. Evk. *ŋenevre* "passable", *eŋi ŋenevre* "impassable, no passage !".

3. The Middle Turkic negative conjunction *ap . . . ap* "neither. . . nor", e.g. *ap bu ap ol* "neither this nor that" (MK I 34) is probably identical with the negative particle *aba* occurring in Nanay and Manchu, e.g. *bi-* "to be", *aba bi-* "not to be".

4. Finally, Kirghiz negative particle *elek* "not yet" and its Yakut counterpart *ilik* are probably derivatives of the Altaic negative verb *e-* :

Kirg. *kel-e elek, kelelek* "He hasn't come yet"
Kirg. *körölökmün* "I haven't seen yet" /**kör-e elek-min*
Kirg. *körö elekter* "They haven't seen yet" '**kör-e elek-ler*
Yak. *iste ilikpin* "I haven't heard yet" /**ešid-e ilik min*
Yak. *ahī ilikpin* "I haven't eaten yet" /**aša-yu ilik min*

Under the light of the above-given evidence we may now explain the origin of the Turkic negative suffix (-mA-). The inflected forms of the negative verb **e-* were placed after the verbal nouns in *-m* in Pre-Turkic (as it happened much later also in Nanay and Ulcha), then, while the stress (phrase accent) on the last syllable of verbal nouns was shifting to the preceeding syllable the narrow union vowel was dropped :

**kelím e-di* "he did not come"	> *kélmedi*	
**kelím e-dük* (past participle)	> *kélmedük*	
**kelím e-ser* (conditional)	> *kélmeser*	
**kelím e-ti(n)* (neg. gerund)	> *kélmeti(n)*	(past gerund)
**kelím e-yü* (present gerund)	> *kélmeyü*	
**kelím e-ŋ* (imperative)	> *kélmeŋ*	
**kelím e-sün* (imperative)	> *kélmesün*	

It should be stressed that in such compounds, the loss of the narrow vowel of the first element's final syllable, while the phrase accent on it was shifting to the preceeding syllable, is a general rule in Turkic. Observe the following examples :

Trk. *kayín ana* "mother-in-law"	> *káynana*
Trk. *kayín ata* "father-in-law"	> *káynata*
Trk. *yalín ayak* "bare-footed"	> *yálnayak*
Trkm. *gelín ece* "lady bride"	> *gélnece*

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TWO YUAN IMPERIAL EDICTS IN MONGOLIAN WRITTEN IN 'PHAGS-PA SCRIPT AND KEPT IN THE NANHUA MONASTERY

JUNAST
(Beijing)

1. Restoration of the edicts

In the Nanhua Monastery 南華寺 of Qujiang 曲江 in Guangdong there is a Mongolian document written in 'Phags-pa script. It is kept mounted on a silk scroll which is 332 cm long and 45 cm wide. 58 lines of black ink 'Phags-pa characters are seen on the fine white paper 宣紙 also bearing the fivefold impression of a quadrangular seal with four Chinese characters 御前之寶 *yu qian zhi bao* in seal-script 篆; three impressions are full, one is damaged in the middle, of one only the last two characters remained. Ten seals of later examiners like Li Genyuan 李根源 (1879—1935) follow the four Chinese lines put on the left side of the Mongolian text by Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837—1909) in October, 1899 (Guangxu yichou 光緒己丑).

In the *Nanhua xiaozhi* 南華小志 of Sui Zhai jushi 隨齋居士 printed in Guangzhou in 1937 by the Tengyunguo 登云閣 a part of the document (11. 28—48) was reproduced with the legend 不能識別之异域文書, "unique foreign document". The reproduction clearly shows that the original scrolls had been mounted before 1937.

Reading the Mongolian text, it can be stated that there are two breaks in the context, one between 11. 30 and 31, the other between 11. 41 and 42, and hence it is clear that the original pieces were mounted in a wrong order, moreover, two different documents were put together, none of them being full. Otherwise some of the extant lines are damaged here and there.

The first 30 lines belong to one imperial edict, the rest, 11. 31—59 — to another; the size of the characters, their distance, and the density of the ink used are different on them, and, what is more important, the text of the two parts show identical and different passages. Putting 11. 31—41 after 11. 42—58 the context is restored, and the left half of the impression of the seal over 1. 58 fits better the other half over 11. 31—32.

Both imperial edicts were given to Buddhist communities exempting them from taxes and obligatory services, both are addressed to military and civil servicemen, army officers of the Xuanyu Service 宣偸司, soldiers, commanders and officials of the towns in document A, to officials of the Xuanyu

xuanwei Service 宣偷宣慰司 and of the Lianfang Service 廉訪司, to army officers, etc. (as above) in document B. Document A was issued for the community of the Nanhua Dhyāna-Monastery 南華禪寺 of Caoxi Baolinshan 曹溪寶林山 with its holding. Document B was given for the community of the Yuanjiaosi 圓覺寺.

In both edicts the clause with the indication of the time and the place of issue is missing. The words of the few other lacunae can be restored in most cases by the aid of the context or of analoguous documents.

2. The date

In spite of the fact that the clause with the year and month of issue is missing, we can determine the period indirectly. In the Yuan imperial edicts written in 'Phags-pa script and granted to Buddhist monasteries or to institutions of other religious communities there is a passage quoting the analloguous issues of the preceding rulers of the dynasty, as a basis for the edict of the ruling emperor. The two documents discussed here give the same list of the previous rulers who issued analoguous edicts. These are Chinggis Khan, Ögödei, Sečen i.e. Qubilai, Ölǰeitü, and Külüg, the latter is Wuzong of the Yuan. This means the two edicts must have been issued by Buyantu i.e. Renzong of the Yuan.

It is of special importance that in addition to these two edicts the Nanhua Monastery also possesses a Tibetan "ecclesiastic" edict (*fazhi* 法旨) issued by the Imperial Teacher 帝師 Kun-dga' blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal bzang-po. Similarily to document A, his edict is issued for the Nanhua Dhyāna Monastery (*chan si* 禪寺) of the province (*lu* 路) of Shaozhou 韶州, and for the Nanhua Śikṣāpada-Hall (*jieyuan* 戒院) of the province (*lu* 路) of Guangzhou 廣州; the holder of the document is the same (Fuxin) Hongbian ciji 福心弘辯慈濟 mahāguru (*dashi* 大師). In the document we read: "now the Holy Edict (*shengzhi* 聖旨) of His Majesty the Emperor", and "now (by) this repeatedly affirmed imperial order, one must act respecting the Edict". The emperor mentioned is obviously Buyantu, the "Holy Edict" (imperial edict) and the imperial order must be identical with our document A. If so, it must have been issued before the edict of the imperial teacher. According to its clause, the latter document is dated the last day of the first lunar month of a snake year. Following the Yuan Annals Kun-dga' blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal bzang-po 公哥羅古羅思監藏班藏卜was promoted *tishi* 帝師 in the second year of Yanyou 延祐 (1315), see in the *Shi lao chuan* 釋老傳 of the *Yuanshi* 元史: since the second year (of Yanyou) Gongga-luoguluosi-jianzang-banzangbu was bestowed (with the title of Imperial Teacher). He served under three emperors: Buyantu, Gegen, and Taiding 泰定, and there is only one snake year in that period,

namely the 4th year, *ding si* 丁巳, of Yanyou of Buyantu, Yuan Renzong. Thus both imperial edicts must have been issued between 1312, the year of Renzong's enthronement, and 1317.

3. Transcription and translation

The Yuan official documents (imperial edicts, *shengzhi*, empress's edicts, *yizhi* 懿旨, prince's edicts, *lingzhi* 令旨, and "ecclesiastic" edicts, *fazhi* 法旨) mostly supplied with Chinese translation, original and translation both survived in the form of stone inscription. The two Nanhuasi documents have no Yuan-time official Chinese translation. In the *Zhongguo yuwenxue bao* 中國語文學報 1982: 12, pp. 223—227, I gave a threefold Chinese translation of the Mongolian texts: an interlinear word-by-word one, a line-by-line one, and a running translation, all three based on Yuan-time vernacular (*baihua*) according to extant contemporary materials so that the running text may be considered as the restoration of how the Mongolian original would be survived in the monastery.

Both documents contain some Chinese proper names and technical terms, most of them easy to reconstruct: they occur in other sources. There are but a few Chinese elements difficult to restore for which one can select the possible words and characters, e.g., from the *Mengguziyun*, 蒙古字韻. These are given here marked by an asterisk. Line numbers follow the original order restored and not that due to the erroneous late collation.

Document A

1 mo̤ṅka̤ dėṅriyin kṳčṳndṳr
2 yėk̲e su ǰaliyin ·ihe·endṳr
3 [qa·an] ǰarliq manu
4 čeri·ṳdṳn noyadda
5 čerig harana balaqa-
6 dun daruqasda noyad-
7 [da yor]čiqun yabuqun ėlčine dūlqaquė̯
8 ǰarliq
9 [J]iṅgis qanu Öködeė̯ qānu
10 [Sečen] qānu Ölǰeė̯tṳ qānu
11 [K]ülṳg qānu ba ǰarliqdur doyid ėrke·ṳ[d]
12 [s]enṣïṅud aliba alba qubčiri ülṳ üǰen
13 [dėṅriyi ǰa]lbariǰu hirṳ·er ögṳn atuqayi ke·egde[g]-
14 sed aǰu·uė̯ ėdṳ·e ber bo̤·esṳ uridanu

15 ǰarliqun yosu·ar aliba alba qubčiri
16 [ülü̱] üǰen
17 dėńriyi ǰalbariǰu hirü̱·er ögü̱n atu-
18 qayi kēn Guaṅ-duṅ t̲aw Šėw-ǰiw lu lü-ju t̲ay-
19 [gėm ǰin]-kuṅ b̲u-gew "ü̱en-miṅ gü̱aṅ-ǰėw šėn[?]-
20 šï amitu bukuėdu̱r bosqaqsan C̲aw-kei [Baw]-
21 lim-šan Nam-γu̱a šėn-zï sümede qariyatan ge[?]
22 [. . . lu?] Mėn-b̲u gey-"ü̱en Gu̱aṅ-ǰiw lu Jaw-šü-
23 hi̱aṅ Nam-γu̱a gey-"ü̱en Γaṅ-ǰiw lu Nam-γu̱a ṣėn-[zï]
24 ėde sümesdu̱r aqu Fu-sim γuṅ-p̄ėn c̲ï-[ji]
25 [tay]-šï dïy-yėn ǰaṅ-law-da bariǰu yabu·ayi
26 ǰarliq ögbeė̱ ėdenü̱ sümesdu̱r geyid-
27 du̱r anu elčin bu̱ ba·utuqayi ulā ši-
28 [·u̱]su̱ bu̱ barituqayi caṅ tamqa bu̱ ög[tu̱]-
29 [geė̱] sümede ėle qariyatan [qa]ǰar usu[n]
30 [haran] adu·usun baq tegirmed dėm keb[id]
[. . .]

By the strength of Eternal Heaven
By the protection of Great Splendour
Edict of Ours, the Emperor

Edict to be proclaimed to army officers, soldiers, governors of cities, officials, messengers going to and fro. In the edicts

of Chinggis Khan,
of Emperor Ögödei,
of Emperor (Sechen),
of Emperor Ölǰeitü,
and of Emperor Külüg,

it is stated that Buddhist priests, Christian clergymen, and Taoist priests, not paying any tribute or tax, are to pray to Heaven and pronounce benedictions.

Now, stating that they, in accordance with previous edicts, not paying any tribute or tax, are to pray to Heaven and pronounce benedictions, we have issued an edict to be held by 福心弘辯慈濟 Fuxin Hongbian Ciji, the mahā-guru, the abbot, rich in virtue (*deyan* 德衍) who resides in these monasteries, the 勉晉戒院 Mianpu Jieyuan of (. . . . .), and the 南華戒院 Nanhua Jieyuan of 棗樹巷 Zaoshuxiang of the province of Guangzhou, as well as the Nanhua Shansi of the province of 杭州 Hangzhou which belong to the monastery Nanhua Zhansi of 曹溪寶林山 Caoxi Baolinshan, (a monastery) built in the lifetime of the Dhyāna-guru (*zhanshi* 禪師) 六祖鑒大眞空晉學圓明廣照 Liuzu Dajian zhenkong pujiao yuanming guangzhao of the province of 韶州 Shaozhou of the region of 廣東 Guangdong.

In the temples and houses of these (communities) messengers must not stop. They must not take relay mounts and provisions. (These communities) are not to pay land-taxes and commercial taxes. The lands and waters, bondsmen and cattle, orchards and mills, inns and shops (. . . . . .) belonging to the monastery (. . . . . .)

Document B

1 [moṅ]ka dėṅriyin kučundur
2 yėke su ǰaliiyin ·ihēndur
3 qān ǰarliq manu
4 Suen-·uė-sï [Lėm]-
5 faṅ-sï-yin noyad[da]
6 čeri·udun noyad[da]
7 čerig harana balaqadun daruqasda noyadda yorči[qun ya]-
8 buqun ėlčine dūlqaquė
9 ǰarliq
10 J̌iṅgis qanu
11 Öködeė qānu
12 Sečen qānu
13 Ölǰeėtu qānu
14 Külug qānu ba ǰarliqdur doyid ėrke·ud s[enšï]-
15 ṅud aliba alba qubčiri ülu üǰen
16 dėṅriyi ǰalbariǰu hiru·er ögun atuqa[yi]
17 [kēgde]gsed aǰu·uė ėdu·e ber bö·esu u[ridanu]
18 [ǰarliqun] yosu·ar aliba alba qubčiri ülu üǰe[n]
19 [dėṅ]riyi ǰalbariǰu hiru·er ögun atuqayi kē[n]
20 [. . . . . .] čölgedur Γo-″ü-ju gü-šï [bo]sqa·ulu[q]-
21 [san]″Uen-gew-zï süme[dur] aqun doyidda bariǰu ya[bu·ayi]
22 [ǰarliq ög]beė ėdenu süm[es]dur geyiddur anu [ėl]-
23 [čin] bu ba·utuqayi ulā ši·usu bu barituqayi caṅ ta[mqa]
24 [bu ög]tugeė sümede ėle qari[yatan] qaǰar usun baq [te]-
25 [gi]rmed dėm kebid gey-dėn-ku qala·un usun oṅqočas
26 [. . .] buliǰu tataǰu bu abtuqayi ėde basa doy[id]
27 [ǰarliq]ta[n] kēǰu yosu üge·uė üėles bu [üė]-
28 [ledtugeė] [ü]ėledu·esu mud basa ülu·u ayuqun [. . .]
[. . .]

By the strength of Eternal Heaven
By the protection of Great Splendour
Edict of Ours, the Emperor

Edict to be proclaimed to the officials of the 宣慰司 Xuanweisi and the 廉訪司 Lianfangsi, to army officers, soldiers, governors of cities, officials, messengers going to and fro. In edicts

of Chinggis Khan,
of Emperor Ögödei,
of Emperor Sechen,
of Emperor Öljeitü,
and of Emperor Külüg,

it is stated that Buddhist priests, Christian clergymen, and Taoist priests, not paying any tribute or tax, are to pray to Heaven and pronounce benedictions.

Now, stating that they, in accordance with previous edicts, not paying any tribute or tax, are to pray to Heaven and pronounce benedictions, we have issued an edict to be held by the priests who live in the monastery 圓覺寺 Yuanjiaosi built by the devotee (*chushi* 居士) 何遇租 He Yuzu in the province of (. . . . . .)

In the temples and houses of these (priests) messengers must not stop. They must not take relay mounts and provisions. (These priests) are not to pay land-taxes and commercial taxes. The lands and waters, orchards and mills, inns and shops, pawnshops and bath-houses, boats (and . . .) belonging to the monastery must not be robbed or drained away.

These priests, too, are not to commit unlawful deeds, saying that they have (this) edict. If they do so, ought not they to be afraid?

(. . . . . .)

4. Commentary*

A1 *mo̱ṅka̱*, B1 [*mo̱ṅ*]*ka̱*: from among the various forms attested in 'Phags-pa script, *moṅka*, *moṅke*, *moṅga*, *monqa*, the first is the commonest. Some scholars consider these forms aberrant; they may, however, represent dialectal pronunciation or, as a word of Turkish origin, *möngke* could have several alternative pronunciations, its reading remaining unsettled in that time. The latter seems more probable.

A2, B2 *yéke* 'great': cf. also *ǰükiyer* 'rightly'. As a phoneme, the unaspirated *k* is not attested in Mongolian, and according to the rules of Mongolian phonetics, the letter *k* in the word concerned must render *g*.

A2 *·ihēn*, B2 [id]. or [*·ihe·en*] 'protection': cf. *taha·ulju* 'commanding' (adv. imperf.), Hua Yi yiyu *ta·ul°*, Lulong sailue (Beilu yiyu) *tā·ul-* from *ta·a·ul-*, Written Mong. *tayaγul-*.

A6, B7 *daruqas*, Plur., cf. SH *daruqačin*, Plur., Chinese transcription of the Sing. form :. *daluhuache*, i.e., *daruqači*.

A5—6, B7 *daruqas* and *noyad*, both Plur., must mean two different functions, as both words bear the same suffix *-da*.

A12 [*s*]*en-* instead of the usual *sėn* for Chin. *xian* in *xiansheng* 先生 'Taoist priest'.

A11, B14 *doyid* 'Buddhist monks', Mong. *toyin* ; from Chin. *daoren* 道人 (cf. e.g. in A. v. Gabain's *Alttürkische Grammatik*).

A18—20 六祖太鑒眞空普覺圓明廣照禪師 *liuzu dajian zhenkong pujiao yuanming guangzhao zhanshi* 'The Sixth Ancestor, The Great Mirror and Real Voidness, The One which Spreads Enlightenment, The Full Clarity, The One Extending Brightness, The Dhyāna-Teacher'. According to the treatise *Lichao songfeng shiyi* 歷朝崇奉事迹 belonging to the *Liuzu yunjing* 六祖妠經 Tang Emperor Xianzong 憲宗 granted the title The Great Mirror Dhyāna-Teacher to the Mahāguru. Song Emperor Taizong augmented the title to be The Great Mirror and Real Voidness, The Dhyāna-Teacher. In the tenth year Tiankuai 天圣, Song Emperor Renzong 仁宗 augmented the title to be *dajian zhenkong pujiao zhanshi*. Song Emperor Shenzong 神宗 added *yuanming* 圓明 as it can be seen in the record *Yan yuan xian gong bei ji* 晏元献公碑記.

A19—20 two occurrences of the grapheme p [=pʿ] ; although attested in the *Fashukao* 法書考, the *Shushi huiyao* 書史會要 and the *Menggu ziyun* 蒙古字韻, this letter was not regarded by Dragunov and Poppe as an independent grapheme.

A20 *amitu*, in the later language : *amidu*.

B—28 *üi̯ledü.esü mu̯d basa ülü·ü ayuqun* 如做他們豈不怕 'If they do [so], how shall they not fear?', The sentence concerns the holders of the issue. In the Yuan-time Chinese colloquial version of the documents of this kind it sounds 傑呵他每更不怕那什么. The difficulty of this sentence has been discussed by several scholars. Prof. Poppe's interpretation (given in his *Kvadratnaja pis'mennost'*, Leningrad 1941, see *The Mongolian Monuments in Ḥpʿags-pa script*, transl. by J. R. Krueger, Wiesbaden 1957) for text I, in note 23, is generally accepted in Mongolian linguistics. He holds this sentence interrogative, a question in which the interrogative particle, the last syllable in *ülü·ü*, corresponds to Written Mong.-*uu* and Buriat *-gü*. He quotes *ilegüü* and *ülegü* 'excess, . . .' to ascertain that Written Mong. *-uu* remounts to **-γu*. Nevertheless modern Mong. *-uu* and Bur. *-gü* as well as the interrogative particles of other Mongolian languages have a rule of usage totally different of that we see in our sentence in question. It is a matter of fact that the interrogative particle

in Written Mongolian and Middle Mongolian can only be used after the predicate, at the end of the sentence, and it is not allowed to put it after an auxiliary word and before a predicate. Therefore I try to give here another interpretation of the sentence quoted. First of all, as for its place among the parts of speech, the word *ülü* is, as well-known in all modern Mongolian languages where it is used (as e.g. in modern Written Mong.), an invariable auxiliary word, a negative, only used with verbs. Its usage is different in Middle Mongolian where it is a defective verb and so can receive *-gü*, the suffix of the noun of the future. Another word belonging originally to the same category of negatives is *ese* 'not' (with perfect forms) which, in modern Mong., still conserved its noun of future form *esegü*, showing that *-·ü* in *ülü·ü* and *-gü* in *esegü* are in fact the same ('Phags-pa *·+ u/ü* correspond to Written Mong. *γ/g+u/ü*). On the other hand, *-·ü* in *ülü·ü*, like the identical forms of the other verbs, can have a case ending. Albeit in the extant material in 'Phags-pa script we do not find such an example, § 248 of the Secret History of the Mongols has *ene eyedür-manu oroqu ülü·ü-yi ker medekdegü* 'How to know [i.e., It is uncertain] whether he will accept this (offer of) accord of ours'. Here *oroqu* and *ülü·ü* have the same syntactic function being direct objects before the predicate *medekdegü*. In my opinion, 'Phags-pa *ülü·ü* must be a noun of future and so the sentence in question is not an interrogative clause, but an affirmative rhetorical question. Otherwise *ayuqun* is also a noun of future form; its ending *-qun* forms a finite predicate, peculiar to Middle Mongolian.

5. The Tibetan edict of the Imperial Teacher, 1317

Translation from the Chinese rendering by Chang Fengxuan 常風玄:

Relying on the Holy Edict (of the Emperor) this is the Dharma-edict of the Imperial Teacher Kun-dga' blo-gros rgyal-mtshan dpal-bzang-po.

To be proclaimed to army officers, soldiers, local governors, messengers with golden writ, monks and laymen, to be known for all:

(This is given to) the abbot, the one rich in virtue, the Magnanimous and Eloquent Mahāguru who resides in the Nanhua Dhyāna-vihāra of the province of Shaozhou and in the Nanhua Śikṣāpada-Monastery. He sincerely reveres

* This is an abridged version of the Chinese paper *Nanhuasi zang Yuandai Basibazi Menggu yu shengzhi di fuyuan yu kaoshi* published in *Zhongguo yuyan xuebao* 1982 : 12, pp. 221—232. The author's *G* for 'Phags-pa *q* (as in *qaǰar*, *barituqa͡yi* [= *barituqai*] and *qariyatan*, *aqu* corresponding to Written Mong. *yaǰar*, *barituyai* and *qariyatan*, *aqu*) is substituted here by *q*. The aspirated *pᶜ*, *tᶜ*, *kᶜ* etc. are written *p*, *t*, *k*, etc. Unaspirated voiceless stops and affricates are marked by underlining as in *k̲* or *c̲*. Unmarked non-first syllable *ü* (*u* in 'Phag s-pa script), written here *u̯* can be restored as accepted for the transcription of Written Mong., see also L. Ligeti's transcription and transliteration of 'Phags-pa texts.

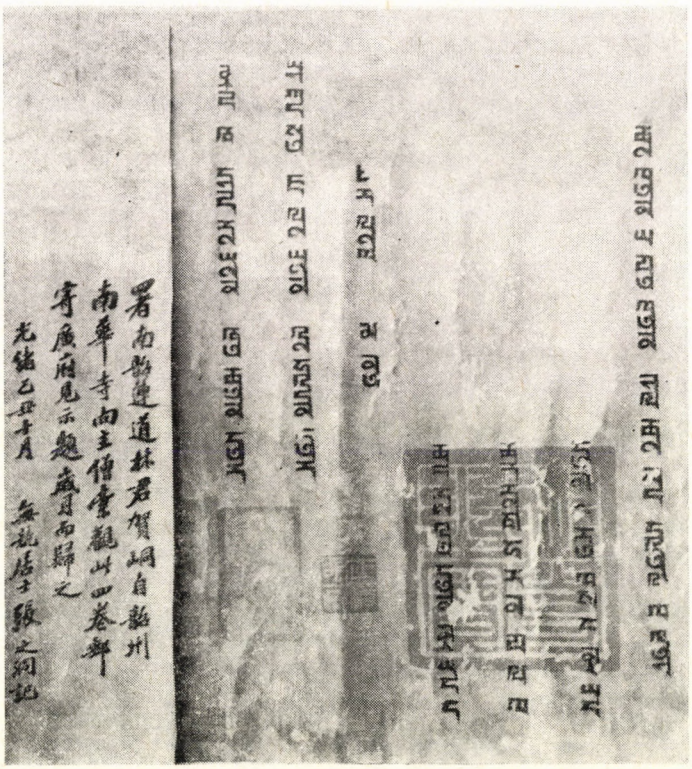
Buddha and devotedly preserves the pure regulations, (thus) obeying now the Holy Edict of the Imperial Throne, (it is stated that) army supplies, provisions, relay mount service and other duties, not assessed before this, must not be levied, land-taxes and commercial taxes must not be demanded. (Their) village houses and tents should not be required for lodging. Boundsmen, goods, lands and waters, water-mills, cattle and the like, granted (to the monastery) before this, must not be taken by force or contested. No action of blackmail or extortion, corruption or cheating should be raised.

It is essential to be certain of his being free in cultivating (Buddhist) morality.

Now this is to repeat the protecting imperial order: it is necessary to act obeying the Edict, and if there is any matter raised by disobeying the command and by opposing to the Edict, it must be reported to the Imperial Throne, and it will be severely punished without lenience.

And he who received this edict, must not disobey but has to do as it is ordered in the regulations of the Edict.

(We) issued this edict in the Great Vihāra of Dadu, the Capital, on the last day of the first month of the snake year (Yanyou 4, dingsi [= 1317]).



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AESTHETIC AND EROTIC ENTRANCEMENT IN THE *ŚĀKUNTALĀ*

ROBERT E. GOODWIN

(Brown University, Providence)

The following is an analysis of a certain aspect of Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntala* (hereafter simply Ś) that I have not found discussed before in any detail.[1] That aspect could be called, awkwardly enough, the aesthetic-thematic, for I am concerned neither with a formal analysis of the play according to classical Indian aesthetic standards not with a thematic analysis of content that brackets these standards, but rather with how the aesthetic standards of the *rasika* or *sahṛdaya* are themselves thematized within the play.

I have two major assumptions. One is that the play is less an articulation of Kālidāsa's personal vision than it is a meeting of the expectations of his audience. This is not to say that Kālidāsa's way of operating within the conventions of plot, subject, trope, emotional range, etc. does not have its own particular emphases. It is only to indicate that I am looking at the play primarily as an expression of a conventional world-view, that of the *rasika*. In any highly conventionalized tradition the author will be to a large extent the mouthpiece of his or her audience. Even a careful study of the differences between two masters like Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti (a great desideratum)

[1] Barbara Stoler Miller's treatment of the heroine in terms of Śrī and Vāc and the associated idea that the hero's encounter with the heroine thematizes the aesthetic experience contains *in nuce* several of the ideas I develop. See "Kālidāsa's World and His Plays", in *Theater of Memory*, ed. Miller (New York: Columbia UP, 1984) 26 ff. I explain where I differ from Edwin Gerow below. His prefatory remarks in "Plot Structure and the Development of *Rasa* in the Śakuntalā" (*JAOS* 99.4 [1979]: 559—72; 100.3 [1980]: 267—82) also lament the gap between aesthetics and thematic analysis and contain many valuable observations echoed in this introduction. My own "*Dākṣiṇya* and *Rasa* in the *Vikramorvaśīya*" and "Kālidāsa's Metadrama", which will have appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* and the *Journal of South Asian Literature* respectively by the time this article appears, are also pertinent. For other approaches to the heroine or Vāc and/or Śrī figure see F. B. I. Kuiper, Varuṇa and Vidūṣaka: *On the origins of Sanskrit Drama*. Amsterdam, North-Holland 1979, 236—41, and Maria Christopher Byrski, *Concept of Ancient Indian Theatre*. New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal 1974, 139—43.

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would, in my opinion, have to be approached from the perspective of the different emphases they bring to a common myth.

The second major assumption is that the asudience identifies with the hero (*nāyaka*), King Duḥṣanta, in a special way.[2] Not only is Duḥṣanta the generic hero of a romantic fiction whose aspirations and dilemmas are the drama-narrative's chief concern and whose psychological point of view is the chief one represented.[3] This indicates his appeal to an audience only on a naive and very general level. More significant is the fact that he — like the hero of many *kāvyas* — embodies the *rasika* sensibility. His responses to the situations in which he finds himself are principally, if not exclusively, emotional. In fact, they are sentimental, in the sense that, however immediate his feelings in the first place, they are always filtered through a self-consciousness that makes them the object of a certain self-indulgent attention.[4] Thus we find him (and this is true of the *nāyaka* generally) lingering over and savoring the nuances of his emotional responses, translating them into poetic language, instead of acting on them or subjecting them to rational criticism.[5] This is more than a matter of concention *per se*: it is an index to the *rasika*'s own standards of emotional cultivation. For the *nāyaka* himself, not only for the *rasika* in the audience, *bhāva* (personal feeling) has already become *rasa* (its aesthetic savor). He also has the remarkable aplomb, the linguistic grace, the gentle manner, that we associate with the courtly atmosphere, which provided the major

[2] This spelling, rather than Duṣyanta, reveals my principal use of the Bengali recension. To justify this would demand considerable space. Suffice it to say that my argument does not depend on readings peculiar to that recension. Numerals in parentheses indicate the position (if different) of the passage in the Devangari recension. An asterisk means that the passage is not in the Devanagari. The editions I use are (Bengali) *Kālidāsa's Śakuntala*, ed. Richard Pischel, 2nd ed., Harvard Oriental Series 16 (Cambridge MA, 1922); (related Maithili) *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam of Kālidāsa* (with commentaries of Śaṅkara and Narahari), ed. Ramanath Jha (Darbhanga: Mithila Inst. of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1957); (Devanagari) *The Abhijñāna-Śākuntala of Kālidāsa* (with commentary of Rāghavabhaṭṭa), ed N. B. Godabole, 5th ed. rev. W. L. Shastri Fanasikar (Bombay: Nirnaya Sagar, 1909).

[3] I use "romantic" in the sense developed by Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957), denoting the idealistic treatment of a quest-story. The term in Frye's scheme is differentiated from "tragic", "comic", and "ironic".

[4] Schiller's distinction between the naive and sentimental is apropos here.

[5] Typically other kinds of characters—like Yaugandharāyaṇa in Bhāsa's Vāsavadattā plays—act as intelligences guiding the hero's emotional tendencies to a successful conclusion. The hero is thus essentially passive. When he acts it is a demonstration of heroic essence related to panegyric, rather than anything psychologically or ethically motivated.

setting (and patronage) for drama and poetry generally.[6] Both internally, as a sensibility, and externally, as a model of behavior, the hero of Ś represents the ideals of the *rasika-nāgarika*.

All this might seem obvious enough, but it generally plays no real part in critical discussions of the play.[7] Sanskrit poetics itself, with its emphasis on formal criteria, does not encourage us to look at *kāvyas* as whoe works functioning mythically, ethically, and dianoetically (to adopt the Aristotelian terms) within a certain social or cultural context.[8] Even Abhinavagupta's doctrine of *rasa* (the only one taken seriously by modern critics), which might seem to offer access to a discussion of a play's emotional impact, emphasizes only the impersonality and generality of aesthetic emotion, thus divorcing it from the real concerns, motivations, and desires of *kāvya*'s audience or readership.[9]

[6] Much could be said about this both in support and in qualification. The most explicit treatment of the court context known to me is Chapter 3 of David Smith, *Ratnākara's Haravijaya: An Introduction to the Sanskrit Court Epic* (Delhi: Oxford UP, 1985). In qualification: We have to bear in mind that even kings are called *nāgarikas* in order to signal their sophistication (see Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* 4.13.2–3, Velankar ed., for one example), which indicates that the urbane gentleman for whom the *Kāmasūtra* was written (also called *nāyaka* in that text), rather than the prince or courtier *per se*, set the standard of taste. Court patronage was desirable but not essential. For instance, the Mandasor inscription of the period of Kumāragupta I shows that good poets were also at the service of guilds and therefore of wealth generally. See *Inscriptions of the Early Guptas*, CII 3, edd. D. R. Bhandarkar, B. Chhabra, and G. S. Gai (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1981) 322 ff. There is also a bohemian contingent (supplying appreciation and support rather than patronage), as in the group Bāṇa names as his youthful associates in *Harṣacarita* 1. An even more important consideration is the psychological extension of the courtly ethos into the family library. In this way the *rasika* is one who participates imaginatively in the sophisticated ethos of *kāvya* regardless of connections to any court or literary *goṣṭhī*.

[7] Exceptions are Paul Thieme, "Das indische Theater", in *Fernöstlisches Theater*, ed. H. Kindermann (Stuttgart: Kröner, 1966) 26–120; and David Smith (see preceding note). My principal difference with Smith, whose work corresponds with my own in many ways, is a greater emphasis on the psychological aspect of audience reception. Smith emphasizes *kāvya*'s ritualistic function in strengthening an ideal vision for the court, but he omits any discussion of personal desire and emotional satisfaction for the *rasika* even though (p. 83) he speaks of *kāvya* as "a means of fulfilling one's desires, however feebly and vicariously".

[8] I can not address here the *upadeśa* or teaching function of poetry as acknowledged in *Nāṭyśaāstra* 1 and in the general characterizations of poetry by the poeticians Bhāmaha Daṇḍin, *et al.* It does not play a large part in the commentatorial tradition and is in any case mainly a matter of poetry's obligation to reproduce with learned accuracy the conventions of the many *śāstras* it must dip into.

[9] See Gerow, I. 560, 562–3, on audience involvement via *sādhāraṇīkaraṇa*. For AG's text see Raniero Gnoli, *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavaqupta* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba, 1968) 12 ff. and 52 ff.

Few have dared to challenge this principle. As a result there has developed a strange split in the critical literature. When one talks about *rasa*, one does not talk about the emotional content of a play and its significance to an audience; and likewise when one talks about meaning, it has nothing to do with *rasa* poetics.

To provide an example: The most influential interpretation of Ś, Rabindranath Tagore's "Sakuntala: Its Inner Meaning,"[10] treats the play as the drama of the moral bankruptcy of sensual love and its redemption by suffering, and never once refers to *śṛṅgāra rasa*. Tagore, as well as the many (predominantly Indian) critics who follow him, implicity condemns the *rasika-nāgarika* ethos depicted in the play — and marking the social context of the play's origination and performance — as hedonistic, as if this ethos could be divorced from the aesthetics that is an essential part of it and of the play itself. Can it be true that Kālidāsa's intent was to undermine the King's and the audience's aesthetic-erotic appreciation of Śakuntalā's beauty? If so, then Kāliadāsa must have been a consummate poet in a tradition that he himself regarded as for the most part frivolous, since there can be no denying the erotic focus of the bulk of *kāvya* (not to speak of Kālidāsa's work in particular).

We can see, then, in Tagore's reading, one way in which the split between aesthetics and thematics has enabled critics either to ignore or underestimate *kāvya*'s interest in erotic emotion. But *śṛṅgāra* is not the only theme to suffer. Heroism (*vīra*) and pity (*karuṇa*), for instance, two other emotional themes important in Ś, are usually treated apart from the aesthetic postures that evoke them, with the result that Duḥṣanta's heroism and his and Śakuntalā's woefulness are taken at face value. We forget that we are being confronted with representations within the *rasika-nāgarika* sensibility, and thus never ask the question why these particular representations are important to that sensibility.

Here I must explain how my approach differs from that of Edwin Gerow, whose major interpretive article on the play is presented precisely along aesthetic-thematic lines. Gerow's basic interpretative strategy is to translate the play's principal *rasas* into thematic equivalents — *vīra* (the heroic) into duty and *śṛṅgāra* (the erotic) into love — so that they can be treated within the traditional *puruṣārtha* scheme.[11] He then plots thematic development according to the complicated *sandhi-sandhyaṅga* scheme put forth abstractly in

[10] In *Sakuntala*, trans, by Lawrence Binyon and K. N. Dasgupta (London: Macmillan, 1920) xiii—xxix. Tagore's essay translated from Bengali by Jadunath Sarkar.

[11] I should mention that while *kāma* and *dharma* are thus placed, *artha* and *mokṣa* are not treated at all. Dramaturgical terminology (e. g. *kārya*, *ārambha*, *prayatna*, *siddhi*, and even *bīja* and *phala*) implies an arthic perspective, which needs to be accounted for. Cf. *Mudrārākṣasa* 4.3 and 5.3 for hints about arthic thematization; also my article "Kālidāsa's Metadrama".

Nāṭyaśāstra 21 (hereafter NŚ),[12] complete with *avasthā* and *arthaprakṛti* components.[13] It is — to say the least — a virtuoso feat, it not entirely persuasive. We trace a kind of musical dialectic of love and duty themes from an initial association that is morally inauthentic, through opposition and hostility, to separation, suffering, and finally reunion in moral authenticity. But, as we can see from this sketch, which does no justice to Gerow's ingenuity, the tenor of the argument is essentially ethical, a recasting of Tagore's thesis that avoids sentimental character judgments. Gerow's view of the aesthetic experience is highly abstract and intellectual; *rasa* is purely thematic, not an emotional aura captivating an audience. The emotional dialectic thus becomes a ritualistic ratification of a moral vision. We can appreciate Gerow's emphasis on formal complexity when we recall that one of his major concerns is to save Sanskrit drama from the charge of melodramatic naivety.[14]

My approach, by contrast, emphasizes emotional appeal and the audience's involvement in the *nāyaka*'s desire and the problems it poses. It assumes, as I have stated, an identification of the audience with its hero on the basis both of romantic aspiration on the naive level and a particular sensibility and behavioral code on the sophisticated level. Where Gerow minimizes sentiment, I stress it as the key to understanding the *rasika* psychology.[15] The dialectic between *kāma* and *dharma*, therefore, must be seen as enacted within the *rasika* sensibility with the ideal representative of that sensibility in the starring role. We must bear in mind that *kāvya*, as regarded in the *rasa* poetic, is a medium naturally aligned with *kāma*. Thus questions of duty become questions of feeling about duty, feeling whose end is pleasure.

In the subsequent pages I deal primarily with the aesthetic aspects of the erotic theme and its permutations, touching on other matters (such as the issue of heroism) only when they directly concern my subject. I want to show first now intimately connected these two areas (aesthetics and desire) are by considering the significance of the Prologue on the issue of obivious rapture. The Stage-Manager's and audience's entrancement by the Actress' song with

[12] All references to this text are to the the Kashi Sanskrit Series edition, ed. B. N. Sharma and B. Upadhyaya, 2nd ed. (Varanasi: Chaukhambha, 1980). Where I have cited readings, I have checked them against the GOS edition and found no significant variation.

[13] M. Christopher Byrski, *Methodology of the Analysis of Sanskrit Drama* (Rozprawy Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1979), Ch. 5, subjects Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* and *Svapnavāsavadatta* to a *sandhyaṅga* analysis; and T. G. Mainkar, *The Theory of the Saṃdhis and Saṃdhyaṅgas* (Delhi: Ajanta, 1978) uses examples from various plays, including Shakespeare. Neither thematizes *rasa* as Gerow does.

[14] Gerow, I. 564, 570; II. 282.

[15] Gerow declares at the outset that he is not interested in the psychological issues raised by *rasa* and the audience-perspective: I : 560 ff.

its erotic theme has, as its first analogue, King Duḥṣanta's entrance into the enchanted atmosphere of Kaṇva's hermitage, but actually there is a whole series of analogues that calls for close scrutiny. This, in turn, leads us to a consideration of the meaning of the curse from the perspective that we will have established. Finally, I will synthesize my results and engage in some general speculation about the paradoxical character of *kāvya* as a playful treatment of serious sentiment.

The Charmed World of Love and Poetry

Chapter 27 of NŚ deals directly with the audience's relation to a play. First it describes the two kinds of *siddhi* (success) a play can achieve. It then goes on with a detailed description of the things that can stand as obstacles to audience involvement: active interference by enemies of the playwright or acting troupe, thunderstorms, attacks of ants, actor's loss of memory, poor plot-construction, etc. Following this comes a description of the ideal spectator (*prekṣaka*), where we get our first working definition of the *rasika* (though this term is not used in NŚ) as someone who responds to representations of emotion with corresponding feeling.[16] Then a list of the various kinds of spectator drama actually draws, a discussion of how a drama is to be judged and who the judges should be, and miscellanea such as the proper time and place for a performance and the ideal qualities of an actor. The chapter is useful in a number of ways, but my special concern is with the second kind of *siddhi* and the obstacles (*ghātas*) that impede it.

The two types of *siddhi* are called *mānuṣī* (human) and *daivikī* (divine). The former obtains when the audience is very actively caught up in the dramatic illusion, booing the villain, sighing at tender scenes, laughing at the *viduṣaka*, tearing their clothes in excitement, etc. (NŚ 27.3—15). We can see from this the importance of emotional identification with the hero on the naive level. *Daivikī siddhi*, however, results from a much more sophisticated response, the response of the *rasika* proper. NŚ devotes only two verses to it, but it is clear that what is being described is *rasāsvāda* or (in Masson and Patwardhan's apt phrase) "aesthetic rapture."[17] It is said to be full of purity (*sattva*) and

[16] NŚ 27.55:

yas tuṣṭau tuṣṭim āyāti śoke śokam upaiti ca/
dainye dīnatvam abhyeti sa nāṭye prekṣakaḥ smṛtaḥ/ /

In the previous line he is likewise described as *anurāgī*.

[17] J. L. Masson and M. V. Patwardhan, *Aesthetic Rapture*: *The Rasādhyāya of the Nāṭyaśāstra*, 2 vols. (Poona: Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1970).

emotion (*bhāva*), and though the audience-hall is packed, there is perfect stillness[18]

This is precisely what we have enacted for us in the Prologue of Ś. The Stage-Manager, having praised the intelligence and taste of the audience, has summoned the leading Actress to the stage to sing for the audience's delight a song evoking the summer season in which the first three Acts of the play are set. He himself begins with a lovely *svabhāvokti* description of long and drowsy summer days. She follows with a charming portrait of young women whose ornamental ear-blossoms have their filaments kissed by buzzing bees.[19] The effect this has on the audience and the Stage-Manager himself is to put them in the kind of trance described in the *daivikī siddhi* verses cited above. The audience is said to be as motionless as a painted picture, its collective mind ravished by delight (*rāga*), while the Stage-Manager has been so captivated that he has forgotten not only what play his troupe is going to perform, but that he himself has already announced its title and author. When reminded by the astonished Actress, he thanks her for "awakening" him from his obliviousness and constructs a very revealing simile functioning as the signal for entrance into the dramatic illusion proper. He compares the ravishing delight or beauty (*rāga*) of her song with the spotted antelope which is drawing King Duḥṣanta into the vicinity of the *āśrama*.[20]

[18] NŚ 27.16–7:

sā sattvātiśayā jñeyā bhāvayuktā tathaiva ca /
nāṭye samprekṣakair jñeyā nityaṃ siddhis tu daivikī//
na śabdo naiva ca kṣobho na cotpātanidarśanam/
sampūrṇatā ca raṅgasya sa siddhir daivikī smṛtā/,

[19] S 1.3 and 4:

subhagasalilāvagāhāḥ pāṭalisaṃsargasur abhivanavātāḥ/
pracchāyasulabhanidrā divasāḥ pariṇāmaramaṇīyāḥ//
kṣaṇacumbitāni bhramarair ūhata sukumārakesaraśikhāni/
avataṃsayanti sadayam śirīṣakusumāni pramadāḥ//

Despite disadvantages, to save space it will be my practice to give Sanskrit equivalents in place of the original Prakrit (as in verse 4).

[20] It is worth citing the majority of this passage in Sanskrit. S 1.4.1–1.5: *ārye/ sādhu qītam/ asau hi rāgāpahṛtacittavṛttir ālikhita iva bhāti sarvato raṅgaḥ/ tat katamaṃ prayogam āśrityainam ārādhayāmaḥ/ . . . / ārye/ samyag avabodhito'smi/ asmin kṣaṇe vismṛtaṃ khalu mayaitat/ kutaḥ/*

tavāsmi gītarāgeṇa hāriṇā prasabhaṃ hṛtaḥ/
eṣa rājeva duḥṣantaḥ sāraṅgeṇātiraṃhasā/

Note especially *rāgāpahṛtacittavṛttir* and compare the classical definition of yoga in *Yogasūtra* 1.2: *yogaś cittavṛttinirodhaḥ*. For suppression of mental processes Kālidāsa has substituted their captivation by beauty, the difference between ascetic and aesthetic versions of trance. We will see later that the ascetic trance finds its counterpart in Duḥṣanta's imageless oblivion.

The play in this short passage on notions of aesthetic rapture, illusion and reality, awareness and forgetting is fascinating, and we cannot fail to notice its thematic import for a drama that has so much to do with these notions. The Prologue, which enacts captivation by aesthetic illusion and points the way to the dramatic illusion proper, is itself part of the dramatic illusion. The Stage-Manager's lapse of consciousness amounts to a forgeting of the task at hand, and so is very much like the critical mistake of Śakuntalā, whose beguilement by the memories and dreams of love is the cause of her failure to attend to the sage Durvāsas when he comes to the *āśrama*. It also reminds us of the King under the effects of the curse, when he can not remember having seen Śakuntalā before.[21] But if the Stage-Manager's awakening has as its intended effect re-entry into aesthetic illusion, the full drama now replacing its anticipation in the Actress' summer song, then to awaken is again to enter into a charmed sleep. The effect is vertiginous and insistently underscores the chief tension of the play, namely the conflicting valuations of the state of entrancement. Is it essentially negative : loss of awareness of one's surroundings and the *dharma* that they entail? This is the perspective that leads us to interpret the curse as a moral condemnation of hedonism, for it has the effect of shaking the lovers from their complacency, restoring them to reality, and — in particular — forcing Duḥṣanta to face the consequences of his frivolousness. Or is entrancement itself positive, a fullness rather than an emptiness of perception, an access to a higher or more intense level of experience? From this pespective the curse will seem rancorous and philistine, and the King's loss of memory will seem an inversion-in-kind caused by the ascetic's begrudgement of the *rasika*'s aesthetic-erotic ideal (which loss of memory in regard to mondane reality).[22]

Note the suggestive uses of *rāga* and derivatives of √*hṛ* in the cited passage. The audience "seems a painted picture, its mental processes ravished (*apahṛta*) by beauty/sweetness/delight (*rāga*)." But *rāga* also means "color" and "passion". In the former sense the phrase underlines the synaesthetic trope :

[21] The very text of the curse strengthens this connection. Durvāsas says that the lover on whom she dotes will fail to remember her "even though awake, like the careless man who forgets what he has said." Ś 4.1:

vicintayantī yam ananyamanasā
taponidhiṃ vetsi na mām upasthitam/
smariṣyati tvāṃ na sa bodhito'pi san
kathāṃ pramattaḥ prathamaṃ krtām iva//

(There is no need to take *pramattaḥ* as "drunk", though there is probably no harm in it either. Rāghavabhaṭṭa admits both.) The Stage-Manager is already the paradigm of such a man, having forgotten his announcement of the play, just as Duḥṣanta will have forgotten his pledge to Śakuntalā.

[22] Compare C. Kunhan Raja, *Kālidāsa: A Cultural Study* (Waltair: Andhra University, 1956) 142 ff.

the Actress' song becomes the coloric medium of the audience's hushed transformation into a work of pictorial art. In the latter sense ("passion") it signals the erotic character of the aesthetic experience in question: contemplation of the charming gestures of beatiful young women (*pramadāḥ*) on a summer's day arouses *śṛṅgāra rasa*. The use of √ *hṛ* also contributes to the erotic suggestion, as is especially indicated by verse 1.4. *Hāriṇā* as "ravishing" (describing *gītarāgeṇa*) echoes the earlier *rāgāpahṛta*, but even more graphic is the double meaning of *hṛtaḥ*. Here too the prime meaning is "ravished": the Stage-Manager explains that he was ravished or enraptured (*hṛtaḥ*) by the "ravishing beauty of your song" (*gītarāgeṇa hāriṇā*). But the analogy in the simile is to the King being "drawn" by the spotted antelope. Drawn into what? Into the play, certainly, but more specifically into the *āśrama*, which is a paradoxical garden of delights, a *locus amoenus* which is at the same time a center of asceticism. The immediate parallel to the Stage-Manager's and *rasika*-audience's entrancement by beauty is Duḥṣanta's captivation by the epiphany of Śakuntalā, the perfect embodiment of the hermitage's paradisal allure.

Thus, the deer, which is the direct counterpart of *gītarāgeṇa* as the instrument of ravishment or drawing-in (and there are certainly overtones in *hāriṇā* of *hāriṇa* with the meaning "relating to a deer"), is — in one of its prime significations — a White-Rabbit figure leading the King across an aesthetic-erotic threshold. In the *āśrama* he will become first a *rasika* spectator of precisely that scene projected in the Actress' song, and the bee buzzing around Śakuntalā's ear-ornament (more fancifully, her lips) will be the pretext of his stepping forth from his audience-like position behind the trees into the full reality of the charming spectacle.

If I seem to be belaboring this point it is only because criticism is still very resistant to the idea of erotic and aesthetic interpenetration. To put my analysis above in a nutshell: Duḥṣanta's entry into the vegetal paradise over which Śakuntalā presides like a virtual goddess (*sādhidaivata iva śakuntalayānumālinītīram āśramo*, 1.11.6*), a typical embodiment of Śrī-Lakṣmī,[23] is the mythic enactment of the audience's captivation by the song that painted the picture of beautiful women with bees buzzing around their ornamental flowers. As the audience then found itself painted into that picture, thus incorporated into the charming poetic fantasy, so it now finds itself in the person of Duḥṣanta, its idealized *rasika* projection, standing in the shade of the trees, watching, listening, contemplating, savoring the scene enacted before him and beckoning to him as the awaited Lover. To enter the charmed world of poetry (*daivikī siddhi*) is in this play to enter the charmed world of feminine beauty.

[23] Compare *Mālavikāgnimitra* where the heroine is pointedly a Śrī-figure, and see remarks by Miller, "Kālidāsa's World" 31 as well as my "Kālidāsa's Metadrama".

I would go further and argue that the women in the garden is the privileged theme of Sanskrit poetry generally and that the reason Ś has always been regarded as the central work in the poetic tradition[24] is because it dramatizes the *rasika*'s encounter with her (and all its subsequent ambiguities) so directly. The garden is the place *par excellence* where the *vibhāvas*, which are at the root of the *rasa* poetic, are exemplified. It is no accident that the handbooks and treatises on poetics give their most expensive treatment of *rasa* to *śṛṅgāra* or that in NŚ and the later handbooks the various characterizations of the hero (*nāyikā*) seem boundless. The point could be argued at great length, but it would only serve to prove the obvious. This is why Mammaṭa, echoing Abhinavagupta and others before him, likens poetry to a beautiful woman, as distinct from the *śāstras* (including the Vedas) and *itihāsapurāṇa*, which are likened to a ruler and a friend respectively.[25] This seems to be what Miller is getting at when she characterizes the heroine of Kālidāsa's dramas as a Vāc-Sarasvati figure, embodying the the feminine spirit of *kāvya*.[26] When the *rasika* hero enters the flowering garden with its synaesthetic allure (murmuring cuckoos, fragrant breezes, beckoning boughs, etc.) and beholds the Radiant Female who epitomizes its allure, he comes to the mythic core of the Indian poetic experience.

A Series of Entrancements

I have already indicated above that Śakuntalā's absent-mindedness and the King's curse-induced oblivion are two obvious analogues to the entrancement of audience and Stage-Manager presented in the Prologue. I have likewise pointed to the issue of ambivalence regarding the aesthetic-erotic captivation, how it may be seen negatively (as an absence) or positively (as a more intense presence) according to the ascetic and aesthetic perspectives respectively. Before focusing on this double significance I want to extend the series into which the cited examples fit. First, obviously, there is the entrancement of Duḥṣanta, extended over the first 3 Acts. He is fully taken with the vision of Śakuntalā, and while he does not actually forget the outside world and his dharmic role in it, he is virtually indifferent to it, as many other critics have noted.[27] Most have regarded his attitude here as a sign of his superficiality or hedonism, but I hope that my remarks in the precious section will give some weight to a more "idealistic" view, i.e., a view that acknowledges the aesthetic

[24] See verses cited by Gerow, I. 564, and others, originally spoken to Sir William Jones by a *pandit*.

[25] *Kāvyaprakāsa* 1.2 and *vṛtti*.

[26] Miller, 28—30.

[27] E.g. Gerow, I. 565, 568.

character of the erotic encounter. Duḥṣanta acts normally for a *nāyaka* in his position ; we can hardly imagine a *dhīralalita* hero who would not be taken with Śakuntalā precisely as he is.[28] It behooves the romantic hero to be swept off his feet and to seek clandestine union.[29] This is not to deny the predatory aspect of the King's behavior, which is adequately symbolized by the aggressive manner in which he appears on stage (a hunter with drawn bow). But he is as much the "ravished" (*hṛtaḥ*) as the ravisher, and is meant to be perceived so.[30]

So, we have the audience entrancement in the Prologue followed by the King's entrancement by Śakuntalā. Then we have Śakuntalā's entrancement by love remembered and its result, Duḥṣanta's oblivion, which is entrancement thoroughly emptied of delightsome content, the negative inversion of aesthetic-erotic rapture. After this — or, rather, in the midst of oblivion — comes another spell occasioned by a song that indirectly, through the bee-motif, recalls the Actress' song of the Prologue and also the bee-scene of the First Act, when the King entered directly into Śakuntalā's presence. While Duḥṣanta chats with the Vidūṣaka, one of the queens sings off-stage in the *dhvani* style of a bee that once favored the mango-blossom and now makes the lotus his haunt.[31] The verse is a *tour de force* because, though sung by Haṃsavatī (or Haṃsapādikā) to reproach her husband for new loves such as Śakuntalā (about whom she, of course, knows nothing in particular — she has, ironically and suggestively, mistaken the King's curse-induced oblivion for the entrancement which effectively set if off), we feel it as the plaint of Śakuntalā herself and the foreshadowing of her rejection. Thus the two meanings of the love affair that we discussed in the preceding paragraph clash here in a poignant way. Śakuntalā seems fated to become a Haṃsavatī. We are brought to realize that this is her inevitable destiny in a polygynous system. Indeed her father Kaṇva's realistic instructions in Act 4 do not expect that she will continue to captivate

[28] For Śaṅkara (Maithili ed., pp. 167—8) he is *dhīralalita*, for Rāghavabhaṭṭa (Devanagari ed., pp. 15—6) a *dhīrodātta*. The designation will depend on which aspect (amorous or panegyrically heroic) one chooses to emphasize, for in fact he is both.

[29] *Gāndharva* union is a staple of Sanskrit drama. The epic source for Ś admittedly leaves the issue morally ambiguous, but the ideal pattern of a romantic relationship in classical Tamil poetry—regarded by Hart as a major influence on *kāvya*—requires clandestine union despite its illicit character. See Kamil V. Zvelebil, *Literary Conventions in Akam Poetry* (Madras: Inst. of Asian Studies, 1986); and George L. Hart, *The Poems of Ancient Tamil* (Berkeley: U. of California, 1975).

[30] Thus the verses opening Act 3, conventional but obviously meant to be persuasive within the rhetoric established by the conventions, depicting him as the prey of another bowman-hunter, Kāma.

[31] 5.8 (5.1):

abhinavamadhulobhabhāvitas tathā paricumbya cūtamañjarīm/
kamalavasatimātranirvṛto madhukara vismṛto'sy enāṃ katham//

Again the forgetting theme (*vismṛto*), and the echo of *cumbitāni* in 1.4.

her husband's heart, only that she be treated with respect.[32] Her role as the Radiant Female whose sexual magic creates an erotic paradise around her is only a temporary one, lasting as long as she can embody the principle of erotic auspiciousness (Śrī).

But the verse does more than balance the poignancy of her loss and inevitable passage into the condition of wife and mother against the fullness of an earlier state. It introduces an aesthetic response — a sudden pensiveness whose object remains mysterious — which acknowledges that fullness as an ever-present though hidden reality in the oblivious hum-drum of the day-to-day. More specifically, it posits art as the vehicle of a *déjà vu* whose function is to vindicate the reality of a truer state of affairs than can be lived in ordinary life. In that truer realm lovers remain united and separation is the illusion. Thus the perspective of *saṃsāra* that makes the verse spoken by the King in response so hauntingly beautiful:

> One glimpses beauty unexpected or hears a chance song
> And all at once one becomes filled with a wistful longing.
> Can this be other than the dim recollection of past lives
> Whose loves still linger undisclosed at the core of feeling?[33]

Coming as it does in this Act, with its principal focus on mutual accusation set in the mundane atmosphere of the palace (as apposed to Act 6, which takes place in the pleasure-garden, here we are in the chambers of state with their aura of routine duty), this verse has a calming, consolatory force. And it effectively reverses the terms in which we have up to this point had to view aesthetic-erotic rapture. Now it is everyday reality, the world of practical engagement with *dharma*, that is a forgetting, while the aesthetic moment delivers a near-awakening.

It is at this point that we approach the profoundest aspect of the issue, a fact no doubt signified by Abhinavagupta's marking the verse as an example of how *rasāsvāda* or *carvaṇā* may also function as *smaraṇa*.[34] Here, for instance, we can see the connection between an ideal eroticism cursed into oblivion and

[32] 4.19 (4.16):
asmān sādhu vicintya saṃyamadhanān uccaiḥkulam cātmanas
tvayy asyāḥ katham apy abāndhavakṛtaṃ snehapravṛttim ca tām/
sāmānyapratipattipūrvakam iyaṃ dāreṣu dṛsyā tvayā
daivādhīnam ataḥ paraṃ na khalu tat strībandhubhir yācyate//

[33] 5.9 (5.2):
ramyāṇi vīkṣya madhurāṃś ca niśamya śabdān
paryutsuko bhavati yat sukhito'pi jantuḥ/
tat cetasā smarati nūnam abodhapūrvaṃ
bhāvasthirāṇi jananāntarasauhṛdāni//

[34] Gnoli, *Aesthetic Experience* 14, 60.

the ring that is at this moment in the play still in the belly of a fish yet with the power to dispel the darkness that envelops it. We also glimpse, for the first time, a significance for aesthetic experience in the Indian context that we might not have expected, for the incident obviously sets itself up as a paradigm for aesthetic encounter generally. The *rasika* approaches a work of art with a certain complacency (*sukhito'pi jantuḥ*) only to feel his heart undergo a strange transformation : complacency gives way to an indefinable longing (*paryutsuko bhavati*) that can only be expressed, in the Indian context, as a dim remembrance of ideal love in a former life. Art, then, seems to promise a recovery of the memory of who one really is and a primal sweetness that has been left behind in the process of living.

Perhaps a sociological reminder is not out of place here. Though princes and other wealthy patrons of the arts did have the opportunity of marrying or having concubines according to their desire, for the majority of *rasikas*, involved in arranged marriages, this would have been an unusual situation. "Play" with courtesans also had its limitations, as the *katha* literature constantly reminds us. But art was able to disclose an ideal world in which a ravishing and naively sweet child-woman might appear to one virtually in the role of suppliant, inviting one's heroic intervention, marvelling at one's beauty and sophistication, impressed with one's emotional depth, etc. In drama marriage takes place only on the basis of a meeting of hearts, which causes problems, but eventually earns the full approval of society and its Brahmanical authority. It is not to diminish the haunting beauty of this moment in the play that I call attention to *kāvya*'s role in affirming basic erotic fantasies, because there is nothing trivial about the erotic promise. The matter has more than an Indian scope. Art reminds us of our earliest hopes and keeps them alive — what Ernst Bloch has called its "utopian" function. What we see here, then, is the *rasika* in his Everyman dimensions.[35] Beneath the turbulence (the angry outbursts of Act 5) and boredom of everyday life, the *rasika* believes in the persistence of an ideal level of experience to which one is now and then all-but-awakened.[36]

The need to awaken fully and the paradoxically illusory quality of aesthetic intimations are the dominant concerns of Act 6. It is surprising, given the importance of the ideas of awakening and illusion in Indian culture gener-

[35] We need to underline the fact that the erotic is not a self-contained entity. In its utopian dimension it reveals itself as an integral part of a social vision, viz. of a world where the desires of the heart are not eclipsed by communal need. For Duḥṣanta as an Everyman see T. G. Mainkar, *Kālidāsa: His Art and Thought* (Poona: Desmukh, 1962) 108–12, 143–7.

[36] To understand the significance of the lost feminine sweetness psychoanalytically see Sudhir Kakar, *The Inner World* (2nd ed. Delhi: Oxford UP, 1981).

ally, how little attention the epistemological conceits in this play have received.[37] Yet Acts 6 and 7, the play's finale, are saturated with them. I will enumerate the instances here precisely because they have not received critical treatment. In 6.7 the King's heart, formerly "asleep while waking" (*pratibodhyamānam api suptam*), now "awakens to the misery of remorse" (*anuśyaduḥkhāya . . . vibuddham*). In 6.8 his "mind is freed from the darkness that blocked his memory" (*smṛtirodhinā . . . muktam idaṃ tamasā manaḥ*). In 6.11 (6.10) he asks himself whether Śakuntalā had been "a dream or an illusion, a trick of the mind or a reward for merit whose account has run out" (*svapno nu māyā nu matibhramo nu kliṣṭaṃ tāvatphalam eva puṇyam*).[38] In 6.17 (6.16) he compares his rapture before the painting of Śakuntalā to a travelar's feeling of thirst before a "mirage" (*mṛgatṛṣṇikāyām*), when he had not felt it in passing a flowing river. In Act 7, when Śakuntalā finally stands before him, he is one "whose darkness of delusion has been dispelled by memory" (*smṛtibhinnamohatamaso*), 7.22. In 7.24 he begs her to understand the "powerful confusion of his mind" (*manasaḥ sammoho . . . balavān*) and includes himself in the category of the "benighted" (*prabalatamasām*), using the example of a blind man who shakes away a garland thinking it to be a snake (cf. the well-known snake-rope paradigm of Indian epistemology). Again, in 7.25 he begs forgiveness for his "delusion" (*mohāt*), while in 7.31 he compares himself to one who doubts (*saṃśayaḥ*) the existence of an elephant when it passes before his eyes, but becomes certain of it (*pratītiḥ*), after examining its tracks. Finally, in 7.32 Mārīca explains to Śakuntalā that she had been rejected because her husband's mind was "coarsened by obliviousness due to a curse" (*śāpād . . . smṛtirodharukṣe*), but that now, with "the darkness removed" (*apetatamasi*), she is queen over his heart again (*bhartary . . . prabhutā tavaila*). He too uses an example from idealist epistemology: The image does not take shape in the dusty mirror, but once the mirror is cleansed, the image stands out in all its brilliance.

It is obvious that the outcome of this series is a full awakening expressed in terms of a perfectly clear image of the beloved. The analogy of the mirror, however, signals not only the evaporation of the darkness that had enveloped the world intimated by Haṃsavatī's song, but that the final disclosure retains an aesthetic aspect, i.e., we are still in the realm of images, of epiphanies. The mirror conveys representations, as poetry itself does. One wonders if Abhinavagupta did not frame his classical definition of the *sahṛdaya* under the unconscious influence of this verse (7.32) with its mirror trope. "*Sahṛdayas*: those who in a mirror-like mind made clear by constant familiarity with and practice

[37] Treated, however, by Dimbeswar Sarma, *An Interpretative Study of Kālidāsa* (Diss. U. of Calcutta, published by author, distr. by Chowkhamba, 1968) 247 ff.

[38] These terms could also be referring to his state of mind in rejecting her.

in poetry share in a sympathy of heart by virtue of their capacity to become identical with what is represented."[39]

But let us return to Act 6, where the King's confusion is not yet dissolved and his resort to aesthetics leads again to conflicting valuations of entrancement: ideal reality or emptiness? I am referring specifically to his attempt to lose himself in his own artistic recreation of the hermitage and its principal attraction Śakuntalā (the whole passage extends from 6.13 to 6.24+). Here again we find the bee-motif, the fourth time it has occurred in the play. Now it is the occasion of what is apparently a sad irony. In lovingly recreating the paradisal atmosphere he had once enjoyed Duḥṣanta has focused on precisely that moment when circumstances conspiral to draw him forth (cf. the earlier discussion of *√hṛ*) into the direct aura of Śakuntalā's charm. We have already observed that that moment was itself a realization of the promise contained in the Actress' song. Now, however, we seem to have a foreclosure of the promise. Reacting to the bee in the portrait just as he had reacted to it in Act 1 — i.e with jealousy and quaint bravado — he betrays his full captivation by the aesthetic illusion. He seems to think he is in the charmed world of the portrait, like the audience with regard to the Actress' portrait-song in the Prologue. And when the Vidūṣaka recalls him to himself, he finds himself marooned in the "real" world without her. The irony is particularly effective because the scene takes place in the palace pleasure garden which seems itself an artificial attempt to recreate the natural lushness of the pre-societal garden-hermitage.[40] We are clearly invited to see the incident as an exposure of the ultimate emptiness of aesthetic intimations, and yet the further irony is that this is a false conclusion.

An abyssal perspective is established with the realization that acquiescence in the apparent reality of Śakuntalā's absence is itself a delusion. It is exactly at this moment when Miśrakeśī (or Sānumatī), the *apsaras* who observes him in secret in Act 6, declares that he has atoned for his earlier mistake. In other words, by giving in to the aesthetic illusion, by allowing himself to be captivated, he has revealed the depth of his sentiment, the sincerity of his love. The *apsaras* does not even need to understand the mechanics of the rejection:

[39] *yeṣāṃ kāvyānuśīlanābhyāsavaśād viśadībhūte manomukure varṇanīyatanmayībhavanayogyatayā te hṛdayasaṃvādabhājaḥ sahṛdayāḥ/ Dhvanyālokalocana*, commentary on *kārikāvṛtti* 1.1. Applying his definition to the analogy in the verse we are considering we see the *rasika* as identified with Duḥṣanta in his amazement (*abdhuta rasa* is appropriate here as in denouement of every *nāṭaka*) at the full revelation of Śakuntalā as queen over his heart (*prabhutā tavaiva*). Unfortunately I can not take advantage of Ingalls', Masson's, and Patwardhan's annotated translation of the *Locana*, which has not yet appeared in the Harvard Oriental Series at the time of this writing.

[40] The nature-artifice contrast has already been invoked early on in 1.16 (1.15).

the disclosure of the hero's essential *rasa* is enough to win her over.[41] Again we glimpse the fantasy-character of the play, for it shows us clearly the *rasika*'s longing to believe in the saving power of sentiment. Sentiment nurtured deep in the heart is truer than outward action. This is what we have already learned from the *déjà vu* paradigm of Act 5. Thus, at the close of the passage showing the King both as a paragon of sympathetic generosity and as an object of pity, the same *apsaras* remarks that there is a light beyond the veil which he can not yet see. Again the suggestive epistemological-idealistic language.[42]

So, the painted picture has not disclosed a falsehood after all, and the King will be transported (*hṛtaḥ*) to an *āśrama* that is even more wondrous than the first, once he has demonstrated his heroic grandeur — an *āśrama* whose authority is not the perpetually absent (during the important events) Kaṇva, but Mārīca, a sagely father-figure raised to the ultimate power of wisdom and benevolence. In the final Act, then, society in the person of this dazzling sage (7.27) gives its full endorsement to the love-union that began with the epiphany of Śakuntalā in Act 1 — or even earlier, with the Actress' song.

An Act 6, then, this series of attempts to evoke and enter the charmed world of ideal erotic encounter comes to a head in the image of the *rasika* desperately trying to recapture its happiness in a work of art. The situation is actually one of *kāvya*'s conventional ideas: the lover seeking illusory union with the beloved via a portrait. I am simply suggesting that we take the idea seriously in this play at least as an indication of the *rasika*'s actual expectations from the aesthetic experience. I think that this interpretation is supported not only by the preceding analysis of the series in which the incident occurs in the play, but by a particularly important verse in Act 2 that sets the idea in a cosmogonic frame. This is verse 2.10 (2.9), which occurs within a scene emphasizing the ideal character of Śakuntalā's erotic appeal (2.7+—2.14 [2.6+—2.13]). Idealism is underlined here because the verse is part of a direct reponse to the Viduṣaka's deflating evaluation of the King's infatuation (viz. that, tired of the

[41] Compare her words in the following passages. 6.22.4*: *dhīram api janaṃ raso vikārayati*/ 6.24.1—2 (6.22.1): *sarvathā vayasya sammarjitaṃ tvayā pratyādeśaduḥkhaṃ priyasakhyāḥ śakuntalāyāḥ pratyakṣam eva sakhījanasya*/ *Rasa*, the vehicle of an illusionary *vikāra* in the hero, is the element that has enabled him to pass this test in front of the invisible examiner.

[42] 6.27.1 (6.25.3—4): *sati khalu dīpe vyavadhānadoṣeṇāndhakāram anubhavati rajarṣiḥ*/ It is at this point in the plot that Śakuntalā suffers a diminishment in erotic allure and becomes primarily the mother of the hero's child. (Tagore is clearly right to see that this shift is significant, though his own interpretation is too sentimental and moralistic.) *Vipralambha śṛṅgāra* thus fades into a sense of guilt (a version of *karuṇa*) before male ancestors who demand offspring to perpetuate the *śrāddha* rites. It is only by means of a full analysis of *vīra* and *karuṇa* themes in the play that we would understand this shift and gain insight into the psychology represented by the hero. Here and below I confine myself to sketchy remarks on the subject.

palace women, he wants to try something new: a taste of sour tamarind on a tongue cloyed with the sweetness of dates):

> Did He paint her in a picture and then bring her to life
> Or create her by great power of mind from an amalgam of
> beautiful shapes?
> When I consider the power of the Creator and her lovely form,
> She seems an alternate creation of the jewel known as woman.[43]

If we can accept the image in the first line as the true reading of the text, then we have the suggestion here of a *rasika* Creator who has brought the ideal object of his longing to life through the aesthetic medium, the corollary suggestion likewise being that the human *rasika*'s aspiration of bringing the ideal beloved to life through art partakes of the mythic stature and sanctity of a cosmogonic act.[44]

Obstacles (Vighna/Ghāta): The Curse

If I have succeeded up to this point in persuading the reader that the erotic theme of Ś is crucially involved in important issues of *rasika* poetics, then he or she can only ask: What happens? What stands in the way of the

[43] The text of this verse is truly vexed. I am convinced for aesthetic reasons (namely its correspondence to the thematic pattern studied in this essay) that the reading should be *citre*, as in the Devanagari and related recensions, and not *citte*, which seems to be the reading of all the Bengali Mss. (*Citre* is not acknowledged by Pischel in the apparatus, nor does Jha list it in any of the related Maithili Mss.) Variables in the rest of the quatrain do not significantly affect the meaning, if *citre* is accepted. Thus, my reading is as follows (which also seems to have been the basis for Coulson's translation of the Bengali version: *Three Sanskrit Plays*, trans. by Michael Coulson (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1981):

citre niveśya parikalpitasattvayogā
rupoccayena mahatā manasā kṛtā nu/
strīratnasṛṣṭir aparā pratibhāti sā me
dhātur vibhutvam anucintya vapuś ca tasyāḥ/ /

Also interesting is the Maithili commentator Śaṅkara's observation that *strīratna* could be interpreted as an epithet of Śrī (see Jha edition p. 200).

[44] See the discussion of C. Kunhan Raja, *Kālidāsa*, 73–6. Kunhan Raja also calls attention to verses from *Raghuvaṃśa* (6.11) and *Kumārasambhava* (1.49), which—though not using the painter simile—likewise depict the Creator as lovingly, even poetically engaged in the ideal creation of the Radiant Female:

yasmin vidhānātiśaye vidhātuḥ
kanyāmaye netraśataikalakṣye/
nipetur antaḥkaraṇair narendrā
*dehaiḥ sthitāḥ kevalam āsaneṣu / /*RV 6.11/./
sarvopamādravyasamuccayena
yathāpradeśaṃ viniveśitena /
sā nirmitā viśvasṛjā prayatnād
*ekasthasaundaryadidṛkṣayeva/ /*KS 1.49/./

hero's full realization of the promise embedded in the initial encounter? Why, in other words, does there have to be a dialectical movement? What are the real forces behind the curse?

I will say immediately that I take seriously the curse's ascetical source, which means at root that we have a confrontation between an ideology of aesthetic cultivation of sentiment and an ideology of rejection of sentiment. This conflict is never explicitly voiced in the play, however, where it is only a matter of a quasi-tragic accident, a moment's absent-mindedness in the heroine, that has woeful consequences for both lovers. But very few critics have been satisfied with taking the ostensible lack of dramatic motivation for the lovers' suffering at face value, although some would see the curse as nothing but a device to allow the poet to treat the erotic theme in its full dimensions, the pain of frustrated love (*vipralambha śṛṅgāra*) being considered an essential part of the experience. There is certainly force to this argument, but it obstinately refuses to question the conventions themselves, and therefore avoids the issue of their meaning to the *rasika*. Most have followed Tagore's line of argument, seeing the curse as morally determined. The lovers have failed to acknowledge the higher authority, the authority of the Brahmanical sage upon which the dharmic code is theoretically based. The King's argument for *gāndharva* marriage (marriage by mutual consent only) is thus seen as being in bad faith. Both in the epic and in the play the King makes a specific appeal to the *śāstras*' approval of the institution for *kṣatriyas*,[45] and in both his argument is apparently ratified, not only by Śakuntalā (and, in the play, her friends) but by Kaṇva himself. Yet one feels that there are loose ends. After all, the epic Duḥṣanta refuses to live up to his promise until a heavenly voice speaks out in behalf of his rejected wife (although he has a persuasive excuse for provoking that voice to speak before the *sabhā*). And certainly Śakuntal ā's guardians in Act 5 look askance at the *gāndharva* rite, as they do upon all benighted society outside the hermitage.[46]

I can not really enter into all the pros and cons of the argument, which have much to do with the theme of the heroic (*vīra*) and its relation to duty, to *ksatriya* grandeur, to sacrifice, to the sage, and to the ascetical ideal. What is really at issue is the question of power. I will discuss these matters minimally below. It is enough to say here that both positive and negative versions of sagely or ascetic Brahmanical authority operate in the play. Śārṅgarava and Śāradvata, Śakuntalā's male guardians in Act 5, carry on the force of stubborn anger that is introduced into the play by Durvāsas at the beginning of Act 4. Kaṇva, meanwhile, must be aligned with Mārīca, both gentle, large-visioned

[45] MBh 1.67.1—14; S 3.28 (3.20). Cf. *Manusmṛti* 3.20—26, but also *Kāmasūtra* 3.5.29—30 and 3.3.5.

[46] See 5.11—12 (5.10—11), 5.17 (5.16), 5.21 (5.20), 5.26 (5.24).

sages (the latter a magnificent Prajāpati). What makes these figures positive or negative is their sympathetic or hostile attitude toward the lovers' mutual entrancement. And in turn, as I have already stated, entrancement is positive or negative according to how it is viewed, because the state itself is ambivalent: both a fullness and an emptiness, an abstraction from the normal world with its ritual obligations yet an absorbed witness to an charmed epiphany. If we accept the psychological perspective I have been trying to establish, thus seeing the play as an enactment of *rasika* hopes and fears, then we have to bracket moral judgment as such and see it in terms of representation within the *rasika* sensibility.

It is here that the aesthetic question re-emerges, now from the other side of the issue of aesthetic trance, and we can again turn to NŚ 27 for guidance. What stands in the way of *siddhi*, whether on the "human" or "divine" level, is one or more of the many kinds of *ghāta* or obstacle. The discussion of *ghātas* extends in the KSS edition from 27.18 to 27.44. I have listed some of them above. Of these two are important for our interpretation of this play: an actor's loss of memory (*smṛtipramokṣa*, 27.24) and interference from an enemy. The former is an *ātmasamuttha ghāta* (obstacle arising from the actor him- or herself, 27.23), the latter *paraprayukta ghāta* (employed by an other/enemy, 27.22).

Śakuntalā is like an actress who forgets her lines. At a critical moment she forgets the role her father has enjoined upon her and, transported elsewhere in fantasy, fails to notice the approach of a demanding sage. She reminds us, perhaps, of another of Kālidāsa's heroines, Urvaśī in the *Vikramorvaśīya*, for in Act 3 of that play we learn that, while acting in a play put on by Bharata himself for the gods' amusement, she has allowed her preoccupation with her lover to cause her to mispronounce the name of Viṣṇu (saying Purūravas instead of Puruṣottama). She too is cursed by an irate sage for her mistake. The abyssal perspective we have noted before is also present here. Urvaśī's duty is to attend to the demands of an illusory reality, but another, more personal illusion seizes her mind making her think she is in the presence of her beloved. But then what is genuine awakening? The Stage-Manager in Ś was similarly waylaid by the inviting sweetness of the Actress' song and had to be awakened to his responsibilities to another illusion, which however became equated in his simile with the aesthetic entrancement from which he had just awakened. We have already remarked that from the point of view disclosed by the *déjà vu* verse of Act 5 and the subsequent development of the illusion-reality motif what seems reality may be seen as *mohatamas*. For Śakuntalā too life lived apart from beloved is, if not actual delusion or illusion, a limbo-like reality, where she may go neither forward nor backward.

What can we conclude from these uncertainties? Do we find there a warning on the dangers of the infatuated state? In there an irreducible double-

ness in the aesthetic-erotic captivation, so that ecstasy remains forever elusive? I think this is probably so. By its naure the imagination can deliver only a promise of reality. When the erotic encounter is so much a matter of catching the beloved in one's sights, fixing her there, admiring her, admiring also one's own nuanced responses to her, then one is constantly encountering the medium of apprehension as a barrier to the realization of its promise. The more one is carried away by the exhilaration of the beautiful epiphany, the more one commits oneself to the dreamworld. Poetry itself is forced to acknowledge its inability to bring its shimmering vision to life and must therefore develop a thematics of loss and recovery in a less charmed sphere of experience. Hero and heroine must acknowledge the social world and receive its blessing. The *rasika* must even within the charmed world of poetry admit an authority fundamentally unaligned with his own magical demand.

This is half of what we need to know: the curse as *ātmasamuttha ghāta*, an inherent flaw in the fantasy conception of poetry. We are left with the "other", who may appear as an enemy (*para*). NŚ 27.22 states that the obstacles that come from an enemy may be due to jealousy (*mātsarya*), simple hostility (*dveṣa*), partisanship (*tatpakṣatva*), and dissension (*arthabheda*).[47] Of these the first would seem be most pertinent to the situation in Ś. Durvāsas is clearly jealous of the attention he feels is his due from Śakuntalā. This is why the curse articulates itself as it does, as revenge not only on her but on the person occupying her attention in his (Durvāsas') place. Thus what we have from this angle is the *rasika*'s acknowledgement of the power of the outside world to spoil his dream of paradise. Certainly the matter is guite involved, and a fuller interpretetion than we can make here would have to deal with the suggestion of rivalry between the two claimants on the ideal female's attention. But from the limited point of view we employ here we have to confine ourselves to the idea of the outside world's refusal to allow the *rasika* to ignore itself. In Durvāsas the outside world seems to say: In me there is a dangerous power that you must respect. You can not simply have your dream-transcendence of mundane reality in a flowery feminine paradise. There is the pleasure principle, but there is also the reality principle. I demand acknowledgement.

Thus, I believe it is correct to say that *dharma* impinges here on *kāma*, but at the same time that our point of view remains that of the *rasika*. In the person of Durvāsas *dharma* appears negative, cantankerous, a force to be reckoned with, but only reluctantly. We can say the same for Śārṅgarava and

[47] I am not sure of the significance of *arthabheda*, but it would seem to indicate by analogy with *arthaśāstra* someone creating dissension within the acting troupe. The full verse:

mātsaryād dveṣād vā tatpakṣatvāt tathārthabhedād vā/
ete paraprayuktā jñeyā ghātā budhair nityam/ /

Śāradvata who no sooner enter the capital than they disdain it.[48] Behind this portrayal of the dharmic imperative is a puritanical, anti-sensual spirit at war with the *rasika* practice and temperament.

But this is not the only form that imperative takes in the play. Again I can not go into the details, but I can indicate some of the important distinctions. There is, first of all, the sacrifice (*yajña*) whose aura permeates the central 4th Act. Kaṇva, the benevolent personification of ascetical authority, accepts the *gāndharva* marriage when a voice speaks to him in the room of sacrificial fire and describes the marriage in sacrificial terms.[49] And the rest of the Act is a ritual celebration of Śakuntalā's passage from virginity to marriage. This ritualistic movement is recapitulated in the 7th Act as the united family stands before Mārīca to receive his blessing. In the latter's allegorical pronouncement (7.29, cited above) Duḥṣanta becomes *vidhi*, a word with several important significations: "ritual prescription," "destiny," "order." Duḥṣanta, therefore, comes to represent, in a visible symbol, the ritual law that governs the universe, while Śakuntalā is *śraddhā* or the spirit of belief that makes it work.[50] We might interpret the term as "inspiration," in view of her effect on Duḥṣanta. The child, meanwhile, is the symbol of material prosperity (*vitta*) that results from the infusion of the ritual order of the world (= *dharma*) with inspiration (cf. Śakuntalā's role as Śrī). The conscious choice of masculine, feminine, and neuter designations signals the completeness of this symbolic triad. Another feature of the dharmic imperative is embodied in the panegyric that glorifies the King as great hero and father of his people. In this we see the ritual role narcissistically colored, a source of emotional gratification for the hero. Closely associated with this is the call for ostentatious heroics at the end

[48] 5.11—12 (5.10—11):

mahābhāgaḥ kāmaṃ narapatir abhinnasthitir asau
na kaścid varṇānām apatham apakṛṣṭo'pi bhajate/
tathāpīdaṃ śaśvat paricitaviviktena manasā
janākīrṇaṃ manye hutavahaparītaṃ gṛham iva/ /
abhyaktam iva snātaḥ śucir aśucim iva prabuddha iva suptam/
baddham iva svairagatir janam avaśaḥ saṅginam avaimi/ /

This is hardly in the spirit of the gentle Kaṇva: it smacks rather of the intolerance of Durvāsas. The fire mentioned in the former verse may be seen as the fire of *tapas* or *kopa* in the curse (cf. 4.1.7: *ko'nyo hutavhād dagdhuṃ prabhavati*) as well as of wordly passion (*kāma*) or mere royal splendor (*tejas*). Unfortunately, I must omit any detailed discussion of the play's fire symbolism, which is controlled by the central element of the sacrificial fire in Act 4 (see next note).

[49] 4.6 (4.3):

duḥṣantenāhitaṃ tejo dadhānāṃ bhūtaye bhuvaḥ /
avehi tanayāṃ brahman agnigarbhāṃ śamīm iva/ /

[50] For a study of *śraddhā* as used in various religious texts see K. L. Seshagiri Rao, *The Concept of Śraddhā* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974).

of Act 6. As the King reveals his *tejas* against a sham enemy and then redirects it against the enemies of order in the universe, he performs in effect a self-aggrandizing aesthetic ritual. That is, he takes the presecribed *vīra* posture, which has the primary effect of guaranteeing for him the sympathy of the still invisible Brahmanical authority (it becomes visible in Mārīca in Acta 7).

I need not extend this enumeration, but to synthesize its meanings, in a recapitulation. The lovers in the garden try to ignore the possibility of elders' disapproval. Kaṇva's absence itself invites and suggests the pattern of avoidance, but ascetical Brahmanical authority is virtually a part of the landscape here. The hermitage is a paradoxical marriage of opposites, ascetical rigor and florid erotic suggestion.[51] The lovers' mistake is to assume that *tapas* can be neutralized in the aesthetic transformation of the hermitage into the poetic garden-world backdrop for *śṛṅgāra rasa*. It can not. Durvāsas' curse is the flame of *tapas* leaping out from among the flowers (see note 48 above). The lovers, therefore, must learn to deal with Brahmanical authority and its essentially ascetical bent (in this play *tapas* is the power associated with the Brahman as *tejas* is with the *kṣatriya*). Thus the emphasis on sacrifice, which is a middle ground. Still ascetical in spirit (in the play it is the principal activity of the hermitage), sacrificial ritualism is able to incorporate a larger vision, one which includes opposites. In other words, in resorting to this counterimage of law the *rasika* is replacing the hostile sage with a benevolent one. Not being able to wish away the paternal Brahmanical power, he converts it into the comforting figure of a benevolent omniscient sage, in whose ritual he (the *rasika*) plays the leading symbolic role (personification of *vidhi*, 7.29). Thus obligation becomes a part to play, an impersonation. This is where *dharma* intersects with *nāṭya*. But in playing the dharmic role the *rasika* is by no means led beyond the sentimental register. On the contrary, he is able to make a virtue of necessity and translate Brahmanical prescription into narcissistic posture. But even this translation of the necessary acknowledgement of outside authority into a comforting aesthetic is not complete. What reminds us pointedly of this is the disturbing figure of the ascetic whose presence functions as a landmark of Mārīca's magical world. In this figure the ascetic's utter alienation from the domain of the senses becomes a threat merged with the landscape, as the ascetic himself is half-grown into an anthill, has birds nesting in his matted locks, and stares blankly at the sun. His very designation (*sthāṇu*) suggests the power of Śiva, who has the word as an epithet. We can appreciate just how threatening he is, when we consider that Śakuntalā herself, by means of a pun to which

[51] Obviously this is a central paradox in Indian myth, particularly in the Śiva cycle. Again, a full treatment of this issue in Ś must be postponed.

attention is called within the same Act, is entangled in his hair,[52] an idea which points back to her original condition in Kaṇva's *āśrama* where *tapas* seemed a hostile force threatening to keep her back from the hero's possession.

The play performs an act of inclusion of the dangerous outside force, but something dangerous remains, resistant to aesthetic conversion. Even if we read the ascetic in 7.11 purely as an emotional value, an instance of the grotesque in the awe-inspiring denouement (*bībhatsa* within *adbhuta*), we can not ignore the potential disruption that he represents. We thus return pointedly to the tension between aesthetic and ascetic versions of entrancement (see the note on *rāgāpahṛtavṛtti*). This act of inclusion which constrains and yet acknowledges the threat from the outside reminds us of the mythological treatment of obstacles to aesthetic enjoyment in NŚ 1. There obstacles are personified as demonic forces (*vighnas*) who constantly return to disrupt Bharata's first dramatic performance, despite being crushed by Indra. The disruption ceases only when the demons bring their case to Pitāmaha/Prajāpati, who stipulates that they have a legitimate place in dramatic representation. The message seems to be, therefore, that disruption itself needs thematization, which can only take place if the threat it represents retains its force.

Conclusions

The above open-ended interpretation of the play depends on our appreciation of the value of a play's *daivikī siddhi* to its *rasika* audience. It assumes that more is at stake than a momentary delight in a single play. *Daivikī siddhi*, in this play, becomes thematically associated with the desire to transcend the mundane sphere in a charming aesthetic landscape permeated with *śṛṅgāra rasa*. But *tapas* is there as well, however much the *rasika* hero would like to ignore or evade it, and it eventually pronounces its curse. It speaks, however, not only for an anti-sensual ideal of transcendence which has long been a very powerful element in the Indian cultural ideal, but for the principle of Brahmanical authority and even of reality as opposed to private pleasure. Thus it takes on very important connotations in the play's dialectic. Aesthetic-erotic entrancement therefore shows itself in its inevitable fragility. Besides these external forces impinging on an aesthetic dreamworld is a gap within the *kāvya* aesthetic itself. When emotion, especially erotic emotion, is so much a matter of

[52] Note the 3rd *pāda* of 7.11:

valmīkārdhanimagnamūrtir urugatvagbrahmasūtrāntaraḥ
kaṇṭhe jīrṇalatāpratānavalayenātyantasampīḍitaḥ /
aṃsavyāpi śakuntanīḍanicitaṃ bibhraj jaṭāmaṇḍalaṃ
yatra sthāṇur ivācalo munir asāv abhyarkabimbaṃ sthitaḥ/ /

The other passage punning *śakunta* with *śakuntalā* is 7.20.10—11.

image-contemplation, something vital is lost: the medium becomes its own end and the object of love can keep its force only insofar as it remains elusive. This demands thematically an enactment of separation. And it is interesting to note in this regard that when Śakuntalā is recaptured it is principally as wife and mother, not as lover. In the *adbhuta* tonal coloring of the 7th Act (the Act of the mystical Father and the glorious hero), we may hear overtones of the pathetic (*karuṇa*) and the grotesque (*bībhatsa*) arising out of the heroic (*vīra*), but erotic (*śṛṅgāra*) suggestion has been muted—very faint in view of the promise of Acts 1—3. Once a woman is domesticated, she loses her allure in this polygynous ethos. Soon the hero will be seeking another embodiment of Śrī.

It is for this reason that the *déjà vu* paradigm of aesthetic experience strikes us as its most significant form, for it remains essentially beyond the illusion of captured desire, always defying any particularization of its promise. Within the play it directs us back to the first three Acts and ahead to the 6th and 7th. But if there were an 8th, we can well imagine another chance song lifting the hero into a state of perplexed revery, pointing putside the play altogether, outside the conventional limits of *kāvya*, to the elusive goal for which the image of the hunt (cf. the first appearance of Duḥṣanta en route to "capturing" the object of his desire) is inadequate, precisely because the object can not be won: it must perpetually call forth from a distance to be effective. The paradigm suggests a depth in the *rasika* sensibility, a longing for more than narcissistic indulgence of the familiar emotions and their associated images. In this model art echoes a call from another world from which the *rasika*, as an Everyman, is cut off as from his essential Self beyond the veil of *mohatamas*. Thus poetic feeling gains a shade of religious intensity. The longing is not simply for the ideal woman, but for a release from emotional blindness. What this might mean for a reigning monarch like Candragupta or his father Samudragupta, both *rasika* patrons of the arts and artists themselves, we can leave to our imaginations. But there were many *rasikas* of a less privileged status for whom emotional confusion centering on a conflict between ideal and real on various levels (sexual, economic, social, political, etc.) was more turbulent.

Before closing I must mention one more feature of the aesthetic experience that is very difficult to concretize but which seems to me of supreme importance. I am speaking of *kāvya*'s lightness of tone, its playful serenity. It is something we hear in every line of a master like Kālidāsa and yet can scarcely point it out in a single phrase. Thematically it is again related to separation, but more to the *purvarāga* stage of *vipralambha* than the *viprayoga* stage. In *purvarāga* (the isolation of lovers' before union) the lovers watch each other in secret, flirt, charmingly converse, etc. It is easy to see in this stage why *śṛṅgāra* is closely associated with *hāsya* (the comic sentiment).[53] And in turn this playful

[53] Cf. NŚ 6.39—40, an idea which is not, however, further explained.

treatment of the erotic is connected with the audience's disposition to the hero. We have something here almost approaching an ironization of the hero. There is something clearly comic, for instance, about the portrayal of the dumbstruck Duḥṣanta behind the bushes with his eyes bulging out of his head as he soliloquizes verse after verse on Śakuntalā's rare beauty. The *rasika* is aware of himself as a caricature, but the caricature is enjoyed, and — more significant — the idealism of the erotic sentiment does not thereby suffer. The idealism of Duḥṣanta's emotion in Act 2 survives the deflating humor of the Vidūṣaka. (The very institution of the Vidūṣaka indicates the *rasika*'s engagement in genteel self-mockery.) *Kāvya* walks a narrow line between melodramatic sentimentalism on one side and farce on the other. Yet there is a sense in which this *līlā*-world is related to the ideal dimly disclosed in the *déjà vu* model. The release from turmoil and ignorance suggested by the recovery of ideal love and original self could be found on a level where conflicts are really only a matter of pretend. In the playful stance of *kāvya* is implied a conscious subject for whom reality is play, but play itself a matter of the most intimate and serious emotions. The Radiant Female remains of critical importance to the *kāvya* vision, but equally important is the aura in which she exercises her appeal. That aura is the poetic disposition itself. Thus, the structural gap which we found in a poetics of image-contemplation (essentially narcissistic) is not only something negative. It signals too an implicit awareness that a certain aesthetic distance from the beloved and from one's own desire is necessary it one is to rise to the level of emotional freedom intimated in the aesthetic experience.

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CRITICA

ATILLA CETİN, *II. Mesrutiyet Döneminde Arşivlerimize Ait Belgeler*. Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfi Yayını: 12. İstanbul 1985. 7 + 64 p.

Atilla Cetin, the most active promoter of Turkish archivism was the Managing Director of the Prime Ministerial Archives, the largest collection of records, and also published its catalogue. In the work reviewed here, he goes back to the time of the Sultanate, evaluating and publishing the documents from 1918—1922, which called for the elaboration of the ever growing material at the "archives" founded in the mid-19th century. The work of catalogization was initiated by none other than the court historiographer, Abdurrahman Şeref Bey. The work would inevitably have entailed the appointment and remuneration of suitable personnel. However, the lack of funds aborted these laudable efforts. When subsidizing the catalogization was transferred from the office of the Grand Vizier to the Ministry of Education, Abdurrahman Şeref resigned from his post as chairman of the committee, with reference to his other duties. Despite some progress in a few minor matters, a report completed 8 years after the submission of the first proposal, regretted to note that "next to nothing has been done in the meantime, which we must realize with great sorrow". The relatively lengthy submission listing the tasks in points was written by Ali Emiri Efendi, whose name is associated with the earliest steps of catalogization and its financing. Ali Efendi also succeeded in getting the Grand Vizier's office to pay part of the subsidies again and provide a room for the work. In the end, however, he also quit for financial reasons. In the meantime, a considerable part of the material was transferred to Konya during World War I, which also delayed the launching of some extensive endeavours.

It is to the credit of A. Cetin that he saved the documents — 24 in all — from oblivion and published them in transcription and facsimile. The sources made available now and those to be hopefully recovered in future will certainly help us understand the factors that have contributed to the present situation of the Prime Ministerial Archives.

Géza Dávid

JAMES HAMILTON, *Manuscrits ouïgours du IXe—Xe siècle de Touen-houang*. Textes établis, traduits, et commentés par —. Tomes I—II (Paris 1986, Fondation Singler-Polignac, Peeters France), xxiii + 352 p., une carte, 4°

Spécialiste des études turques, chinoises et iraniennes de Haute Asie, le savant auteur a exécuté l'édition minutieuse de trente-six textes ouïgours en écriture ouïgoure qui proviennent de la grotte n° 17 de Mogaoku près Dunhuang/Touen-houang et qui sont conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (25 manuscrits

du fonds Pelliot) et à la Bibliothèque Britannique de Londres (13 manuscrits de la collection de Sir Aurel Stein), les 38 pièces manuscrites forment ici 36 textes qui représentent quelques 50 unités textologiques. Ce sont de textes de caractère religieux (bouddhiques et manichéens, 13 fragments), 4 manuscrits, des fragment divers: "bribes de vers, de lettres officielles ou diplomatiques, de comptes, de proverbes, etc." et 19 manuscrits profanes ("lettres familiales ou commerciales et des comptes de marchandises"). Ces écrits remontent à la période qui se situe après la fin de l'occupation tibétaine (vers 850) et avant la domination tangoute (début du XIe siècle). Ils sont écrits au dos de rouleaux chinois ou sur des feuillets de cahiers. Le style assez archaïque de l'écriture et des autres traits paléographiques distinguent ces textes des ceux de l'époque mongole.

Dans l'Avant-propos (pp. v—vi) l'auteur nous informe sur les circonstances de la naissance de cette édition. Dans l'Introduction (pp. ix—xxiii) il offre une récapitulation très utile de l'histoire des études de Dunhuang, il dresse en outre un tableau sur l'histoire du territoire du "couloir de Gansu", des Ouïgours du Sud et de leurs rapports avec les autres peuples et royaumes de Turkestan, avec les Khotanais, Khitans et Chinois, etc.

Chacun des 36 textes est présenté avec une description générale, englobant paléographie et technique, translittération et transcription, traduction et commentaire. Voici une liste des sujets:

1. Fragment de *Aranemi* (Ärnim ilig)-*jātaka* avec colophon et prière-bénédiction.

2. Fragment d'une version du Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra (Wuliangshoujing, Taishō n° 360).

3. Hommage aux Trois Joyaux, à Maitreya, etc.

4. Hommage de Küčä ïnal aux bouddhas.

5. Prière manichéenne: Eloge du "Budha" Mani et les apôtres de la Lumière; une liste des douze divinités et de leurs dominations; une liste des 22 propriétés ou qualités et des divinités primordiales. — Louange d'un souverain ouïgour, Il tutmïš alp qutluγ uluγ bilgä uyγur tngri uyγur xan. — Salut de Xšnaki Alp Qara au prince Il Tonga. — Louange de l'empereur ouïgour Il tutmïš . . ., cf. supra.

6. Propriétés et leurs divinités manichéennes. Un proverbe turc.

7. Notations diverses: vers allitératifs; une liste des religieux manichéens.

8. "Brouillon inachevé d'une prière de confession manichéenne."

9. Deux sentences manichèennes. — Un proverbe turc.

10. Deux sentences manichéennes.

11. Fragment manichéen sur Küčlüg tngri et Buyruq tngri.

12. Fragment d'un sūtra bouddhique.

13. Prière bouddhique de Arslan sangun pour la longevité de La totoq, son père.

14. Bénédiction de Yoynan en trois strophes. — Comptes de pièces d'étoffes de yigän Sïngqur.

15. Vers sur la parenté des souverains ouïgours et chinois. — Liste d'ambassadeurs. — Avis de An inčü, ambassadeur sogdien. — Avis de Maxu čor, ambassadeur sogdien.

16. Note des ambassadeurs khotanais venus à Shazhou, sur leur mission reussie à quérir la main d'une princesse. — Sept proverbes.

17. Début d'une lettre d'un souverain ouïgour. — Diction sur le faucon et ses neuf petits. — Début d'une lettre: salut de cinq dames, "d'un lieu lointain avec un cœur proche". — Dictions.

18. Document juridique, rédigée à Khotan, au sujet du partage des biens de Oγšaγu, caravanier décédé à Khotan.

19. Fragment d'une lettre d'un caravanier venu de Shazhou et arrive chez les Čungul.

20. Lettre de condoléances adressée à Altun yängäč, belle sœur Altun, de Ganzhou, "de la part des garçons Silig, Qar čor et Yazïr".

21. Lettre adressée à Isxaq, fils de Xumaru à Shazhou, de la part de Kürtü, son beau-frère.

22. Lettre adressée à l'ācārya Kingtu, de la part de Ši Singči, Ši Singluγ et des Čumuls Kičig Toyunčïn et Yigän Silig. (La fin manque.)

23. Lettre adressée au beau-père Suγdu bäg et sa famille de la part de Bäg yigän et Bay totoq remerciant des cadeaux reçus.

24. Lettre adressée au Il Almïš tarqan par Lawxan čigši accusant le destinataire "de ne pas tenir ses promesses de donner deux pièces de soie".

25. Lettre adressée au religieux bouddhiste KWVYN ačari par Köl tarqan bäg alias Bäg Bars tarqan, son neveu (yigän).

26. Lettre avec trois sceaux, sur l'envoi des perles et sur la correspondance avec des personnes vivant à Qamïl et à Shazhou.

27. Fragment d'une lettre adressée à Vabsim toyïn, religieux bouddhiste, etc., par un préfet (*čigši*).

28. Lettre adressée à Qar Ärdäm ïnal de Qamïl par Tangquš Ärdäm ögä de Shazhou, sur d'affaires commerciales.

29. Lettre adressée à Tüz yigän sangun et Sanmïš Tüzün de Shazhou par Mängi Silig, Küč Tüzün et Qutluγ Tüzün sur les cadeaux "expediés par caravane et confiés à La totoq" (cf. supra).

30. Lettre envoyée de Sügčü/Suzhou à Saγ alias Saγsi toyïn et autres à Šaču/Shazhou, avec la demande de lettres, de nouvelles ("N'y a-t-il pas de papier à Cha-tcheou?") et de marchandises, avec l'annonce du départ de Täzäk, et avec la promesse de cadeau.

31. Fragment d'une lettre familiale.

32. Fragment d'une lettre envoyée par une personne de haut rang.

33. Liste de 15 termes ou noms de personnes.

34. "Notes de comptabilité . . . pour se rappeler . . . les quantités de marchandises."

35. Notes de comptabilité de marchandises.

36. Fragment d'un document sur des achats (de mouton, d'étoffes).

Ces textes dont la plupart sont brefs montrent une grande richesse des mots difficiles et intéressants, des noms de personnes, des termes religieux, des titres et rangs, des termes de parenté, des noms de marchandises, etc. qui sont abondamment traités dans les commentaires où l'auteur propose une série de nouvelles étymologies ingénieuses. La constatation et l'interprétation des idées et des formes qui se trouvent dans ces manuscrits sont également importantes pour l'histoire culturelle et pour les études religieuses, philologiques ou linguistiques. Un beau choix de résultats obtenus dans ces domaines est présenté dans les Conclusions (pp. 175—182).

Le premier volume se termine sur ces Abréviations (pp. 183—185), la Bibliographie (pp. 187—194), l'Index (des phénomènes linguistiques, paléographiques, culturels, religieux, des titres et des termes discutés, pp. 195—200) et l'Index des noms propres (pp. 201—206) terminent le premier volume.

Le tome II contient un Glossaire exemplaire (pp. 207—264), les excellents Fac-similés des manuscrits ouïgours de Touen-houang édités dans cet ouvrage (pp. 265—327) ainsi que le Fac-simile du manuscrit ouïgour de Touen-houang du Sūtra des Säkiz Yukmäk conservé à Londres sous la cote Or. 8212 (104) (pp. 329—350). Après la Table des planches (pp. 351—352) on trouve une carte dépliante de La Haute Asie aux environs du Xe siècle (carte dressée par A. Baron selon les indications de l'auteur).

Il ne fait pas de doute que ceux qui font des recherches des problèmes ouïgours ont reçu en ce livre un nouvel outil indispensable et une source d'inspiration inépuisable. Aussi reviendrons-nous souvent aux sujets de cet ouvrage important.

Certaines remarques mineures:

1.27, il semble que l'ouïg. *toda-* ou *tuda-* "mépriser" n'est pas rapprocher le yakoute *tutaa-*, *tutuu-* "nachbleiben, nicht

nachkommen, nachstehen" (*tutaax* "nachstehend" et *tutuu* "Mangel, schlechtes Auskommen", Böhtlingk), *tutaa* "ispytyvat nedostatok, nuždu", *tutay-* "nuždat'sja, ispytyvat nuždu" (caus. *tutat-*; Slepcov), le touva *duda-*, le teleoute *tuta-* et l'altaïen *tuta-* "être insuffisant, etc." (cf. aussi touva *dudagda-*, *dudagdal* et *duduu*) qui sont certainement d'origine mongole (voir mong. écrit *duta-*, *dutaya-*, *dutayda-*, *dutaydal*, *dutayu*, etc.).

2.9, *Quzyun tay*, Mont Corbeau au lieu de Mont Vautour, *Gṛdhrakūṭa*, ouïg. *Gartirakut*, doit être un lapsus du traducteur ouïgour. (Cf. tib. *bya rgod* "vautour" et *bya rog* "corbeau"?)

2.15: si le terme *toyun/toyïn* provient en effet du chinois *daoren*, il doit être très ancien, car sa consonance ouïgoure s'écarte des normes qui se manifestent dans les mots empruntés au moyen chinois (et selon lesquelles ce mot faudrait avoir des formes telles que *tavnin*, *taunin*, *tavšin*, *tavžin*, etc.).

2.32—33: *Küsänčig Bilgä* "Sagesse Désirable" correspond à Yuan Hui, "Intelligence du Vœu", le binôme chinois peut-être fut-il interprété par le traducteur ouïgour comme un composé d'un prédicat (action) et d'un complément d'objet: "désirer la sagesse".

3.21, *činḍamuni*: forme abérrante, mais connue aussi dans le dialecte mongol des J̌arud: *šandamūni*.

5.31, transcription chinoise du *r* initial "debutassant par un (·) *a* prosthétique": cf. encore la transcription du même initial étranger par deux syllabes *he* + *la* etc.

7.2.3, *köligdämä* "la demeure de l'ombre" et *bataydama* "la demeure du bourbier" (avec le sogdien *dm'n/dmn* "maison"): n'est-ils pas possible qu'il s'agit ici de deux noms deverbaux, *kölig* + *dä* + *mä* et *batay* + *da* + *ma*, attributs des mots qui les suivent (cf. al + da-, tiv + da-, un + da-)? Our -dA- = locatif et mA = particule expressive?

11.3, *bulungda* = *BWRWNK'D'*. Le texte semble être en vers: *kučlüg tngri / küč basut birgäy / tört bulungda / yolunguz ačuq / nä qut qolursïz / tükäl bulgaysïz* /, etc.

15.19, *ödig* "rappel à la memoire, etc." à distinguer du mot *ötig* "prière": toutefois cf. mong. *öčig* (< **ötig*) "prière, etc." et le sens particulier de ce mot dans le dérivé *öčigči* "réviseur" et son équivalent tibétain *žu-* dans les colophons de Kanǰur. Cf. encore 34.1.

35.4, *ZWNKYM*, nom d'étoffe: cf. le mandchou *ǰunggin*, chinois 錦 *jin* dans le Wuti, nº 1181; ? | *ruan jin* dans le *Sancai tuhui*.

G. Kara

UWE BLÄSING, *Die finit indikativischen Verbalformen im Kalmückischen*. Untersuchung ihrer Anwendung und ihrer Abgrenzung voneinander. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Mainz. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Bd. XXVI. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden. Stuttgart 1984. IX + 122 p.

Cette monographie est consacrée à un sujet qui semble être assez étroit et traité par nombreux auteurs: ce sont les formes de l'indicatif du verbe kalmouck. En effet les formes en question et le système de ces formes verbales, simples et composés, et de leurs fonctions dans le kalmouck et dans les autres langues mongoles constituent un domaine fort difficile et intéressant, et pourtant insuffisamment étudié, malgré les ouvrages méritoires des savants comme Aleksei Bobrovnikov, Popov, Ramstedt, Kotwicz, Sanžeev, etc.

C'étaient surtout les résultats ingénieux du turcologue L. Johanson relatifs à l'aspect du verbe dans la langue turque de Turquie qui inspirèrent ces recherches sur l'ensemble et la nature de l'indicatif kalmouck. Il apparaît que le tableau traditionnel des formes verbales et de leurs fonctions n'est pas conforme aux réalités de l'usage contemporain et que ce désaccord s'observe non seulement dans le kalmouck, mais aussi dans les autres langues mongoles vivantes. On voit une confusion

des formes verbales ("temps") et des noms verbaux (par exemple, le nom du parfait, *nomen perfecti*, substituant les formes du passé), un mélange des temps et des aspects (par exemple, le "présent du parfait" signifiant un plus-que-parfait), une divergence des formes et fonctions anciennes et nouvelles, on voit une transition inégale — qui est en outre la voie la plus naturelle —, les ruines d'un ancien système "pur" (si un tel existait) entremêlées d'éléments nouveaux. Les idées du temps, de l'aspect, du mode de l'action, des types de discours, *intraterminalitas et *durativitas, *cursivitas (le caractère courant de l'action), *pregnantia et *postterminalitas sont discutées sur la base d'une analyse soigneuse des propositions kalmouck tirées de textes folkloriques, de la prose contemporaine, des grammaires et des (autres) manuels scolaires. (Je propose une petite correction que n'affecte ni l'aspect, ni le temps: *xotn*, p. 53, doit être "parc, bergerie" et non "ville", ainsi, avec une légère modification du prédicat, je préfère comme suit: "Er kam in die Nähe des Zaunes, legte sich, das Vieh belauernd".)

En comparant l'usage des formes de l'indicatif dans les divers types de discours l'auteur en arrive à la négation de leur temporalité à caractère pur. (En outre, la terminologie introduite par G. J. Ramstedt affirme la prééminence de l'aspect sur le temps.) Quant à l'exemple à la p. 60 où le narrateur change de temps en passant du passé au présent, en actualisant ainsi le conte, comme s'il la metait à l'écran, cela ne signifie pas que la fonction de la forme verbale en soit modifiée. Cf., par exemple, le conte Buyat γolîn eknd büürlsn Buynta caγan awγin köwün (dans *Xal'mg tuul's*, Elst 1974, pp. 136—145) où l'on ne trouve des formes du passé ou du parfait que sporadiquement; -nA, une forme de *nunc*, est prédominante.

Pour ce qui est de la fonction de la forme composée *-Ad bää-*, cf. encore U. U. Očirov, *Grammatika kalmyckogo jazyka*, Elista 1964, p. 95: "Sostavnoe skazuemoe, obrazovannoe iz razdelitel'nogo deepričastija i vspomogatel'nogo glagola, oboznačalo i prodolženie dejstvija" et les deux sentences *J̌iryl šinär buslad bäänä, / J̌irγsn bayr ösäd bäänä*, en russe: „Žizn' po novomu kipit (prodolžaet), radost' žizni *rastet* (prodolžaet rasti)."

On trouve une nouvelle description de l'indicatif kalmouck dans la *Grammatika kalmyckogo jazyka*, Elista 1983, pp. 205—227 (chapitre écrit par R. P. Doraev) où (pp. 218—219) la forme *-lA* est définie comme passé antérieur (*preždeprošedšee vremja*), plus-que-parfait dans le discours narratif, mais aussi avec un sens de longue durée ou d'événement récent, etc. Cette grammaire, tout comme la présente monographie, distingue les formes selon leurs fonctions prédicatives, et cette manière de voir laisse à l'ombre le caractère verbal ou nominal rester c'est pourquoi (par exemple, que le morphème *-sn*, à la fois comme celui du nom du parfait, est discuté de nouveau plus tard, pp. 236—240).

Dans ses recherches Uwe Bläsing continue, sur le terrain des langues mongoles, ce qui a été commencé par L. Johanson en concernant le turc. Son étude kalmouck fournit une excellente base pour les investigations ultérieures.

G. Kara

Mongγol arad-un mingyan dayuu I—V. [Tausend mongolische Volkslieder] Herausgeben von Rinčindorǰi, Dongrubǰamsu, Ding Šeu Po. Öbör Mongγol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriya 1981—1984.

Die von Rinčindorji geschriebenen Vor- und Nachreden zur fünfbändigen Volksliedersammlung aus der Inneren-Mongolei besprechen eingehend die Umstände und Geschichte des Sammelns von Volksliedern sowie die Herkunft der Idee, eine solche Sammlung zusammenzustellen.

Der Herausgeber schwärmt von den mongolischen Volksliedern, die den Menschen von der Wiege (*bübei-yin dayuu* "Wiegenlied") durch die Jugend (*qurim-un dayuu* "Hochzeitslied") bis zu den Lust-

barkeiten des hohen Alters (*sarqad-un dayuu* "Weinlied") begleiten. Diese fünfbändige Sammlung ist nicht die erste, aber die größte und umfangreichste Ausgabe. Über einige frühere mongolische und ausländische Volksliedersammlungen wird auch im Vorwort gesprochen (s. z. B. A. Mostaert, *Textes oraux ordos. Peip'ing 1937. 263—392. pp.*). Darüber hinaus sollte bemerkt werden, daß in der Inneren-Mongolei und Xinjiang noch weitere Ausgaben von Volksliedern erschienen sind Vgl. *Mongyol utu douni üge* (*1*) [Texte der mongolischen langen Lieder] (in oiratischer Schrift) Sinǰiyang-giyin aradiyin keblel-in xorō 1981, und *Buriyad mongyol arad-un dayuu* [Burjat-mongolische Volkslieder. Öbör Mongγol-un soyul-un keblel-ün qoriy-a 1984.

Die Volksliedersammlung *Mongyol arad-un mingyan dayuu* wurde in fünf Bänden wie folgt gruppiert:

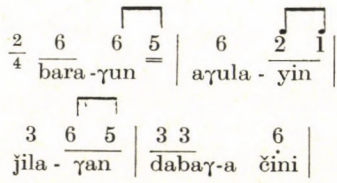
1. *Darulal mölǰil-i esergüčegsen dayuu* "Lieder gegen die Unterdrückung und Ausbeutung".

2—3. *Aǰu bayidal, ǰang ǰangsil-un dayuu* "Lieder über die Lebensweisen und Bräuche".

4. *Inay amaray-un dayuu* "Liebeslieder".

5. *Šoy qošung dayuu* "Spaß und Spottlieder".

Folgende Angaben erscheinen zu den einzelnen Liedern: die Namen der Überlieferer des Textes und der Melodien sowie die spezielle Mundart. Wenn das Lied schon in einer anderen Sammlung erschienen ist, wurde es im Anschluß an den Text bemerkt. Der Rhythmus und die Bezeichnung des Tones wurden auf folgende Weise abgeschrieben:



Haben Lieder denselben Titel, z. B. *Keger mori* (*1*), *Keger mori* (*2*), usw. so handelt es sich nicht um Variationen. Als solche sind sie in der Sammlung nicht bezeichnet.

Im Vorwort schreibt der Herausgeber, daß die historischen Lieder und Liebeslieder sorgfältig ausgewählt wurden um der Jugend das Richtige zu vermitteln. Einige schon unverständliche dialektal Ausdrücke wurden gegen literaturische Ausdrücke vertauscht.

Der poetische Grund des mongolischen Volksliedes ist der strukturelle und inhaltliche Parallelismus und die Alliteration. Als Beispiel für ein charakteristisches mongolisches Volkslied betrachten wir ein Liebeslied.

barayun ayula-yin ǰilayan dabay-a čini
bartay yeke-tei dabay-a siü-de-kö
barayun ayil-un ǰiyaqan büsegüi čini
bay-a nasun-u mini qani siü-de-kö

ǰegün ayula-yin ǰilayan dabay-a čini
ǰüderge yeke-tei dabay-a siü-de-kö
ǰegün ayil-un ǰiyaqan büsegüi čini
ǰirüken-ü mini toltu siü-de-kö

(S. 1899—1900)

"Der abgründige Paß des westlichen Berges (ist) ein Paß mit großen Steinblöcken.
Das kleine Mädchen der westlichen Familie (ist) die Gefährtin meiner Jugend.

Der abgründige Paß des östlichen Berges (ist) ein abplagende Paß.
Das kleine Mädchen der östlichen Familie (ist) die Schlagader meines Herzens."

Folgender Aufbau und die poetischen Bilder sind typisch in der mongolischen Volksdichtung. 1(ab || cd) || 2(ab || cd), *Bergpaß* (Apposition) || *die Geliebte* (Apposition). Der Alliterationsbau 1(A A A A), 2(B B B B).

Dieses Lied stammt aus dem *Sili-yin yool* Gebiet. Verschiedene Versionen kann man aber auch in anderen Sammlungen finden. Vgl. *B. Ja. Vladimircov, Obrazcy mongol'skoj narodnoj slovesnosti* (*S.-Z. Mongolija*). Leningrad 1926. Lied 49, S. 26. *Nordmongolische Volksdichtung* (gesammelt von G. J. Ramstedt). Helsinki 1974. Lied 95, S. 191—183, *Arwan gurwan xülgīn dūn.*

Oird aman joxiolīn comorlog [Das Lied der dreizehn Reitpferde. Eine Anthologie der oiratischen Volksdichtung]. Ulaanbaatar 1987. Lied 228. *Borōnī ūl* "Regenwolke", S. 230.

Monyol arad-un mingyan dayuu enthält jedoch das reichste Material mongolischer Volkslieder. Diese fünf Bände wurden aus vielen tausend Volksliedern zusammengestellt und die Herausgeber versprechen, daß alle gesammelten Volkslieder in kleinen Broschüren erscheinen werden.

Á. Birtalan

Geschichte der Sibe-Mandschuren. Aus dem Mandschurischen übersetzt, eingeleitet und dokumentiert von GIOVANNI STARY. Mit einem Beitrag von WANG CHUNG-HAN. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1985, XV + 151 p.

Le titre du livre promet deux unités: une histoire des Mandchous Sibo/Xibuo, transcrite et traduite du mandchou, introduite et documentés par le Professeur Stary et une étude par le Professeur Wang sur l'inscription de l'ancien Temple de la Grande Paix à Moukden/Shenyang. Mais au moins trois mets sont ici servis: la Relation de la migration et de l'établissement de la branche Sibo des Mandchous (*Sibe uġsurai gurineme tebunebuxe eǰebun*), écrite et publiée par Anǰiyun, U Yuwanfeng et J̌oo J̌īciyang (Urumči 1982), l'édition de l'inscription sibo du temple susdit, par M. Wang, et trois échantillons du journal *Iče donǰin afaχa* de 1925 (transcription avec traduction et notes: Appendix A).

L'introduction (pp. I—XV) contient les renseignements les plus importants sur le peuple des Sibo (plus de 83 000 en 1982, surtout dans la province des Liaoning), et sur les anciens gardes-frontières dans la vallée de l'Ili en Dzungarie, (Xinjiang) qui forment une minorité parlant des dialectes du mandchou, la langue presque éteinte de la dernière dynastie de la Chine, sous laquelle l'Empire du Milieu faisait incontestablement partie de l'Empire mandchou. M. Stary résume ici les résultats des études sibo, les publications des Sibo et les changements de leur langue écrite et de leurs destinée (par exemple, tels que Radloff les a vus, à la fin die XIXe siècle, out au cours du notre siècle, avant et après le règne de la fameuse Bands Quatre, *Sǐ žen bang* ou *Duyin niyalmai χoki*, avec des références bibliographiques.

La traduction allemande de la Relation est exacte et bien coulante (pp. 1—52, avec une carte qui montre l'itinéraire de la migration ou bien du transfert des Sibo de Muqden dans la vallée de l'Ili, p. 53); une partie des noms chinois sont données aussi en caractères (pp. 1—10, "L'origine du nom des Sibo"), le reste ne s'identifie pas toujours aussi facilement que, par exemple, dans le cas de *Šun-tiyan-fu*, p. 23, (Hauer, Wb., 868, 順天府 *shuntianfu*). Le texte décrit un transfer à Čičiγar, Bedune et Girin ula en 1692, deux transferts vers la vallée de l'Ili (1669—1701, 1764), un à Girin (aujourd'hui Heilongjiang, 1764) et un à Yunnan (1769), les changements dans la répartition administrative de ces Mandchous, jadis adversaires de Nurχači et sujets des Mongols Xorčin.

L'étude de M. Wang (pp. 53—72, traduite par M. Stary) contient la description, la traduction et le commentaire de l'inscription de 1803 (8 de Jiaqing), ayant 250 mots environ, intitulée *tumen ǰalan entexeme ulabuχa*, qui nous informe des anciens territoires des Sibo et sur l'histoire de leur temple lamaïste, *Tayifin nečin ǰuġtexen*, Taipingsi, élevé en 1707 (46 de Kangxi) et restaure in 1776 (41 de Qinlong). M. Wang publié ici en outre (pp. 62—72) un rapport officiel de 1699 (38 de Kangxi) sur les bannières des Sibo. Quant à la traduction de l'inscription, je propose "die . . . Weisheit aller Buddhas der drei Zeiten = la sagesse . . . de tous les Buddhas des Trois Temps" pour *ilan foryon geren ǰučixi . . . ulxin* (au lieu de la "Weisheit des Buddha aller drei Zeiten") et "les 108 volumes du Canon de Kanǰur" pour *Ganǰuri ging emu tangyô ǰaqôn boti* au lieu des "108 Erleichtungen . . .", ma. *boti*

(< mong. < tib. < ind.). Les statues (ou peintures) mentionnées doivent être celles de Coṅ-kha-pa, des Cinq Divinités Violentes (*sunǰa doqsit*, mong. *tabun doγsid*, gardiens de la Loi), *Arya-balu* = Āryābalo/ Avalokiteśvara et les Quatre Mahārāja-Lokapālas. Le rapport de 1699 conserve beaucoup de noms de personnes (malheureusement, il y manque des caractères chinois), entre eux aussi des noms d'origine mongole, comme *Amuγulang* "Paix", *Bandi* "Moine" ou "Novice", *Bayan* "Riche", *Bayasqulang* "Joie", *Bodi* "Lumière bodhi)", *Darma* "Loi (dharma)", *Eldeb* "Divers" de *Eldeb-Očir* "Viśvavajra", *Gombo* (Guanbao) "Mahākala", *Xoǰiγar* "Chauve", *Ilači* (ma.) "Troisième", *Menggetu* "Celui qui a des marques de naissance", *Mučengge* (ma.) "Celui qui a une marmite", *Očir* "Vajra", *Saišaχa* (ma.) "Élogé", *Saġsaχa* (ma.) "Pie", *Tebku* (ma.) "Carquois", *Tegus* "Entier", *Urtunas(u)tu* "Celui qui a la vie longue", etc.

Les trois échantillons du journal intitulé "Feuille des Nouvelles", *Iče donǰin afaxa*, montrent que l'étude des matériaux de cette sorte en vaut bien la peine. Ces "feuilles" mandchoues avec leurs *talkiyan* "télégrammes" respirent l'atmosphère d'une période mouvementée de l'ancien pays des Mandchous.

G. Kara

RAINER VON FRANZ, *Die unbearbeiteten Peking-Inschriften des Franke-Laufer'schen Sammlung*. Asiatische Forschungen, Bd. 86. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 1986, XI + 259 p., 18 planches.

Treize inscriptions de Pékin des Qing (trois datant du XVIIe siècle, les autres du XVIIIe siècle, des périodes de Kangxi et de Qianlong) qui sont reproduites dans la collection d'estampages publiée par Berthold Laufer et Otto Franke en 1914 à Berlin et à Hamburg (*Epigraphische Denkmäler aus China*, Erster Teil: *Lamaistische Tempelinschriften aus Peking, Jehol und Singan*) sont éditées, translittérées, traduites et commentées dans ce beau livre qui porte sur quatre disciplines: la sinologie, la philologie mandchoue et les études mongoles et tibétaines. Il s'agit d'inscriptions impériales, données aux temples lamaïstes et rédigées en chinois avec ou sans versions mandchoue, mongole et tibétaine:

(deux inscriptions chinoises de 1666 dans le Hongrensi, Temple de la charité universelle: l'une sur l'appellation du nom du temple, l'autre sur l'histoire de la célèbre statue de santal, ch. VIII),

deux inscriptions sino-mandchoues de 1688 dans le Miaoyingsi, Šanggiyan suburγan-i Miyoo ing sï, sur la réparation du temple (pl. 15—16; ch. II),

l'inscription sino-mandchoue et mongole de 1694 au Temple jaune de l'Est, le Donghuangsi, sur la réparation du temple (pl. 10, ch. I),

l'inscription sino-mandchoue de 1721 dans le Hongrensi, sur l'histoire de la statue de santal et sur la réparation du temple (pl. 26, ch. VIII),

l'inscription chinoise de 1748 dans le Biyunsi, Temple des nuages de couleur de jade verte, sur la réparation du temple et sur la construction d'un stūpa (pl. 35b, ch. XII),

l'inscription sino-mandchoue de 1749 à Biyunsi (pl. 35a, ch. XI),

deux inscriptions tétraglottes, sino—mandchou-mongolo-tibétaines, de 1753 dans le Miaoyingsi, Temple de la Manifestation miraculeuse avec la Tour blanche (*Ferguwečukei ačabuχa ǰuġtexen, Šanggiyan subarχan*), sur la restauration (pl. 17—18, ch. III),

l'inscription tétraglotte en vers de 1760 dans le Hongrensi, sur la restauration (pl. 27—28, ch. IX),

l'inscription tétraglotte en prose de 1760 dans le Hongrensi, sur la restauration (pl. 29—30, ch. X),

l'inscription tétraglotte de 1761 dans le Zhengjuesi, Temple des Cinq Tours, sur la restauration (pl. 24—25, ch. VII),

l'inscription tétraglotte de 1784 dans le Fayuansi, sur la restauration (pl.22—23,

ch. VI), style calligraphique, mais assez cursif,

l'inscription chinoise en vers de 1785 dans le Miaoyingsi, sur le miracle de la Tour blanche (pl. 19, ch. IV).

L'auteur traite les inscriptions en 12 chapitres qui contiennent les templex comme suit: Temple jaune (I), Miaoyingsi (II—V), Fayuansi (VI), Zhengjuesi (VII), Hongrensi (VIII—X), Biyunsi (XI—XII). Dans son introduction il énumère les inscriptions de temples des périodes de Kangxi et de Qianlong et montre les objectifs politiques qui se dissimulaient derrière l'activité pieuse des empereurs mandchous qui préféraient l'idéologie confucianiste, mais qui considéraient la religion des lamas comme un instrument utile permettant de dominer les Bouddhistes de la Haute Asie.

Documents importants de la culture, de la littérature et des langues des Qing, ces textes deviennent accessibles aux fins des recherches historiques et linguistiques.

Les commentaires renseignent sur les origines souvent très anciennes des idées et des figures de style; l'auteur a pu identifier un nombre considérable de clichés communs, de passages et de locutions classiques (*loci classici*) ornant les textes chinois et leurs correspondants; il relève et explique une série de cas où les textes des polyglottes s'écartent et où l'on rencontre des problèmes philologiques, etc.; il relate l'histoire des temples et les circonstances de l'érection des stèles.

Je voudrais signaler ici quelques problèmes et recommander certaines corrections:

(p. 8, a) *ulamčilan*, lire *ulamǰilan*, malgré le *č* sur la stèle; (p. 9, g) *daki*, lire *-taki*, comme il en est écrit sur la stèle; (j) *yabuqui-ṯayan* (= -daɣan, dat.-loc. "réfléchi"), cf. ma. *yabure ildun-de*; (k) *Yunkeboo*, lire *Yung'boo* (avec un aleph superflu), la forme verbal *yungke* semble peu probable; (ibid.) chin. *ming* "ordonner", ma. *afabu-* "charger", mong. *qatangɣadqa-* "*donner un ordre sévère", cf. mong. moderne *xatuu jaxi-*; la déduction du mot en question du tib. *bka'-thaṅ* "ordre, commande" est difficile à accepter, car l'usage du suffixe *-dqa-* avec un emprunt aussi récent est inhabitue. C'est probablement le verbe mong. *qatangɣadqa- gatangɣudqa-* "rendre ferme, rendre solide; fortifier, raffermir; soutenir, tenir" (Kow., II, 772) qui a ici un sens particulier; (p. 10, p) le mongol ajoute *kiged*; (p. 11, u) lire *dumdadu*; (p. 44, e) lire *Usniṣ-a-bi'jay-a*; le graphème *Q* rend aussi le fricatif cacuminal indien; (p. 45, h) tib. *rdon-čha* correspondant au ma. *bayita* et au mong. *kereg*: cf. tib. *don* "affaire" et *čha* "partie, portion, chose"; (p. 45, k) lire *nayiramtayu* (la forme néoclassique est due à une confusion avec la forme *-qu*, cf. khalkha *nairamdax*, mais aussi *nairamtuu*); (p. 46, o) lire *Šêngju*, avec *j* sans aspiration (*c* = *ts'*, aspiré); (p. 48, z) *ǰiq-a*, lire *ǰiɣ-a*, cf. dans le *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* mongol (Index de Ligeti) *ǰiq-a ügei* "impossible" (tib. *mi srid*), vocablei expliqué par Sečenčoɣtu (Beijing); (p. 49, E) le terme "chamaniste", *sülde*, apparaît ici pour assurer l'allitération, d'ailleurs *tian long / abqai muduri* serait *tngri luus* en mongol; (p. 49, G) lire *angkila-*; (p. 59, n) mong. *yegüdke-* correspond bien au chin. *chuan* "transformer"; (p. 63, D) lire *caturdiśa*; (p. 65, I) ma. *subarɣan* < mong. *suburɣan*, *suburɣ-a* < ouïg. *suburɣan*, *supurɣan*; mong. *sabloga*, *sabaloga* < ouïg. < ind., cf. mong. *sab yirtinčü* (Pañcarakṣā, xyl. de Pékin, III 3b), *sab-logadadu* (Suvarṇaprabhāsa, xyl. de Pékin, V 14b) = ouïg. *sav-lokaṭadu* (= *-lokadatu*) (Suv. V 17b19—20); (p. 67, R) lire *žiṅ-khams*; (p. 83/90, 9) mong. *küliy-e*: faute du scribe pour *küriy-e*, *küriyen*, cf. p. 99, e; (p. 83, j) le ma., le mong. et le tib. ajoutent *činggai* "entièrement" et *ǰariytayan* "certainement", *raṅ* "de soi", respectivement; (p. 83, k) lire *Doo-jung*, cf. p. 46, o et p 84, m *Šêngju*, p. 100 i *Šiju*; (p. 84, p) le mong. *mön činar* et le tib. *raṅ-bžin*, "essence, nature en soi" sont des termes plus précis que ceux dans les versions chinoise et mandchoue; (q) chin. *ju gan* ~ ma. *ekisaqa* "tranquille, calme", mais mong. *adqay-iyar ködelkü ügei* et tib. *rnam-tog med bžin* "sans se

mouvoir dans la conception [mauvaise, par exemple, par le doute]" et "demanière à ne pas avoir de la [fausse] conception"; (p. 85, v) *degedčilen*, 167, c: *deged[č]ilen*; (p. 86, A) lire *qayisi kereg*, cf. khalkha *xaaš/xaiš xereg* "affaire ou chose impropre ou inapte" (v. Cewel, Toli 633); (p. 86, B) chin. *hui fei niao* et ma. *ulxôma* "faisan", mais mong. *anggir* "espèce de canard sauvage" et tib. *ṅaṅ-ba* "oie": quelle liberté des traducteurs; chin. *yu ru* 翼如, ma. *asχa-i gese ofi*, mais mong. *asayuriy-sayar* (adv. abtemporale), tib. *ldiṅ-ba*, voir mong. *aysu-* (khalkha *agsa-*) "flotter", probablement on doit lire *as'yuri-*, forme métathétique (ou fautive) pour *aysuri-*, cf. *yulyu-* et *yulyuri-* "glisser"; (p. 86, F) *sodu*, lire *sutu* (*suu-tu*); (p. 98, b) ma. *wargi*: ajoute *ergide*; (p. 99, g) lire *imayta*; si l'on lit *qoyosun*, on doit lire *oyoyata*; (p. 100, j) tib. *scal*, cf. *bka' scal*; ma. *čoχotoi* ~ mong. *tusqayilan*; (p. 107, K) ma. *boobai* ~ mong. *erdenis*, plur.; (p. 108, M) mong. *uduriddun*: la géminée *-dd-* est assez fréquente dans les textes classiques et non-classiques, cependant *egüdübei* est une forme vulgaire ou altérée de *egüdbei*; (p. 105, D) lire ma. *Jungkeba* (transcription du chin.) et mong. *Jüngḳaba* (cf. khalkha *Juŋxaw*); (p. 109, R) *asanggi' Gangga*, faute du scribe ou du graveur; d'ailleurs la forme ancienne du premier mot est *asangki*; ma. et mong. *anamuke* mong. *kümün busu*, forme distorte (métathèse et *ṣ* ~ *q* ~ *k*, cf. *Ayuši* et *Ayuki*) du mong. (< ouïg. < ind.) *amanuši* qui est attesté dans les textes anciens; (p. 109, S) ma. *Suḳawafi*: faute du graveur ou du scribe pour *-wati*; (p. 168, g) mong. *bosiy*: forme parlée; (p. 169, p) ma. et mong. ajoutent *χôwašan* (*Šoo-kiyan*) et (*Šoo-kiyan neretü*) *quušang* (cf. khalkha *xuušaan*; < ma. < chin.); (pp. 166, a et 177) mong. *ǰoo*, lire *ǰuu* (*u* substituant tib. *o*); (p. 175) lire Mathurā; (p. 192, e) lire mong. *boda* "corps, matière" (*buta* "arbrisseau"); (p. 233), malheuresement le typographe a oublié la traduction des vers h (cf. dans le commentaire): "Le pont de pierre (que) maintenant (je) passe de nouveaux, (me) rappelle soudainement la rive du Ruisseau des Tigres". Le brave auteur impérial de ce poème traversa le Ruisseau des Tigres sans peur, mais je termine mes notes dans la crainte d'être trop méticuleux.

G. Kara

Lo, Winston, W., *An Introduction to the Civil Service of Sung China, With Emphasis on Its Personnel Administration*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu 1987. XII + 297 p.

In this useful book, an attempt is made to analyze China's social order, i.e. bureaucracy — allegedly discovered or developed to a perfect extent by the Chinese empire — around the turn of our millennium, during the time of the Sung dynasty (1960—1280, though the book and its related sources sometimes reveal a shorter period of time of certain phenonema in question), based on the best related Chinese sources, by Lo, an expert on Chinese bureaucratic life of this period. Lo, who was born in China and graduated in Hong Kong, has no problem interpreting the Chinese language and philology concerned. The clear reference book offered to the reader is an analysis of the civil administration. Its interest was concentrated, by avoiding almost as much administrative material concerning the military administration of the period in question, but including a few inevitable connections with military affairs, because military ranks — according to his opinion — were fixed and were not decided earlier than during that age (the earlier charges being decided upon by the need of time and political affais, as mentioned by the author). According to the title, emphasis is placed on "personnel administration", i.e. on the rank, name, and title with functions of the officials engaged in civil administration, with reference to the huge material of the concerned ter-

ritory of Chinese administration history as a whole, and of this matter in particular.

The economic elaboration of the rich material analyzed here — a merit of this book, utilizable without the problems of the topic and its sources — represents the main reason for the limits of the scholarly work published here; and this important survey of Sung government history will be welcomed by readers. Namely, the limitation of the administrative material to the "civil service of Sung China" underlines the body of the administration, the daily life and historical problems of the entire Empire, taking into consideration both civil and military affairs and problems. However, the related administration seems to be separated from the other aspects of the problem only with severe difficulties. The other limitation, i.e. that of dealing with the officials of state offices, their rank, titles and tasks concerned, seemingly helps the author to overcome the many-sided problems of the functioning of the whole state machinery and its bodies and the institutions including the official persons named, titled, and registered among the persons involved. The lack or at least limitation of *institutional history* in the Sung period — since Étienne Balázs evaluated this type of contribution of the Chinese sources, and offered an example of the due analysis concerned — results in a "one-wing" history of Sung China, one could even say: a too-Confucian aspect of the time, however, an excellent reference work for the Confucian examination of officials, without investigating the main instruction of Confucian historical source and historiography, i.e. the life and work of official institutions of the state. This type of work is left for another volume on this subject, with those philological problems of the source material utilized here, not mentioned in connection with the clear conclusions. The latter are added with just a few notes for a short reference of the related literature concerning the wide and rich topic, treated with a due quantity of different types of original material. After the list of Tables and Figures, and the acknowledgements, respectively, the Introduction (pp. 1—34) gives a short and superficial characterisation of Chinese administration, especially in the Sung empire, described according to some sociological patterns that were chosen at random; but the body of the book represents a thorough and intrinsic review of the problems concerned: the problems of "the context of public administration", "Evolution of the Sung civil service", "Function and recruitment of the civil service", "Job assignments and the functional rank system", "The personnel rank system", "Performance evaluations and personnel supervision", and "Regional variations in personnel administration", respectively. Valuable and interesting appendixes are attached to the book on "Civil service examination degree output", on the *Li-pu T'iao-fa* (Itemized Law of the Board of Personnel), issued in the 12th century, a "selected list of members of the Sung civil service recruited from the personnel of the annexed kingdoms", a register of provincial schools and career patterns, as well as a "Standard form for merit evaluation for circuit intendance". Short notes, glossary, bibliography and index (pp. 245—297) (throughout provided with Chinese characters) en this reference book, offered to historians and "to the more adventurous students of administration in general", will undoubtedly be used in further study of the Sung-period administration.

Ildikó Ecsedy

RICHARDSON, H. E., *A corpus of early Tibetan inscriptions*. Royal Asiatic Society, 1985, 186 p., 16 plates James G. Forlong Series, No. XXIX.

The early Tibetan inscriptions were written in the second half of the 8th and the first half of the 9th century, and were preserved on stone or metal

until our time. Though their extraordinary great importance has been recognized long ago, their systematic investigation begun only in the 1940s. In their collection and edition a key role was played by H. E. Richardson, who discovered and fixed many of them in Central Tibet, before he left the country in 1950. Since then Richardson devoted a large part of his scholarly efforts to their edition and re-edition. Even the earlier known inscriptions deserved re-edition, since on the one hand at the time of their discovery their physical state was not always excellent, and on the other hand the early drawings, rubbings or photographs did not escape the ruining efforts of time and circumstances. There were two major tools which helped a more accurate edition of the inscriptions. For a long time, it seemed that the vast later Tibetan literature was not especially instrumental in reconstructing the original inscriptions damaged by nature and pious successors. But the discovery of the *Chos-byuń* of Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag phreń-ba, which was written around 1565 changed this situation. This historical work preserved many of the inscriptions and verbatim quotations from early archives, and enabled reconstruction of damaged passages or missing lines, also providing help for interpreting difficult places. The activity of a "Tibetan antiquarian in the XVIIIth century" as Richardson styled him (*Bulletin of Tibetology* 4, No. 3, 5—8, 1967) turned out to be of likely major importance. Rig-'dzin tshe-bdań nor-bu (quoted since as RT in literature) lived between 1698 and 1755. He acquired a collection of copies made from many of the insciptions. This collection was made perhaps some 250 years earlier. He or somebody whom he entrusted checked these copies. We have an eyewitness who saw RT in 1744 copying one of the inscriptions. It is one of Richardsons great merits that he discovered Dpa'-bo Gtsug-lag's work and the collection of RT, and initiated their critical evaluation. In the last forty-odd years the study of the other Old Tibetan sources has also made considerable progress, therefore it is understandable that H. E. Richardson prepared a re-edition of all known inscriptions in a form of a Corpus.

The book contains a short introduction and then the publication of the following inscriptions:

Reign of Khri Sroń-lde-brtsan 755—c. 794 A. D.

The Lhasa Zhol *rdo-riṅs*

The Bsam-yas *rdo-riṅs*

The bell at Bsam-yas

The *rdo-riṅs* near the bridge-head at 'Phoṅs rgyas

Reign of Khri Lde-sroń-brtsan c. 800—815 A. D.

Inscriptions at Zhwa'i Lha-khań

Fragmentary inscription near Zhwa'i Lha-khań

The Rkoń-po Inscription

The Skar-cuń *rdo-riṅs*

The bell at Khra-'brug

Rdo-riṅs at the tomb of Khri Lde--sron-brtsań

Reign of Khri Gtsug-lde-brtsan 815—836 A. D.

The Lcań-bu inscriptions

The treaty of 821/822 A. D.

The bell at Yer-pa

The Zhol inscription can be dated approximately to 764 A. D. and thus the time-span of the inscriptions is not larger than sixty years.

In the *Addendum* further inscriptions are published, which are either of unknown date or surely later than the 10th century. These are the *rdo-riṅs* at Rgyal Lha-khań, the *rdo-riṅs* at Gtsań Groń, some lines of a pillar inscription at Nyabzo, and short lines of inscriptions at Ka-ru Ko-sa and near Ger. The book also contains a short bibliography of the cited works, a list of abbreviations, a vocabulary of words and terms, which seemed to be of special interest, an index of names in the inscriptions and a general index. Photographs of inscriptions can be seen on 16 plates.

The Tibetan text of the inscriptions is given in the original script and orthog-

raphy, and was accomplished with the calligraphy of Ngawang Thondup Narkyid, it runs on the even pages facing the translation on the odd ones. The notes are kept to a minimum.

The text edition does not aim to be a philological one. The very few notes to the text part offer in most cases possible reconstructions, alternative readings, and corrections of former readings, but the reader has to find out in most such cases which of these alternatives he is confronted with. E.g. *'čhos*: added as footnote 1 to three x-es in line 3 of the East inscription of the Zhol rdo-riṅs is, as we learn from a note to the translation, a reconstruction based on Dpa'-bo gtsug-lag phreṅ-ba and recent data, surely correctly, but we do not understand why we find three x-es, if after *'čhos* there is a double *tseg*, i.e. four signs are reconstructed. The other four Tibetan syllables given in footnotes 2 to 5 could have been reconstructed with the help of the context, but we do not know what kind of corroboration support them. To line 31 after an | and before a *na* a footnote is added where man: is given though only the aksara *ma* is lacking in the text.

The reconstruction is an important part of the work since in many cases neither good rubbings nor readable photographs are at our disposal. And indeed progress was achieved in many cases by Richardson's better readings. We, however, do not learn from this edition what has been reconstructed and what has been seen on the original, when Richardson himself checked it. It is inevitable to use some of the earlier editions of the inscriptions, in many cases those of Richardson, but even then we do not get always answers to these questions.

E.g. in the case of the *rdo-riṅs* at the tomb of Khri Lde-sroṅ-btsan if we compare the 1969 edition of Richardson (JRAS 29—38) with the Corpus under review, we find the following: in line 1 after *sras* 1969 has one *shad* Corpus a double one, on the end of line 3 1969 says that only the aksara *ma* is visible and there is only place for one letter. No such remark is given in the Corpus. In lines 5 1969 reads *yun du*, Corpus *yun tu*, in line 9 after *daṅ* 1969 has a double *shad* Corpus a simple one etc.

We are not informed (with the exception of a few loci discussed as the above one in the notes) how great are the illegible gaps, which are partly indicated by x-s partly by dots, though the former editions of Richardson contain many important observations in such cases. All to all one has the impression that Richardson intended to give his readings rather than a strict philological edition of the texts and we have to be grateful for this, because he is the most competent scholar to do this. To give one example where an at least proportionate rendering offers new insights I would quote the second part of the Inscription at the tomb of Khri Lde-sroṅ-brtsan. As we learn from Richardson, when he visited the inscription in 1949, he was allowed to have the buried part of the north face partly excavated. He also found a parallel text in the Rgyal-po Bka'-thaṅ which was used for reconstructing the text of the lower part of the inscription. In the time of RT, 29 lines above the earth were well visible, 14 lines below them were not clear and it was unknown to RT how many lines were under the earth. Richardson stated that the north inscription consisted of 46 lines, thus in the time of RT, only 3 lines were under the earth. But even with this help, he could not make too much from the lower part of the text, because it was so damaged and his possibility to copy it was also hampered by the circumstances. In 1969 he gave a somehow reconstructed passage from lines 39 to 47, which is of great interest. In the Corpus these lines bear the number 38 to 46, but the picture is drawn more proportionate to the original. In line 23 the text mentions the King of the East, the Chinese Emperor, and the wars and peace made with him in line 29 follows the King of India.

Assuming that the affairs with India took equally about 6 lines, the next cardinal point should be the West and this should begun about line 35 and in fact in line 36 there is a *zi* which may be *ta-zig*, but was according to the notes of Richardson not clear and in line 38 *dru-gu*. North had to be the last cardinal point and the story about the King of the North had to begun about line 41 or so. And in fact in line 42 the name *hor kha-ga(n)* can be read. We know (see Ariane Macdonald *JA* 1962, 531—548), that in the Tun-huang text P. 958 the king of the West is 'Phrom Ge-sar and the kings of the north are those of Tazig, and Dru-gu. The Dru-gu of the West was very likely the Turk Shahi dynasty in Ghandara which flourished until 809 when the later Khaliph Mamun defeated them. Mamun is the Amir Mamun Abdallah who is figuring in the GKT as the king of the Ta-zig quoted by Richardson (on the identification of the first part see Petech 1947 in ANLRC, and the second in my Wiener Vorlesungen 1985, 51). And now we know from numismatic evidence that the rulers of the Turk Shahi dynasty carried the title Phrom Ke-sar. We know from Arabic sources that the Turk Shahi dynasty was Buddhist, which meant that they had to have contacts with Tibet at least during the reign of Khri Lde-sroṅ-brtsan. In the same time the rulers of the North were the Uighurs who were in power from the 750s until 840, this was the Hor king. In other words the situation as shown by the text of the *rdo-riṅs* at the tomb of Khri Lde--sroṅ-btsan reflects an earlier situation than that of the inscription of the treaty of 821/22, where Tazhig is in the West and Dru-gu is in the North. This *dru-gu* has to be another one. Richardson has in Corpus Dru-gu No-smel (E 14—15) with no remarks, though in his 1978 edition (JRAS) Richardson made important remarks after having discussed that Li Fang kuei and Sato read *drug ni*, he read earlier *dru gu ne* and RT read *gru gu no* Richardson goes on: "The following line begins *smel la stsogs pa*. There is possibly space for one more letter at the damaged end of the preceding line and it would be tempting to read *dru gu ni ba smel la stsogs pa* as a reference to the Turkic people, the Basmyl, living near Bechbaliq (read Beshbaliq); but though the letter is damaged, the vowel sign appears to be attached to the *na*, as with *'greṅ bu* and *na ro*, rather than separate from it, as with *ki gu*. RT's reading has, therefore, been accepted, reluctantly" (JRAS 1978, 143). I do not know what could be this *dru-gu No smel* (*?nob ba-smel*), but the precise data in Richardson's 1978 work offers help. The information we get in the Corpus is that in this case Richardson's has no new reading, which in a way is also instructive. With this example I wanted only to show that the new Corpus has to be used together with Richardson's earlier works and not instead of them. I consider the *Corpus of Richardson's works* as a whole which contributed esentially new knowledge to Tibetan studies.

A. Róna-Tas

DON-GRUB RGYAL, *Bod-kyi mgur-glu byuṅ-'phel-gyi lo-rgyus daṅ khyad-čhos bsdus-par ston-pa; Rig-pa'i khye'i rnam-par rcen-pa'i skyed-chal. Mi-rigs dpe-skrun-khaṅ*. Beijing 1985. 332 pp.

The Nationalities Publishing Houses in People's Republic of China have produced many valuable publications in recent years. This publication policy maintains two kinds of this activity. It is reproduction of texts that have a "classical value" and scholarly works. Concerning the first, some well known works — in Tibetan studies should be mentioned:

1. Dictionary of Dge-bšes *Čhos-kyi grags-pa*, 1981
2. Hu-lan deb-ther of *Chal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rǐe*, 1981

3. Myaṅ-yul stod-smad-bar gsum-gyi ṅo-mchar gtam-gyi legs-bšad; Mkhas-pa'i 'jug-ṅos, of *Tāranātha* 1983
4. Deb-ther sṅon-po of *'Gos-lo Gžon-nu dpal*, 1984
5. Mṅon-brjod-kyi bstan-bčos; Mkhas-pa'i rna-rgyan of *Riṅs-spuṅs Ṅag-dbaṅ 'jigs-grags*, 1985
6. Sa-skya'i gduṅ-rabs of *Ṅag-dbaṅ kun-dga' bsod-nams*, 1986
7. Rdo-riṅ Paṇḍita'i rnam-thar by *Bstan-'jin dpal-'byor*, 1986
8. Čhos-'byuṅ of *Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag phreṅ-ba*, 1986

In addition to these classical works, they have published such works as *Don-grub rgyal*'s study of Tibetan songs.

Don-grub rgyal who unfortunately left this realm of the world, was not only a scholar, but was also interested in writing short stories (e.g. "*Sprul-sku*" in "Sbraṅ-čhar" 1981/3. pp. 3—24., and "*Chul-khrims rgya-mcho*" in "Mcho-sṅon maṅ-chogs sgyu-rcal" 1985/4. pp. 25, 33—44., etc.).

He says in the introduction that this small book is the result of both of his studies in the Central Institute of Nationalities in Beijing and of postgraduate researches. He states it was mainly based on classical Tibetan sources of about 30 *rnam-thar*s and *rtogs-brjod*s and of about 10 *mgur-'bum*s.

The book contains eight chapters. The first is a general introduction to the subject of *mgur-glu* and contains five divisions in which the reader can become acquainted with:

1. a general discussion about the genre of *mgur-glu*] (*mgur-gyi skor spyir-gleṅ-ba*)
2. the supposed origin and spread of the songs (*yul-phyogs gaṅ-nas dar-ba'i skor*)
3. the actual spreading (*mgur-glu chul ǰi-ltar dar-ba'i skor*). Here *Don-grub rgyal* gives an account with help of some quotations of historical texts. According to him, we can distinguish two kinds of songs of that time: *dmaṅs-glu* and *čhos-glu*. The first has other subdivisions as follows:

a. Gžas of Dbus and Gcaṅ, with 6 syllables lines and no more than one šloka
b. Chig-rgyag of Dbus and Gcaṅ, with 6 syllables lines and with contrasts
c. Glu of Mdo-smad, with 8 syllables and 3 šlokas [each containing 3 lines]
d. Glu-šags of Mdo-smad, with 8 syllables lines and with contrasts
e. La-gžas of Mdo-Khams, with 7 or 8 syllables lines, two šlokas [each containing seven lines] and [the respective lines of the šlokas] have the same phrase in ending the line
f. he only mentions that there are other kinds too, such as

Lha-sa'i gžas-čhen, *Khams-phyogs-kyi sgor-gžas*, *Cha-la*, and *Glu-glu*.

About "*čhos-glu*" the author only gives a quotation of *Gsuṅs-mgur-gyi gleṅ-gži* by *Bya-btaṅ Byams-pa čhos-dar*.

Don-grub rgyal concludes his investigations in the early period that the spead of the Doctrine designations of songs such as *mgur* and *glu* were mixed. The separation of meaning of *mgur* and *glu* began with spreading the Doctrine, that is the word *mgur* began to be used as a honorific term for *glu*. In this ways, *mgur* became a designation of religious songs and *glu* for common people's songs. Here one can find some short notes about the expression of *mgur-ma*, *gsuṅ-mgur*, *rnal-mgur*, *gsaṅ-mgur* and *rdo-rǰe'i glu*.

The second chapter (*Mgur sṅa-dar-gyi skor*). This part of the book is divided into four subchapters. The first is entitled *Gsal-bšad mdor-bsdus*, that can be termed the historical summary. The second is a description of songs during the time of the early propagation of the Dharma. It is based on a threefold division: *ma-yig* — the original "song-story", *go-ǰe bder-btaṅ-ba'i mgur* "easy to understand song", *lo-rgyus-kyi rgyab-lǰons* — "back-ground-story". This is the longest part of publication (pp. 46—130) and contains 15 examples illustrating the subdivisions.

The next division — entitled *Mgur-sṅa-dar-skabs-kyi lus-bšad-pa* — gives a general investigation of forms as follows:

1. Cheg bar-do mi-mñam-pa'i mgur-gyi lus — lines according non-equal syllable count

A. 6 line [*chig-rkaṅ*] śloka
first line contains 6 syllables [*cheg--khyim*]
second and third lines with 9 syllables
fourth and fifth lines with 2 syllables
sixth line contains 6 syllables
[formula: 6—9—9—2—2—6]

B. 4 line śloka
first line contains 7 syllables
second, fourth contains 9 syllables
third line contains 6 syllables
[formula: 7—9—6—9]

C. 6 line śloka
first five lines contain 6 syllables
sixth line contains 7 syllables
[formula: 6—6—6—6—6—7]

D. 8 line śloka
first line contains 5 syllables
second line contains 9 syllables
third line contains 6 syllables
fourth line contains 7 syllables
fifth to eighth lines contain 6 syllables
[formula: 5—9—6—7—6—6—6—6]

But the author gives two other — and different — examples from *Mi-la-ras-pa*'s songs and those of *Chal-pa dga'-bde* [? maybe also from mgur-'bum of Mi-la] the formula of these are: 8—8—8—8—10—8—7 and 7—7—3—3—3—7.

2. Cheg bar-do mñam-pa'i mgur — lines according to equal syllable count

The author states that this kind of śloka occurs only in songs of Tuṅ-hoṅ yig-chaṅ and only with 6 syllable lines.

The fourth division of the chapter discusses the ornaments (*Mgur-glu sṅa-dar skabs-kyi rgyan-bšad-pa*). *Don-grub rgyal* distinguishes the following: *šis-brǰod-kyi rgyan, chig-la bskor-ba'i rgyan, bsṅags-pa'i dpe, dgag-pa'i dpe, smad-pa'i mchuṅs-sbyor, yon-tan raṅ-bžin brǰod-pa'i rgyan, sgra-rgyan-gyi naṅ-gses rkaṅ-pa daṅ-po daṅ gsum-par yod-pa'i zuṅ-ldan.*

The third chapter describes a "general history of poetry" during the second propagation that is from the time of *Glaṅ-dar--ma* until *Coṅ-kha-pa*'s death.

The divisions are:

1. Short life-story of Mi-la-ras-pa (*Mi-la ras-pa'i lo-rgyus mdor-bsdus*)

2. Territorial history of society (*spyi-chogs--kyi lo-rgyus rgyab-ljoṅs*)
a. in 9th cent. A. D.
b. in 10—11th cent. A. D.

3. Short history of Mila's mgur-'bum (*Mi-la ras-pa'i mgur-'bum-gyi lo-rgyus mdor--bsdus*)

4. Peculiarities concerning Mila's songs (*Mi-la ras-pa'i mgur-gyi bsam-blo'i raṅ--bžin*)

5. Artistic peculiarities of Mila's songs (*Mi-la ras-pa'i mgur-gyi sgyu-rcal raṅ--bžin*)

The fourth chapter concerns songs of later period[s?] (*Mgur-glu phyi-dar-gyi skor*). The period under investigation is *Gcaṅ--smyon Heruka's* edition of Mila's songs (15th cent.) to the last century. Among others, he mentions *Tāranātha, Skal-bzaṅ rgya-mcho, Blo-bzaṅ čhos-kyi ñi-ma, Padma dkar-po*, etc., and separately discusses the *6th Dalai Lama's* songs.

The fifth chapter gives a general examination of songs of this period as follows: *(mgur-gyi lus-kyi skor):*

1. Isosyllabic Songs
Here the author speaks about songs of 5—12 syllables with examples and gives short explanations as for units of lines.

2. Heterosyllabic Songs

In the next chapter (6), one can read about the life of the songs *(Mgur-gyi srog-gisbor)*. The author distinguishes the unwritten songs that were/are only sung by Tibetans during their daily activities and spread orally though generations and those that were written by well known authorities at first and after some time — somehow — they became popular. But most texts of these songs are also changing, because the singers do not seriously consider either the syllable count or number of lines.

But in this booklet, examples are taken from written sources — from standard texts. In this case the question arise: What about

changings? How do they occur? Are changings regular in the whole body of the texts of songs or not? etc.

The seventh chapter (*Mgur-gyi rgyan-gyi skor*) is based on some "classical works" such as *Sñan-ṅag me-long*, *Dpag-bsam khri-šiṅ* and *Sprin-gyi pho-ña*.

The eighth chapter (Mgur-gyi ñams-'gyur-gyiskor) has an eightfold description of thought-content of composing songs and is theoretically based on *Sa-paṇ's Mkhas-'jug* and contains someq uotations from Mila's *Mgur-'bum*, *Snaṅ-sa 'od-'bum-gyilo-rgyus* and *Ñams-myoṅ rgan-po'i 'bel-gtam*.

The book has 25 pages of footnotes at the end that are useful.

It is a pleasure to see [p. 232] that on the Tibetan speaking, there are some new literary priodicals (*Bod-kyi rcom-rig sgyu-rcal*, *Sbraṅ-čhar*, *Zla-zer*, *Mcho-sṅon slob-gso*, *Ñi-gžon*, *Mcho-sṅon-gyi maṅ-chogs sgyu-rcal*) and journals (*Gaṅs-rgyan Padma*, *Smyug-gsar*, *Spaṅ-rgyan me-tog*). This helps us to learn much more about living Tibetan literature.

During the reading of this work, many questions arose, but unfortunately we will not get an answer from the author. Perhaps some other Tibetan scholars will continue the study of *Don-grub rgyal* and more about the questions of Tibetan songs can be discussed with them.

Because many people are interested in Tibetan literature in general and in poetry, songs and the theory of the literature of Tibet, in particular.

György Somlai

GERARD COLAS, *Le temple selon Marīci. Extraits de la Marīci-saṁhitā étudiés, édités et traduits*. Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichéry 1986, 321 p. 20 plates (Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie No. 71.)

Being a sect in the *Vaiṣṇava* fold *Vaikhānasas* have a very rich cultural heritage and a vast literature in Sanskrit. Most of their sacred books were already printed. Some modern works, dealing with their doctrines and cult, saw the light of day in the last few decades, too.

Nevertheless this monography is a fascinating topic. G. Colas presents a multisided study of the *Marīcisaṁhitā* or *Vimānārcanakalpa*, i.e. A Treatise on Temple Cult. His book is in line with the significant efforts taken up by the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha in Tirupati and that of the Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute in Bombay. What differs from those is that Colas employed a highly critical textual criticism and a very careful approach to the tradition itself and focussed his attention on a single work.

Accordingly he began with the very principles: a re-examination of the existing editions and the known manuscripts; investigations into the authorship and date. His statements are solid: the collation of the printed texts and the available manuscripts yields a great deal; there was more than one author; there is no any incontestable dating.

He correctly states that the *Marīcisaṁhitā* excells among other *Vaikhānasa* texts of the same genre concerning the richness of information about temple building and consecration of temples. It is also noteworthy that despite striking similarities with the respective passage of the *Mayamata* and the *Kāśyapaśilpaśāstra*, it records several traditions not mentioned elsewhere. This text clearly delineates the function of the *Vaikhānasa ācārya* and the *śilpin*. The former being an expert at *Vaikhānasa āgama*, supervises the work of the later.

Colas justly assumes that there is an obvious resemblance of the *Sundaravarada* temple of *Uttaramerūr* with the three-storeyed temple described in the *Marīcisaṁhitā*, however, he advises us not to take this fact as a key to an absolute dating of the text.

Colas is deeply concerned with the architectural terminology and treats the single items at length. (pp. 23—66).

He sheds light on the role of other persons in the *ācārya* and *śilpin*: the worshippers, *devadāsīs*, dancers, musicians, and *yajamānas*, etc. this is followed by a discussion about the installation of the image of *Viṣṇu* permeated by the divine power (*śakti*) and the twenty-five elements of this act.

This well-thought essay that forms the introductory part is followed by a French translation of extracts from the *Marīcisaṁhitā*. Next comes the original Sanskrit text, revised on the basis of all the available editions and manuscrips, and accompanied with an *apparatus criticus* that enables us to understand the interpretations offered by Colas.

The author appended four indexes to the main parts. These are as follows: an index of Sanskrit terms with French equivalents; a glossary of French terms of architecture used in the translation; a list of sacred formulas with a selected translation in French or German or English; plates comprising sketches made according to the descriptions in the *Marīcisaṁhitā* and photographs taken from various temples, illustrate the theoretical parts.

The exhaustive bibliography shows the author's considerable versatility in the field. The lucid English summary makes the volume manageable for scholars who do not read French.

As it stands, the book is the product of meticulous work and long research.

As a whole, it is a mature study, where one can find only a few items liable to mild criticism. I feel the need for a longer treatment of such terms as *pratimā*, *bimba* and *bera* (p. 71). In the case of *aṅkurārpaṇa* "germination des pousses" (germination of seeds). The author might have put a short explanation in a footnote (p. 204).[1] He has some doubt about the exact meaning of *niṣpāva* "sort de pois?" *Phaseolus Radiatus* Linn.? (p. 152). I propose the meaning *Dolichos Sinensis* Linn. as it can confirmed in *Avantisundarīkathā* p. 18. (cf. P. V. Sharma, *Fruits and Vegetables in Ancient India*, Varanashi-Delhi 1979, p. 119 with further references).

To complete the bibliography, I would contribute only a few items such as the *Proceedings of the Seminar on "Āgama and Śilpa" held in December 1981*[2] Ch. Nagabhushane Rao, *Bhāratīya Mahā Śilpam* (Tirupati 1977) and S, M. Genapathi, *Rūpa-Dhyāna-Ratnāvalī* (Tirupati 1979—80).[3]

Gyula Wojtilla

[1] Cf. S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Delhi-Varanasi-Patna 1980²) Vol. I. p. 15.: "Germination of seeds leads to a fulfilment of all potentialities, likewise the temple that grows from the garbha (germ) absorbs the essence of the earth and transmutes it."

SAKJA-PANDITA, *Pokladnice moudrých rčení*. Odeon, Prague 1984. Kčs 18.

The fine small booklet was published with the aim of contributing to the bicentenary celebration of Alexander Csoma (de) Kőrös' birth, in 1984.

Previous studies about the same subject were made by such eminent scholars as Csoma — the commemorated person — the late Louis Ligeti, J. E. Bosson, W. L. Campbell, and Wang Yao, etc.

This translation was made with the collaboration of Prof. Josef Kolmaš and Jana Štroblova, on the basis of a Chengdu edition of the Tibetan text. (Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, Chengdu 1958; entitled Sa-skya' legs-bšad)

[2] This is a publication of the Ananthacharya Indological Research Institute in Bombay.

[3] I do not know whether volume one of the *Vaikhānasāgamakośa* has come out. Cf. M. D. Balasaubramanyam's report on Sanskrit studies in Andhra Pradesh in: *IASS Fifth World Sanskrit Conference. Varanasi, India: October 21—26, 1981. Sanskrit Studies in India 1979—1981.* Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Delhi 1981, p. 9.

The publication contains a translation of the entire 457 "sayings" and in addition one can find more that twenty pages of explanations and notes referring to special or (personal) names and subjects, and 9 good quality reproductions of Tibetan thankas.

The 216 page publication of Odeon is a really fine contribution to Tibetan studies in Czechoslowakie — for the Czech reader — and also to a commemoration of Csoma's scientific works, of which one main subject was Sa-skya Paṇḍta's Subhāṣita.

György Somlai

Mahā-subhāṣita-saṁgraha. Comp. by LUDWIK STERNBACH. Vol. VI. *Subhāṣita-s* No. 9980—11491. Ed. by S. BHASKARAN NAIR. Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute. Hoshiarpur 1987. XIV, 2663—3238 p.

It is now six years since volume five of the series was published. This short delay was due to the sad demise of Prof. Sternbach, the initiator, compiler and general editor of this magnificent undertaking. He completed the compilation and enumeration of verses, numbered to 10579. The remainder of the volume was prepared by Prof. Bhaskaran Nair and his assistant Dr Parveen Singh Rana. Prof. Bhaskaran Nair also translated a good deal of *subhāṣitas* into English.

Volume six was prepared on the principles of edition laid down by Prof. Sternbach.[1] The editors adhesed to the samehigh standard concerning textual criticism and the apparatus criticus.

The *subhāṣitas* are masterpieces of Sanskrit poetry and reflect various aspects of Indian culture.

[1] Cf. my review on *Mahā-subhāṣita-saṁgraha* II—III in: *OAH XXXII*/2 (1979), 251—253.

Not fewer than 51 stanzas are connected with the *kula*, i.e. the family and things such as morality, and behaviour, etc., closely related to it.

Verse 10839 reads:
kulamārgaparaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ pitroḥ śuśrūṣakaḥ śuciḥ śāstramārgānusārī ca dharmiṣṭho dharmamāpnuyāt "That noble person who adheres to the customs of his family, that man of pure conduct who attends to the needs of his parents and the man who follows the path chalked out by scripture all these follow the right path and will obtain *Dharma* (religious merit)" (A. A. Ramanathan).

Agriculture (*kṛṣi*) being the main form of livelihood touched the imagination of poets and often appeared in popular sayings, 15 verses are listed on this topic.

Verse 11241E reads:
kṛṣiviṣṭisamāyogād dṛśyante phalasiddhayaḥ tāstu kāle pradṛśyante naivākāle kathaṁcana tasmāt sadaiva kartavyaṁ sadharmaṁ pauruṣaṁ naraiḥ. "Good crops are obtained by a combination of efficient farming and good rains; they too can be obtained only in the proper season, and never are they seen in unseasonable time. Hence it is that men should ever perform proper actions putting forth their manliness." (A. A. Ramanathan)

A touch of devotion to the personal God can be felt in the verses beginning with the name of Kṛṣṇa. Verse 11255 reads:
kṛṣṇa kṛṣṇa parameśvara viṣṇo
pāhi pāhi bhava kardamamadhye
kāmalobhamadamatsarakopair
bādhyamānamanišaṁ kṛpaṇaṁ mām
"Oh Lord Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Supreme Lord, O Viṣṇu, guard me, protect me, fallen in the midst of the mire of wordly life and rendered ever miserable by being bound by passion, greed, pride, envy and anger." (A. A. Ramenathan.)

The four appendices containing a detailed bibliography and index of authors and sources of the individual verses, an index of Sanskrit metres and a general index make the volume easily manageable. It is also remarkable that the general bibliography has been re-done in this volume. All in all,

the whole work is to be distinguished for its compactness and steady philological accuracy.

One may feel the need of few critical remarks only. Since the collection of subhāṣitas was compiled from the entire Sanskrit literature, the editors might have put in the following proverb-like verse of the Kṛṣiparāśara:

kṛṣirdhanyā kṛṣirmedhyā jantūnaṁ jīvanaṁ kṛṣiḥ hiṁsādidoṣayukto 'pi mucyate 'tithipūjanāt

"Blessed is agriculture, holy is agriculture, and agriculture is the life of creatures. One, though tainted with blemishes like jealousy, is redeemed by honouring guests." (G. P. Majmudar—S. Ch. Banerji.)[2]

The uneven standard of the available English translations of the single verses were a major challenge for the editors. They did their best, however, sometimes they made an unhappy choice: in addition to A. A. Ramanathan's fine and reliable renderings, there are the not genuine translations by Powys Mathers (see verses from the *Kuṭṭanīmata*).

There are few things to be corrected or completed in the bibliography. The full title of CKI (p. 3029) reads correctly thus: J. Klatt, *De trecentis Cāṇakyae poetae Indici sententiis. Dissertatio Halis Saxonum.* Berolini 1873. Instead of a reference to the secondary literature I would prefer giving the data of the edition of the *Yuktikalpataru* itself.[3]

Misprints are at a minimum. I must emend *śāstramārganusārī* for *śāstramārgānusarī* (v. 10839) or *anuṣṭup* for *anuṣṭubh* (p. 3151).

The value of the *Mahā-subhāṣita-saṁgraha* has been immeasurable. It is hoped that this well presented and finaly produced volume will be followed by the subsequent ones in the near future.

Gyula Wojtilla

[2] *Kṛṣi-Parāśara.* Ed. and transl. by G. P. Majumdar and S. Ch. Banerji. Verse 8. cp. S. K. De's foreword.

[3] *Yuktikalpataru* of Bhoja. Ed. by Isvara Candra Sastri. (Calcutta 1917.)

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CENTRAL ASIA AS PORTRAYED IN EARLY 19TH CENTURY TRANSYLVANIAN LITERATURE

ELEK CSETRI (Cluj-Napoca)

"The mystery of the Asian origin was an inviting mirage which lured enthusiastic Hungarian wanderers to unknown lands in faraway Asia. Where could the unending steppelands from where our forefathers came to the region between the Danube and the Tisza be? Are some of our kinsfolk still living in this abandoned native land? Such were the questions the chroniclers of our prehistory and the probers of fanciful legends longed to answer. It took much work and the discipline of science to adapt ourselves to the final bitter realisation: no more blood relations in the East exist, they have been submerged in a sea of nations." This is indeed the heart of the matter, as put by Lajos Ligeti.[1] Alexander Csoma de Kőrös also obeyed the call of the times when he decided to set out eastward to Central Asia in search of his ancestors. The question evidently arises: What did de Kőrös know of the land he was headed for? What image did the specialist literature of Transylvania present of Central Asia in those days?

We had better start from the sources that reveal the destination of de Kőrös' Central Asian journey. Fortunately, he himself put on paper the ultimate purpose of his oriental trip. Following some general definitions, in a letter to his patrons in Enyed, in his "scientific testament" [dated 1 March 1821 Tehran] he wrote: "I am to start for the oldest home of our forefathers, Lesser and Greater Bukharia."[2] "Lesser and Greater Bukharia" were understood then to denote today's Turkestan, a vast area stretching from the Aral Sea to Northern China and Mongolia. Over a decade later de Kőrös again named the final destination of his oriental expedition in a letter of 30 April 1832, Calcutta, addressed to counsellor Neumann of the Austrian embassy: "The remote corners of Tartary near China are undoubtedly the areas where

[1] Lajos Ligeti, *Az ismeretlen Belső-Ázsia* [Unknown Central Asia]. Budapest 1940, p. 35

[2] *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (Scientific Collection), 1825, I, pp. 9—10; József Terjék, *Kőrösi Csoma dokumentumok az Akadémiai Könyvtár gyűjteményeiben* [Csoma de Kőrös documents in the collections of the Library of the Academy]. Budapest 1976, pp. 140—141.

the cradles of the Magyar tribe must be sought."[3] It is noteworthy that de Kőrös designated the area to be explored more precisely here, confining it to a part of Eastern Turkestan. Obviously, what he meant by "the remote corners of Tartary near China" was the territory of Eastern Turkestan between the Tien-Shan and Kun-lun ranges, around one-time Komul, or today's Hami, that is the homeland of the Uighur Turks.

Having described his destination in geographical terms, let us now pass on to our real interest: What prompted him to look for the ancient homeland of the Magyars in Central Asia? What did the Transylvanian scientific literature know about this area?

Let us mention in passing that de Kőrös' learning in this field settled upon a primary layer of consciousness inherited from his Szekler ancestry; that is, upon the Szekler belief still alive today, that they are the direct descendants of the Huns who migrated to Europe from Central Asia. The thinking of the Szekler people was thickly interwoven with legends and myths belonging to the most brilliant stratum of folklore. This stock of popular knowledge of historical fact and fancy was more alive, more acute, rich and colourful in those days than today. At the end of the 18th century the Hunnish—Magyar traditions were an integral part of the living past in the minds of the Szekler people. To these myths passed down by word of mouth, was added the more scientific knowledge heard at school about the origin and history of Huns, Magyars and Szekler—Magyars.

As regards the question of the Hungarians' origin, the idea of the Finno—Ugric language relationship was very slow to gain ground in academic thought in Transylvania, while the theory of the Hunno—Magyar relationship was still predominant. If we consider that the most influential historians and orientalists of the age (Deguignes, Pray, Katona, Windisch, Ézsaiás Budai, etc.) all adopted this view, we shall find it quite obvious that this was the over-riding theory accepted in Transylvania as well. By advocating the Hunnish—Magyar relationship and common origin, they also implied that the original homeland must have been in Central Asia. Little did they realize how significant a role several Turkic peoples played in the Magyars' conversion to nomadic shepherding — and these peoples really hailed from Central Asia.[4] What Transylvanian scholarship did know in this field all came from the Hunnish—Magyar prehistory.

This might be easily exemplified by quoting the views of the professors of the Bethlen College at Nagy Enyed. It is demonstrable in the writings of

[3] *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor levelei az Akadémia Könyvtárában* [Letters by Alexander Csoma de Kőrös in the Library of the Academy] Ed. by József Terjék and Marianne Rozsondai. *Magyar Tudomány*, 1972, pp. 320—325.

[4] Ligeti, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

four college professors (Ádám Herepei, Sámuel Hegedűs, Károly Mohai and Ferenc Benkő) that at the beginning of the 19th century they advocated the theory of the Hunnish—Magyar relationship. They cannot have been the only ones, but they taught and cultivated such subjects and fields of scholarship that allowed for these views to be explicitly stated; the positions of the others (the professors of philosophy, theology, philology, mathematics-physics) are not known. Being a Szekler by origin, the professor of philosophy Mihály Benke could also have been brought up on the mythology of the Hunno—Magyar kinship. This was the academic view adopted by the history professor of the college György Kőrösi in the latter half of the 18th century.

Most important for us is the vision of Central Asia projected by de Kőrös' favourite professor and a leasding personality of the college, Ádám Herepei. As an advocate of the common Hunnish—Avar—Magyar origin, he devoted most attention to the prehistory of the Huns in Central Asia, calling the area "Northern Asia" in his textbook on *World History*[5] "The Huns are a Northern Asian nation, commonly believed to have already formed an expansive country as a great nation 400 years before Christ in Asia bordering on the Chinese Empire to the north, from whose frequent raids and ravages the Chinese wished to protect themselves by erecting a stone wall running 420 miles long. Driven out of their homeland in this province, today called Greater Tartary, by internal strife with the help of the Chinese, the northern part of the nation of the Huns — chased by the Topa Tatars — settled near the water of the Volga above the Caspian Sea some 300 years after Christ and lived there a while . . ."[6] Herepei's main source on the prehistory of the Huns was Deguignes, "who worked out the history of the Huns, Turks, Mongols and other Tatars drawing on the manuscripts found in the Bibliotheca of Paris in the last century [18th] . . ."[7] As is well known, Deguignes was the first to suggest that the hiuns of the Chinese sources might denote Huns. Regarding the "Ancient origin of the Magyars and their reign in Asia," Herepei's main source was again Deguignes, and then "one must consult Pray", who was the first to use the work of the French orientalist.[8] In addition, Herepei recommended to his students István Katona's *Historia critica* and K. G. Windisch's Hungarian history. We know that both advocated the view of the Central Asian origin of the Magyars. Naturally, Herepei's other course on history that survived in

[5] Bethlen Library, Nagyenyed. MS 9; cf. Elek Csetri, *Kőrösi Csoma Sándor indulása* [The start of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös]. Bucharest 1979, pp. 124—131.

[6] Bethlen Library, Nagyenyed. MS 9; Csetri, *op. cit.*, pp. 126—127.

[7] Cf. Csetri, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[8] Ibid.

students' notes found more recently also mirrors this theory.[9] Following Deguignes, Herepei discusses here the splitting up of the Huns in detail and traces the history of both the eastern and western branches. We know that the eastern Huns remained in Central Asia. They ruled over the territories up to the Irtis, but later they were defeated by the Turks and the Chinese, and in the end, the "remnants of the old Huns lived around the sources of the Aner and the Selinga under Turkic rule," Herepei wrote.[10]

A pupil of Herepei's and his successor in the historical chair of the college upon the latter's death in 1814, Sámuel Hegedűs faithfully followed the path staked out by his master, and consequently, his views on Central Asia were very similar as well. In his unpublished textbook written in 1815 he clearly states that the Huns are Hungarians. He explains that the original home of the Huns was adjacent to China, stretching from the river-head of the Irtis and the Altay range to the river Amur, from China to the Indian mountains — where 49 hordes of the Mongols live. He claims that the name 'Hun' comes from Chinese hiongnu. He also believes the Magyars and Avars to have derived from a common origin.[11]

The possessor of the third chair at the Bethlen College of Enyed, professor of law Károly Mohai also began his course on the history of law, *Historia iuris*, taken down by his students, with the Huns. After the discussion of the Huns who reached Europe and assumed a significant role there, he spoke of those who remained in Central Asia. In his view, the first two waves of the Huns and Avars were followed by "a third which brought the Huns who at first remained in Asia out and they mixed, around the water of the Tanais, with the Utugurs and Kutugurs called *Moagers* or Magyars after their king *Moager*, who had fallen behind during the second wave," he wrote.[12]

Evidently, the most complex and profound knowledge was that of Ferenc Benkő, the professor of geography at the faculty of natural history at the Bethlen College. After his studies at Enyed, Benkő attended the universities of Vienna, Zürich and Göttinga; at the Georgia Ausgusta University one of the most prominent German scholars of the age, J. Fr. Gmelin lectured in minera-

[9] Library of the Academy of Rumania at Cluj-Napolca. Archives of manuscripts. The stock of the Presbyterian College of Kolozsvár. Ms. Ref. 1313. *Nagy Erdélyországnak Históriája vagy is Haza Históriája.* Ki dolgozta Tiszteletes Professor Herepei Ádám úr 1790—91-ben. Le írta Kendeffi Miklós mp. N. Enyeden (A History of the Great Land of Transylvania, or the History of the Homeland. Authored by the most honourable Mr Professor Ádám Herepei in 1790—91. Written down by M. Kendeffi).

[10] Ibid.

[11] Bethlen Library, Nagyenyed. Ms 314. Sámuel Hegedűs, *A Haza Históriára tett némely rövid jegyzések* (Some brief notes on the history of the country).

[12] Ibid. Ms 18. *Juris historia.*

logy.[13] Benkő was a typical man of science. Besides scores of obituaries, he left behind a dozen and a half published books. The title "corresponding member of the Naturalist Society of Jena" followed his name. He was deeply interested in remote continents and countries, and in geographical expeditions. During his Enyed years he published his *Parnassian Pastimes* (Kolozsvár 1793—1800) in seven volumes. Its third "piece" entitled *Oriental Travellers* contains *Nibur's Journey in Arabia*, *Tavernier's Travels* and *Italian Travellers*. While Nibur wrote about the route that de Kőrös was to tread later, Tavernier travelled in the East six times in fourty years, "particularly in the Turkic, Persian and Indian countries." Unfortunately, his primary interest in the East were the diamonds, amethysts, pearls, rubies, emeralds and topaz stones in the possession of the "Mongol Emperor" and other lords — after all, he was a merchant of precious stones. Central Asia is just as superficially touched upon in his travelogue, as in the accounts of the *Italian Travellers*. Benkő included in the same volume *A Brief Introduction to Geography* with hardly any mention of the area in question; he is a little more talkative when the ores and precious stones to be found in Central Asia are discussed.

Far more interesting is his *Hungarian Geography*. Its second volume of some 250 pages (Kolozsvár 1801) is devoted to Asia. After introducing the climate, physical, economic and political geography of the Asian lands, Benkő discusses the occupations, ethnic groups, languages, ethnography, cultures and religions of the peoples living on the vast expanses of the region. He divides the area into Northern, Central and Southern Asia. Of them "The second is *Central*, or *Higher Asia*," he writes. "It includes: 1. the region of the Caucasus . . . 2. Asian Tartary or Dsagatay. Beyond the Imans and Mustag the provinces of Aralis, Oxus and Amu; within this Kohovaresm or Chiva and Greater Bukharay. On this side of the Imans or Mustag, Lesser Bukharay and the sandy desert of Kobi or Samo. 3. Mongolia . . . 4. The land of Tunguy or Amor. 5. The peninsula of Korea, and finally 5. Japan . . ."[14] "Asian Tartary" mentioned in point 2 ranged from the Caspian Sea to Mongolia. Its old name was Greater or Eastern Scythia, "otherwise called Dsagatay, precisely one of the monarchies of the five Dsingi kans. But the name was expanded to cover the whole of Tartary, and now it is divided into Southern, Northern and Eastern Dsagatay." A part of its population "is sedentary, the other migratory, moving about in carts and living in tents; many people suggest that they might be called hordes because they carry (Hung. *hordoz*) their belongings with them."[15]

[13] Zsigmond Vita, *Tudománnyal és cselekedettel* (With knowledge and action), Bucharest 1968, pp. 179—180.

[14] József Benkő, *Magyar geográfia* (Hungarian geography). Kolozsvár 1801, II. p. 3.

[15] Benkő, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 44—45.

What Benkő writes about the history, ethnography and religion of this region is highly intriguing: "Some say that the Magyars came from this place; the whole nation that is, because neither their language nor their vestiges can be found there, as King Matthias later took pains to have it searched. Generally they are Mohammedans or pagans, and refinement and ignorance characterized them from the beginning . . . They profited more by their ignorance of vices than the Greeks did by their awareness of virtues. Besides, they conquered strong belligerent peoples whom no other race had overcome; they were not scared by Alexander the Great, either. What is more, they founded the Parthian and Baetrian empires, having put down Czirus and Darius. It is from here that the Turks, Tatars, Getes, Magyars, Bolgars and others broke away . . . It borders on the Caspian Sea, Astrakhan and Kashan to the west, on Siberia, called by others Muscovite Tartary, to the north, Persia to the south and Indistan, the Great Mogul and China to the east . . ."[16]

The author adds *particular comments* to the description of Tartary: "They are not averse to the sciences, crafts and trade of the west, and they are also very friendly; many of their traits can be detected in our nation who — as many claim — originated from these areas . . ."[17]

He gives separate mention to "Greater Bukharia" or "Southern Dsagatay" surrounded by Kharesm and Kirgis on the north, Lesser Bukharay to the south and India and Persia to the west. Of all the parts of Greater Bukharay, he first mentions *Northern Bukharay*, a part of the Üzbek land earlier called Sogdiana; this territory contains many khanates and principalities. Among its towns he names Amu, Buchara on the Sogd and Samarkand with its Turkish university, the home of Tamerlan. The other part of the country is southern Bukharay or Balk, Bactriana by its ancient name (with the provinces of Gaur, Takaristan, Kilan, and the Persian emperor up to Balk; its towns include Balk, Bamian, Anderab.).[18]

Benkő ends the chapter on Central Asia with *Lesser Bukharia*, otherwise called "*Eastern Dsagatay or Bukharay*, its other names are Karakitai, Scythia extra Imaum, or Scythia beyond the Imans." This area is bounded by the Mustag range to the west separating it from Songoray, Kirgis and Greater Bukharay, by the Mustag range to the north separating it from Songoray, and by Tibet to the south. Ferenc Benkő knew that Lesser Bukharia was a Chinese province; the large number of towns he listed include Jerken, Koten Usi, Toson, Aksu, Kuse, Harasar in the west, "Turfan in Igur province", Asaralik, Nami or Kami in the east, Tankabas, Lop in the south and Pein

[16] Benkő, *op. cit.*, II, p. 45.
[17] Benkő, *op. cit.*, II, p. 56.
[18] Benkő, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 52—53.

and Sertam in the centre. Finally, he remarks that "the desert of Kobi or Samo" is famous in Dsagatay or Lesser Bukharay.[19]

Benkő's work has been dwelt upon at length here because both the abundance of information and its scientific approach lift it well above the works of his contemporaries. Also, as a professor at Enyed he could largely contribute to the development of de Kőrös.

Apart from what he heard, learnt and read at Enyed, de Kőrös was most profoundly influenced by the ideas of some members of the so-called Scholarly Society of Kolozsvár concerning Central Asia. They included such scholars as Sámuel Gyarmathi, Mihály Kenderesi and Miklós Cserei. Gyarmathi, the pioneer of Finno-Ugric linguistics and an authority on comparative language studies of European renown also looked to Asia for the possible cradle and relatives of the Magyars.[20] Had he not done so, it would be hard to understand why he approved of de Kőrös' Asian trip, even if he also hoped that the Transylvanian scholar would also tour "Finnia, and perhaps Lapponia, too." Transylvanian councillor Mihály Kenderesi, a connoisseur and patron of science and a well-known supporter of de Kőrös, was also deeply concerned with the question of the Hungarian's origin. "During the hours free from official obligations, it was a useful and always pleasing occupation for him to carry on scientific correspondence; he had contacts in foreign lands, notably with the famous Fessler, and with Alexander de Kőrös in the interior parts of Asia . . ."[21] Thus Kenderesi exchanged ideas with de Kőrös on Central Asia. Ignaz Fessler was a German historian who wrote a romantic history of the Magyars as a supporter of the theory of the Hunnish—Magyar kinship and devoted books to King Matthias and Attila as well.[22] Kenderesi's published works bear the stamp of his pre-historic interests and views. In a pamphlet published in 1802 he already touches upon the questions of Hungarian prehistory. In a note attached to a poem of his he explains that "the Magyars hailed from the great old Scytha Nation" and tries to derive the names Scytha and Szekler from a same common root.[23]

The third member of the Scholarly Society of Kolozsvár, Miklós Cserei was also a Transylvanian councillor. It was Elemér Jancsó who drew attention to his scientific activities. A letter he published reveals that Cserei owned everything relevant to the origin of the Magyars and containing records of "oral traditions" transferred from his family archives to his cabinet in the

[19] Benkő, op. cit., II, pp. 54—55.

[20] Ferenc Szilágyi, *Adatok Kőrösi Csoma Sándor életrajzához* (Some new data on the life of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös). *MTA Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei*. XXI. nos. 1—4, pp. 285, 290.

[21] Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, pp. 272—273.

governor's office. In this way he wanted to make available source materials to de Kőrös.[24] The nature of these records suggests that they also related to the Hunnish—Magyar relationship with threads leading to Central Asia.

Though of a younger generation, Ferenc Szilágyi, a future lecturer at the Presbyterian College in Kolozsvár, recorded several meetings with de Kőrös before 1819. In 1842, however, Szilágyi made it clear that "the original home of the Hungarian nation" was around "the Caucasus" so he disapproved of de Kőrös' journey to Central Asia.[25]

Inherent in the picture of Central Asia envisioned in Transylvania was the belief that the Hungarians still had relatives there. Lajos Gyulay, author of the longest diary of the Transylvanian reform age, (who also knew of de Kőrös' undertaking) called the journey in search of the ancestors "worthy of admiration" and to be followed. He also added to his perceptive evaluation of de Kőrös: "I would love to go there so that I might come back with them [the discovered relatives]."[26]

Sámuel Hegedűs hypothesized that the land of the kinsfolk of the Hungarians was "below the Caucasus"; "they have 48 villages all with Hungarian names," and "their tongue also displays much kinship with the Hungarians'."[27] We know from Hegedűs' obituary on de Kőrös how well known the so-called Turkolly letter was among the students of Enyed; in this the sender disclosed the sensational news that he had come across traces of the Magyars. According to Turkolly *mogul* sounded like *mogor*, *madjar* in the Tatar tongue, and one of the Tatar hordes spoke a language similar to Hungarian. Though lacking scientific grounds, Sámuel Turkolly's letter circulated both in printed and manuscript form and popularized the notion that Hungarians were still living north of the Caspian sea with Hungarian villages and names.[28] How could the idea that there were still Hungarians or their relatives in Asia not have drawn a wide following if Hungarian historians also accepted it (e.g. Windisch, Ézsaiás Budai), although there was no agreement as to the actual place of residence?[29] Significantly, even Sámuel Gyarmathi, a philologist of European

[24] Elemér Jancsó, *Két ismeretlen adat Kőrösi Csoma Sándor életéhez* [Two new pieces of information about the life of A. Csoma de Kőrös]. *Pásztortűz* 1942, pp. 541—542; cf. Csetri, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[25] *Múlt és Jelen* [Past and present], 1842, 29 July, no. 60, pp. 476—477.

[26] Csetri, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

[27] Sámuel Hegedűs, *op. cit.*

[28] Sámuel Hegedűs, *Egy hazafi szó és egy baráti könny Kőrösi Sándor sírja fölött* [A patriotic word and a friend's tear-drop over de Kőrös' grave]. *Pesti Hirlap*, 1842, 27 Oct., p. 759.

[29] K. G. Windisch, *Kurzgefasste Geschichte der Ungarn*. Pressburg 1774. pp. 5—6; Ézsaiás Budai: *Magyarország históriája a mohátsi veszedelemig* [A history of Hungary until the defeat at Mohács]. Debrecen 1811, p. 71.

stature, believed that de Kőrös "might come across a trace of the Sons of Árpád, our Great Ancestor."[30]

Summing up the above about the image of Central Asia in the literature of Transylvanian scholarship, one may conclude that 1. it was a generally accepted theory that the original homeland of the Magyars was in Central Asia, 2. Magyars or their relatives were still living there, 3. de Kőrös' goal was principally set on the basis of the contemporary literature of scholarship.

[30] *Tudományos Gyűjtemény* (Scientific Collection), 1820, Nov., pp. 121—122; Szilágyi, *op. cit.*, p. 286; Csetri, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

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IPPOLITO DESIDERI, ALEXANDER CSOMA DE KŐRÖS, GIUSEPPE TUCCI

LUCIANO PETECH (Rome)

This year 1984 is indeed a significant date in the history of our studies. It marks the third centenary of the birth of F. Ippolito Desideri and the second centenary of the birth of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös; it is, alas, also the year in which we mourn the recent loss of Professor Giuseppe Tucci, who passed away at the age of nearly ninety.

The first pioneer in the Tibetological field was Ippolito Desideri, born in the Tuscan town Pistoia in December 1684. Having completed his studies in the Jesuit order, he landed in India in 1713. His task, for which he himself had applied to the General of his order, was to re-open the mission of Western Tibet, started by F. Antonio de Andrade in 1624 and abandoned sixteen years later. He entered indeed Ladakh in 1716, but almost at once he left for Central Tibet, thus encroaching on the working field of the Italian Capuchins, who had been there before him and who re-entered Lhasa some months later. This caused a long and acrimonious dispute between the two religious orders, the Jesuits eventually losing their case. Desideri was recalled by his General, went down to India in 1721 and after some years there he returned to Italy, where he died in 1733. In spite of unfavourable local conditions (it was the time of the Dsungar invasion and of the sack of Lhasa), he had worked earnestly, acquiring a good knowledge of the language and of the religion of Tibet. As a tangible proof of the seriousness of his studies, we still have an incomplete analysis of the *Lam-rim c'en-mo* of Tsoṅ-k'a-pa. His *Relation on Tibet* is an outstanding piece of work; it is an account of Tibetan culture, religion and recent history, well informed, sober and unbiased within the limits set to a Catholic missionary. However, it remained unknown till a century ago and thus could not open new paths for Western knowledge of Tibet.[1] Five apologetical works, which he composed in a tolerably good Tibetan, are preserved in the

[1] A critical edition of the original text of the *Relazione* was published by the present writer on the basis of three manuscripts (a forth has been traced recently): L. Petech, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal* (Nuovo Ramusio, II), Parts V—VII, Rome 1954—1956. A somewhat abridged English version was given by F. De Filippi, *An account of Tibet: the travels of Ippolito Desideri of Pistoia, S. J.*, 2nd ed., London 1937.

Roman Archives of the Jesuits; they were discovered only in this century (one of them quite recently), and are now in the course of publication.[2] Objectively, Desideri can be considered as the first Western tibetologist in a prescientific age.

But as Desideri's work went out of sight after his death, the honour of being the real founder of Tibetology in its modern form belongs to the great Hungarian Kőrösi Csoma Sándor (1784—1842). It is not my task to speak of his truly heroic achievements, heroic not only because he could not base himself on any precedent spade-work, but also because for most of the time he lacked the barest necessities of life. Let me at least place on record here that his dictionary, his grammar and his analysis of the Kangyur are still utilized with profit; but what is more important, he was the starting point for an unbroken line of scholars who did research in and on Tibet, and above all who loved Tibet and the Tibetans.

A special place of honour in this line belongs to Giuseppe Tucci; and it is but fitting that in a symposium dedicated to the memory of Csoma de Kőrös we should also remember the figure of one of the foremost Tibetologists of this century, and indeed of all times.

Giuseppe Tucci was born at Macerata in Central Italy on June 5th, 1894. He received the fine old-fashioned humanistic education of those days, acquiring a good mastery of Latin and Greek, which he cultivated till his old age, although he seldom chose to show it. He was a precocious boy, and at the age of 17 he published his first article, a study of Latin inscriptions found near his native town. Already as a teenager he felt the attraction of the Orient, starting the study of Sanskrit and of Old Persian. His four-year period at the University of Rome, where he graduated in 1915, greatly widened his horizon. His early publications showed the wide range of his studies, ranging from Hebrew and Avestic to Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan. With this sound philological equipment he could turn to his main interest, which was, and always remained, the religious and philosophical aspects of the Asian civilizations; only later he developped also an additional penchant for history and art history.

The outbreak of the First World War, in which he took an honourable part in the Italian army, delayed but did not interrupt his scientific career. As soon as he was demobilized, he embarked upon an untiring activity of research and publication, which lasted with few breaks until his very last years. At first he probed his way in several directions at the same time. Then after a couple of years it seemed that he would concentrate on early Chinese thought. His translation of Mencius and his History of ancient Chinese philo-

[2] G. Toscano, *Opere tibetane di Ippolito Desideri S.J.*, vols. I—IV. Rome 1981—1990.

sophy[3] are of course obsolete now, but can still be read with some profit. At the same time, however, he continued his indological researches, working on classical Sanskrit literature and authoring a substantial monograph on Indian materialism.[4]

Going on, he felt increasingly attracted by Mahāyāna Buddhism, and this trend received a decisive impulse when in 1925 he went to India, where he taught Italian and Chinese at the universities of Calcutta and Shantiniketan. There he was in close contact with Rabindranath Tagore; he took pride in calling himself his disciple. His long permanence in India, which lasted till the autumn of 1931, brought to full maturation his scientific personality and gave him not only an extensive mastery of religious and philosophical literature, but also an intimate acquaintance with the living spirituality of the Indian people, acquired in the course of long and unhurried rambles on foot and by boat in the lower Ganges valley. The produce of his Indian years was a series of philologically accurate editions of Mahāyāna texts, with the constant help of the Chinese and Tibetan translations. I shall mention only two of these works: *Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist texts on logic from Chinese sources*, Baroda 1929, and *The Abhisamayālaṅkārāloka of Haribhadra*, Baroda 1932. He also set to himself another task, which he never forgot during the whole of his life, that of making Eastern thought known in his home country. I may cite his little manual on Buddhism[5], a fine, but perhaps premature effort.

His growing fame was acknowledged in his country. In 1929 he became one of the first members of the newly-established Academy of Italy, and upon his return home he was given in 1931 the chair of Chinese at the Oriental Institute in Naples, from where he was soon called to the University of Rome as Professor of Religions and Philosophies of India and the Far East; and there he taught till 1964, retiring finally from the University five years later.

During his stay in India he had already made two trips to Ladakh (1928 and 1930). Another followed in 1931, when he visited also Rupshu and Lahul. It is a pity that he never published an account of these first journeys, which in those days meant quite an adventure over mountain paths. He told me once that in 1931 he lost two pack horses and very nearly his life while crossing the Zoji-la. On those occasions he gathered the collection of *ts'a-ts'a* studied by him in the first volume of *Indo-Tibetica*. Above all, the Ladakhi trips enhanced his interest in things Tibetan and shaped his activity for the following twenty years.

After his final return from India he threw himself with characteristic energy into the task of organizing, with private and public means, a series of

[3] *Scritti di Mencio*, Lanciano 1921; *Storia della filosofia cinese antica*, Bologna 1922.

[4] "Linee di una storia del materialismo indiano," in *Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, XVII (1923) and II (1929).

[5] *Il buddhismo*, Foligno 1926.

expeditions in the Himalayas. As he felt himself somewhat cramped in the then rather rigid frame of the University, in February 1933 he founded the Italian Institute for the Middle and Far East (ISMEO), intended as a centre for research in, and cultural exchanges with, the Asian countries. After that year his Tibet expeditions followed with a regular biennial rhythm till the outbreak of the World War.

In 1933 he travelled to Spiti, Guge and Kunawar, visiting the main temples in a country sunk in deep decadence, of which the saddest evidence was supplied by the lonely ruins of Tsaparang, once the royal capital of Guge. This journey revealed to the learned world the unknown treasures of the murals of Tabo, Toling, and other temples. On his way back he passed through Kanam, the place where Kőrösi Csoma had stayed for three years (1827—1830). The small *lha-k'aṅ* there still kept "the old volumes of the Kangyur on which Csoma worked with such a perseverance to compile his analysis of the Buddhist canon, which even today remains a fundamental work".[6] And Tucci, who always acknowledged his and our debt to his great forerunner, justly dedicated the account of that voyage "a Csoma de Kőrös pioniere degli studi tibetani nel centocinquantesimo anniversario della sua nascita".

His next journey (in 1935) took him to Purang, to the Manasarovar lake and the holy mount Kailasa, of which both he performed the *pradakṣiṇā* along with crowds of pious Hindu pilgrims, visiting all the shrines of that region. In 1937 he visited for the first time Central Tibet, subjecting to a thorough investigation the great temple of Gyantse. In 1939 he completed the artistic exploration of Tsang, visiting also Sa-skya, then headquarters of a semi-independent principality. The Second World War interrupted his travels, but not his research activity, although at the end of the war he had to go through an unpleasant and difficult period. As soon as things became settled, he resumed his field work, which now culminated in his 1948 expedition to Lhasa, to the Yarlung valley (where he surveyed the royal tombs), to bSam-yas and to many other temples and monasteries in dBus. It was his last opportunity; shortly after, the integration of Tibet in the Chinese republic ruled out the feasibility of further voyages.

His missions were carried out in a still medieval Tibet, where cars and roads were still unknown. Tucci was proud of having travelled about 18.000 kilometres, always on foot (he almost never rode) and living in tents. He was fond of caravan life and of its unhurried progress through the bleak highlands of Tibet. He felt that this was the only possibility to get the feeling of the country and to obtain intimate contact with the people. In Tibet he felt himself at home. He was friendly received everywhere, and the villagers marvelled

[6] *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci 1933*, p. 376.

at this Westerner who could hold discussions with learned lamas in their own language on points of logic or religion.

On the other side it was characteristic of Tucci's enormous capacity for work that the years between each journey were busily employed for publishing his fascinating travel accounts,[7] and on the other hand in making available at once the scientific results obtained; those of the first four missions were published in the seven volumes of *Indo-Tibetica*, Rome 1932—1941. The enforced pause during the war gave him the leisure for compiling his magnum opus *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Rome 1949, which in spite of its unpretentious title is a real summa of Tibetan art, literature and history. His monograph on the royal tombs (1950) practically closed the "Tibetan" period of his career, but did not imply his exit from the Tibetological field, to which he returned again and again.

After the War interlude he intensified and extended the activity of the ISMEO, of which he had become the president in 1947. In this capacity he started the collection *Serie Orientale Roma*, of which 61 volumes have appeared so far, and the periodical *East and West*, which after a period of adjustment grew to become one of the leading Orientalistic journals in Italy.

The new situation in Tibet compelled Tucci to look for another field for his never abating activity; he found it in Nepal and chiefly in its border areas inhabited by Tibetans. His two missions in those regions (1952 and 1954) led to the discovery of the Malla kingdom, a composite political entity which in the 12th—14th centuries included portions of Western Nepal and Western Tibet. When he was not out in the Himalaya, he continued to write and publish works of synthesis on a large scale, such as his book on the *maṇḍala* and his History of Indian philosophy.[8]

What we may call the Nepalese period in Tucci's life was rather short, partly because of the limited scope of this field. And thus, being well over sixty years old, he found the resiliency and energy to turn a new leaf and to take up a completely different line of research, bringing his attention to bear on the absorbing problems of the interaction of cultures in the present Pakistani-Afghan border area. As early as 1955 he carried out a preliminary survey of possible sites for excavation in Swat, the ancient Uḍḍiyāna, selecting with a sure touch the most promising ones, i.e. Mingora and Udegram. This was the starting point for a series of archaeological campaigns, carried out by a special

[7] *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci 1933*, Rome 1934 (English translations, *Secrets of Tibet*, London—Glasgow 1935, and *Shrines of a thousand Buddhas*, New York 1936); *Santi e briganti nel Tibet ignoto*, Milano 1937; *A Lhasa e oltre*, Rome 1952 (English translation: *To Lhasa and beyond*, Rome 1956). No travelogue was published for the 1937 mission. For the 1939 mission there is only a partial sketch: "Un principato indipendente nel cuore del Tibet: Sachia", in *Asiatica*, VI (1940), pp. 353—360.

[8] *Teoria e pratica del Maṇḍala*, Rome 1949; *Storia della filosofia indiana*, Bari 1957.

Center for Studies and Excavations in Asia, set up within the frame of the ISMEO under Tucci's overall control. Until he was over eighty, he went out year by year to supervise personally in the field the various enterprises of the Center, which gradually extended to other sites in Swat, and then (1957) to Afghanistan, where the Center carried out excavations at Tepe Sardar near Ghazni and at Ghazni itself. Even wider perspectives were opened when in 1959 the Center started work in Iran. This included not only digging in the Achaemenid site of Shahr-i-Sokhta in Mekran, but also restoration work, for which a highly specialized team was formed; we may mention the restorations at Persepolis and the rehabilitation of the main buildings in the historical centre of Isfahan. And Tucci was everywhere, organizing, controlling, inspiring. Another important step was the foundation, due to his initiative, of the National Museum of Oriental Art in Rome (1957), to which the archaeological collections of the ISMEO were entrusted on deposit. We can only regret that later political developments in Afghanistan and Iran interrupted work in those two countries. However, the ISMEO, while continuing its activity in Pakistan, has found other fields for archaeological research in Northern Yemen, for some time also in Oman, and now again in Nepal.

The publication of the excavation results and of the conservation work was of course entrusted to the archaeologists who collaborated with Tucci, while he limited himself to supervision and coordination. In other respects he remained active till the end. In his last years he seemed to return to his beloved Tibetan studies. In 1971 he gave an edition and translation of the chronicle *Deb-t'er dmar-po gsar-ma* (Rome 1971); and one year earlier he had crowned forty years of Tibetology with the publication of his treatise on the religions of Tibet, the ripe fruit of a lifelong intimacy with Tibetan literature and with Tibetan living creeds.[9]

Of course he had no illusions about the limits imposed upon him by advancing old age. In 1978 he retired from active work, relinquishing the presidency of the ISMEO. But even as its honorary president he continued to follow closely the work of his successors and his advice was taken on every major issue. In 1982 an untoward accident (a broken thigh badly set) confined him to his home at San Polo dei Cavalieri in the hills to the east of Rome, devotedly tended by his wife. Till a couple of weeks before his death he continued to work on a study on Eros and Thanatos in India, which has remained unfinished. Using the words he himself had wanted to be printed in his obituary, "his spirit was dissolved in the Supreme Light" on the 5th of April 1984.

Tucci's scholarly achievements received many acknowledgments from several countries and above all, as was fitting, from Asia. He was doctor h.c.

[9] *Die Religionen Tibets*, in G. Tucci and W. Heissig, *Die Religionen Tibets und der Mongolei*, Stuttgart 1970, pp. 3—291; separate English edition: *The religions of Tibet*, London 1980.

of the universities of Kolozsvár, Delhi, Louvain, Teheran and Kathmandu; effective, corresponding or honorary member of many academies and learned societies in Europe, Asia and America, among them the Csoma de Kőrös Society and the Academy of Hungary. He was recipient of high orders from many countries. In 1978 he received from India the Javaharlal Nehru Award for international understanding. Being an enemy to both ostentation and false modesty, he accepted all honours, but seldom if ever referred to them; indeed, some of them were known only to his most intimate friends.

As a scholar, Tucci was attracted mainly by the philosophical and religious thought. Buddhism was closest to his mental build-up, and during most of his life he could be reckoned as a follower of that religion, although in a highly individualistic and personal way. He was truly a *homo religiosus* in the widest meaning of the word, always ready to understand and respect the numinous element in every manifestation of spiritual life.

As a teacher, his university lectures were absorbing and inspiring, as can be vouchsafed by those like me who had the privilege to attend them half-a-century ago. However, he did not lay great store upon academic teaching and always sought a personal contact with his more promising disciples. The best portion of his formative teaching was done in the course of personal encounters in his home, where he spent many hours of his precious time discussing problems and suggesting new themes to one or the other of his pupils; he did not like to receive them in groups. He also opened to them a liberal access to his magnificent library, which he later donated to the ISMEO.

His formative influence in the methodological field was extensive, but he did not try to force his own ideas upon others, as I had the occasion to observe during some of our friendly and delightful rows upon one or another particular point of interpretation or utilization of texts. On the other side he could be a stern judge, showing little patience with people who appeared to him to fall below a decent standard of scholarship or of scientific honesty.

The learned world has lost in him a great scholar, an inspiring force both in scholarship and in the practical organization of research. Above all, those who knew him will always remember him as a man who was richly and intensely human, in the widest range of this word.

A complete list of G. Tucci's oeuvre, compiled by L. Petech and F. Scialpi, is found in R. Gnoli, *Ricordo di Giuseppe Tucci*, Rome, ISMEO, 1985, pages 55—79.

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THE LOCATION AND POPULATION OF TIBET ACCORDING TO EARLY ISLAMIC SOURCES

CHRISTOPHER I. BECKWITH (Bloomington)

Among the sources for our knowledge of early medieval Tibet, the least well known are those written in Arabic and Persian. Although, generally speaking, the Islamic geographical literature of the Middle Ages has been fairly well studied by Arabists and Turkologists, among others,[1] until very recently the only Tibetologist to have investigated that literature seriously was Luciano Petech, who in 1947 published an important article on the subject in Italian.[2] Since then, however, more material has become available, and a little more scholarly work on the subject has been published.[3] At the same time, the material on Tibet found in other genres of Arabic and Persian literature has remained practically unknown. A thorough study of all of the Tibetan-related material that may be found in Arabic and Persian sources remains to be done. The present paper is not so ambitious, but is merely an attempt to revise the currently accepted view about some aspects of the early medieval Islamic image of Tibet.

The earliest references to Tibet in Arabic sources are represented by quotations going back to the period of the Tibetan Empire. They are found in the

[1] For the most recent and comprehensive study of the Arabic and Persian sources, see D. Dunlop, "Arab Relations with Tibet in the 8th and early 9th centuries A. D.," *İslâm Tetkikleri Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 5 (1973) 301—318.

[2] L. Petech, "Il Tibet nella geografia musulmana," *Atti della Accademia Nazionale della Lincei, serie ottava, Rendiconti, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Vol. 2 (1947) 55—70. He published a short related article in the following year; see note 21. Petech's work on this subject is of course over thirty years old. He may not have had access to some of the works cited here when he was writing his articles. Since, however, no other study has yet replaced it, or corrected its errors, it continues to be cited as the last word on the subject. The present paper is intended to supplement, update, and correct Petech's pioneering work in this field.

[3] In addition to V. Minorsky's translation of Marwazî, which was unavailable to Petech at the time he wrote his article, recently three important studies have been published, namely D. Dunlop, 1973 (see note 1), R. Rubinacci, "Il Tibet nella Geografia d'Idrīsī," *Gururājamañjarikā: Studi in onore di Giuseppe Tucci*, Vol. 1 (Naples, 1974) 195—220, and A. Martinez, "Gardīzī's Two Chapters on the Turks," *Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi*, Vol. 2 (1982) 109—217.

historical works of al-Azraqî, al-Balâdhurî, al-Ṭabarî, and al-Yaʿqûbî, as well as in works of belle-lettres by al-Ǧâḥiẓ, among others. The Arabic histories provide explicit information on a Tibetan force at Tirmidh on the middle Oxus in 717,[4] on a joint Arab-Tibetan campaign in the northwestern Tarim Basin in 717, and on the Arab-Tibetan war of circa 785 to circa 815—the latter two items being known from Chinese sources also.[5] The information on the Arab-Tibetan war, which derives in large part from Arabic inscriptions preserved in ninth-century Mecca that were copied by al-Azraqî, particularly concerns the surrender of the Tibetan vassal-king of Kabul, who sent a golden statue of the Buddha to al-Ma'mûn as token of his conversion to Islam. It also describes the campaigns of al-Faḍl b. Sahl in the Pamirs and his victory over some Tibetans there.[6] Al-Ǧâḥiẓ, citing only certain "merchants" as his source, is the earliest author to relate the famous story about laughing in Tibet, in his *Kitâb al-Ḥayawân*:

> The merchants of Tibet, among those who having entered China and Jâvaka have investigated that country, and have passed through that country, maintain that whoever stayed in the metropolis of Tibet is overwhelmed with joy; he does not know the reason for it, and does not stop smiling, laughing without astonishment, until he departs from it.[7]

The important thing about al-Ǧâḥiẓ's entertaining anecdote is its mention of merchants going to Jâvaka (a kingdom in Sumatra) and China in connection with their travels to Tibet. This means that the "metropolis of Tibet" for him was a place his informants reached via the sea route to China, and was thus undoubtedly not a place in Central Asia. However, the earliest sources do not specify Tibet's location beyond classifying the Tibetans with the Turks, Chinese, and others as being among the peoples living in *mâ warâ'a al-nahr*, the lands "beyond the Oxus River."

The existing contemporary and near-contemporary Arabic accounts were apparently part of a somewhat greater literature on the lands of the east, including Tibet. The bulk of that which has survived is to be found in geographical

[4] For comments about this, see D. Dunlop, 1973: 304.

[5] These and other related events are described in detail in *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia*, Princeton, 1987. (Completed and published after the manuscript of the present article).

[6] Al-Azraqî, ed. Ruśdî al-Ṣâliḥ Malḥas, *Akhbâr Makka* (Mecca, 1965) i: 227 et seq.

[7] Al-Ǧâḥiẓ, ed. ʿAbd al-Salâm Muḥammad Hârûn, *Kitâb al-Ḥayawân*, Vol. 7 (Egypt, 1965) p. 230. Petech's belief that this story is due to a source connected with al-Ma'mûn in Central Asia (Petech, 1947: 61) is thus unfounded. The mention of al-Zâbaǧ (the uncorrected manuscript reading al-Zâng serves just as well in this case) clearly indicates the sea route via India to China.

works, the earliest of which — with the exception of a work by the famous al-Khwârizmî on astronomical geography — were written in the late ninth century, several decades after the collapse of the Tibetan Empire. Since a good deal of that literature has already been surveyed by Petech, there is no need to go over it all again here. However, one point must be made, with respect to a theory expounded at some length by the latter in his article.

Petech has argued that all of the early Arabic geographical sources mean by *Tubbat* not Tibet but East Turkistan, while they mean by the *madîna* of Tibet not a city on the Tibetan Plateau but rather Khotan, the "Kaghan of Tibet" being Khotan's Tibetan governor.[8] This theory is not really supported by the sources. As Petech himself admits, the figures given in works of astronomical geography differ from work to work; for the location of "Tibet" in al-Khwârizmî's geography, *Kitâb ṣûrat al-Arḍ*, he has accepted the lattitude as accurate, but rejected the longitude. Moreover, Petech mistakenly believes that the list of places in the fifth clime, in which the name of Tibet occurs, mentions only cities, and assumes that "al-Tubbat" was therefore a city too. In fact, the names of several large territories, including among others number 377 Âdharbayǵân, number 378 "al-Daylam," number 398 Uśrûsana, and number 408, "Śîrâ, which is Ṣînistân [China]," are to be found in the same list.[9] The name of Tibet is not further identified.

Tibet is also never explicitly equated with Khotan in the Islamic sources, which are always careful to mention the nations bordering on Tibet, and to mention Tibet when describing other countries on which Tibet bordered. Thus it is quite clear that the Arabs were aware of the actual location of Tibet from the earliest times — and certainly no later than when the geographer Ibn Khurdâdhbih wrote in the mid-ninth century.[10] According to them it was bordered on its east by China, on its south by India, on its north by the Turks, and on its west by the eastern marches of the Arab Caliphate. It is most important in this connection to stress that in the early medieval view, areas

[8] Petech, 1947: 59—69. According to him (p. 60) "Tibet" means both a city and a region in the works of the earliest Arab writers.

[9] Al-Khwârizmî, ed. Hans v. Mžik, *Kitâb ṣûrat al-arḍ* (Leipzig, 1926) 26—29. Tibet is number 405 in the list. Śîrâ is an Arabic rendering of Ptolemy's and Ammianus Marcellinus' Sera, one of the Classical names for China. Number 409 on the list is "Madînatu Baghbûr," i.e., "the city of the Son of Heaven." Number 411 is "Ś(i)r(i)qâ fî al-ǵazîra," the word Śiriqâ being a rendering of Ptolemy's Sêrikê or Ammianus's Serica, also meaning "China." (The Arabic forms presuppose transmission via an intermediary language, probably Syriac.) See Petech, 1947: 59 for his discussion of the latitude and longitude.

[10] Although most sources carefully list the countries or seas in all four directions, this author gives the information less systematically. See Ibn Khurdâdhbih: 31, 69, 173. It is notable that the work does not mention by name a "City of Tibet", nor for that matter Khotan, Kashgar, or Kucha.

which came under the rule of a given nation were automatically considered by outsiders to be integral parts of that nation's territory. This practice was regularly followed by imperialists everywhere, including the extremely tenacious Chinese (even when it involved ethnically Chinese areas under Tibetan occupation). The area of Tibet that concerned the Arabs was the part that bordered on their own dominions, namely the Tibetan possessions in the Pamirs. One could hypothesize that they were also concerned about the Tibetan colonies in the southwestern Tarim Basin, where the most important city was Khotan. However, they simply do not mention it, although they have much to say about the Tibetans in the Pamirs and other areas to its west. Other than the explanation given for the Tibetan ruler's title "Kaghan," in al-Mas'ûdî's version of the story about the Himyaritic ancestry of the Tibetans, the main source used by Petech to support his theory is Muṭahhar b. Ṭâhir al-Maqdisî. In the paragraph on Tibet in his book *Kitâb al-bad' wa al-ta'rîkh*, the tenth-century author says that "the greatest of its cities is Khotan," and gives Kashmir rather than India as the country to its south.[11] However, this particular writer — who wrote in Bust, in southern Afghanistan, in 966, at a time when the Western Tibetan kingdom of Guge was the only notable Tibetan successor-state accessible from the south or southwest — seems to have been unusually interested in Kashmir, and frequently substitutes the name of the latter country for the India of the sources, even when the location is practically impossible. Thus it is not surprising that he substitutes it in the present case. He distinguishes between Tibetans, Turks, and Indians, says that the land of Tibet is cold, and — as Petech has noted — specifies that the name of its greatest city is Khotan.[12] But by giving the locations of other countries he

[11] Petech, 1947: 62.

[12] Muṭahhar b. Ṭâhir, iv: 63. Petech, who cites this passage as being on p. 59, has taken it out of its context, which includes descriptions of the locations of other countries bordering on Tibet. The passage he cites runs in full:

> But as for al-Tubbat, they are a species between the Turks and the Indians. Their clothing is the clothing of the people of China; they have the flat noses of the Turks, and the brown color of the Indians. And they have writing and arithmetic and astrology. And their land is a cold land, to its east the Chinese, its north the Turks, its west Wakhân and Râšt—the highest part of Khurasan—and to its south Kashmir; and the greatest of its cities is Khotan.

If this passage were accepted at face value, and assumed to be as applicable to the Tibetan Empire (i.e., "Tibet" before its mid-ninth century breakup) as the ninth century sources, it would indeed indicate that East Turkistan was meant by "Tubbat". However, it is apparent that the tenth-century author has substituted "Kashmir" for the "India" of the earlier lists, even when it does not make much sense to do so.

allows us to analyze his geography. Most significantly, he states:

> East of Kashmir are Khotan and Tibet and the Chinese; (to) its south is the kingdom of Kûr; (to) its north are Balûr and Wakhan; and (to) its west are Kabul and Ghazni.

He also remarks that the Tibetans worship "idols," while the Khotanese are Shiite Muslims.[13] In short, Muṭahhar b. Ṭâhir very clearly distinguishes between Khotan and Tibet.

It is, moreover, known from al-Azraqî[14] that the king of Tibet who submitted to al-Ma'mûn was not the king of Khotan, as Petech thought,[15] but the Kâbulśâh, while the Tibetan cavalrymen attacked and defeated by al-Ma'mûn's viceroy al-Faḍl b. Sahl were in the Pamirs, not Khotan or Kashgar. Similarly, Ibn Khurdâdhbih says that the western border of Tibet was across the high plateau around Aṭbâś in Ferghana. Writing later, al-Ya'qûbî puts the border beyond Ĝirm, in eastern Badakhshan.[16] (The latter is in the Pamirs just west of Wakhan, close to where the "Gate of the Two Tibets" was located by the *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam* and Marwazî.[17]) In short, according to the early Arabic sources, Tibet was a large country bordering on the Caliphate in the western Pamir area. And while it is possible that the Tibetan governor of Khotan was in charge of military operations against Arab territory, there are no sources in any language which so indicate.

Some decades after the material discussed above was collected, a new body of information about Tibet became available to Muslim writers. As Minorsky, Petech, and others have noted, a collection of this material was

[13] Muṭahhar b. Ṭâhir, iv: 62—63. For "Balûr" the text has "Blwrlwb".

[14] Al-Azraqî, 1965, loc. cit. The inscriptions quoted in Azraqî were published with French translations half a century ago by E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet in their *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, Vol. 1 (Cairo, 1931) 80—81, 91—94, 96—97 (inscriptions no. 100, 115, 116, and 119). The study of this material by A. I. Mikhaylova, „Novïe èpigraficheskie dannïe dlya istorii sredney azii," *Èpigrafika vostoka*, 5 (1951) 10—20, which I have not seen, has been severely criticized by T. G. Abaeva, in her article "Granitsï drevnego Bolora," *Stranï i narodï vostoka*, 16 (1975) 158—168. One may note also the existence of the brief related article by M. A. Ghafur, "Two Lost Inscriptions Relating to the Arab Conquest of Kabul and the North West Region of West Pakistan," *Ancient Pakistan*, 2 (1965—1966) 4—12.

[15] Petech, 1947: 59.

[16] Ibn Khurdâdhbih, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Kitâb al-masâlik wa al-mamâlik* (Leiden, 1889; repr. 1967) 30 [text], 22 [translation]; al-Ya'qûbî, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Kitâb al-buldân* (Leiden, 1892; repr. 1967) 288. Cf. the similar location given by Muṭahhar b. Ṭâhir above, note 12.

[17] See V. Minorsky, *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, The Regions of the World: A Persian Geography, 372 A. H.—982 A. D.*, 2nd ed. (London, 1970) 120 and V. Minorsky, *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī, on China, the Turks and India: Arabic text* (circa *A. D. 1120*) *with an English translation and commentary* (London, 1942) 28, 89.

assembled by the tenth century Samanid vizier Ĝayhânî in his *Kitâb al-masâlik wa al-mamâlik*. Selections from it were incorporated into the works of many other authors after him; the most important of these are found in two books, the anonymous *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam*, written in New Persian, and Sharaf al-Zamân Ṭâhir Marwazî's *Tabâ'i'al-Ḥayawân*, from the tenth and twelfth centuries respectively. The material found in the former work is the richest of all the medieval Islamic sources on Tibet, but it has so far been little understood, due mainly to the difficulty of the text and the paucity of handy references on early Tibetan history and geography.

The *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam*, which has by far the most extensive and reliable version of the material said to have been taken from Ĝayhânî, contains sections devoted to the mountains and rivers of the world, in which it gives a fairly detailed description of the orography and hydrography of the regions of India, Tibet, China, and Central Asia. From these often contradictory materials it is possible to draw schematic maps showing the locations of the principal places described in the section specifically devoted to Tibet.

The first locality of importance in Tibet, one mentioned also in Marwazî, is a region named "Rângrng," near the Tibetan border. It is located after India, and between the borders of Tibet and China. Here it should be pointed out to those unfamiliar with the Arabic script that in the manuscript — as in most early Arabic and Persian manuscripts — the dots which distinguish certain letters of the alphabet from certain others are very frequently omitted, especially on proper names of unfamiliar places; thus, it is normally necessary to examine all possibilities in order to identify the names. (For example, in Persian خس can be either Khotan or Chîn [China].) This has been done fairly well by Minorsky for the Turkic territories, but not for Tibet. If one dot is supplied over the letter transcribed as an "r," it becomes a "z;" in New Persian, if three dots are written, it becomes a "ź." In this case the third choice works; the name is undoubtedly to be read Źâng-źung.[18] The people are described as tent-dwelling shepherds, poor people despite the rich gold mines located in their land. It was "a month's journey long and as much across."[19] To the west of it (but still bordered by the Chinese on the east) was a place called Nzwân — in Marwazî called Zâb — within which were the tribe (and town) from which the kings of Tibet came, given as Myûl and Muyûl. It is possible that the latter name is a mistake for *Mabûd (مبود for مبول), a version of Mâbud, which is — as Petech has demonstrated — an Arabicized transcription of Sanskrit Mahâbhuta, "Great Tibet." To the north of the last place is Tûsmat,

[18] Minorsky, 1970: 61, 257 and 1942: 89—90, proposes to read this name Râng-rong. Although it is not certain when exactly New Persian writers began to use this method for transcribing *ź*, the fact that they used the letter *r/z* as a base indicates nevertheless that they instinctively classified the former sound with the latter two.

[19] Minorsky, 1970: 92.

which Minorsky hesitates to identify with Mdosmad, the Old Tibetan name for northeastern Tibet. But as Petech has shown, there can be no doubt about the identification; the name was apparently used during the Tibetan imperial age as a general term for a vast area — including conquered regions of China and Central Asia — to the north of what was then "Tibet proper."[20]

The *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam*, which describes Mdosmad, has a separate description, without reference to any geographical relationship, for the land of the 'Aźa, or T'u-yü-hun. Although Bacot rightly suggested that the Aḥâyl of the manuscript should be read "*Ajâyul," [i.e., *Aǵâyul],[21] Marwazî writes Arâ, which is simply undotted Aźâ, for the name of the same people. The forms with the letter "h" and its fellows are thus variant transcriptions. The name was indeed *Aźâyul. (It is significant that the Islamic sources give several forms of the Tibetan-language name for the territory.) The great river which formed Tibet's eastern frontier with China, used (according to Marwazî) by the Chinese merchants in their trade with Tibet,[22] is undoubtedly to be identified with the similarly-described river Ghiyân of the *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam*. The latter could hardly have been the Yangtze, which has never formed a boundary between Tibet and China, and is too wild in the frontier region to have been used widely by merchants. But since the name also occurs in Gardîzî, where it very definitely refers to a river in or near northeastern Tibet,[23] it is clear that Ghiyân is not a transcription of the Chinese syllable *chiang* but of another name, Huang, for the "Yellow" River.

Finally, it remains to say a few words about Central Tibet, which is described only in the *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam*. The section on mountains and rivers informs us that a river named Kîśû flowed eastward from the Mânisâ mountains through a region of mountains and cultivated lands. A branch of it was a big river, unnamed, which flowed past a fortress of the Kaghan of Tibet, and through a region named Krsâng, where the river was used for irrigation. In Krsâng there were many *butkhâna*, "Buddha buildings,"[24] so it was called Farkhâr-i buzurg, the "Great Vihâra."[25] (Incidentally, the name of Lhasa is

[20] Minorsky, 1970: lxxiii, 257 and 1942: 92. For Petech's discussion of these two localities see his "Nota su *Mābd* e *TWSMT*," *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 24 (1949): 142—144.

[21] See Minorsky, 1970: 258.

[22] Minorsky, 1942: 28.

[23] Minorsky, 1970: 70, 84; Martinez, 1982: 137.

[24] It is interesting to note that the Persian author used a neutral term, one which has been distorted in translation (by Minorsky and others) to "idol temples." (Cf. the description of the great Buddha statues at Bamyan, which are called simply "Red Buddha" and "White Buddha" in the original Persian, but are called "idols" by Minorsky, 1970: 109). Moreover, *butkhâna* is clearly equated with *farkhâr* or "*vihâra*," in this source.

[25] Manoochehr Sotoodeh, ed., *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam, min al-mashriq ilá al-maghrib* (Tehran, 1983) 76. Cf. Minorsky, 1970: 94.

transcribed perfectly — Lhâsâ — but little is said about the city, and it is not given a precise location. It is called a "small town," which had numerous "Buddha buildings," and one "mosque of the Muslims;" the text remarks that some Muslims lived there.) Petech has rightly disagreed with Minorsky's proposal to emend Krsâng to *Usâng, for Dbus-gtsang. However, it does appear that the description was intended to apply to an important part of the cultivated region of Central Tibet. The Kîśû River is undoubtedly the Skyi Chu, a name for the river of Lhasa,[26] while the region of Krsâng through which its great unnamed tributary flowed is apparently Gtsang, in Old Tibetan spelled Rtsang. It appears from the descriptions that the *Ḥudûd al-'Âlam* may have considered the Tsangpo or Brahmaputra to be a tributary of the Skyi Chu, which it has flowing northeastward towards Mdosmad.

In conclusion, while the Islamic sources are not by any means as crystal-clear as we would like, it is hopefully now beyond doubt that the Muslim authors understood the country they called Tibet to be a large and powerful state,[27] one bounded by the Indians, Khurasan, the Turks, and China. It was also an empire, ruled by a kaghan, that contended with them in the Pamirs and adjacent areas for the control of Central Asia. By the tenth century they knew that Central Tibet had plenty of *vihâra*s, at least one mosque, and a flourishing agricultural society, while in the northeast a lively trade was conducted between Tibetans and Chinese across the Yellow River frontier. The former Tibetan occupation of much of eastern Central Asia was still remembered there, partly because many Tibetans still lived in places once under Tibetan rule, and a few scattered localities remained subject to some sort of Tibetan rule.[28] The Muslim writers describe all the major regions of the Early Middle Ages — Źang-źung, Central Tibet, Mdosmad and the 'Aźa. They knew the main Tibetan products,[29] and something about the people's cheerful disposition. All in all, they give a reasonably accurate and fair picture of the land of Snows.

[26] Now commonly spelt Skyid Chu; the Gtsangpo or Brahmaputra is also sometimes called Skyi(d) Chu.

[27] See especially al-Ya'qûbî, *Ta'rîkh al-Ya'qubî* (Beirut, 1960) 179:

> As for the Tibetans, (theirs) is a vast country, greater than China. Their kingdom is exalted, for they are lords of power and wisdom, comparable in skill to the Chinese. And in their country there are gazelles, whose navels are musk. They are worshippers of idols. And they have houses of fires[?]. Their power is great, so no one invades them.

[28] See my paper, "The Tibetans in the Ordos and North China: Considerations on the Role of the Tibetan Empire in World History," in C. I. Beckwith, ed., *Silver on Lapis: Tibetan Literary Culture and History* (Bloomington, 1987) 3—11.

[29] See for example D. Dunlop, 1973: 303.

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TO TELL THE FUTURE BY USING THREADS — AND SOME REFLECTIONS ON TIBETAN DIVINATION

PER-ARNE BERGLIE (Stockholm)

I do not think it is very unfair to say that Tibetan folk-religion and Tibetan folklore are two rather neglected subjects within Tibetological studies. Compared to what has been written about various aspects of Tibetan textual Buddhism, much less is known about the religious practices and the actual world-view of the ordinary Tibetan. It is only against this background I here venture to present some, unfortunately very fragmentary, information on a, as far as I can see, little-known method of divination. This information was collected during a field-work among exile Tibetans in Nepal.[1]

Although little is known about Tibetan folk-religion in general, there are, of course, beliefs and practices, which have received more attention than others. Thus, regarding divination and related practices, we possess a number of studies on various ways of knowing the future, the cause of an illness etc., ranging from astrology to spirit-mediums and dice-divination.[2] There are also a few treatises of a more general nature on Tibetan divination and its underlying belief-system.[3] In the above-mentioned studies, the complicated question re-

[1] The field-work was concerned with Tibetan spirit-mediums and was carried out in India and Nepal during 1970 and 1971. The information on which this paper is based was collected from a *dpa'bo* living in a Tibetan settlement outside Pokhara in Nepal.

[2] Here may just be mentioned the following studies: J. Bacot, *La table des présages signifiés par l'éclair*: *Journal Asiatique* 1913, pp. 445—449; P.-A. Berglie, *Gudarna stiger ned*, Stockholm 1983, pp. 55—58; B. Laufer, *Bird divination among the Tibetans*: *T'oung Pao* 15, pp. 1—110; R. v. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Tibetan Drum Divination "Ngamo"*: *Ethnos* 17, pp. 149—157; R. v. Nebesky-Wojkowitz, *Oracles and Demons of Tibet*, 's-Gravenhage 1956, pp. 455—466; A. Rona-Tas, *Tally-stick and divination-dice in the iconography of Lha-mo*: *Acta Orientalia* 6, pp. 163—179; R. Stein, *Trente-trois fiches de divination tibétaines*: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 4, pp. 297—371; L. A. Waddell *The Buddhism of Tibet*, 2nd ed., Cambridge (repr.) 1959, pp. 450—474.

[3] R. B. Ekvall, *Some Aspects of Divination in Tibetan Society*: *Ethnology* 2, pp. 31—39; R. B. Ekvall, *Religious Observances in Tibet*: *Patterns and Function*, Chicago 1964, pp. 251—282; L. A. Waddell, *Divination (Buddhist)*: *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* 4, Edinburgh 1911, pp. 786—787.

garding the place of divination within Tibetan religion and also within Buddhism has been touched upon, but, nevertheless, some observations still remain to be made.

The term "divination" has no exact counterpart in Tibetan, where words like *mo*, *pra* and *rtsis* etc. are used for the various methods. Here the term is simply used as referring to fortune-telling and the looking into the hidden and the secret. The knowledge acquired through divination is considered, by the practitioner, to be of a supernatural origin, whether it is a gift or an insight. The believer in divination thus asserts, that there are means of knowledge other than the ordinary and profane. There have been many endeavours to classify divination, and I want to quote one here, that subdivides divination from a cognitive point of view into the following strata.[4] First there is the passive divination, where the person passively registers events and impressions, which by tradition are connected with a higher reality. A number of subdivisions may here be discerned, such as (a) the spontaneous inspirational divination, in which the supernatural forces directly come into contact with the human being in hallucinations or dreams; (b) spontaneous premonitory visions and auditions, which depict events still to occur; (c) spontaneous configurations to be read, which refer to cases where the omina appear unexpectedly and are experienced by the person while awake. Secondly, there is the active divination, or the arranged divination. Here the person himself takes the initiative in order to find out the will of the powers or gods or to find out about past or future events. As in the case of the passive divination the following subdivisions may be distinguished: (a) the active inspirational divination, which includes cases where the states of inspiration have been prepared by the inspired person himself and result in encounters of one kind or another with the supernatural powers; (b) the pre-arranged premonitory visions and auditions, and (c) the pre-arranged configurations to be read, where persons themselves arrange the situations in which the higher orders of law and finality are explored. This last category is perhaps the one most usually called "divination" in the literature.

In Tibetan religion, I think we may easily find examples of all these categories of divination, even if the main part of our knowledge concerns the pre-arranged configurations.

The borderlines between the different strata are not always straight and clear-cut and sometimes it may be difficult to assign only one place to a certain practice. An amusing example of how the different categories of divination can be integrated into each other, can be found in the practices of Tibetan

[4] Å. Hultkrantz, *Divinationsformer: en klassifikation* (English Summary: Modes of divination — an attempt at classification): *Fataburen* 1976, pp. 49—70.

spirit-mediums of the *dpa' bo* type.[5] These mediums may, of course, be seen as examples of the active inspirational divination. During their seances, however, it quite often happened, that the possessing god did not know the answer to a posed question, in which case he himself had to resort to a kind of drum-divination called *rtsis*.[6] This drum-divination was supervised by other gods, some of whom were said to carry dice, i.e. they were dive-divinators, while others were said to possess the gift of *mngon shes* (Skt. *abhijñā)*, "clairvoyance". Thus we have three different categories of divination in the same ritual.

As to the question of the relation between divination and Buddhism, in other words the question whether divination is an acceptable religious practice or not, the opinions seem to vary among the Tibetans. Some of the Tibetans interviewed said that the answer to that question wholly depended on the attitude of the performer: what did he think made the practice effective?, why did he do it?, what were his relations to the gods?, etc. On the other hand, other Tibetans tended to consider the divination as something which worked mechanically and automatically, if you just said the right prayers. This was the opinion of, for instance, the man who told me about the thread-divination to be described later.

If fortune-telling practices are something of a problem for modern Tibetans, what was the case in Early Buddhism? The question of how the earliest Buddhist community regarded popular religious practices is difficult to answer, as our sources ignore the problem or are ambiguous. In his treatment of Tibetan divination, Ekvall writes that "divination . . . cannot be said to be either obedience or disobedience to the word of the Buddha. It was not prohibited and it was not formally permitted".[7] It is a fact, however, that we may easily find quite outspoken and negative opinions on divination of various kinds in such well-known texts as the Suttanipāta and the Brahmajālasutta of the Dīghanikāya-

In Suttanipāta, verse 360, we read:

yassa maṅgalā samūhatā ti Bhagavā
uppādā supinā ca lakkhaṇā ca.
sa maṅgaladosavippahīno
bhikkhu sammā so loke paribbajeyya.[8]

[5] P.-A. Berglie, *Gudarna stiger ned. Rituell besatthet hos sherpas och tibetaner* (English Summary: The Gods Descend. Ritual Possession among Sherpas and Tibetans): *Stockholm Dissertations in Comparative Religion* 2. Stockholm 1983. This study provides information on spirit-mediums of the *dpa'bo* type.

[6] P.-A. Berglie, *op. cit.*, p. 56 f.

[7] R. B. Ekvall, *Religious Observances* . . ., p. 260.

[8] *Sutta-Nipāta*, ed. by D. Andersen and H. Smith (Pali Text Society), London 1948.

("He whose (ideas of) omens, meteors, dreams and signs are destroyed — so said the Bhagavat — such a Bhikkhu who has abandoned the sinful omens, wanders rightly in the world"[9])

Likewise, in the Brahmajālasutta a large number of methods of telling the future is mentioned. They are all called *tiracchānavijjā*, "lower arts", and their practice is condemned as *micchājīva*, "wrong living". The methods are of different kinds and here just a few of them will be enumerated as, for instance, *supina*, interpretation of dreams, *sakuṇavijjā*, "augury", *mūsikacchinna*, interpretation of marks gnawed by mice, *kumārikapañha*, the questioning of a girl (which according to the commentator Buddhaghosa refers to spirit-possession: *kumārikāya sarīre devataṃ otaretvā*, i.e. a god has descended into the body of a girl[10]), and, finally, *muddā*, which here might mean divination based on finger-counting.[11]

Evidently, then, both active and passive forms of divination are condemned, as well as inspirational and non-inspirational — that is, a great number of the practices known from Tibet and other Buddhist countries. This depreciation is perhaps only natural in the light of Buddhist doctrine and its opinion of what is of importance for man's liberation from the wheel of life.

In spite of this, Buddhism of course still recognizes that future events may be objects of knowledge. I am referring to the "clairvoyance" which is the result, not of divination, but of the attainment of a very high level of spiritual development. Especially we may note the belief in the existence of a "divine" or "celestial" eye, *dibbacakkhu* / *divyacakṣus*, counted as one of the *abhiñña* / *abhijñā*, insight or intuitive knowledge.[12] The "celestial" eye is a purified vision surpassing that of ordinary men and with which one can see beings live, die and be reborn according to their *karma*. *dibbacakkhu* may be followed by other powers, such as *anāgataṃsañāṇa*, the knowledge by which a particular event in a particular individuals future may be discerned.[13] It can also be mentioned, that another of the *abhiññā*, namely *cetopariyañāṇa*, the "penetration of the minds of others", according to Visuddhimagga may

[9] This translation is that of V. Fausböll, *The Sutta-Nipāta*, A Collection of Discourses . . . (*The Sacred Books of the East* X), Oxford 1881 (repr. Delhi 1968), p. 60 (v. 359).

[10] *Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī*, ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter, part 1 (Pali Text Society), London 1886, p. 97.

[11] *Dīgha-Nikāya*, ed. by J. Estlin Carpenter, part 1 (Pali Text Society), London 1917, p. 9 ff.

[12] Concerning the vast subject of *abhiññā*/*abhijñā*, see, e.g., the references in *Le traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna* par É. Lamotte, T. 1 (*Bibl. du Muséon* 18), Luovain 1949, p. 329 n. 1.

[13] *Visuddhimaggo with Paramatthamañjūsāṭīkā* . . ., ed. by Rewatadhamma, part 2 (*Pāli Granthamālā* 3), Varanasi 1969, p. 930, 943.

also have a future object, though this object should not be further removed in time than seven days.[14]

As has been pointed out by many scholars it is, in many ways, possible to distinguish between two moral systems within Buddhism. In the first system, the law of *karma* is emphasized and the chain of cause and effect is seen in a long perspective as stretching over many lives perhaps, while in the second the perspective is more limited in time and *karma* is not seen as the most accessible causal explanation. Instead there is a complicated interaction between the individual, his surroundings and the supernatural powers and beings.[15] Divination practices can be seen as working within this second system, that is as not providing action programmes for improving and individuals *karma*, but simply for removing obstacles such as illness and bad luck from a comfortable daily life.

After these modest reflections of Buddhism and divination, occasioned by conversations with my Tibetan informants, a type of thread-divination, not previously described, will now be presented. The information on which this presentation is based, was provided by a man from Eastern Tibet, who also owned a device by means of which the divination was performed. The device consisted of thirteen threads, every one of them having an individual name, and was handled as follows. The bundle of loose strings was grasped by the divinator in his left hand and then passed through his right. It was then transferred to his right hand after which he recited a short prayer.

This prayer did not, as far as I could understand, in any specific way refer to the rite itself, as it was of a very general nature, including the mention of Padma 'byung gnas and Karmapa and a wish for good luck and well-being. As he was praying, he lifted up the bundle in front of his face and, thereafter, over his head. Then he took one thread with his left hand and put it in front of him and, finally, two more threads, which he placed beside the first one. This divination was most often carried out in order to find the answers to rather specific questions. The answer were then to be read from the order in which the threads have been picked. According to the informant, a certain type of question is related to a certain thread and if that particular thread is picked first it signifies that the question has been answered in a positive manner and that it carries the greatest weight of certainty.

As to the individual threads, the informant was able to provide the following particulars. The first thread was white and called *thang dkar rgod po*, the *thang dkar* bird. These birds, eagles or vultures, were thought to fly all

[14] *Visuddhimaggo* . . ., p. 943.

[15] See, *e.g.*, the interesting study by D. Lichter and L. Epstein, *Irony in Tibetan Notions of the Good Life*, in: Ch. F. Keyes and E. V. Daniel (eds.), *Karma. An Anthropological Inquiry*. Berkeley—Los Angeles—London 1983, pp. 223—259.

around the world in the evenings, after having visited China in the East in the mornings, and the white mountains in the West in the afternoons. If this thread is picked first, it is considered to be a very good sign. The second thread was black and white and was called *byi'u ka ka khra bo*, the piebald crow. If the question concerns the weather, this thread indicates that it will snow for nine days, but if it concerns a sick man, it means that he will not die. The third thread was black and velvet and was called *bya khra khra bo*, the hawk. If the problem concerns a fight or a quarrel, this thread indicates that the questioner is going to be victorious. The fourth thread was called *'ug pa gser po*, the yellow owl, and was, accordingly, yellow. If the divination concerns the weather, it indicates, if picked first, that it will not rain or become cold. The fifth thread was blue and was called *khu yug sngo mo*, the cuckoo. If first, it indicates that good things will come if good deeds are performed, such as alms-giving. The sixth thread was called **bya ba *kye rang* and was white with brown end-tufts. It indicates that in a business transaction, it is the buyer who will profit from it. The name of this thread did not mean anything to the informant. The seventh thread was called *gong ma dmar mo*, the red grouse, and was red. Here, the informant was not sure, but thought that it meant that the situation was not quite safe and that one should pray to one's gods. The eighth thread was brown and was called *mgon po pho rog chung*, the raven? Here, too, no information was available. The ninth thread, *'jibs bya rogs po*, was brown with white tufts. It means that things are going to turn out well, if you perform a good deed. The tenth thread, **sokpa / *sakpa*, was green and black and had a feather at one end. The informant did not know what it indicated. The eleventh thread was called **khrung pa bud med* and was green and brown and had a button attached to one end. If the divination is performed for a sick woman, it indicates that she is being harassed by a class of humpbacked female demons. About the twelfth thread, *'dab ljang mig dgu*, which might refer to the peacock, the informant had nothing to tell. It was red and white and had a small metal plate with nine holes attached to one end. The thirteenth and last thread was blue and yellow and was called *mi kha gser po*. It indicates that there is gossip about the person requesting the divination.

The gaps in the informant's knowledge of this divination, which he called *rgan a khu *ge *je *rig *pang* and interpreted as "the method of the old uncle", can be explained by the fact that this was something he had learnt in his childhood in Bongpa in Eastern Tibet, but now had forgotten the most of, since he had not performed it very often since then and no one in the village, in which he now were living, had asked him to undertake it either. Hopefully someone in the future will supply us with what is now missing in our knowledge of this type of thread-divination.

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INDO-TIBETAN AND MONGOLIAN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL MUTUAL CONTACTS

SH. BIRA (Ulan-Bator)

The study of Mongolian historiography from the standpoint of historical and cultural contacts represents a special interest for science. The fact is that during its development Mongolian historiography maintained quite a wide range of contacts with the historiography of other countries, thus enriching itself with new values and exerting noticeable influence on the historical knowledge of other peoples.

In the history of the historiographical ties of Mongolia with other countries, a special place must be given to the Indo-Tibetan and Mongolian mutual contacts. These contacts are notable for their duration, scope of the historiographical phenomena envolved and depth of impact and result in the history of Mongolian historiography. Such a situation can be explained by the general historical and cultural conditions of the evolution of Mongol society. With the spread of Buddhism in different periods of history and through the medium of various countries and peoples, Mongolia had long since been drawn into the Indo-Tibetan cultural area. And this process became stronger than ever from the end of the 16th century, when Lamaism, the Tibetan offshoot of Buddhism, emerged as the main religion of the Mongols.

With regard to Indian and Mongolian historiographical contacts, one must take into account that mostly they had never been direct and were maintained via other countries and peoples, that is in earlier times the Sogdians and Uighurs and later the Tibetans.

The earliest period of the Indo-Mongolian religious and cultural contacts, including the historiographical, is worth of special attention. In this case we are mostly concerned with the historiographical ties of Mongolia with India at the period when they were kept up exclusively through Tibet. Therefore it is more appropriate to speak of the contacts of Mongolia with India together with Tibet, rather than to speak of them separately. In other words while examining this question it is impossible to separate India from Tibet or vice versa. In their relations with Mongolia, India and Tibet always came out together and that is why they can be regarded as one and thesame notion. In fact Tibet was a kind of half-way house between Mongolia and India.

Original sources show that the Indo-Tibetan and Mongolian contacts began to bear real fruit in the second half of the 13th century when Mongolia had specially close intercourse with Tibet. And these relations were characterised by the activity of the Mongolian side thanks to her dominating position in the Empire. History and other works were written at Tibetan monasteries by order, or in honour of, Mongol khans and the members of their families. The history of the Chinggis-khan's "Golden kin" practically took the first place in Tibetan chronicles and had to be exalted and sanctified from a Buddhist viewpoint.

It was 'Phags-pa bla-ma Blo-gros rgyal-mchan (1235—1280), the State Preceptor of the Mongol Empire in the reign of Khubilai-khan, who was the first to initiate this trend in Tibetan historiography. In his book *Šes-bya rab-tu gsal-ba*,[1] written in the Earth-Tiger year (1278) by order of prince Chingim, the Khubilai-khan's elder son, he deals with Mongolia as one of the three main Buddhist monarchies along with India and Tibet, and with Mongolian khans as powerful *cakravartin*s or *dharmarāja*s.[2]

'Phags-pa bla-ma writes: "More than 3250 years after the nirvāna of Buddha, as a result of the previous good deeds in the country of Mongolia, in the North, khan J̌iń-gir (Chinggis) was born. He put under his power many countries different languages and origins, beginning in the North, and thus he became like the powerful *cakravartin*".[3]

It is true that 'Phags-pa bla-ma did not make Chinggis-khan *dharmarāja*. Most probably it was too obvious for him that Chinggis was not yet as good a protector of Buddhism as the later Mongolian authors tried to make out. According to 'Phags-pa bla-ma the first Dharmarāja in Mongolia was Khubilai-khan. He wrote that "Khubilai-khan, having adopted the precious teaching, protected the king's power in accordance with Dharma and therefore he glorified the teachings of Buddha".[4] In his other book, *Rgyal-po-la gdams-pa'i rab-tu byed-pa*, "Precepts to the King" and its commentary,[5] 'Phags-pa bla-ma called Khubilai-khan "a Dharmarāja, protecting the spiritual power of Buddha who masters the true knowledge".[6]

[1] Here I must mention that Csoma de Kőrös first informed of this book having referred it to the class of lo-rgyus in his famous article *Enumeration of historical and grammatical works to be met with in Tibet*. By the way, A. Vostrikov considered the appearance of A. Csoma de Kőrös' article to be of epoch-making significance. А. И. Востриков. *Тибетская историческая литература*. Москва 1962, стр. 13.

[2] 'Phags-pa bla-ma, *Šes-bya rab-tu gsal-ba*. *Sa-skya bka'-'bum*. Vol. pa. ff. 19b—20a.

[3] Ibid, f. 19b.

[4] Ibid.

[5] *Sa-skya bka'-'bum*, vol. pa, ff. 1a/394a—37a/430a.

[6] Ibid., f. 37a/430a.

The 'Phags-pa bla-ma's initiatives were later taken up by both Tibetan and Mongolian historians. In the *Hu-lan debter* "The Red Annals", written by Chal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje in 1346, the Mongolian khans rank high among the Indian, Tibetan and Chinese rulers. It is not difficult to notice the strong influence of the Mongolian historiographical traditions, which were available to the author through oral and written Mongolian sources, in this work. Kun-dga' rdo-rje even gave a Mongolian name to his book: *Hu-lan deb-ther*, and in the word *Hu-lan* (*hulān*, instead of the present *ulān*, red) is recorded the phonetic peculiarity of the Middle Mongolian language. As regards the word *deb-ther* the author in all probability borrowed it from Mongolian *debter* which in its turn came to Mongolia via the Uighur language from the Persian *däftär*.[7] As is known, in the 13th century the Mongols used to call their historical and other books *debter* distinguishing them by means of adjectives: *Köke debter* (MNT § 203), *Altan debter*, etc.

I suppose that it was after Kun-dga' rdo-rje that the Tibetans began to follow this Mongolian tradition: *Deb-ther sṅon-po* by Gžon-nu dpal (15th cent.), *Deb-ther rjogs-ldan gžon-nu'i dga'-ston* by the Fifth Dalai-lama (17th cent.), *Deb-ther rgya-mcho* by Dkon-mčhog bstan-pa rab-rgyas (19th cent.), etc. There is no need to speak of the influence of the Mongolian historical data in the "Red Annals" because it is too obvious. The genealogy of Chinggis-khan in the book of Kun-dga' rdo-rje does not practically differ from that in the *Niγuča Tobčiyan* or in the book of Rašīdu-'d-dīn, though it does not contain those detail of the last two sources.

It is worthwhile mentioning that the data of Kun-dga' rdo-rje on the history of Mongolia were taken by the later Tibetan historians, such as Gžon-nu dpal, Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag phreṅ-ba (1504—1556) and others.

Thus during the period of the Mongol Empire the impact of the Mongolian historical tradition upon Tibetan historiography was rather strong. On the other hand, the Tibetan historiography in its turn had a significant influence on the Mongolian historical and political thought of that time. As an example one can mention the *Čaγan teüke* ("White History") first written in the reign of Khubilai-khan but which reached us in the 16th century version. It can be considered the earliest monument of Mongolian historiography which bears the distinct traces of the influence of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist historical and political thought. The history in this book was obviously written using the same model that had been worked out by 'Phags-pa bla-ma according to the Buddhist historio-cosmogonical conceptions in the above mentioned book *Šes-bya rab-gsal*.

[7] S. Bira, *Some remarks on the Hu-lan deb-ther of Kun-dga' rdo-rje*: *Acta Orient. Hung.* XVII, p. 73.

In the "White History", like in the 'Phags-pa bla-ma's book, world history is represented by three Buddhist monarchies, that is, India, Tibet and Mongolia.

The concept of "two orders" in the "White History" is directly related to 'Phags-pa bla-ma's teaching of religious and secular bases of king's power set forth in his works, particularly in the epistolary ones dedicated to Khubilai-khan and members of his family. So the "White History", together with the *Šes-bya rab-gsal* of 'Phags-pa bla-ma, constitute the most vivid examples of close contacts and mutual penetration of the Mongolian and Tibetan historical knowledge and ideas under the specific conditions of the relations between the two countries.

The historiographical ties between Mongolia and Tibet were broken off for some time at the end of the 14th century. But they were recommenced with new strength at the end of the 16th century, when Lamaism was introduced into Mongolia under the patronage of Mongol khans. This time Mongolian historiography had to be considerably reorientated due to pressure from the new religion. It is at this period that the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist ideology had gained prevalence in Mongolian historiography as indeed it did in all other spheres of spiritual life. The corner-stone of the philosophy of history in Mongolia became the Buddhist religious and philosophical outlook. The Mongolian historians tried to interpret the history of their own and other countries after the example of their Tibetan colleagues. Consequently in Mongolian historiography there prevailed the Buddhist methodology of history in common with the Tibetan one. At the same time the Tibetan historical school played an important intermediary role for Mongolian historiography having passed on all what it had itself borrowed from the Indian Buddhist religious and philosophical views and historical and legendary data.

Let us take some examples. First of all it should be mentioned that on the basis of Buddhist sūtras, such as *Abhidharmakośa* by Vasubandhu, *Abhiniṣkramana-sūtra*, *Mañjuśrīmūlatantra* and others, there were formed, in addition to the old Mongolian historical ideas, quite new, Buddhist concepts on history in Mongolian historiography.

It had become a rule to begin the history of Mongolia with some general historical problems, like the creation of the universe, the origin of mankind and human society.

The Mongols showed a particular interest in the history of India and Tibet as the lands of origin of their religion. The history of India and Tibet turned out to be a common introduction to history in almost all Mongolian chronicles. In this connection I should say that apart from the Mongols it is difficult to find any other non-indigenous authors, who in history attached such an importance to India and Tibet and studied their history with such devotion and pietism. At the same time one must emphasize the significance

of the contribution that had been made by Mongolian chroniclers to the study and popularization of the history, religion and culture of India and Tibet.

All that the Mongolian authors wrote of the history of India was not, of course, pure invention, it was based on the century-old Indian traditions which contained not sole legends but history as well. As an example it is worth mentioning the data concerning the early history of Buddhism in India, some ancient Indian kings, such as Ajātaśatru, Aśoka, Kaniṣka and others. Aśoka, whom the Mongols called *Γasalang-ača nögčigsen*, was especially popular among them as a great Dharmarāja, and his name even became an honorary title, given to prominent religious and political figures in Mongolia. The other great emperor Kaniṣka was no less known in Mongolia as a king of the Kushans and an initiator of the last Council of Buddhists.

As regards the history of Tibet, Mongolian chroniclers were particularly distinguished by their good knowledge and erudition.

In most Mongolian historical works there are mentioned as main sources such Tibetan chronicles, as the above mentioned "Red Annals" by Chal-pa Kun-dga' rdo-rje, the "Blue Annals" by Gžon-nu dpal, "The Feast of the Sages" *(Mkhas-pa'i dga'-ston)* by Dpa'-bo Gcug-lag phreń-ba, "The History of the Abbots of Sa-skya" *(Sa-skya gduń-rabs)* by Ňag-dbań kun-dga' bsod-nams Grags-pa rgya-mcho, "The Feast of Youth" *(Deb-ther rjogs-ldan gžon-nu'i dga'-ston)* by the Fifth Dalai-lama and so on.

In the course of the development of the religious and cultural relations of Mongolia with Tibet the Tibetan language spread in Mongolia to such an extent that it became eventually a language of learning and religion to rival that of the national language.[8] Mongolian authors created a vast literature in Tibetan not only on religion, but on philosophy, logic, grammar, poetics, medicine, astrology, etc. Here I cannot dwell upon the historical works written by Mongolian authors in Tibetan because of the time limit.[9] Nevertheless, I must say that these works had the most vivid effect in the long-time mutual historiographical contacts between Tibet and Mongolia.

There were many connoisseurs of the history of India, Tibet, China and other countries among the Mongolian authors who wrote history in Tibetan. For instance Jaya paṇḍita Blo-bzań 'phrin-las (1642—1715), Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-šes dpal-'byor (1704—1788), Mgon-po-skyabs (18th century), Čaqar-gebši Blo-bzań chul-khrims (1740—1810) and others. Their works had a great popularity in the Tibetan language world as a whole.

Jaya paṇḍita Blo-bzań 'phrin-las displayed the best knowledge and erudition of the history of the Buddhist literature of India and Tibet having

[8] А. И. Вострикoв. *Тибетская историческая литература.* Москва 1962, стр. 11—12.

[9] Ш. Бира. *Монгольская тибетоязычная историческая литература (XVII—XIX в.в.).* Улан-Батор 1960.

written the four-volume book *Thob-yig gsal-ba'i me-loṅ*[10] which by the richness of its material surpasses even the Fifth Dalai-lama's *Thob-yig Gaṅ-gā'i čhu-rgyan.*

Sum-pa mkhan-po Ye-šes dpal-'byor, who came from the mixed Tibeto-Mongolian ethno-cultural world in the region of Kuku-nor, embodied all the best that was gained by the Mongolian and Tibetan historiographies as a result of their comming into direct contact. His historical works marked the highest achievement of the whole Tibetan-language historical literature. They stand out from those of other authors of his time by the richness and novelty of their material, depth of their analysis and originality of their interpretation of historical facts and as well as by their critical approach. As an example one can refer to his great historical book *Dpag-bsam ljon-bzaṅ* dedicated to the history of India, Tibet, China and Mongolia. This encyclopaedic work of Sum-pa mkhan-po can hardly be compared with any other books in both Tibetan and Mongolian historical literature.

As is well known this book of Sum-pa mkhan-po attracted the attention of many Tibetologists starting from Csoma de Kőrös. Out of the latest works it is necessary to mention the fundamental monograph by the Soviet Tibetologist R. E. Pubaev on the Dpag-bsam ljon-bzaṅ[11]. After the publication of this book it is difficult to add something new. Nevertheless, here I would like to touch on the question of the Mongolian sources used by Sum-pa mkhan-po for writing the history of Mongolia in his book. This question offers some difficulty because the author did not name his Mongolian sources. It was W. Heissig who first pointed to the *Sira tuγuǰi*, the *Γangγa-yin urusqal* by Kuṅ Mgon-po-skyabs, and the *Altan kürdün mingγan kegesütü bičig* as the Mongolian sources of Sum-pa mkhan-po.[12] But our comparative study showed that Sum-pa mkhan-po, when writing the history of Mongol khans, followed much more the *Erdeni-yin tobči* by Saγang Sečen rather than the *Sira tuγuǰi* and least of all the *Altan Kürdün* and the *Γangγa-yin urusqal.*[13]

Kuṅ Mgon-po-skyabs made a great contribution to the Tibetan language historiography of the Mongols and enriched Buddhist literature with his excellent translations. It is really unique that a Mongol author succeeds in writing a book on the history of Buddhism in China in the Tibetan language.

[10] Sh. Bira, *The Clear Mirror by Jaya paṇḍita Blo-bzaṅ 'phrin-las. Acta Orient. Hung.* XXXIV.

[11] Р. Е. Пубаев, *„Пагсам-Чжонсан" — памятник тибетской историографии XVIII в.* Новосибирск 1981.

[12] W. Heissig, *Die Familien- und Kirchengeschichtsschreibung der Mongolen.* Teil I. Wiesbaden 1959, p. 162.

[13] Cf. Sum-pa mkhan-po's *Dpag-bsam ljon-bzaṅ*, f. 301, Saγang Sečen's *Erdeni-yin tobči*, Ulan-Bator 1961, pp. 70—76.

The book is called briefly *Rgya-nag čhos-'byuń*, "History of Buddhism in China".[14] His good command of the Chinese language made it possible to use a large number of original Chinese sources.

As J. W. de Jong pointed out, Kuń Mgon-po-skyabs translated several Buddhist sūtras from Tibetan into Chinese and vice versa.[15]

Probably the most interesting translation made by Kuń Mgon-po-skyabs from Chinese into Tibetan is his translation of Da Tang Xiyuji by Xuanzang (7th century).[16] Thanks to his translation the Tibetan language historians of Tibet and Mongolia could get acquainted with an important source concerning the history of Central Asia. Most probably Mgon-po-skyabs' translation was spread in manuscripts. One of the most recent Mongolian historians who used this translation was Sh. Damdin (1867—1937), the author of the "Golden Book" *(Gser-gyi deb-ther)*.

Čaqar gebši Blo-bzań chul-khrims is an author of one of the best biographies of Coń-kha-pa: *Rǐe thams-čad mkhyen-pa Coń-kha-ba čhen-po'i rnam-thar go-sla-bar brǐod-pa Bde-legs kun 'byuń-gnas*. This book was first written in Mongolian (1786—1790) and after a time in Tibetan (1802). So it had every chance to be widely spread among both Mongolian and Tibetan readers. I shall not speak of the other historical works by Mongolian authors in Tibetan. But I would like to point out that the study of these works, as well as the whole Mongolian literature in Tibetan, from the viewpoint of the history of the Tibetan and Mongolian cultural relations is of great interest for both Tibetan and Mongolian studies.

A. I. Vostrikov wrote: „Тибетский язык пользовался настолько широким распространением, что различные тангутские, монгольские и другие нетибетские по национальности авторы излагали на этом языке даже историю своей собственной страны или отдельных ее областей и мест. Подобного рода сочинения, безусловно, заслуживают самого внимательного изучения даже и в том случае, если они сосуществуют с высокоразвитой исторической литературой на национальном языке, как это имеет место в отношении источников по истории Монголии, поскольку могут дать и дают в действительности те или иные дополнительные сведения".[17]

[14] See Ш. Бира, *Об исторических трудах гуна Гомбожава*. In this book: *Вопросы истории, культуры и историографии МНР*. Улан-Батор 1977, стр. 231—268.

[15] J. W. De Jong's Review on Š. Bira's book *"O Zolotoj knige" S. Damdina*: *T'oung pao*, vol. LIV (1968), pp. 173—189.

[16] This translation was published in facsimile: Tibetan translation of Hsuan-tsang's "Ta T'ang Si-yu-ki "by Güng Gomboǰab with the foreword of Sh. Bira, *Monumenta Historica*, t. VI, fasc. 2, Ulan Bator 1973; *Монгол ба Төв Азийн орнуудын соёлын туухэнд холбогдох хоёр ховор сурвалж бичиг*. УБ. 1974.

[17] A. Vostrikov, *op. cit*, pp. 11—12.

Thus our brief survey shows that Tibet and Mongolia in the past had a long history of mutual historiographical contact, and in the chain of these contacts the main link was the Buddhist historical and cultural traditions of ancient and medieval India. Such a situation seems to be explained mainly by the mutual interest of both sides in substantiating and sanctifying the well-born and self-dependence of their kings on the basis of their common religion — Buddhism. On the other hand one must remember that both the Tibetans and the Mongols had their own national historiography which testifies to the fact that their native genius turned all foreign influences, no matter how strong these were, in his own directions, thus making a worthy contribution to the treasure-house of world historiography.

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IDENTIFICATION DE LA TRADITION APPELÉE *BSGRAGS-PA BON-LUGS*

ANNE-MARIE BLONDEAU (Paris)

L'expression *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* est connue depuis longtemps des tibétologues, pour qui elle désigne l'une des théories tibétaines sur l'origine du premier roi, dans la célèbre classification tripartite des rois *glo-bur*, « soudainement apparus », (catégorie spécifique de la dynastie tibétaine): *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs*, *gSaṅ-ba Čhos-lugs*, *Yaṅ-gsaṅ Mu-stegs* (ou *dMaṅs-blon*) *lugs*. Tour à tour, les Professeurs Tucci, Hoffmann, Stein, Haarh, Ariane Macdonald, ont cité et glosé cette classification.[1] Pour cela, ils se sont tous appuyés sur les mêmes sources: le *bKa'-thaṅ sde-lṅa* (*rGyal-po bka'-thaṅ* et surtout *Blon-po bka'-thaṅ*, chapitre 2), « découvert » au quatorzième siècle par O-rgyan gliṅ-pa, le *bÇad-mjod yid-bžin nor-bu* du quinzième siècle, et le chapitre *ña* du *mKhas-pa'i dga'-ston* de dPa'o gCug-lag phreṅ-ba. Remarquons tout de suite qu'il s'agit uniquement de sources bouddhistes, seul M. Stein utilisant aussi le *Srid-rgyud kha-byaṅ čhen-mo*, manuscrit bon-po conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (*Tib. 493*).

Etrangement, l'expression même *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* n'a pas suscité la curiosité des tibétologues cités plus haut: M. Stein la rend par « la version *bsGrags-pa*, propre aux Bon-po »; Tucci et Haarh prennent le sens habituel de *bsgrags-pa*, « connu réputé », d'où, dans la traduction de Tucci: « commonly accepted or exoteric »; A. Macdonald ne traduit pas: « la tradition bon-po, *bsGrags-pa* », ou propose l'alternative « typiquement bon-po, ou usuelle et bon-po » Hoffmann seul a avancé une hypothèse qui correspond à la réalité, comme on va le voir.

Pour ma part, j'étais depuis longtemps intriguée par l'inversion de construction dans cette expression si il fallait bien donner à *bsGrags-pa* son sens habituel de « connu, réputé »; mais j'ai été amenée à chercher ce qu'elle recouvrait lorsque je me suis intéressée à la « Biographie résumée de Padmasambhava, exposé selon le *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* » (*rGyal-sras Gu-ru Padma*

[1] Tucci, *TPS*, p. 732; Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 149 et n. 3; Stein, *Tribus*, p. 62; Haarh, *Yar-luṅ Dynasty*, *passim*, mais surtout pp. 17, 170—171, 212—230; A. Macdonald, *Essai*, pp. 206 sq.

'byuṅ-gnas-kyi rnam-par thar-pa mdor dril-ba bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs ltar bstan-pa), écrite par mKhyen-brce'i dbaṅ-po en s'appuyant sur des *gter-ma* bon-po anciens selon le colophon même de l'auteur. J'ai détaillé la recherche de ces sources dans un article à paraître dans les *Miscellanea* à la mémoire du Pr. Tucci;[2] je n'en indiquerai donc ici que certaines conclusions:

1. Cette version de la vie de Padmasambhava, donné comme fils du Sage bon-po Dran-pa nam-mkha', n'est pas la tradition bon-po courante; c'est une tradition particulière à l'intérieur du Bon, et une tradition syncrétique. Selon le titre de mKhyen-brce, il s'agit précisément du *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs*.

2. L'ensemble des *gter-ma* qui relatent cette version se rattachent à la transmission des textes par Dran-pa nam-mkha' lui-même ou par son autre fils (le seul existant dans la tradition bon-po courante), Che-dbaṅ rig-'jin. Il faut se souvenir que Dran-pa nam-mkha' a eu, selon les sources bouddhiques et bon-po, une double activité: comme bon-po, et comme bouddhiste après sa conversion forcée par Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan. Vairocana, également ambivalent est étroitement associé à la transmission de ces textes.

3. Les *gter-ston* impliqués dans la découverte de ces textes sont d'abord les Maîtres de rMa: rMa-ston Srid-'jin (né en 1092 selon le *bsTan-rcis* de Ñi-ma bstan-'jin); son fils rMa-stonl Čam-me (milieu du 12e siècle?), considéré comme une émanation de Dran-pa nam-mkha'; son fils rMa-ston Çes-rab seṅ-ge (12e siècle pour S. Karmay; plus vriasemblablement dans la première moitié du 13e siècle); le disciple de celui-ci, dByil-ston dPon-gsas Khyuṅ-rgod rcal (né en 1175 selon le *bsTan-rcis* de Ñi-ma bstan-'jin; contemporain de Gu-ru čhos-dbaṅ, 1212—1270 ou 1273).[3] Ces *gter-ston* se sont transmis les uns aux autres leurs découvertes, d'où une certaine confusion dans l'attribution des *gter-ma* aux uns ou aux autres, et souvent la difficulté de datation des textes.

Apparemment en dehors de cette lignée, se trouve Bon-žig gYuṅ-druṅ gliṅ-pa, rDo-rje gliṅ-pa de son nom bouddhique (fin du 13e siècle pour les Bon-po; milieu du 14e pour Koṅ-sprul).

Cependant, dans ces biographies bon-po de Padmasambhava, il n'est nulle part question des théories sur l'origine du premier roi. Il faut donc chercher ailleurs la source de cette classification.

La graphie *bsGrags*-m'a conduite à une première hypothèse que la lecture des textes m'a obligée à abandonner: à savoir que *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* faisait référence à la tradition des *bsGrags-pa skor-gsum*, les « Trois cycles de proclamation », dont le plus célèbre, le *rJogs-čhen bsGrags-pa skor-gsum* découvert par bŽod-ston dÑos-grub que le bon-po Kun-grol grags-pa et Koṅ-sprul identifient au *gter-ston* bouddhiste Grub-thob dÑos-grub, premier dé-

[2] Blondeau 1985.

[3] Pour une discussion sur la date de ces *gter-ston*, v. Blondeau, *Annuaire* 1984—1985.

couvreur du *Maṇi bka'-'bum*.[4] Mais il n'y a pas la moindre allusion à l'origine et l'histoire de la dynastie ou à la vie de Padmasambhava dans ces *gter-ma*.

Or, d'après les éléments que l'on possède déjà, *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* apparaît dans le contexte historico-légendaire de la période dynastique. Cela est confirmé par deux mentions de cette tradition qui permettent en outre de situer son existence beaucoup plus haut dans le temps que les sources du 14e siècle utilisées jusqu'à présent. L'une se trouve dans l'Autobiographie de Guru čhos-dbaṅ;[5] au troisième chapitre, il détaille chronologiquement les enseignements qu'il a reçus de ses maîtres successifs. A l'âge de cinq ans, l'un de ses maîtres lui enseigne sept textes historiques, parmi lesquels: *rgyal-rabs gsaṅ-ba'i čhos-lugs / sgrags-pa bon-lugs / kyaṅ lugs gñis spun-po / gser-skad* (= *skas*) *dgu-pa* . . . , « les deux traditions d'histoires royales: *gSaṅ-ba čhos-lugs* et *sGrags-pa bon-lugs* . . . » Le texte est certainement corrompu, et la ponctuation aberrante: son contenu sera discuté avec la deuxième mention, qui est plus claire. En débordant légèrement notre sujet, on peut relever qu'à l'âge de six ans, Guru čhos-dbaṅ se livre à une étude approfondie du Bon auprès de son maître qu'il appelle Pha-ǰo (et que je n'ai pas encore identifié avec certitude); celui-ci lui transmet notamment des enseignements appartenant au *rJogs-čhen bsgrags-pa skor-gsum*. On a ainsi une nouvelle preuve d'une familiarité avec le Bon chez les *gter-ston* anciens, beaucoup plus grande que les bouddhistes ultérieurs n'ont voulu le laisser croire.

L'autre mention est encore plus ancienne puisqu'on la trouve parmi les sources citées par Ñaṅ-ral Ñi-ma 'od-zer (1124 ou 1136—1192) au colophon de son *Čhos-'byuṅ*,[6] avec la même formulation que Guru čhos-dbaṅ. Dans ces sources, Ñaṅ-ral indique d'abord: « les textes trouvés selon la prophétie de la *jñāna-ḍākiṇī*, par le glorieux Atiśa entre les poutres du 'Phrul-snaṅ de Lhasa: le *bKa'-rcis čhen-mo* écrit par les rois, le *Dar-dkar* (*g*)*sal-ba'i me-loṅ* écrit par les reines, et le *Zla-ba'i 'od* (= *'dod*), *'ǰo* écrit par les ministres[7]; et aussi les textes trouvés à bSam-yas par J̌o-bo rǰe dans l'Ārya-pa-lo'i gliṅ, et par Grva-pa mṅon-çes; ce qui a été extrait de sous la statue de Hayagrīva dans la chapelle de Thugs-rče čhen-po par La-stod[8] gÑag-ston Grub-thob dÑos-grub, et les *gter-ma* que j'ai moi-même extraits de bSam-yas, Khra-'brug, mKho-mthiṅ;

[4] V. Blondeau 1984.

[5] Vol. 1, chap. 3, pp. 14—20.

[6] Ms. B, pp. 594—595; Ms. Berlin, Tafel 363, 3e folio.

[7] Le *bKa'-rcis* ou *bKa'-čhems čhen-mo* est le *bKa'-čhems ka-khol-ma*. Sur ces trois textes qu'aurait découvert Atiśa, v. Vostrikov 1970, pp. 28—32; A. Macdonald, *Essai*, pp. 194—195 et n. 16; Eimer 1983.

[8] Dans l'article cité précédemment (n. 4), n'ayant pas accès à l'époque au Ms. de Berlin, j'avais proposé la correction La-ston en La-stod; or le Ms. de Berlin donne la forme correcte: La-stod. Il s'agit ici de la découverte des premiers éléments du *Maṇi bka'-'bum*.

les histoires (*lo-rgyus*) de l'époque de la duexième diffusion de la doctrine . . . , les traditions orales dignes de foi; les *rgyal-rabs gsaṅ-ba čhos-lugs daṅ / sgrags-pa bon-lugs / rkyaṅ-pa khug-pa / sbags gsum / rgyal-blon gab-pa / yun-po gser-skas dgu-pa / ziṅ-po sna-chogs-čan* / De tous ceux-là, j'ai retenu le sens général (*spyi-don*, c'est-à-dire les grandes lignes communes) . . . » Ici, il est clair que *gSaṅ-ba čhos-lugs* et *sGrags-pa bon-lugs* sont considérés comme deux *rgyal-rabs*, ou plutôt deux types de *rgyal-rabs*, les derniers éléments de la citation: *rgyal-blon gab-pa, gser-skas dgu-pa, ziṅ-po sna-chogs-čan* devant être les titres d'ouvrages appartenant à l'un ou l'autre de ces deux types.[9]

Pour terminer avec ces deux mentions de *bsGrags-pa bon-lugs*, il faut remarquer que dans l'Autobiographie de Guru čhos-dbaṅ comme dans le

[9] Ce qu'il faut entendre par *rkyaṅ-pa*, *khug-pa*, et *yun-po*, est éclairé par un passage qui s'insère entre la fin de l'*Addendum* consacré à l'histoire de la deuxième diffusion de la doctrine (*bstan-pa phyi-dar-gyi lo-rgyus žabs-su rtags* (*sic*)*-pa*), et le colophon. (Contrairement au Prof. Meisezahl, je pense que cet *Addendum* est aussi de la main de Ñaṅ-ral, qui se nomme: « Moi, le moine de Myaṅ, Ral-pa-čan . . . » Le parallèle avec le *sBa-bžed žabs-btags-ma* est frappant, mais les rapports entre les deux textes restent à élucider). Dans un assez long paragraphe, Ñaṅ-ral expose la classification des rois; parmi les rois humains dans le *Jambudvīpa*, on trouve les rois « à lignée » (*gduṅ-rgyud*), les rois « désignés » (*bkos*), et les rois « soudains » (*blo-bur* = *glo-bur*). Il développe chacune de ces catégories, dans les termes mêmes qui n'étaient connus jusqu'à présent qu'à travers des textes tardifs (à partir du 14e siècle). Il dit très nettement que « les rois soudains sont les rois du Tibet ». Puis, pour le premier d'entre eux, il y a deux façons d'expliquer son apparition: « Les écrits bon-po *lha-dge-čan* (?) disent 'il est descendu du ciel': c'est le *sgrags-pa'i lugs*; les paroles du Souverain lui-même, munies du sceau (? *phyag-rgya-čan*), affirment qu'il est de la lignée d'un roitelet indien ».

A partir du premier roi, il y a trois manières de compter la généalogie: « *rkyaṅ-pa* (simple): on compte la transmission à un seul (*gčig-rgyud*; c'est-à-dire qu'on énonce seulement la succession des rois); c'est appelé *za* (*sa*?) *bžugs rgan-rab-čan* (?). *khug-pa* (tordu?): on énonce (aussi) leurs sages épouses (*yum sgam*); c'est appelé *'dab-ma dgu-(b)rceg(s)-čan* (nonuple empilement de feuilles). *yun-po* (sens?): c'est un exposé développé; c'est connu sous le nom de *ziṅ-po sna-chogs-čan* ». Ñaṅ-ral continue en disant que dans ce paragraphe, il donne la généalogie simple et, effectivement, il énumère seulement la succession des rois, jusqu'à Sroṅ-ṅe.

Même si bien des termes restent obscurs, ce passage offre le grand intérêt d'un exposé clair sur les trois types de textes consacrés à l'histoire dynastique; il confirme l'interprétation de la *Chronique* de Touen-houang avancée par A. Macdonald (*Essai*, pp. 333—334), et prouve la continuité de la tradition. En outre, il permet de mieux comprendre des textes corrompus qui ne reprennent que des bribes de cet exposé: cf. le passage cité plus haut de l'Autobiographie de Guru čhos-dbaṅ (où *spun-po* = sûrement *yun-po*), ou le passage du *La-dvags rgyal-rabs* cité par A. Macdonald (*Essai*, p. 203 n. 54, où l'on trouve aussi *spun-po*). Des recherches ultérieures devront être menées pour comprendre tous les termes de la définition de Ñaṅ-ral, et identifier les textes cités dans son colophon. (S. Karmay me signale qu'il reprendra la question à l'International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Münich-Hohenkammer, 21—27 juillet 1985, à partir d'un passage similaire du *sBa-bžed*).

Čhos-'byuṅ de Ñaṅ-ral, *sGrags-pa* est orthographié sans *b* préfixé; (dans la mesure où ces variations orthographiques ont un sens, étant donné les nombreuses incorrections des manuscrits publiés en Inde).

Il est temps alors de revenir à l'hypothèse avancée par Hoffmann.[10] Citant le passage du *Blon-po bka'-thaṅ* qui expose la triple théorie sur l'origine du premier roi tibétain, il considère que *gsaṅ-ba*, *bsgrags-pa* et *yaṅ-gsaṅ* sont des titres d'ouvrages; mais en note il remarque: « Il n'est pas invraisemblable que ce *bsGrags-pa* soit identique au texte historique Bon (po) *bsGrags-byaṅ* qui est utilisé comme source par le *rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas.* »

En effet, si l'on regarde, non seulement le *rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas*, mais l'ensemble des *bstan-'byuṅ* bon-po connus à ce jour, leurs sources principales pour l'histoire ancienne du Tibet, mais aussi pour certains éléments de l'histoire mythique du Bon, et pour les prophéties annonçant les *gter-ston*- sont appelées *Grags byaṅ*, *Gliṅ-grags*, *sGrags-byaṅ Dran-pa'i luṅ* ou *Dran-pas luṅ-bstan sgrags-byaṅ* (« énoncé de manière prophétique par Dran-pa nam-mkha' »).

Pour ne mentionner que le *rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas* (de 1439), il cite ces textes:

— pour l'histoire de Rudra (Na-men čhos-po) à la manière bon-po, en indiquant que LES DEUX *Grags-byaṅ* s'accordent sur ce point, (pp. 19—23);
— pour l'introduction et le développement du Bon au Tibet (p. 33 *passim*);
— avec d'autres sources, pour l'histoire de l'expulsion des Bon-po par Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan, incluant la joute entre les Bon-po et les bouddhistes, la cache des *gter-ma*, la punition du roi, sa décision de pratiquer conjointement bouddhisme et Bon.

Parfois, il souligne que les *Grags-byaṅ* apportent une version différente de celle des autres sources bon-po; par exemple, pour l'histoire de lHa tho-tho-ri (p. 45): pour le *Grags-byaṅ*, c'est un maître indien bouddhiste qui a apporté un *stūpa* d'or au roi; pour les autres sources, comme *Byams-ma*, les textes bouddhiques sont tombés du ciel.

Le *rGyal-rabs* signale aussi (p. 46) qu'un passage du *Lo-paṇ bka'-yi thaṅ-yig* fournissant le nom de quatre traducteurs bon-po est emprunté au *Gliṅ-grags.*[11]

On peut dresser une liste presque identique des citations de ces textes par les autres historiens bon-po, en particulier Çar-rja bKra-çis rgyal-mchan et dPal-ldan chul-khrims. Ils utilisent aussi beaucoup le *Srid-rgyud kha-byaṅ čhen-mo, gter-ma* attribué à Dran-pa nam-mkha', « découvert » en 1310 par

[10] V. n. 1.

[11] Sur les emprunts du *bKa'-thaṅ sde-lṅa* au *gZer-mig*, v. Blondeau 1971 et *Annuaire* 1975—1976. Dans un prochain travail, les rapports entre les *bKa'-thaṅ* et les *Grags-byaṅ* seront mis en évidence.

Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med.[12] Mais le *Legs-bçad mjod* (édité par S. Karmay, p. 338) indique parmi les découvertes de Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med, le *Srid-pa rgyud-kyi bsgrags-byaṅ čhen-mo* dont le *Srid-pa rgyud-kyi kha-byaṅ čhen-mo* est une découverte complémentaire (*yan-lag-gi gter*); la même information est fournie par le *Srid-rgyud* lui-même dont deux chapitres sont consacrés à la biographie du *gter-ston* et à l'histoire de ses découvertes.[13] Cependant, malgré cette distinction à faire entre un texte principal, le *bsGrags-byaṅ čhen-mo* (qui ne nous est pas parvenu), et un texte secondaire, le *Kha-byaṅ čhen-mo*, un des colophons de chapitre de ce dernier le désigne comme « ce *Grags-byaṅ* ». L'un ou l'autre pourrait donc, théoriquement, être le(s) *Grags-byaṅ* cités par le *rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas*; mais ils sont trop tardifs pour être à la source du ou des *rgyal-rabs bsGrags-pa bon-lugs* connus de Ñaṅ-ral et Guru čhos-dbaṅ. C'est donc vers des sources bon-po plus anciennes qu'il faut se tourner, en notant que *Grags-* (*sGrags-*, *bsGrags*) *byaṅ* semble être un terme générique caractérisant une catégorie de *gter-ma*, à rapprocher de *kha-byaṅ* que l'on trouve aussi dans les *gter-ma* bouddhistes.[14]

Outre le *Srid-rgyud*, il existe dans la littérature bon-po plusieurs *gter-ma* portant dans leur titre *Grags-byaṅ* ou *Gliṅ-grags*; (par exemple, *Legs-bçad mjod* p. 123: *bsGrags-byaṅ rin-čhen* découverts par mTha'-bži Ye-çes blo-gros; p. 166, *Rin-po-čhe gliṅ-grags* découvert par Gaṅ-žug Thog-rgyal; *Sources for a History of Bon*, texte 6: *'Dul-ba gliṅ-grags*).[15] Mais ceux qui paraissent concernés ici sont trois textes classés sous le numéro 222 du *brTen-'gyur* dans l'analyse du Canon bon-po faite par P. Kvaerne,[16] avec le titre: *bsGrags-pa gliṅ-grags skor-gsum*. P. Kvaerne signale que l'un de ces textes a été édité dans *Sources for a History of Bon*: texte n° 2, et qu'il existe un manuscrit à Oslo[17] qui en est le commentaire.

[12] V. Karmay 1977, p. 113, n° 61; analyse dans Yamaguchi 1970: n° 536—3087, p. 174.

[13] Ces chapitres seraient trop longs à développer ici, mais il faut noter que Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med est la réincarnation de Zla-ba rgyal-mchan, l'un des interlocuteurs de Dran-pa nam-mkha' dans ce texte; en particulier, il lui demande des prophéties. Or (f. 188a) Zla-ba rgyal-mchan est identifié à Vairocana « qui ne fait pas de distinction entre Bon et bouddisme » (*Bon Čhos khyad-med Bai-ro-ca-na*), et qui cache les *gter-ma* découverts ensuite par Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med. Cette indication place d'emblée le *gter-ston* dans la tradition syncrétique évoquée en commençant. On verra que d'autres éléments permettent de l'intégrer à la lignée spirituelle des Maitres de rMa.

[14] Sur *kha-byaṅ* et termes apparentés, v. la communication de J. Gyatso à l'International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Münich-Hohenkammer, 21—27 juillet 1985 (information personnelle); v. aussi plus loin, n. 31.

[15] C'est une histoire du *Vinaya* bon-po, dont j'ai pu établir que le *gter-ston* est l'un des Maitres de rMa, Srid-'jin ou lČam-me: cf. *Annuaire* 1984—1985.

[16] Kvaerne 1974, n° 2, p. 136.

[17] Ost. as TT 14. *Bon čhos dar-nub gi* (= *gyi*) *lo-rgyus Grags-pa rin-čhen gliṅ-grags*. Je remercie P. Kvaerne qui m'a obligeamment permis d'obtenir une photo de ce manuscrit.

S. Karmay de son côté a reconnu dans le manuscrit d'Oslo « te work referred to as *bsGrags-byang* by Bonpo historians (LShDz p. 17, n. 2) and is probably one of the three *bsGrags-pa gling-grags* (T 224 — *sic*, = 222). The work is primarily concerned with the history of Bon. »[18] Dans sa traduction du *Legs-bçad mjod*, il a pu repérer dans le manuscrit d'Oslo de nombreux passages cités par Çar-rja bKra-çis rgyal-mchan. En note,[19] il indique que ce texte, composé par rGyuṅ-ya Bla-čhen Khod-spuṅs (c'est-à-dire Dran-pa nam-mkha') a semble-t-il été redécouvert à bSam-yas par mTha'-bži Ye-çes blo-gros, en 988 selon le *bsTan-rcis* de Ñi-ma bstan-'jin. Avant de discuter cette proposition et pour pouvoir identifier le *gter-ston* (comme S. Karmay le remarque, le manuscrit est incomplet — lacunes à la fin — et il est très fautif), il convient d'examiner les deux autres textes, publiés tous deux dans *Sources for a History of Bon* (textes 1 et 2), et analysés par S. Karmay. Là encore l'auteur supposé est Dran-pa nam-mkha', et S. Karmay propose comme *gter-ston* mTha'-bži Ye-çes blo-gros. Il note que ces textes relatent l'histoire du Bon au Tibet.

Disons tout suite que rien dans ces trois textes n'indique que mTha'-bži Ye-çes blo-gros en soit le découvreur, et il me semble que S. Karmay a fait une confusion avec le *bsGrags-byaṅ rin-čhen* cité ci-dessus. Mais pour essayer de débrouiller les rapports de ces trois textes entre eux et découvrir leur *gter-ston*, il faut se livrer à une patiente analyse. Le premier texte (*Sources*, pp. 1—46) porte comme titre *gYuṅ-druṅ Bon-gyi rgyud-'bum*, mais au f. 3, après le titre en langue du Žaṅ-žuṅ: *sGrags-pa rin-čhen gliṅ-grags*; et à la fin: « C'est le premier volume (« collection des Paroles ») du Bon appelés *Grags-pa rinčhen gliṅ-grags* », (*sGrags-pa rin-čhen gliṅ-grags bya-ba Bon-gyi bka'-'bum daṅ-po'o*).

Le deuxième texte (*Sources*, pp. 48—71) porte le titre *sGrags-pa gliṅ, grags*. Il commence en indiquant que des trois transmissions: exotérique ésotérique et secrète, (*phyi naṅ gsaṅ-ba*), ce texte-ci expose la transmission ésotérique, c'est-à-dire celle qui a été faite par le *Sambhogakāya*.[20] On peut

[18] Karmay 1977, p. 114, n° 64. C'est un manuscrit de 95 folio, écrit en cursive. Son orthographe est si instable qu'il est souvent difficile de comprendre le texte. Il comporte un colophon de copiste: le texte a été copié en 1919 par le Tibétain Che-brtan rdo-rje pour Sir Charles Bell, identifié de la façon suivante: . . . *'Bras spyi blon-čhen Me 'jar ñem 'Bel si a'i i čhen-po*, « Le grand ministre du Sikkim Charles (Š) Bell C.I.E ». Ce Che-brtan rdo-rje était probablement un bouddhiste, qui a ajouté ses propres incompréhensions à un manuscrit déjà fautif.

[19] Karmay 1972, p. 17 n. 2.

[20] Ce texte comporte un court colophon, que S. Karmay (1977, p. 114) a interprété comme indiquant la troisième section des *sGrags-pa rin-čhen gliṅ-grags*. En fait, le colophon se lit ainsi: « Extrait du *bsGrags-pa rin-po-čhe- gliṅ-grags*, la troisième période des diffusions et déclins des *rgyal-gcen* se produisit à partir de Dri-gum. Ensuite, la doctrine se diffusa (à nouveau) progressivement ». (*bsGrags-pa rin-po-čhe gliṅ-grags las rgyal-gcen gi* (= *gyi*) *dar-nub gsum-pa Dri-gum man byuṅ-ño//phyis bstan-pa rims-kyi* (= *rim-gyis*) *bdar* (= *dar*) *-ba lagsho*).

en déduire que les deux autres *sGrags-pa gliṅ-grags* exposent la transmission exotérique (le premier texte de *Sources* par conséquent), et la transmission secrète.

Or l'historien bon-po dPal-ldan chul-khrims signale parmi les *gter-ma* de rMa-ston lČam-me (v. le début de cet article), les *phyi naṅ gsaṅ-ba Bon-gyi sgrags-byaṅ*[21] qui semblent bien correspondre à nos textes. On est ainsi ramené à la famille des Maîtres de rMa.

Que les *sGrags-pa Rin-čhen gliṅ-grags* aient bien été élaborés dans cette famille est confirmé par le colophon de prophéties de Dran-pa nam-mkha' découvertes par le disciple de rMa-ston Çes-rab seṅ-ge, dByil-ston dPon-gsas Khyuṅ-rgod rcal,[22] qui atteste: « Le *bsGrags-byaṅ čhen-mo* a été caché à Yar-lha çam-po (lieu des découvertes de rMa-ston Çes-rab seṅ-ge) ». Je propose d'y voir le *Grags-byaṅ* du manuscrit d'Oslo, plus long et complet que les deux autres textes, et qui par ailleurs, cite des prophéties de Vairocana. Or j'ai montré dans le même article[23] que des (*Vairo'i*) *luṅ-bstan čhe-ba* étaient un *gter-ma* de rMa-ston Çes-rab seṅ-ge. L'attribution à Çes-rab seṅ-ge du *Gliṅ-grags* d'Oslo est confirmée, me semble-t-il, par Kun-grol grags-pa qui indique parmi les *gter-ma* de celui-ci (*bsTan-pa spyi-yi 'byuṅ-khuṅs*, pp. 325—326): *Gliṅ-grags rnam-gsum gSaṅ-grags skor*, que je comprends (l'énoncé est très concis, le texte étant en vers): « la partie *gSaṅ-grags* des trois sortes de *Gliṅ-grags*. »

Plusieurs indications, tant dans les *gter-ma* eux-mêmes que dans les ouvrages historiques bon-po, attestent que les découvertes ont été transmises successivement à l'intérieur de la famille rMa d'abord, puis de rMa-ston Çes-rab seṅ-ge à dByil-ston dPon-gsas Khyuṅ-rgod rcal, avec les changements et ampliations que cela suppose. On ne peut donc pas affirmer que les trois *Gliṅ-grags* qui nous sont parvenus son exactement ceux que rMa-ston lČam-me a mis en circulation; on vient de voir que l'un d'eux au moins avait été réélaboré par son fils, Çes-rab seṅ-ge. Néanmoins, outre leur contenu, les nombreux archaïsmes qu'ils renferment, et leur style même, qui évoque celui des manuscrits de Touen-houang, témoignent de leur ancienneté.

Il ne m'est pas possible ici d'analyser en détail ces textes très intéressants, et je n'en donnerai qu'un aperçu. Les trois textes ont comme sujet central l'histoire des diffusions et déclins successifs du Bon au Tibet, à l'époque dynastique. Ils prennent bien à leur compte la version *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* (nulle part citée ainsi) sur l'origine du premier roi: gÑa'-khri bcan-po est un dieu descendu sur terre, fils de Khri Bar-la bdun-chigs, lui-même fils de Yab-lha bdal-drug. Les développements les plus longs sont consacrés: d'une part à la position élevée des *gçen-po* et aux privilèges qui leur étaient accordés par

[21] *bsTan-'byuṅ*, vol. 2, p. 215.
[22] Blondeau 1985, p. 140.
[23] *Ibid*, p. 139.

les souverains jusqu'à Gri-gum; d'autre part aux deux persécutions du Bon par Gri-gum et Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan, entraînant la punition divine de ces deux rois (*dbu-yogs*), persécutions suivies de la restauration du Bon.

Cependant, si les trois textes présentent une cohésion certaine dans leurs grandes lignes, ils ne sont pas identiques: ils se complètent l'un l'autre, chacun développant davantage un élément par rapport au deux autres. Ces différences correspondent peut-être aux trois aspects *phyi*, *naṅ* et *gsaṅ-ba* de leur rédaction? En outre, le *Gliṅ-grags* 2 (*naṅ-ba*, *Sources*, texte n° 2), qui s'arrête avec l'histoire de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po, présente des divergences et des variantes par rapport aux deux autres, la plus notoire concernant l'histoire de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po; le Ms. d'Oslo et le *Gliṅ-grags* 1 (*Sources*, texte n° 1) expliquent le déclin du Bon à l'époque de ce roi ainsi: grâce au Bon, la puissance et les conquêtes des rois tibétains étaient grandes. Les rois de Chine et d'Inde en prennent ombrage et ils échangent des lettres pour trouver un moyen de saper la puissance tibétaine. Le bouddhisme étant répandu en Inde à cette époque, ils pensent que le plus sûr moyen est d'introduire au Tibet un mélange de bouddhisme, de magie destructrice, et de bouddhisme perverti (*čhos-log*): cela affaiblira le pouvoir du Bon, et par conséquent celui du roi qui repose sur lui. C'est aussi cette version que suit le *Srid-rgyud*. Le *Gliṅ-grags* 2 voit la cause du déclin du Bon dans le fait que l'épouse népalaise de Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po convainc le roi de construire un temple bouddhique: c'est le temple de Lhasa. Cela provoque l'irritation des dieux protecteurs (*mgur-lha*) du souverain et des *lha-srin sde-brgyad*: de mauvais présages apparaissent. Une devineresse interrogée révèle que c'est le résultat de l'abandon du Bon, et que la vie du roi sera abrégée. Les *gçen* invités à venir faire des rituels d'expiation refusent, sauf sToṅ-rgyuṅ mthu-čhen et Dran-pa nam-mkha' (celui-ci, possédant la *siddhi* de longue vie, était présent depuis Gri-gum jusque après même Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan). Le roi promet de construire un temple bon-po: sans que son épouse népalaise le sache, on construit gYuṅ-druṅ khri-skor (non identifié), à la manière de la religion divine (*lha-čhos lugs-su*). Le roi a beau protester de son orthodoxie bon-po, sToṅ-rgyuṅ mthu-čhen quitte le Tibet en prophétisant de grands malheurs. Cette histoire curieuse qui n'est reprise par aucune autre source, à ma connaissance, clôture le texte.

Le plan suivi par chacun des trois textes permettra de voir leur agencement, et la manière dont ils se recoupent.

Gliṅ-grags 1. Plan annoncé p. 4:

1. Origine du Bon (pp. 5—13). C'est la transmission par le *Trikāya*, depuis gÇen-lha 'od-dkar, le *Bon-sku*, jusqu'à gÇen-rab mi-bo, le *nirmāṇakāya*, à qui est consacré cette partie: ses six émanations dans les six *gati* (sur le modèle des *thub-pa drug*), ses apparitions successives dans le monde des hommes sous la forme des *gÇen* du passé, sa venue sous la forme du *gÇen* Thaṅ-ma me-sgron

lorsque la longévité humaine sera de dix ans. L'origine de sa prédication comme sTon-pa gÇen-rab: sa naissance, son acquisition des Véhicules successifs jusqu'à ce qu'il ait obtenu l'état de *buddha* à l'âge de dix-neuf ans. Ayant ainsi réalisé son propre bien, il se consacra à celui des autres. (On voit que le modèle est ici entièrement bouddhique.)

2. La transmission des enseignements (pp. 13—17). Des émanations successives de gÇen-rab en Inde, Žaṅ-žuṅ etc., traduisent les textes dans les langues de ces pays et laissent à des disciples des enseignements différents selon les pays. gÇen-rab se rend au Tibet (il n'est pas dit comme dans le *gZer-mig* que c'est à la poursuite de ses chevaux volés par le *bdud* Khyab-pa lag-riṅ), où il est vénéré par les *lha-'dre*; des traits du paysage tibétain sont les signes de son passage. Il laisse la doctrine du Bon à Mi-lus bsam-legs. Finalement, il passe dans le *nirvāṇa* et fait le bien des êtres de manière invisible.

3. Les diffusions et les déclins (successifs) du Bon au Tibet (pp. 18—46).

— Origine du premier roi.

— Eclat du Bon au Tibet, son extension territoriale, ses lieux de culte; les honneurs et privilèges des *gçen* jusqu'à la première moitié du règne de Dri-rum bcan-po (= Dri-gum / Gri-gum).

— Naissance de Dri-rum bcan-po, mauvais présages. Son mariage naissance de ses fils. Il expulse les Bon-po, qui cachent les textes avant de s'exiler. Les imprécations des *gçen* font tomber la punition sur le roi: il est tué par l'épée, la corde des dMu est coupée; il faudra construire une tombe.

— Restauration du Bon par sPu-lde guṅ-rgyal. Les rois de 'J̌aṅ, Hor, Chine, Mon, sont soumis grâce au Bon; des Bon-po rendent de grands services: le roi leur attribue des insignes, des vêtements, qui sont à l'origine de ceux portés par les Bon-po actuels (dit l'auteur). De même sous lHa tho-tho-ri.

— Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po: au moment de son couronnement, les sujets se disputent sur leur rang dans l'assemblée: on consulte les livres d'autrefois (ou le modèle ancien? *sṅon-gyi dpe*), et on prend modèle sur la descente de gÑa'-khri bcan-po. Description de la grandeur du roi soutenu par les Sages et ministres bon-po. Jalousie des rois de l'Inde et de la Chine (v. plus haut) qui décident de répandre le bouddhisme au Tibet. Cela sera fait par trois yogins errants qui, devenus riches à la fin de leur vie, ont entrepris de construire un *stūpa*. Inachevé à leur mort, ils prononcent avant de mourir des voeux qui, finalement, entraînent leur renaissance comme Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan, Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava.[24]

— Intronisation de Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan et mauvais présages des Bon-po. Le roi invite Śāntarakṣita et Padmasambhava; les textes bouddhiques sont traduits. Les malheurs accablent le Tibet. Devant les remontrances des mi-

[24] Sur l'histoire bon-po de la fondation de Bya-ruṅ kha-çor, v. Blondeau, *Annuaire* 1982—1983.

nistres, le roi ordonne une joute entre Bon-po et bouddhistes pour décider de la religion à suivre au Tibet. Bien que les bouddhistes aient été vaincus, le roi tranche finalement en leur faveur. Les Bon-po demandent à quitter le pays. Dran-pa nam-mkha' fait un discours sur la non-dualité du Bon et du bouddhisme: lui-même se fera *bandhe* (moine bouddhiste). Après des imprécations, les Bon-po quittent le Tibet. Dran-pa nam-mkha' devient un *bla-ma* estimé de tous; il domine tous les *bandhe* dans la disputation (*rcod-pa*), et le roi ordonne qu'il soit le chef de cinq cents pandits. Il fait de lui et Vairocana les grands Lamas chefs du bouddhisme (*čhos-kyi bla-dpon čhen-po*). Ils traduisent et cachent en trésors les textes tantriques bon-po, tandis qu'un cycle du *sNaṅ-gçen theg-pa* n'est pas supprimé et est laissé comme Bon divin du souverain (*rje'i lha-bon*).[25] Détail des endroits où sont cachés les textes, et par qui. Destruction ou transformation des sanctuaires. Prophétie de Dran-pa nam-mkha' sur la découverte des trésors et la diffusion ultérieure du Bon; il écrit leur *dkar-čhag* (le texte n'en dit pas plus).

Gliṅ-grags 2. Le plan n'est pas annoncé. Le texte se développe ainsi:

— Préambule cité plus haut, indiquant que ce texte représente la transmission ésotérique (p. 49).

— L'apparition du *Trikāya* et la transmission de la doctrine par gÇen-lha 'od-dkar, le *Sambhogakāya* ici, qui le transmet de trois manières: par la bénédiction du *samādhi*, par la pensée, et oralement. Oralement, elle est transmise par gSaṅ-ba 'dus-pa chez les *lha*, les *klu*, et chez les hommes à Mi-lus bsam-legs. Ensuite, elle est transmise par les dMu qui sont des rois à lignée (*gduṅ-rgyud kyi rgyal-po*);[26] (pp. 49—50).

— Ceux-ci étant morts, le souverain gÑa'-khri bcan-po vient comme souverain des hommes; il diffuse le Bon (p. 51).

Son fils, Mu-khri bcan-po, pratique *sPyi-spuṅs gsaṅ-ba*[27] sur le lHa-ri gyaṅ-tho. Il décide que ces enseignements doivent rester l'apanage de la lignée royale: il les rend secrets, et les signes extraordinaires de réalisation disparaissent chez les *gçen* royaux (pp. 51—52).

— Transmission de la doctrine sous les sept rois Khri (p. 52).

— Sous Gri-rum bcan-po, on calomnie les *gçen* auprès du roi: il interdit la pratique du Bon, ordonne l'exil des *bon-gçen*, la destruction des temples (*gsas-khaṅ*) et lieux d'assemblée (*'du-gnas*). Mauvais présages. Les Bon-po divisent les textes en quatre, puis en huit, pour les cacher. Les Quatre Disciples savants entonnent le chant de la punition (*dbu-yogs*): « Dri-rum bcan-po est

[25] Cette version sera mise en parallèle avec celle des *bKa'-thaṅ* dans l'article annoncé en n. 11.

[26] On retrouve ici l'un éléments de la classification tibétaine des rois.

[27] Un des cycles tantriques rattachés à Dran-pa nam-mkha'. V. Karmay 1792. p. 39 et n. 2.

la réincarnation de Khyab-pa nag-po (= lag-riṅ) . . . , de Dha-ça-'dri-ba (= Dhaśagrīva), ennemis de gÇen-rab. Qu'il soit tué rapidement: « Le roi est tué par Lo-ṅam rta-rji.

Endroits où sont cachés les textes: il y a trois cent soixante lieux de cache (*gter-kha*). Exil des trois fils de Dri-gum. Règne de Lo-ṅam pendant trois ans. Les vassaux et ministres, mécontents, cherchent le cadavre du roi, le rachètent (?) à une femme Klu (*klu-lčam*), et construisent une tombe. Ils invitent du sPu-yul l'aîné des trois frères et lui donnent le nom de sPu-lde guṅ-rgyal. Il restaure le Bon. Les textes cachés ne sont pas ressortis, mais des Bon-po sont invités du Žaṅ-žuṅ. Liste des Sages (*dpon-gsas*) et *gçen* royaux de chaque souverain, depuis Mu-khri bcan-po jusqu'à sPu-lde guṅ-rgyal; (pp. 53—62).

— Diffusion du Bon sous les six rois Sa-la legs: nouvelle liste des *bla-ma, lha-bon, dpon-gsas,* de chaque roi (pp. 62—63).

Au temps du roi Khri-rǰe thog-can (= bcan), le roi constate que le Bon invité de Žaṅ-žuṅ a décliné. Bla-čhen (Dran-pa nam-mkha') se rend magiquement au sTag-gzig et en rapporte le *rJogs-čhen* qui est ainsi diffusé au Tibet (p. 64).

A cette époque (?), Sroṅ-bcan rgan-po (« le vieux », au lieu de *sgam-po*, « le sage »), épouse Bal-mo bza' Khri-bcun (pp. 65—71).

(Le résumé de la fin du texte a été donné plus haut.)

Gliṅ-grags 3 (Ms. d'Oslo). Le plan est annoncé, d'abord dans un court préambule prophétique mis dans la bouche de gÇen-rab, puis dans une table des matières (f. 3a). Celle-ci débute par une courte phrase indiquant que la façon dont sont apparus le monde et les êtres est telle qu'elle est indiquée dans l'*Abhidharma* (*mJod-gnas drug-pa*); le texte ne la développe donc pas, et aborde directement:

1. La manière dont sont situés les pays (*yul-gyi čhags-lugs*), (3a—11a). Description du monde: *jambudvīpa* . . . , le Tibet et les pays qui l'entourent.
2. Comment sont venus les *buddha*, Maîtres qui guident les êtres (11a—23a).

— Histoire très résumée des mille deux *buddha*: renvoie à l'histoire développée dans *J̌i-ltar dus-gsum gÇen-rab byuṅ-khuṅs mdo* (?).

— Exposé sur la venue des sept *buddha* excellents: sept *buddha* du passé, le premier étant Kun-tu bzaṅ-po.

— Le *buddha* du futur, quand la longévité humaine sera de dix ans.

— Nom et explication des époques successives: *rjogs-ldan*, etc.

— Vie de gÇen-rab. Lorsque le temps est venu pour lui de convertir par la parole, il prend naissance dans la famille des Çākya et enseigne le bouddhisme. Origine de celui-ci: pour vaincre le démon Na-men čhos-po (= Rudra), Dam-pa tog-dkar naît comme Çākyamuni. Après avoir soumis Rudra, il transforme les textes bon-po en textes bouddhiques.

Durée de la doctrine de gÇen-rab: décompte des périodes successives.

3. Les diffusions et les déclins (successifs) du Bon au Tibet, (23b—90a?). (Partie annoncée ainsi dans la table des matières, mais qui n'est pas marquée dans le texte; celui-ci annonce un exposé sur la lignée divine: les rois maîtres de la terre, protecteur des orients, et sur la lignée selon le sang (*gduṅ-rgyud*): les *sku-gçen* et *rgyal-blon*. Quatre rubriques sont annoncées, qui ne se retrouvent pas dans le texte).

— Le Bon a précédé l'apparition des rois au Tibet: date d'apparition au Tibet du Bon des causes (*rgyu-bon*) et du Bon des fruits (*'bras-bu'i bon*).

— Première diffusion et développement du Bon: Apparition de quatre rois *glo-bur*, sans descendance.

Généalogie divine et descente sur terre du premier roi (version qui présente des thèmes mythologiques différents de la version courante).

Succession des rois jusqu'à Gri-gum.[28] Description du pouvoir royal, du bonheur du peuple, grâce à la puissance du Bon. Enumération des différentes parties du Tibet et des monuments bon-po qui s'y trouvaient. Enumération des *siddha*, savants, grands magiciens, et description de leurs exploits.

— Suppression du Bon par Gri-gum. (Le récit, plus développé, est dans ses grandes lignes le même que celui du *Gliṅ-grags* 1).[29]

— Succession des rois. Sous le règne de lHa tho-tho-ri gñan-çal, un maître apporte un *stūpa* en disant que c'est un *stūpa* bouddhiste. (On trouve ici la source du *rGyal-rabs Bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas*, cité plus haut).

— Sous gNam-ri blon-can (*sic*), des *sūtra* (dont les titres sont donnés) parviennent au Tibet. Le roi pense à les pratiquer mais les divinités, dont ses dieux protecteurs (*mgur-lha*), sont mécontentes; elles provoquent des maladies, etc. Le roi interdit la pratique du bouddhisme, et le bon ordre est rétabli.

— Son fils, Sroṅ-bcan bde-bcan (*sic*); le nom de son ministre, de son *gçen* personnel. (Rien de plus n'est dit sur Sroṅ-bcan sgam-po.) Le fils de celui-ci . . . Sous Maṅ-sroṅ maṅ-bcan, le *dKon-mčhog sprin* et le *Thar-lam dge-ba bču* sont apportés de l'Inde. Le roi les pratique mais il est abandonné de ses *mgur-lha* et il tombe malade; un démon *'dre* de 'J̌aṅ emporte sa turquoise support de vie (*bla-g.yu*). Quand il ordonne de ne plus pratiquer le bouddhisme, il guérit et retrouve sa turquoise.

[28] Il faut relever un passage remarquable qui confirme les conclusions d'A. Macdonald (*Essai*, p. 335 sq.) selon lesquelles chaque roi de la lignée reprenait à son compte la descente de gÑa'-khri bcan-po. F. 29a, le fils de gÑa'-khri bcan-po, Mu-khri bcan-po, nait. « Lui aussi, comme son père, descendit par la corde des dMu et l'échelle des dMu: il vint sur le sommet de lHa-ri gyaṅ-do » (*des kyaṅ yab bžin sMu-thag dMu-dkra'i* (= *skas*) *la babste/lHa-ri sgyaṅ-mtho'i* (*sic*) *kha-la byon*).

[29] Pour l'histoire du meurtre de Gri-bum par Lo-ṅam, le texte renvoie au *Bon-'byuṅ yid-ches sgron-ma* et autres (*sogs*), ouvrage inconnu par ailleurs. Cela montre que les *gter-ston* fondaient aussi leurs récits sur des sources historiques.

— Naissance de Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan. Ses *gçen* personnels et ses ministres Pendant son règne le bouddhisme apparut au Tibet. L'origine du bouddhisme au Tibet (le voeu des trois mendiants devant le *stūpa* qu'ils ont construit entraîne l'invitation de Śāntarakṣita et de Padmasambhava), la lutte entre Bon-po et bouddhistes, le choix du roi en fevaur des bouddhistes, la cache des textes bon-po, etc., occupent presque toute la fin du texte. Le récit est très proche du *Gliṅ-grags* 1, sauf à la fin où, sur la demande du roi, Dran-pa nam-mkha' prophétise le déclin de la dynastie et du bouddhisme, la résurgence du Bon.

4. Exposé sur la (nouvelle) diffusion du Bon (90a—95a?).

Cette partie, indiquées dans la table des matières, n'est pas marquée dans le texte. Celui-ci cependant, après avoir donné la généalogie royale après Khri-sroṅ lde-bcan (de manière très confuse), se termine par l'anéantissement du bouddhisme et le triomphe du Bon, sous Glaṅ-dar-ma probablement; mais son nom ne figure pas, à cause sans doute des lacunes importantes dans les derniers feuillets du manuscrit.

On le voit, ces textes ont trop de points de divergence pour qu'on les attribue à la main d'un même *gter-ston*, mais ils s'organisent indéniablement autour d'une tradition commune. Que cette tradition ait emprunté bien des traits au bouddhisme est évident; mais l'important ici est de relever le syncrétisme qui se fait jour, principalement dans leur version de l'origine du bouddhisme, liée à la soumission de Rudra par Dam-pa tog-dkar, envoyé (et semble-t-il émanation) de gÇen-rab mi-bo.[30]

J'ai indiqué plus haut que S. Karmay avait repéré dans le ms. d'Oslo une partie des citations des *bsGrags-byaṅ* faites par le *Legs-bçad mjod*. De même, la lecture des trois textes permet de retrouver non seulement les citations qu'en fait le *rGyal-rabs bon-gyi 'byuṅ-gnas*, mais aussi des emprunts non signalés comme tels. Il est donc sûr que ces trois *Grags-pa gliṅ-grags*[31] sont les sources des historiens bon-po.

Peut-on dire que l'hypothèse de Hoffmann se vérifie, et qu'ils sont aussi la source de la tradition connue comme *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs?* Avant d'apporter une réponse, plusieurs remarques sont nécessaires:

[30] Dans les *bKa'-thaṅ*, cette même soumission est liée à l'origine des *tantra*.

[31] Les textes bon-po eux-mêmes donnent les variantes *Grags-/sGrags-/bsGrags-*. Le Lopön Tenzin Namdak confirme que la bonne orthographe est *Grags*, mais il ne peut fournir aucune explication sur la signification du titre *Grags-pa gliṅ-grags*. Comme je l'ai signalé plus haut, le *Srid-rgyud* semble employer de manière assez indifférenciée *grags-byaṅ* et *kha-byaṅ*, terme que l'on connait bien par les *gter-ma* rñiṅ-ma-pa, qui désigne des sortes de « catalogues » répertoriant les textes composant une collection, leur histoire, leurs lieux de cache, les prophéties désignant le *gter-ston* destiné à les découvrir, etc.

— On rencontre l'expression dans deux contextes: les différentes opinions sur l'origine du premier roi, et la biographie « bon-po » de Padmasambhava. Or les trois *Grags-pa gliṅ-grags* ne présentent pas Padmasambhava comme le fils de Dran-pa nam-mkha' — version expressément stipulée par mKhyen-brce'i dbaṅ-po comme étant celle du *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* — mais sous l'aspect qu'on lui connaît à travers les textes bouddhiques. (Il fait même assez piteuse figure dans la joute entre Bon-po et bouddhistes.) Pourtant, ce sont d'autres *gter-ma* des Maîtres de rMa que l'on trouve à l'origine de la version « syncrétique » de la vie de Padmasambhava. On peut donc en conclure que, par leur présentation tant de l'origine du premier roi que de la vie de Padmasambhava, les Maîtres de rMa sont bien des tenants de *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs*.

— Cette expression ne se rencontre dans aucun des textes bon-po que j'ai consultés à ce jour. Ni le Lopön Tenzin Namdak, ni l'Abbé Saṅs-rgyas bstan-'jin, ne la reconnaissent comme bon-po. C'est donc une fabrication des bouddhistes, au même titre que la formulation des trois périodes marquant le développement du Bon au Tibet: *rdol-bon*, *'khyar-bon*, *bsgyur-bon*, célèbre à travers les textes historiques bouddhistes, mais qui n'est absolument pas en usage chez les Bon-po.

Si l'on considère les variantes Grags / sGrags / bsGrags des textes bon-po (v. n. 31), on peut comprendre la formation de l'expression *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs*, qui désignerait alors « la tradition (le système) bon-po des *Grags-byaṅ* ».

— Mais, si le premier des Maîtres de rMa, rMa-ston Srid-'jin, est né en 1092, ses premières « découvertes » n'ont pas pu se situer avant le début du 12e siècle. Or l'on sait que, dès les manuscrits de Touen-houang,[32] des spéculations circulaient sur l'origine du premier roi; et que celle qui a été, rangée ultérieurement sous la dénomination *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* est pleinement exposée dans la *Chronique* (*Pelliot tib. 1286*).

Dans l'état actuel des connaissances, on ne peut donc apporter qu'une réponse provisoire: les Maîtres de rMa cristallisent à coup sûr dans leurs *gter-ma* (*Grags-pa gliṅ-grags* et vie de Padmasambhava) la tradition connue chez les bouddhistes comme *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs*. Ils en sont les plus anciens représentants connus actuellement. Des recherches ultérieures permettront peut-être de trouver l'inventeur bouddhiste de cette expression (antérieur à Ñaṅ-ral?) et, chez des Bon-po plus anciens que rMa Srid-'jin, la tradition qu'elle désigne. On va voir cependant qu'un dernier élément autorise peut-être de rattacher la genèse de l'expression *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* aux *gter-ma* des Maîtres de rMa.

La tradition développée dans leurs *gter-ma* ne s'éteint pas avec eux, ni avec le disciple de rMa-ston Çes-rab seṅ-ge, dByil-ston dPon-gsas Khyuṅ-

[32] *Pelliot tibétain 1038*: v. A. Macdonald, *Essai*, p. 214 sq.

rgod rcal. Pour la biographie « bon-po » de Padmasambhava, j'ai montré dans l'article cité en commençant qu'elle passait chez les bouddhistes par le *gter-ston* « ambivalent », rDo-rje gliṅ-pa *alias* Bon-žig g.Yuṅ-druṅ gliṅ-pa.[33]

Chez les Bon-po, cette tradition s'est perpétuée aussi. On la retrouvé intacte dans le *Srid-rgyud*, qui apparaît comme une combinaison des trois *Gliṅ-grags*, et qui reprend parfois mot pour mot le Ms. d'Oslo. La filiation entre les *gter-ston* ressort du chapitre des prophéties dans le *Srid-rgyud*, où Dran-pa nam-mkha' annonce les *gter-ston* qui découvriront les textes qu'il a transmis et cachés: rMa-ston lČam-me et son fils Çes-rab seṅ-ge y sont cités, mais sans plus de développement que pour les autres *gter-ston*. En revanche, deux *gter-ston* reçoivent un traitement différent: d'une part, selon l'habitude des *gter-ma*, le propre *gter-son* du *Srid-rgyud*, Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med; d'autre part dByil (-ston) Heruka, c'est-à-dire dPon-gsas Khyuṅ-rgod rcal, dont une liste très détaillée des *gter-ma* est fournie. C'est très significatif: cela indique que Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med est le disciple de dByil-ston Khyuṅ-rgod rcal, ou qu'il est très proche de lui dans sa lignée de transmission. Or l'on sait par les historiens bon-po et notamment par sPa-bcun bsTan-rgyal bzaṅ-po dont l'ouvrage est le plus ancien *bsTan-'byuṅ* connu, et qui appartient lui-même à une lignée de transmission des *gter-ma* des rMa-ston,[34] que dPon-gsas Khyuṅ-rgod rcal a eu pour disciple. 'A-ža Blo-gros rgyal-mchan (1198—1263 d'après le *bsTan-rcis* de Ñi-ma bstan-'jin), lui-mème maître de Khod-po Blo-gros thogs-med.

On se trouve donc devant une lignée cohérente. C'est cette même lignée que développe, dans son exposé sur les *gter-ston*, sPa-bcun bsTan-rgyal bzaṅ-po, en la mettant en tête des *gter-ston* classés sous la rubrique *gter-gsar*, « nouveaux trésors » (pp. 759—767. V. Tableau).

[33] Le rôle de Guru čhos-dbaṅ dans le passage de cette tradition chez les bouddhistes, probable si l'on en juge par son éducation bon-po et ses liens avec dByil-ston dPon-gsas Khyuṅ-rgod rcal, est impossibe à évaluer pour l'instant. Cela le sera peut-être si sa Biographie de Padmasambhava, le *rNam-thar mjad-pa bču-gčig-ma*, devient un jour accessible.

[34] Il appartient en même temps à une lignée ed transmission des *gter-ma* de bŽod-ston dÑos-grub. Pour la discussion de sa date, v. Blondeau 1984, pp. 102—103. J'ai omis alors de signaler un élément capital qui fixe sa vie à la même époque que celle de Bon-žig g.Yuṅ-druṅ gliṅ-pa (rDo-rje gliṅ-pa): celui-ci est le dernier *gter-ston* classé par sPa-bcun comme *gter-gsar* (v. ci-après), en ces termes (p. 766): « L'actuel pratiquant du Bon, g.Yuṅ-druṅ gliṅ-pa, appartient à une lignée de tantristes de bSam-yas, dit-on » (*da-lta bon-spyod g.Yuṅ-druṅ gliṅ-pa 'di/yul bSam-yas kyi(s) sṅags-rgyud čig yin skad*). Les lieux de découvertes, les titres des *gter-ma*, prouvent qu'il s'agit bien de Bon'žig g.Yuṅ-druṅ gliṅ-pa. Il reste à comprendre pourquoi le *bsTan-rcis* de Ñi-ma bstan-'jin fixe la date de celui-ci un siècle avant celle de rDo-rje gliṅ-pa selon Koṅ-sprul.

TABLEAU: *gter-gsar* selon sPa-bcun bsTan-rgyal bzaṅ-po

N.B.: Les *gter-ma* ou faits retenus ne sont que ceux qui concernent directement notre sujet. Les dates données sont celles du *bsTan-rcis* de Ñi-ma bstan-'jin. Les renseignements provenant d'autres sources sont indiqués entre parenthèses.

1. (Lignée des Maîtres de rMa):
   (Dran-pa nam-mkha')
   |
   (Gyer-mi ñi-'od. Découvertes en 1108)
   |
   rMa-ston Srid-'jin, le plus ancien des *gter-gsar*. (Né en 1092. *gter-ston* principal du *mJod-phug* attribué à Dran-pa nam-mkha'. Découvre des Prophéties de Dran-pa nam-mkha': *Sources*, texte n° 3).
   |
   rMa lČam-me, son fils. (Pas de date connue. *gter-ston* des *Phyi naṅ gsaṅ-ba Bon-gyi sGrags-byaṅ* selon dPal-ldan chul-khrims).
   |
   rMa Çes-rab seṅ-ge, son fils. (12e siècle pour S. Karmay; plus probablement lère moitié du 13e. *gter-ston* des *Dran-pa'i luṅ-bstan*, *Bairo'i luṅ-bstan čhe-ba*, *Luṅ-bstan khol-du phyuṅ-ba*, *Rig-'jin rig-pa'i thugs-rgyud*, *Che-dbaṅ Žaṅ-žuṅ-ma*; du *Grags-byaṅ gsaṅ-ba selon Kun-grol grags-pa*).

2. La-stod sPa-bon Khyuṅ-thog *et* lHo-rag rGyud-ston Ra-ca
   |
   lHa 'od-dkar, fils de rGyud-ston
   2
   g.Yor-po gñer-ston

   (Le *Legs-bçad mjod* (Karmay 1973, pp. 177—178) indique que sPa-bon Khyuṅ-thog et rGyud-ston Ra-ja ont découvert beaucoup de textes du Bon des causes, *rgyu-bon*, à Khom-mthiṅ, et il cite quatre titres. Dans son passage sur les *gter-gsar*, p. 191, il donne seulement le nom de sPa-bon Khyuṅ-thog. Je n'ai pas d'indication actuellement sur les raisons qui ont fait classer leurs découvertes comme *ter-gsar*).

3. 'Ol (= 'Or)-sgom phug-pa, de 'Ǐad-dol, annoncé par une prophétie de rMa (Srid-'jin?).
   |
   (Kun-grol grags-pa l'identifie à rMa Çes-rab seṅ-ge).
   sPa-ston Rin-(čhen lhun)-grub. (C'est à lui que rMa Çes-rab seṅ-ge transmet ses enseignements d'après dPal-ldan chul-khrims. Confirme l'identification faite par Kun-grol grags-pa entre 'Or-sgom et rMa Çer-seṅ?)

4. Gu-ru rnon-rce. (Né en 1136. = 'A-ya bon-po lHa-'bum des *bKa'-thaṅ*).

5. dByil-ston Heruka, *alias* Khyuṅ-rgod rcal. Extrait *Bon* et *Čhos*. Parmi ses *gter-ma*, le *Che-dbaṅ Žaṅ-žuṅ-ma* (habituellement attribué à rMa Çer-seṅ), le *Che-dbaṅ rGya-gar-ma*. On dit qu'il transmit ses *gter-ma* à Guru čhos-dbaṅ. (Né en 1175. Les autres sources disent qu'il a reçu tous les *gter-ma* de rMa Çer-seṅ).
   |
   Ses quatre disciples principaux:
   -sMad-du: 'A-ža Blo-gros rgyal-mchan (1198—1263)
   'Bru-ston 'Dul-ba rgyal-mchan
   -sTod-du: sPa mkhan-čhen g.Yuṅ-druṅ seṅ-ge
   sPa-ston rGyal-ba çes-(rab)

   (La transmission dans la famille sPa explique sans doute que les découvertes de dByil-ston soient plus développées que celles des autres).

6. g.Yuṅ-druṅ gliṅ-pa, contemporain de l'auteur. (Bon-žig g.Yuṅ-druṅ gliṅ-pa, né en 1228; = rDo-rje gliṅ-pa, 1346—1405 selon Koṅ-sprul. Il découvre le *Che-dbaṅ Bod-yul-ma*).

Çar-rja bKra-çis rgyal-mchan qui utilise ce passage sans citer sa source,[35] donne la même liste de *gter-ston* dont les découvertes ont été classées comme *gter-gsar*. Il ajoute que cette appellation de « nouveaux » a été donnée par les savants contemporains de ces *gter-ston*, mais qu'à son époque ils ne sont plus nouveaux et qu'on appelle *gter-gsar* (plus souvent *Bon-gsar* en fait), les textes découverts à partir de Çel-žig g.Yuṅ-druṅ rgyal-po)*alias* Mi-çigs rdo-rje, fin du 17e siècle). Cette explication qui veut faire entendre que « nouveaux » n'a désigné que des *gter-ston* contemporains, anciennement ou à son époque, ne tient pas devant les faits. Les *Bon-gsar* récents incluent, outre les *gter-ma* de Mi-çigs rdo-rje, ceux de Saṅs-rgyas gliṅ-pa et Kun-grol grags-pa: tous se caractérisent par leur syncrétisme absolu qui proclame l'identité de *Čhos* et *Bon*; ils rattachent leur tradition aux enseignements de Dran-pa nam-mkha' dont Saṅs-rgyas gliṅ-pa a découvert une vaste biographie en huit volumes, identique pour le fonds aux *gter-ma* anciens qui ont servi de source à mKhyen-brce pour sa biographie bon-po de Padmasambhava, c'est-à-dire des Maîtres de rMa, de dByil-ston Khyuṅ-rgod rcal, de Bon-žig g.Yuṅ-druṅ gliṅ-pa.

Par ailleurs, l'écart de temps entre rMa Srid-'jin, Gu-ru rnon-rce etc., et sPa-bcun bsTan-rgyal bzaṅ-po est si grand, qu'on voit mal comment ce dernier aurait pu qualifier leurs découvertes de récentes. Tout indique au contraire que cette classification inusuelle (les Bon-po, comme les rÑiṅ-ma-pa, classent les *gter-ma* en *Byaṅ-gter*, *lHo-gter*, etc.) désigne une tradition particulière du Bon. Or le point commun entre les *gter-ston* qui nous sont connus dans cette tradition, est qu'ils ont mis au jour soit des textes syncrétiques, soit à la fois des textes bon-po et des textes bouddhiques. Plusieurs même ont un double nom: l'un pour le Bon, l'autre pour le bouddhisme. Les *gter-gsar* du 18e siècle apparaissent donc comme une simple résurgence de cette tradition. Mais ils affirment alors si ouvertement leur syncrétisme que les Bon-po « orthodoxes » les tiennent en suspicion et les écartent. C'est pour la même raison, à mes yeux, que tous les historiens bon-po qui pourtant appuient leur relation de l'époque dynastique sur les *Grags-byaṅ*, ne font pas la moindre allusion à la vie « bon-po » de Padmasambhava contenue dans les autres *gter-ma* des Maîtres de rMa et de leur lignée. La recherche devra être poursuivie, mais l'on possède déjà des indices montrant qu'il n'y a pas de hiatus, et que cette tradition s'est perpétuée, plus ou moins souterrainement, chez les Bon-po comme chez les bouddhistes: je pense qu'il faut y voir l'une des sources du mouvement *ris-med* au 19e siècle.

Dès à présent on peut établir avec suffisamment de certitude, me semble-t-il, que la tradition désignée comme *gter-gsar* par sPa-bcun bsTan-rgyal bzaṅ-po est la même que celle appelée *bsGrags-pa Bon-lugs* par les bouddhistes.

[35] *Legs-bçad mjod*, f. 264b—265a; traduction, p. 191.

Du fait que sPa-bcun cite rMa Srid-'jin comme « le plus ancien » représentant de cette tradition, on peut avancer l'hypothèse que, le premier, il l'a mise en forme, même si il y a amalgamé des éléments antérieurs.

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REMARQUES SUR LES REPRÉSENTATIONS D'ARCHITECTURES DANS LA PEINTURE TIBÉTAINE ET CHINOISE

ANNE CHAYET (Paris)

Si les influences chinoises sur l'architecture tibétaine ont été assez largement répertoriées, il paraît plus douteux que l'architecture tibétaine ait pu avoir en Chine un semblable écho. Cependant, au XVIIIe siècle, la volonté impériale fit édifier à Chengde, au nord de Pékin, des temples inspirés des plus célèbres temples tibétains. Etudiant l'histoire et l'architecture de ces temples, et constatant dans les réalisations chinoises quelques anomalies de perspective par rapport aux originaux tibétains, j'ai proposé la peinture tibétaine comme modèle immédiat des constructions de Chengde.[1]

Partant de ce cas très particulier, il m'a paru intéressant de comparer les représentations d'architectures dans la peinture tibétaine et la peinture chinoise, pour tenter de voir, du moins de façon pragmatique, si les procédés choisis présentaient de réelles différences, ou bien si, derrière des divergences d'expression, on ne retrouvait pas une conception semblable de l'espace et de sa relation avec le construit, indépendamment des influences stylistiques reconnues de la peinture chinoise sur la peinture tibétaine, et de l'opposition entre les techniques architecturales de base utilisées au Tibet et en Chine.

De ces recherches, je n'exposerai ici que deux brèves remarques, relevant de la simple observation. La première tient à la définition même de la position d'un objet ou d'une architecture dans le paysage, c'est-à-dire l'espace. La seconde a trait à un procédé tibétain d'expression de la profondeur, curieusement similaire dans la peinture dite d'architecture et dans l'architecture même.

I

Place de l'architecture dans la peinture chinoise et tibétaine

Les représentations architecturales sont considérées dans la peinture classique chinoise comme des objets inanimés, accessoires de la vie, c'est-à-dire une expression picturale mineure, nécessitant, certes, l'habileté de l'artisan,

[1] "The Jehol Temples and their Tibetan Models", *Sounding in Tibetan Civilization*, Proceedings of the 1982 Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, held at Columbia University, New Delhi, 1985, p. 65—72; et *Les temples de Jehol et leurs modèles tibétains*, Paris, 1985.

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mais non le souffle (*qi* 氣) du Maître. La représentation des personnages — traduction du rythme spirituel et du mouvement de la vie — était l'expression picturale majeure et ne céda ce rôle qu'à l'époque Song au paysage et à ses composantes: eaux, nuages, montagnes, rochers . . . Ce fut l'originalité d'un Shitao, à la fin du XVIIe siècle, de refuser une distinction qui reléguait certains éléments de la peinture, dont l'architecture, au rôle de décor, même si la place qui lui était dévolue était parfois importante, ainsi qu'on le voit, par exemple, dans les « Paradis » de Dunhuang.

De même, pour des raisons différentes quoique également d'ordre spirituel, l'architecture ne tient dans la peinture tibétaine qu'un rôle de décor, d'élément narratif, sauf dans le cas des peintures « de pélerinage », c'est-à-dire représentant un ou plusieurs lieux de pélerinage à l'exclusion de toute figuration divine centrale, peintures où elle s'impose alors, presque à la manière des « *vedute* » vénitiennes.

Ces architectures, réelles ou visionnaires, sont en général intégrées dans un paysage, comme elles le sont dans la réalité, et, qu'elles soient chinoises ou tibétaines, leur représentation met en jeu les notions d'expression de l'espace, de profondeur de champ et de perspective.

Procédés de perspective

Au Tibet comme en Chine, on utilise parfois, pour la représentation d'architectures, la perspective divergente, selon laquelle un cube, par exemple, présentera trois de ses faces, déployées en écran.

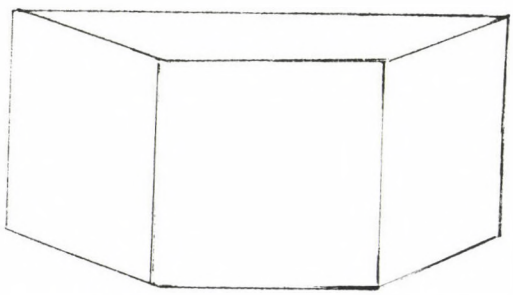

Fig. 1. Perspective divergente

En Europe, où ce type de perspective fut utilisé par la peinture dite « primitive » et plus récemment par l'expérience cubiste, on utilise depuis la Renaissance la perspective convergente, où l'oeil de l'observateur, et du peintre, miroir consciemment imparfait, est placé au niveau de l'objet et en

accuse les déformations optiques, par rapport à un unique point de fuite. Du même cube, l'Européen ne montre que la façade et, s'il s'en trouve deux l'un derrière l'autre, ne présente du second que ce que l'on en voit réellement à sa hauteur, même dans le cas d'une perspective cavalière, où le regard est légèrement plongeant.

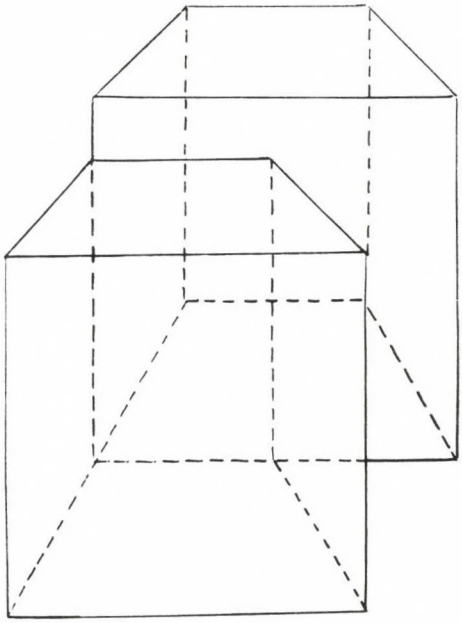

Fig. 2. Perspective convergente

La peinture chinoise fit quelques tentatives de perspective convergente, notamment à Dunhuang et en particulier dans les « Paradis »[2] — encore que les points de fuite en soient le plus souvent multiples — mais ce type d'initiative fut toujours sévèrement réprouvé par la critique lettrée, et particu-

[2] Par exemple grottes 172 et 217 (Tang) (numérotation chinoise). Il faut noter aussi l'organisation de convergences sommaires autour ou de part et d'autre d'un motif central, qui est souvent à Dunhuang une niche réelle contenant une statue. La tentative de restitution volumétrique, associée à une certaine recherche de perspective et à l'organisation convergente des éléments décoratifs, est particulièrement sensible dans le décor des grottes d'Asie centrale, ou, à la jonction du plafond et des parois, notamment, sont souvent figurées des corniches reposant sur des têtes de poutres, motif d'influence hellénistique. Le relief et l'organisation convergente de ces têtes de poutres sont suggérés par le dessin, et soulignés par les oppositions ou graduations de couleurs, procédé qui, ailleurs, en l'absence d'une véritable notion de perspective, doit suffire à créer le relief. Je rendrai compte ailleurs plus en détail de ces divers procédés, parfois peu lisibles, et souvent déformés.

lièrement lorsque la tentation s'en fit plus vive, au contact de la peinture occidentale; on le vit sous Kangxi et Qianlong.[3]

En peinture, le but de la perspective est d'exprimer à la fois le volume des objets et la profondeur du champ de vision. La volonté de la peinture chinoise étant de reproduire l'acte créateur de la nature, et non d'imiter cette nature, il lui fallait bien créer la profondeur, non se contenter de la montrer. Comme du choc de deux éléments contraires nait l'étincelle de vie, elle fit naître la profondeur et la perspective du contact d'éléments contraires: encre et eau, sombre et clair, plein et vide, tout son art visant à organiser leur contraste. Très schématiquement, le procédé consiste à alterner les éléments solides du paysage (montagnes, rochers, forêts . . .) avec des espaces lacunaires (eaux calmes, nuages ou brumes et même le vide absolu), la distance étant parfois soulignée par une réduction d'échelle pour les éléments décoratifs semblables. De la disposition d'ensemble de la composition résultent les lignes de force, qui sont la dynamique des choses, et celle de la peinture.

Pour les éléments architecturaux entrant dans la composition, on utilise en général la perspective isométrique ou axonométrique, où le peintre placé très haut, comme l'Immortel dans les cieux ou le Phénix volant dans les nuages, refuse de reproduire les déformations optiques nées de l'imperfection de la perception humaine. Pratiquement, et quelle que soit la distance retenue, le cube sera alors représenté avec une arête constante et un autre cube placé derrière lui sera présenté en totalité et au-dessus du premier (Fig. 3).

Particularités de composition de la peinture tibétaine

Dans ses compositions en registres,[4] la peinture tibétaine fait parfois figurer des éléments architecturaux, et même intégrés à des paysages, mais c'est dans les compositions plus influencées par la peinture chinoise que sa réflexion en ce domaine est le plus achevée. Elle utilise sans doute plus souvent

[3] Ainsi les illustrations du *Gengzhitu* (耕織圖), commandées par Kangxi en 1696 à Jiao Bingzheng (焦秉貞), furent assez mal accueillies par la critique lors de leur publication en 1739, avec des poèmes de Kangxi et Qianlong.

[4] On peut citer plusieurs sources à ces peintures (mobiles ou murales comme à lTa-bo) ou l'élément narratif est disposé en bandes horizontales superposées sur lesquelles se détache la figure centrale; la principale est indéniablement le relief gandhârien, dont la disposition en registres obéit, certes, à des motifs différents, mais où l'on peut noter déjà l'apparition des éléments « rythmiques », architectures ou végétaux, déterminants dans les compositions plus tardives. A Dunhuang, où les compositions en registres, (*jatāka* ou *avadāna*) sont nombreuses, l'élément architectural est utilisé fréquemment pour rythmer le récit, et souvent selon un développement en ligne brisée. Un exemple particulièrement typique de ce procédé est fourni par la grotte 290 (Zhou du Nord).

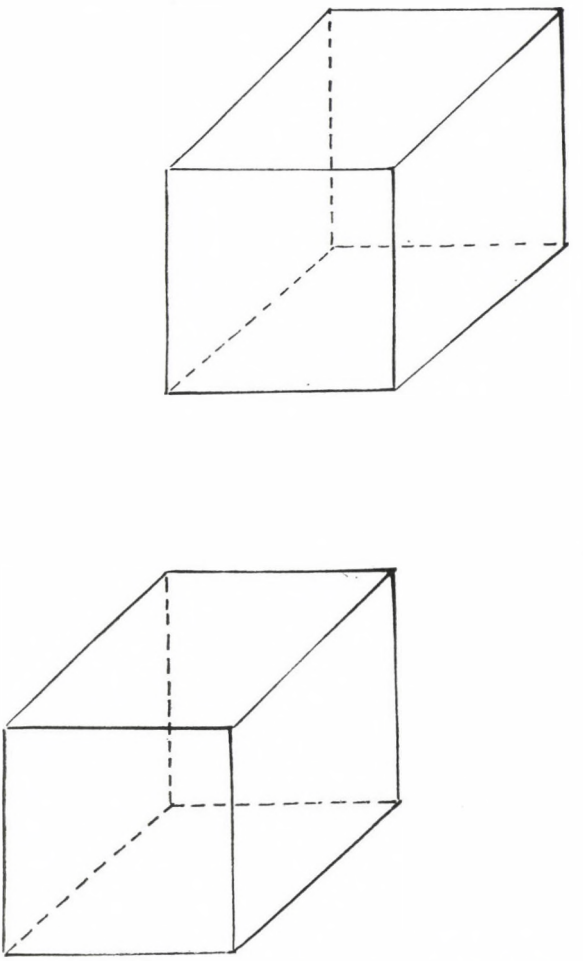

Fig. 3. Perspective isométrique ou axonométrique

la perspective divergente que ne le fait la peinture chinoise, et son application rigoureuse de la perspective axonométrique en démontre de façon particulièrement évidente les effets « ascendants ». C'est le cas de la peinture conservée au musée de Newark, et qui représente le monastère de bSam-yas, construit, on le sait, sur un terrain plat. La perspective occidentale n'aurait montré qu'une partie des édifices, plus ou moins masqués les uns par les autres et déformés par la distance; la perspective axonométrique révèle les moindres bâtiments, étagés les uns au-dessus des autres, comme s'ils avaient été en réalité élevés sur une pente.

Si, pour la peinture tibétaine, l'essentiel demeure la représentation de la divinité, l'importance croissante donnée au décor, surtout, bien entendu,

dans les peintures narratives, témoigne de l'influence du paysage chinois.[5] Elle utilise les lignes de montagnes, de rochers, de nuages, souvent associés et parfois doublés de files de personnages, non seulement pour exprimer les différents plans, mais aussi pour scander les épisodes de la narration, qu'elle enfermait en des cases distinctes dans les compositions en registres. Ce procédé donne un indéniable relief à la construction picturale.[6] Mais il faut noter que ces lignes, souvent brisées, de nuages ou de montagnes, ou leur résultantes, reportent toujours le regard de l'observateur à la figure centrale, comme à un axe de construction, reproduisant en quelque sorte, de façon parfois un peu désordonnée, le schéma de construction iconométrique d'une divinité (Fig. 4). Remarquons enfin que, par rapport à la peinture chinoise, la peinture tibétaine fait souvent preuve d'une certaine horreur du vide: elle utilise rarement l'espace lacunaire simple et présente souvent comme tel une accumulation de rochers, de montages et de nuages.

Définition de la position d'un objet dans l'espace

Les commentaires chinois sur la peinture, cherchant à définir la position d'une architecture dans l'espace, ont fréquemment utilisé le terme *xiangbei* (向 背) comme une notion technique s'appliquant non seulement aux représentations d'architectures, mais de tous les objets inanimés, ainsi qu'au rendu des ombres et des lumières (*yinyang xiangbei* 陰陽向背).

Littéralement, il signifie «faire face, tourner le dos», ou mieux «face à face, dos à dos», et a été employé d'abord dans le constexte de la calligraphie pour rendre compte de l'équilibre résultant du contraste des éléments graphiques. Il a été ensuite logiquement utilisé par la peinture, et la peinture d'architecture, mais sans le contenu géométrique qu'un Européen y mettrait et qui est étranger à la peinture chinoise. Shitao, notamment, l'a utilisé dans ses «*Propos sur la peinture*»[7]: « . . . verticales et horizontales creux et reliefs,

constituent le rythme; (. . .)
Le *contraste* des replis et des ressauts constitue l'alternance de l'action et de la retraite » . . .

Xiangbei, ici traduit par contraste, s'attache essentiellement à définir la relation des objets ou des formes dans l'espace.

[5] Cependant, il faut se garder d'oublier l'influence qu'ont pu exercer sur la peinture de l'Asie centrale puis du Tibet, motifs et traitements indiens, en particulier le motif du rocher (la plupart du temps utilisé comme base, mais parfois aussi comme fond de décor) et son traitement très particulier, à la limite de la figuration géométrique (par exemple à Ajanta).

[6] Dunhuang, grottes 290 et 428 (Zhou du Nord), 419 (Sui), etc.

[7] Traduction de P. Ryckmans, *Les « Propos sur la peinture » de Shitao*, Bruxelles, 1970, p. 63.

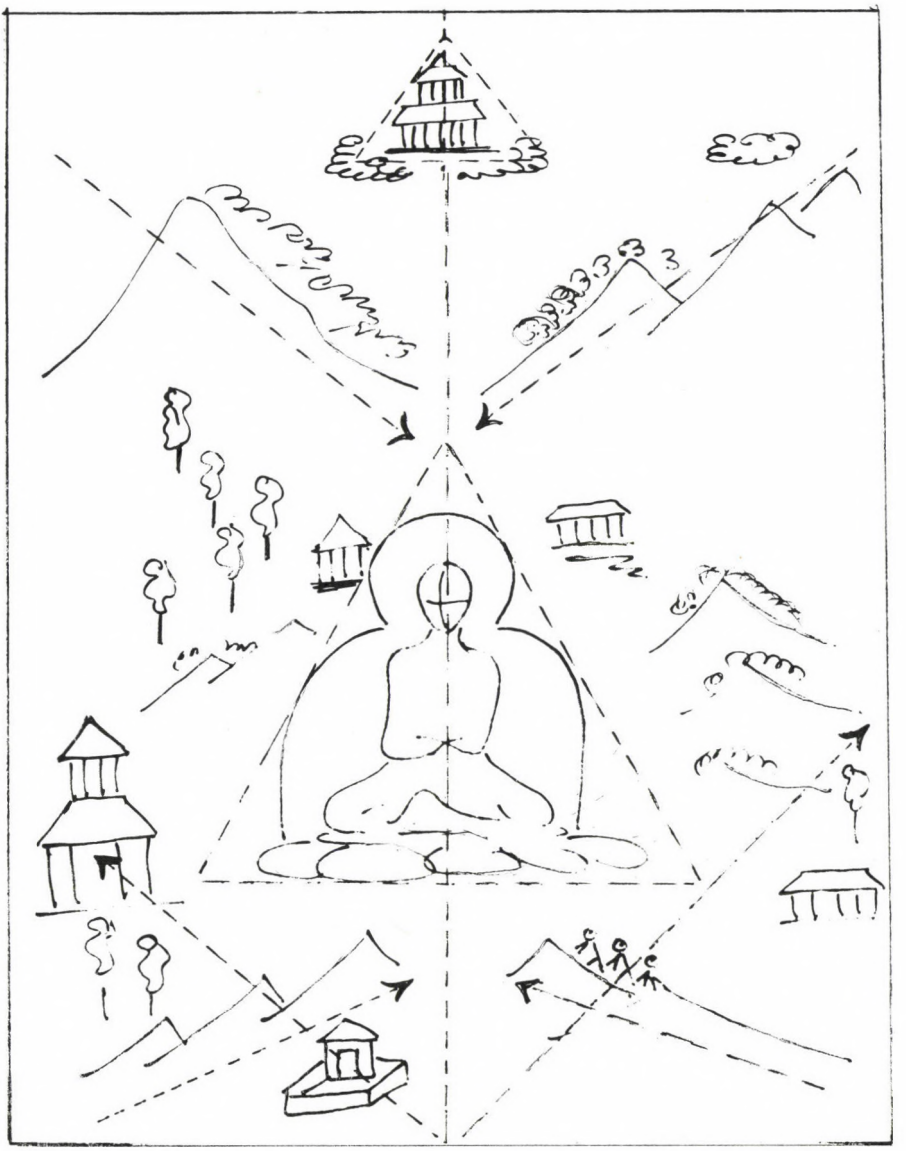

Fig. 4. Lignes de fuite et axe central dans une peinture narrative (schéma)

Curieusement, c'est avec une expression parallèle que la langue tibétaine courante définit la position d'une structure dans un paysage. Prenons en pour exemple un passage du *Nor-bzaṅ* de sDiṅ-čhen smyon-pa:[8]

[8] *čhos-kyi rgyal-po nor-bu bzaṅ-po'i rnam-thar phyogs-bsgrigs byas-pa thos-čhuṅ yid-kyi dga'-ston žes-bya-ba*, f. 45a; ed. Pékin, 1979, p. 37.

« . . . rgyab-ri rmog-čhen 'dra-ba'i mdun žig na /
mdun-ri thal-mo sbyar 'dra'i rgyab žig na / . . . »

Il s'agit ici d'une grotte, lieu habité, assimilable à une construction, et située « dans un endroit devant une montagne qui est derrière lui et ressemble à un grand heaume, dans un endroit derrière une montagne qui est devant lui et ressemble à des mains jointes ». En sens littéral, le couple tibétain *rgyab-mdun* (de *rgyab-ri / mdun-ri*) correspond fort bien, quoiqu'en position inversée, à l'expression chinoise *xiangbei*.

Il ne semble donc pas qu'en dépit de différences de style et de traitement, pour ne pas parler de leur destination, les peintures tibétaine et chinoise aient eu une conception contradictoire de la façon d'assurer la continuité de la composition — et par là même ses lignes de force, sa dynamique et sa vie — par l'opposition des lignes et des volumes. Ce procédé, qui permet d'intégrer un objet architectural au paysage, c'est-à-dire à la nature, en contrôlant le contraste qu'il forme avec elle, même si le souci n'en a pas toujours été exprimé de la même manière dans les textes, semble avoir été utilisé de façon similaire dans les deux pays.

II

Expression de la profondeur dans la peinture et l'architecture tibétaines

Tributaire d'une iconométrie rigoureuse, où la peinture chinoise trouva sans doute un parallèle et un appauvrissement avec les recueils de modèles de la peinture académique, la peinture tibétaine connaît moins de souplesse dans l'établissement des « grandes lignes » (*kuo* 廓 ou *lunkuo* 輪 廓) du paysage où s'inscrit l'architecture. Le paysage, sauf peut-être dans les peintures très marquées par l'influence chinoise, y est moins le support essentiel du développement de la pensée que le contrepoint au récit représenté. Dans la peinture chinoise et tibétaine, le rôle respectif et mutuel du paysage d'une part et des personnages et architectures de l'autre se présente en position inversée, comme les expressions *xiangbei* et *rgyab / mdun* qui en décrivent les relations.

De ce fait, dans la peinture narrative tibétaine, grandes lignes et lignes de force (*shi* 勢) ont tendance à se recouvrir, sinon à se confondre, bien qu'il s'agisse dans le premier cas d'une notion technique visant le déploiement initial des traits de construction, et dans l'autre d'une notion beaucoup plus abstraite concernant la dynamique de la création, et dont la tradition chinoise lettrée n'a aisément, et sans doute à tort, la présence dans les peintures narratives du bouddhisme.

Les lignes de construction de la peinture narrative tibétaine revêtent souvent, on l'a vu, la forme de lignes brisées où s'inscrivent les différents

éléments de la narration, et qui reportent le regard vers l'axe central de la composition. L'enceinte en lignes brisées du temple de bSam-yas, telle qu'elle est représentée sur une peinture conservée au musée de Newark,[9] associée à des éléments plus ponctuels (bâtiments secondaires, lignes de toitures), crée ainsi une ligne de fuite unique qu'on pourrait assimiler à une forme de perspective convergente.

L'effet d'escalier engendré par ces lignes brisées a semblé si évident au peintre tibétain, que les file des personnages qui, souvent, délimitent les espaces lacunaires ou en tiennent la place, sont disposes comme si elles gravissaient un escalier, ce qui n'est pas toujours effectivement le cas.[10] De plus, si ces lignes brisées sont souvent figurées par des murs, on trouve parfois dans les peintures la représentation d'escaliers isolés au milieu d'un paysage,[11] escaliers dont la présence ne doit rien aux nécessités du récit mais tout à la volonté d'exprimer clairement la profondeur, par l'effet des lignes brisées dont les résultantes convergent vers l'axe central.

C'est que dans la construction picturale comme dans la construction architecturale, le sens est particulièrement vif au Tibet de l'équilibre nécessaire entre les composantes horizontales et verticales. Cette notion n'est certes pas absente de la peinture chinoise, et Shitao, on l'a vu, l'exprimait formellement. Mais, au Tibet, elle connaît un développement supplémentaire, qui est sa réalité dans l'expression architecturale. Ce que ne peut figurer l'architecture chinoise, essentiellement composée d'une toiture à versants portée par des piliers ancrés dans une terrasse, est aisément visible dans l'architecture tibétaine, avec ses murs massifs au fruit accusé, parfois rehaussé par des bandes verticales tricolores, architecture dont les composantes horizontales sont soulignées par des rangées de petites fenêtres et la bordure des toits plats (*spen-pad*, *spen-kha*)[12] faite de tamaris teint en brun-rouge. Dans la réalité, un village tibétain, ou une cité monastique, appuyés en pyramide à une pente' présentent donc une suite de lignes fortes horizontales et parallèles. En même temps, l'étagement des bâtiments détermine deux lignes de fuite latérales, qui se rejoignent au sommet, sur l'axe central. De loin, 'Bras-spuṅs semble ainsi

[9] Inventaire: 20.271.

[10] Les fresques du Potala donnent, logiquement, des exemples de telles files de personnages (*Xizang Budala gong*, Hongkong, 1982, pl. 52) qu'on ne peut s'empêcher de rapprocher des reliefs de dignitaires placés à l'aplomb des marches de l'escalier principal de l'Apadana de Xerxès à Persépolis (début Ve s. av. J.C.), escalier dont les rambardes, en lignes brisées, comme au Potala, sont également soulignées par le décor architectural, quoique de façon un peu différente.

[11] Notamment plusieurs peintures de la collection Zimmerman, dont la « Vie du Buddha » reproduite par P. Pal, *Peintures tibétaines*, Bâle, 1984, pl. 61.

[12] Le mot *spen-rgyan* désigne les ornements de cuivre doré qui y sont plantés — dans les constructions d'importance — et par extension le bandeau ainsi décoré.

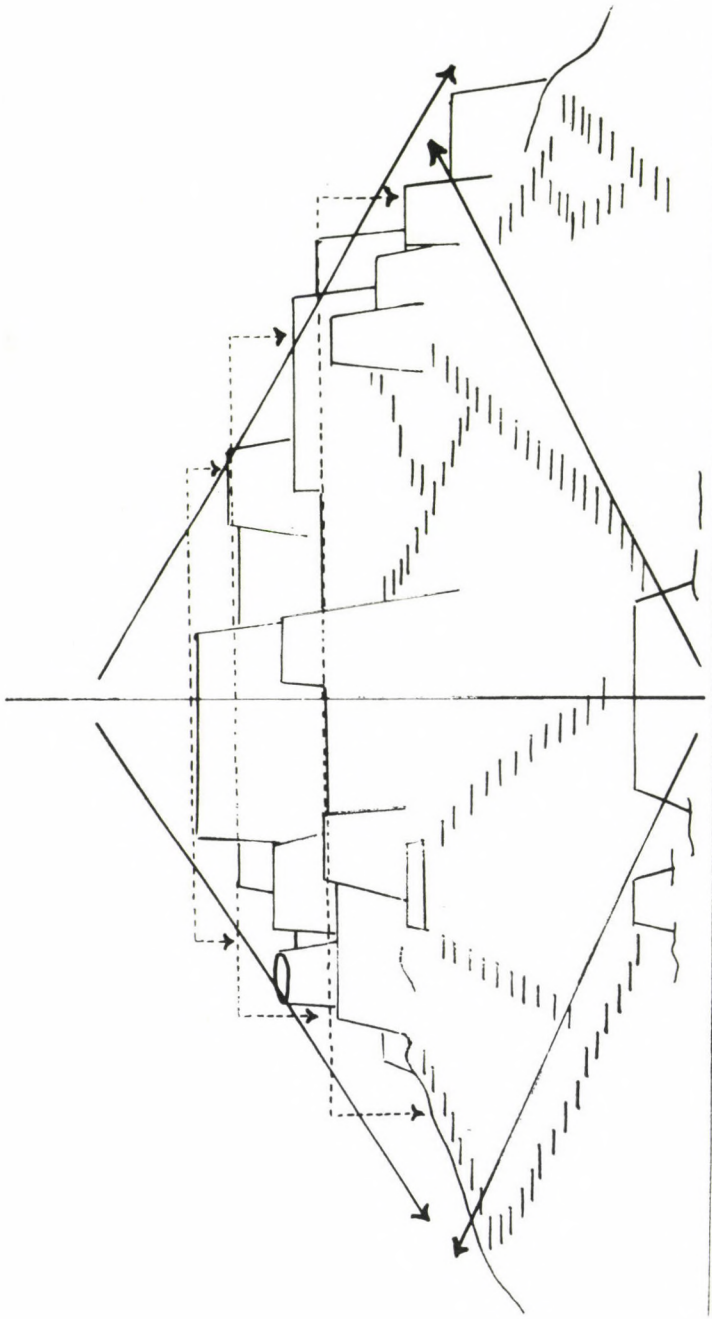

Fig. 5. Lignes de fuite et axe central au Potala (schéma)

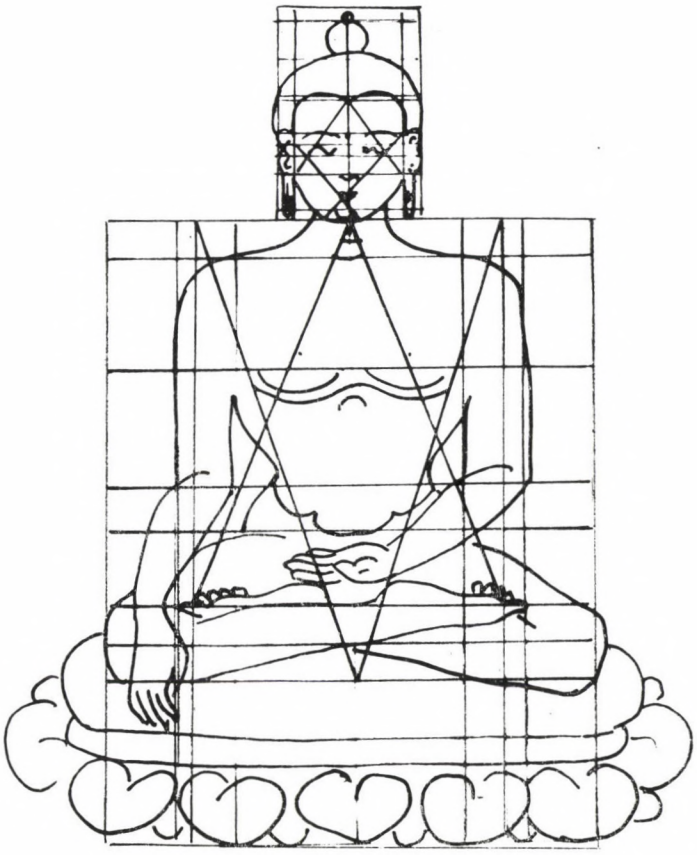

Fig. 6. Schéma de construction iconométrique

s'inscrire dans un triangle redenté. C'est ainsi que la peinture l'a représenté.[13]

Sur l'imposante façade du Potala, les volées d'escaliers croisées, dont les rambardes sont soulignées de brun, en lignes discontinues, contribuent, certes, à animer ce que ces immenses murailles auraient d'exagérément massif,

[13] L'ensemble monastique de 'Bras-spuṅs est étagé sur une pente assez abrupte. Au-dessus s'ouvre une vallée qui décrit, à la verticale du monastère, comme un triangle appuyé sur sa pointe. Ainsi 'Bras-spuṅs s'inscrit dans le paysage comme à la croisée des pentes qui le portent. Le monastère est disposé en pyramide, important ensemble de collèges en bas, palais et temples moins nombreux vers le haut, au fur et à mesure qu'avec l'accentuation de la pente et l'étranglement des traversiers se réduit l'espace utilisable. La bordure des toits, visible de loin sur le fond blanc des murs, accentue les plans horizontaux de cette succession ascendante, déterminant sur les bords de l'ensemble un effet d'escalier, que reproduit très simplement la peinture (Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Ver. 350).

en dépit des subtils rythmes horizontaux qu'y créent les groupements de fenêtres. Mais elles soulignent aussi l'axe central et vertical de l'ensemble,[14] en s'ouvrant à sa base, et corrigent par un effet de profondeur, né de la ligne brisée de leurs rambardes, les aplats de la façade, tandis que les résultantes de ces mêmes lignes brisées se reportent à l'axe central. Enfin, elles répondent dans l'élévation aux découpes étagées de la masse des bâtiments à son niveau supérieur, où le Pho-brañ dmar-po, culminant au-dessus des structures du Pho-brañ dkar-po, produit un effet de pyramide, qui peut du reste s'inscrire, comme l'ensemble de l'édifice, dans un triangle (Fig. 5).

Si donc le respect de la plus rigoureuse iconométrie a souvent contribué à figer les élans de la peinture tibétaine, du moins a-t-il mis en évidence une réalité de ses conceptions: qu'il s'agisse du paysage et de ses éléments narratifs groupés autour de la divinité, du bâtiment figuré dans la peinture, ou du bâtiment réel, réceptacle ou même figuration de la divinité, axes et lignes de construction sont les mêmes, ceux qui sont définis par les canons de représentation des divinités, et dont l'image première et la référence fondamentale est celle du Buddha (Fig. 6).

[14] Le véritable sommet du rocher n'est pas, on le sait, en son centre, mais dans sa partie occidentale. L'ensemble construit que porte le rocher dissimule ce sommet et s'organise selon un axe nettement oriental par rapport à lui.

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ĀRYA-ŚŪRA'S *JĀTAKA-MĀLĀ* AS A COMMENTARY TO THE SIX PĀRAMITĀS IN TIBET

LYGŽIMA CHALOUPKOVÁ (Prague)

Jātaka-mālā written by Ārya-Śūra is one of the famous monuments of Sanskrit Buddhist literature which became well known in the countries of the East and West. It has been appreciated as a work of great literary merits, composed in the kāvya-style and corresponding to all the rules and methods of this kind of ancient Indian poetry. "Its verses and artful prose are written in the purest Sanskrit, and charm the reader by the elegance of their form"[1], and have been highly regarded for their complexity and elaboration of artistic figures, use of different ālaṃkāras, skilfulness of poetical description and great variety of metre.[2]

At the same time *Jātaka-mālā* is also considered to be an outstanding book of Buddhist literature, which explains the main ethical principles of early Buddhism applicable to the laymen as well as to Buddhist monks. In contrast to many dry philosophical texts connected with the moral teachings of Buddha, for instance, literature on Prajñā-pāramitā, where the reader must struggle through masses and masses of monotonous repetitions which interrupt and obscure the trend of the argument"[3], *Jātaka-mālā* using the flowery style and language and the topics of ancient Indian folklore, deals with the main concepts of Buddhism. The cause-effect connection, the dependence of future rebirths upon previous karma impact, the attainment of a high enlightenment of perfect wisdom — bodhi — through moral perfection).

Jātaka-mālā was translated into Tibetan, Chinese and Mongolian and was also known in Europe in the original Sanskrit editions as well as in English and Russian translations. It first penetrated into Tibet in the 9th century, arousing many commentaries and explanations among Tibetan authors. In

[1] The Jātakamālā or Garland of birth-stories by Ārya Śūra translated from the Sanskrit by J. S. Speyer. London. Oxford University Press, 1895. *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, Vol. 1, p. XXIII.

[2] Арья Шура, *Гирлянда джатак, или сказание о подвигах бодхисаттвы.* Пер. с санскрита А. П. Баранникова и О. Ф. Волковой. Москва, 1982, с. 19—24.

[3] Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature.* Mouton Co.'s-Gravenhage, 1960. p. 18.

the *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature* by Prof. Lokesh Chandra we can find Tibetan commentaries and the names of their authors.[4] The tradition of learning these works, handed down from one generation to another, has been preserved up to the present day in Mongolia. During my stay in Ulan Bator in 1975 I succeeded in copying from Gandanthekchenling Monastery's lama Bstan-'dzin 'Od-zer's original, a small manuscript consisting of three texts in the Tibetan language.[5] These brief poetical explications of the *Jātaka-mālā* were written by three Tibetan authors: Panchen lama Blo-bzang chos-kyi rgyal-mtshan (1570—1662), Yongs-'dzin ye-shes rgyal-mtshan (1713—1793) and Dbyangs-can dga'-ba'i blo-gros (the first half of the XIXth century).

The second author, Yongs-'dzin ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, wrote the most important and extensive Tibetan commentary on *Jātaka-mālā*, covering over one thousand pages.[6] It forms the first three volumes in the author's collected works. Yongs-'dzin ye-shes rgyal-mtshan was the teacher of the 8th Dalai Lama; the great significance of the works of this Tibetan scholar is underlined by the Tibetologists A. I. Vostrikov, M. Taube and N. Bolsohoeva.[7]

For the purpose of this article we applied a short outline of this commentary covering sixty six pages[8] and belonging to the end of the above mentioned work. According to this text, the 34 jātakas of Ārya-Śūra were interpreted in Tibet as corresponding to the six transcendental virtues of charity, morality, patience, assiduity, meditation and wisdom. As regards the structure of this commentary, it is divided into four parts which describe the methods of learning charity (A), (see the scheme included) morality (B), patience (C), as well as the other three pāramitās such as assiduity, meditation and wisdom (D, E, F). The first ten jātakas comment upon the pāramitā of charity, the next ten jātakas upon the pāramitā of morality and the final ten jātakas upon the pāramitā of patience, which, in their turn, are divided into different kinds, divisions and subdivisions. The 31st jātaka comments upon the pāramitā of

[4] Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*. New Delhi, 1963. *Śata piṭaka Series*, Vol. 28, 29, 30. T. I, No. 2990, 4193, 5572, 5575; T. II, No. 8297, 10507; T. III, 11063, 14598, 15363, 15364, 15365.

[5] *Ston pa thugs rje can gyi skyes rabs so bzhi pa'i yang snying mkhas mchog dpa' bo'i mgul rgyan zhes bya ba bzhugs so. Ston pa thugs rje can gyi 'khrungs rabs so bzhi pa'i snying po bsdus pa'i tshigs su bcad pa theg chen chos kyi sgra dbyangs zhes bya ba bzhugs. — Skyes rabs so bzhi pa'i snying po bsdus pa'i gsol 'debs rgyal sras 'jug ngogs zhes bya ba bzhugs.*

[6] Skyes rabs so bzhi pa'i don rnam par bshad pa theg chen gsal ba'i sgron me.

[7] А. И. Вострикoв, *Тибетская историческая литература*. Москва, 1962, с. 206. Центральная Азия и Тибет. «*История и культура Востока Азии*. I. *Новосибирск*, 1972. с. 158—160. *Буддизм и традиционные верования народов Центральной Азии*. Новосибирск, 1981, с. 140—151.

[8] *Bdag nyid chen po mkhas mchog dpa' bos mdzad pa'i skyes rabs so bzhi'i don rnam par bshad pa theg chen gsal ba'i sgron me'i bsdus don.*

assiduity, the 32nd jātaka — the pāramitā of meditation and the final two jātakas upon the pāramitā of wisdom.

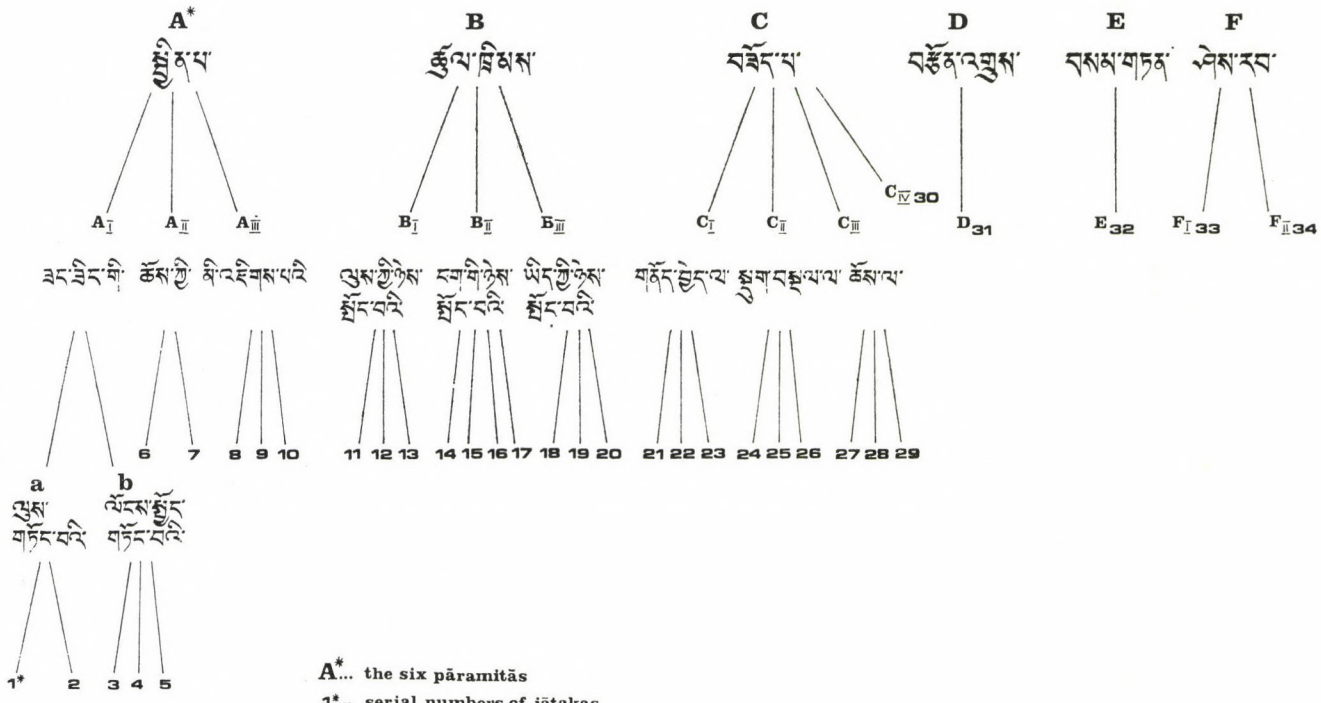
According to the author of the commentary, the method of learning charity is divided into three kinds: almsgiving of external goods and meals (A_I), almsgiving of dharma (A_{II}) and almsgiving of courage or protection (A_{III}). The first kind of charity (A_I) is divided into almsgiving of body (A_Ia) and wealth (A_Ib). Almsgiving of body may consist of giving the whole body or some part. It is commented upon by the first two jātakas, where the Bodhisattva out of charity gives his body to a hungry tigress and his two eyes to a blind brahman. The almsgiving of wealth is divided into offerings and in giving of the home-utensils. The former is commented upon in the 3rd and 4th jātakas, where the Bodhisatva gives abundant offerings to the monks with pure mind and in spite of interference caused by Māra accordingly. The latter is commented upon in the 5th jātaka where a boddhisattva as a merchant gives away all his chattel. In the commentary special attention is paid to explaining the merit which results from practising charity. One can receive wealth, dharma and necessary pleasures; all the virtues may be accomplished and become fruitful in future rebirths.

The almsgiving of dharma (A_{II}) is commented upon in the 6th and 7th jātakas, where the Bodhisattva assuming the image of a hare and brahman, teaches dharma and advises everyone to feel disquiet with the world and to train in the deeds of the Bodhisattva, to distinguish the results of good or bad actions and not to commit sins but to acquire merit.

The almsgiving of protection (A_{III}) consists of three kinds: one should treat with humanity all living beings, give everything to them impartially and protect them from evil. In the 8th jātaka the Bodhisattva as a king protects his people from evil by the power of his love. In the 9th, the prince Viśvantara gives away without fear everything dear to him: his children and wife, all his wealth and an excellent elephant. In the 10th jātaka the king protects his subjects in such a way that those afraid of being sacrified, rid themselves of their faults.

The method of teaching morality consists of three kinds: rejection of sins committed with the body (B_I), the tongue (B_{II}) and the mind (B_{III}). The rejection of the sins committed with the body is further divided into the rejection of killing, theft and adultery. In the 11th jātaka the Bodhisattva as Śakra doesn't want to kill birds and as a result of that he gains victory in a war. The 12th jātaka explains the inadmissibility of taking anything which belongs to another person. In the 13th jātaka the king of Śibis falls in love with beautiful Unmādayantī, his minister's wife, but disinclines to follow the road of the low-minded and prefers to walk on the right path.

The rejection of sins committed with the tongue is divided into four kinds: the rejection of lies, slander, rough word and foolish talk. These notions



The pāramitās and jātakas

are explained in the 14th, 15th and 16th jātakas, where the Bodhisattva stops a sea storm, causes rain to fall and ceases a forest fire by his truthful words and by not causing harm to living beings. The 18th jātaka is directed against drunkenness, which can lead to many sins including useless talk.

The rejection of sins committed with the mind is divided into three kinds: the rejection of carnal desire, of anger and of stupidity. These notions are commented upon in the 18th, 19th and the 20th jātakas where detachment from the world and the ascetic way of live are praised. Two methods in explaining morality are given at that place: a common one, designated for the householder's state, which was discovered in the previous seven jātakas, and a special one, applicable only to the monks. The last three jātakas dwell with those who have decided to adopt the homeless life and became hostile to wordly pleasures.

The method of learning the pāramitā of patience is divided into four kinds: the ability to forgive evil (C_I), to be merciful to others (C_{II}), to be patient in studying dharma (C_{III}) and to contribute with a loving heart to the good of others (C_{IV}). The first notion of this pāramitā is commented upon in the 21st, 22nd and 23rd jātakas, where the Bodhisattva remains patient in the face of different adversities: his wife is carried away by a king; he himself, bearing the image of a holy swan, is captured by hunters on the lake; and envious ministers do everything in order to put obstacles in his way. Nevertheless, he continues to preach his religious sermons owing to the power of forbearance and the possession of a store of merit.

The second notion of the pāramitā of patience — the ability to be merciful to other people's suffering — is commented upon in the 24th, 25th and 26th jātakas where the Bodhisattva saves people from disaster: he rescues two men who have fallen down a precipice and into a large hole in the midst of the forest, and without minding the risk to his own life he even enters a river to save a man who later on makes an attempt on his life. The main idea of these jātakas is in stressing "the mercy to all creatures" as the very core of Buddha's teaching. The patience in dharma is commented upon in the 27th, 28th and 29th jātakas where the Bodhisattva despising his own body and his own life saves a troop of monkeys in the form of their leader; his external body is cut to pieces but he persists in patient endurance and teaches the heretics invoking visions from hell. In the 30th jātaka, the Bodhisattva even sacrifices his own life in order to save the people lost in a forest.

The method of teaching the remaining three pāramitās — assiduity, meditation and wisdom (D, E, F) is commented upon by the final four jātakas. In the 31st, the prince Sutasoma is captured by a man-eater, looking as terrible as a Rākshas. In spite of all the dangers which threatened him, the Bodhisattva criticizes the abnormal conduct of the latter and then zealously instructs him to clean his mind from the dirt of sins and to direct his character

to friendliness. In the 32nd jātaka, a prince, displeased at the suffering and calamities in the world, felt the inconstancy of things and qualities around him. In spite of persuasion from his parents he decided to abandon his home and began to exercise the practice of contemplation.

The method of learning the pāramitā of wisdom consists of two kinds: learning the wisdom of the ultimate truth of the cause-effect connection (F_I) (in contrast to other phenomena which are regarded as conditioned and dependent), and learning wisdom which consists of doing good to all living beings (F_{II}). The former is illustrated by the 33rd jātaka, where the Boddhisattva, as a buffalo, explaines the doctrine of causality to a yaksa, who wants protection from a wicked monkey. In the last, 34th, jātaka the unselfish woodpecker came to the assistence of a lion and didn't desire satisfaction, overlooking the ingratitude paid him.

In the present paper we tried to point out the inner structure of a brief commentary to Jātaka-mālā written by a famous tibetan author Yongs-'dzin ye-shes rgyal-mtshan. We tried to show how the above mentioned 34 jātakas serve to explain the 6 pāramitās in Tibet. The detailed research of extended commentary of this author as well as other Tibetan commentaries undoubtedly bring new, more exact knowledge to this field.

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MERIT (*BSOD-NAMS*), VIRTUE (*DGE-BA*), BLESSING (*BYIN-RLABS*) AND MATERIAL PROSPERITY (*RTEN-'BREL*) IN POPULAR THOUGHT

G. E. CLARKE (Brighton)

Yolmo, or Helambu as it is known in Nepal, is a culturally Tibetan area on the southern slopes of the northern central Himalaya where the dominant form of Buddhism is not monastic. Here, as perhaps elsewhere in areas of Tibetan culture where the religious orders stress achievement rather than the taking of moral vows or precepts, religious ritual is performed by figures other than monks. In Tibet as a whole there were both wandering ascetics *(grub-thob)* and 'married priests' or 'priestly-householders' *(ser-khyim)*, who acted as religious specialists and also as objects of veneration, that is as individuals to whom acts of help could openly be made and recognised as virtuous (Aziz, 1978; Jaschke, 1881; Tucci, 1956: 52; Tucci, 1973: 150; Nakane, 1966: 226). In general, the villager did not distinguish between them according to whether they were or were not monks: in a sense all were *bla-ma*, quite literally 'higher ones', who would received offerings and bestow blessings.

In Yolmo as a whole and in Tarkhyeghyang Village in particular the male villagers themselves act as 'priestly householders' as well as layman. In this paper I want to describe some of the important religious concepts, namely those I gloss as merit, virtue, blessing and material prosperity, as they exist in the popular thought of such a Helambu community known, quite literally, as 'The Lama People'. I begin, however, with a brief account of the community's relations to monks who, by and large, are recent settlers in the area.

Local Relations between Villagers and Monks

In Helambu monks do not enter the village temple, nor do they participate in village services. One reason for this is that the villagers would place them within their own hierarchy (probably opposite the head lama on the inside, where visiting head lamas are sat) rather than agove it where, in terms of doctrinal status they might think they should be placed.

In Tarkhyeghyang village this social separation is illustrated by the general relations between the diviner *(mo-pa)*, that is a Kagyü monk who

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lives above the village, and the villagers. Neither he nor the other two monks of his retreat take part in village services, nor do they normally enter the village. His is a poor retreat dependent on one village for his material support, which he himself admitted compromises him in his relations with the villagers. He put it the following way: —

> "I don't tell them that they have to become monks, as I don't have enough food to feed them; but I don't tell them that they must-n't become monks, as this would be a sin: I just tell them to carry out good religious ceremonies for life. If I scold them then they become annoyed with me, and might call me a prick; but if I praise them then they are happy with me."

People come to see him when they are sick, whereupon he carries out a Tara divination and tells then what ceremonies they have to do to recover, or gives them a piece of consecrated *(byin-rlabs)* butter or water to place on a wound. Although he receives offerings for life-consecration *(tshe-dbang)* ceremonies, usually he does not carry out the rituals: instead he instructs his client to have them carried out by the village priests. In addition, people come to him to ask for the name of a baby if they are afraid that the child might die, such as when a woman has previously had a child who died at an early age. He selects a name (again using a Tara divination) and has his client carry out a ritual for life-consecration.[1]

Villagers also consult him when they are thinking of departing to India to trade, and ask his advice on whether they should go that year or not, and which is the right season to depart. Again he makes a Tara divination, and on this and the strength of his personal knowledge of the people he gives advice. He also acts for the community as a whole. When an old man who lived alone did not return to the village after having wandered off two days prior, he carried out a divination, on request, to see where the body would be found.

In return for his services of divination, his teaching of some boys of the village to read, and his instruction of some lay-priests in exercises for meditation, the villagers give him material support. They pay him for immediate services with rice and cash, and have made minor endowments of land to his retreat, the crops from which they deliver each year. On the villagers' part, this is both a form of payment and an act of 'virtue' *(dge-ba)* for the donor and for the person in whose name it is given.

Monks are only used for exceptional ritual services by the villagers and not for normal life-cycle or annual village-cycle ceremonies. A public reason

[1] Proper names which belong to low castes are selected in these circumstances, as it is thought that this will confuse the evil-spirit (*gdon*) responsible for the repetitive misfortune (*sri*) of the family. This explains why boys in a Lama Village can have names such as Kami, which means blacksmith.

why monks do not participate in village ritual is that 'their gods are different', that is that they and the villagers have not been initiated into the same texts. But this cannot be true for the hermit monks who live above the village of Tarkhyeghyang and give villagers texts for meditation, nor can it be generally true for the students of other hermit monks.

Monks only rarely enter the village. In Tarkhyeghyang, one of the few such occasions that I witnessed in over a year was when an ex-student of a Gelug hermit monk had been advised by him to carry out a 'ransom' ritual *(glud-gtor)* for a personal emotional problem. This was not to be carried out by village priests, partly because his teacher did not think highly of village ritual, partly because his pupil now had a high position and prestige amongst the village priesthood and did not wish to conduct this affair in public, and partly because few of the village priesthood were initiated into this particular ritual. The monk carried out the ritual for a whole day in his former student's house, aided by *local* (i.e. village) novices from Bakan monastery who were at that time resident in the village[2]. At no time did he mix with villagers, and rather than stay overnight, he made his exit from the village by a side-path one hour before nightfall.

Attitudes to individual monks who pass through the village are ambivalent. From the viewpoint of the moral code a status as a monk is superior to that of a householder. Hence a monk should sit above them in their homes, be served food before them while sitting by their houshold altar, and, if he was to enter the temple, sit above their head priest. This is the high position that a member of the founding lineage would normally occupy in the temple or while visiting another villager's house. No lama of the village's founding lineage, nor any person whose status was higher than that of the head of the household concerned, would visit such a house while a monk was present: they are avoided. Yet as possessionless monks they have neither land nor money, nor do they show the same concern with the size and quantities of offerings that marks village religious practice. This suggests a reason why itinerant monks are, at one level, regarded by villagers as their inferiors. As I will describe presently, wealth, material success and power are in local thought associated with high religious status: a hermit monk's presence contradicts this association.

[2] At the present day, village-youths are now taught to read by local monks, who also give religious instruction to villagers, and that boys may be sent outside of the area to large monasteries for their training. Hence the balance between a married priesthood and the monastery may be shifting in favour of the latter. It is noteworthy that Tille Dunjom, the eighteenth century Head Lama of Tarkhyeghyang who achieved some status outside of the region received his first instruction in reading from his mother at the age of seven (Clarke, 1983).

One way of solving this problem is by such avoidance; but there is also another, which is to artifically elevate the rank of the person referred to. The diviner above Tarkhyeghyang village is casually referred to as a *rinpoce* (*rin-po-che*), the title of a high reincarnate lama, although most of the village priests know very well that he is a refugee monk from the Kyirong area without this elevated status. By giving the monastic religious specialists the fictionally elevated status of a high reincarnate lama, and by having to visit him rather than having him enter the village, they can maintain their own hierarchy. Only those monks or lamas with secularly powerful positions and wealth (such as the Cisu Kushiok or Djun Djom Rinpoce from Kathmandu), or a totally unknown figure who can be fictionally elevated to such a level, can be placed above this conundrum. For example, when these two figures enter the village, they arrive not as moneyless mendicants on foot, but by a helicopter of the King of Nepal's Flight, with entourage: the villagers compete to give them hospitality. Both of these figures have been in the village temple where they have sat at the head of the lines, above all the village priesthood. By giving hospitality to those who are their obvious superiors they elevate and legitimate their own status, and a person who combines wealth and power with religious authority is the epitome of such a figure.

The Married Priesthood and the Local Order

In Yolmo, as one might expect with a married priesthood, the main religious orders are Nyingma, Kagyü, or Karma, namely those that do not stress monastic vows to the exclusion of other directions of achievement. These village priests far outnumber the monks of Bakan and the hermits of the region taken together and are the most powerful group in the region. They are the representatives of the State, and the major land-holders and traders in the region: their authority is not only political and economic, but also religious. Elsewhere I have shown that their original land-endowments were made by Nepalese Kings for their own merit and the well-being of the State, and the form of their land-tenure was indissolubly linked to the carrying out of these general religious practices (Clarke, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c, 1983). Within the village, these priests conduct nearly all aspects of life-cycle and collective calendrical religious practices and leave only the diagnosis of misfortune in the hands of outsiders such as monks.

Their religious practices show a concern both with merit and esotteric ritual, and their statuses display a complex social elaboration of the roles of donor (*sbyin-bdag*) and lama, that is of priest and client. They have become institutionalised at a level of local belief, competence, and practice that has as its parallel and context the local social hierarchy. By and large, they are not

religious virtuosi but lay-priests, 'world-embracers' rather than 'world-renouncers'.

The term lama is used in varying ways. At its widest, in Helambu as a whole, it refers to any member of a Lama village, and in this sense is a status category of wealthy landowners and traders who live in villages with temples towards the ridge and who carry out Buddhist ritual. Within the community of the Lama villages alone, although it does have the connotation of 'priest', it is usually used as a respectful title to any important man, quite independently of whether or not he does, or can, perform a priestly role. For example, many Tarkhyeghyang men who are not literate arrogate the title of lama when visiting other Lama villages, and will be sat at the head of these local village hierarchies. This is as much a reflection of their wealth and prestige in the area as a statement of their competence in ritual. It is the connotation of *bla-ma* as 'higher one' which is foremost here rather than the senses of 'priest' or 'ecclesiastic' which the term also has here, as in Tibet (Jaschke, 1881 p. 383). And locally these two ideas of wealth and religious prestige are linked together as a single attribute of the Lama people.

Within the village itself although the term lama does have a sense of priest; it is mainly used to refer to members of the Lama Lineage as distinct from other priests[3]. The term *chō-wa* is normally used to refer to a person as a priest. This is the Tibetan term *chos-pa* — 'a religious man, a divine, a monk', and its root is the Tibetan literary translation of the Skt. *dharma*: but it has a local sense of the 'proper order' and of 'moral doctrine', custom, religion and Buddhism (Jäschke, *op. cit.*), in popular thought in Helambu as in Tibet. The word *chō-wa* can have a wider reference, and occasionally is used of a person who is not capable of acting as a priest in the temple, but who spends most of his time carrying out overtly virtuous acts, such as making offerings, circumambulating the temple, and turning prayer-wheels. These people are normally old and respected, but illiterate, villagers.

According both to hermit monks within Helambu and to those who have studied with them and later become village priests, to become a *chō-wa* in the sense of a priest who can carry out religious ceremonies correctly it is necessary to stay as the student of a competent teacher for at least four years. In Tarkhyeghyang, some of the higher priests have carried out such a training, and have either been students of hermit monks, or were themselves monks who later renounced their vows to become laymen. According to one such hermit teacher, although many of the male villagers have acquired the skill of read-

[3] There is no contradiction here as all male members of the founding Lama Lineage are automatically considered to be priests by virtue of filiation (way in which they are members of a descent group) in the male line.

ing, and come to him to request new texts to study for meditation, very few, if any, can carry out the meditative practices properly. His view of villagers in general is that they are all laymen with their minds set on good food, fine clothes, a large house, plenty of children and enjoyment of life, all of which are desires largely incompatible with conducting proper religious ritual; furthermore, he pointed out that many of the ceremonies they use are concerned with furthering these wordly aims rather than with 'liberation'. In short, his view is that they are anything but 'world-renouncers'.

The term for layman, *'jig-rten-pa*, itself has the sense of wordly, and he here referred to the *'jigs-rten-gyi chos-brgyad*, the 'eight wordly objects' — namely, gain and loss; fame and ill-fame; slander and praise; happiness and misery (Das, S. C., 1902, p. 455) — as characterising many of them. His contrast was to *chos-pa*, in the sense of someone committed to *chō* as Buddhist doctrine, not to the public status of village priest.

To act as a village priest the minimal qualification is to be able to read from a Tibetan printed text, that is from the type of book used in the temple. This skill presumes neither the ability to compose nor to copy Tibetan block-script, nor even a comprehension of the work: it is a form of semi-literacy analogous to the chanting of a Latin mass in a Catholic church, and relies as much if not more on a rote-memory that is keyed off by words in the text (an exercise of recall as well as recognition), as it does on the ability to read from a new text. At the lowest level of competence a person learns a specific text. Before a festival for which it is required he will sit at home to practice reading it. This is all the knowledge that is needed to sit in the temple in the line of village priests.

At the same time, a number of the senior priests have a far higher level of literacy, and among the priesthood of Tarkhyeghyang there are people of great sophistication. A number have familiarity with Nepalese, Hindi, and Lhasa Tibetan, as well as with their won Tibeto-Burman dialect of Kagate. Many of these people have in their youth and middle-age travelled and traded outside Nepal, lived in India and Tibet, and have travelled as far afield as Burma. Some have had religious training in major centres of Tibetan Buddhist religious orders.

On their return to the village they all take their place in the local religious hierarchy. This raises the question of whether it is in any sense correct to talk of common local conceptions. It would be naive to suppose that all village priests shared the same collective ideas. It would be even more mistaken to suppose that village priests' conceptions were the same as those of local pastoralists who cannot read, speak only their own language and Nepalese, and who have not travelled outside Helambu.

For example when Djun Djom Rinpoce gave a Vajrayāna initiation to the entire village on the inauguration of the newly constructed village temple

in 1971, what the mass of villagers of Tarkhyeghyang received in their own eyes was not an interpretation of the ordination, nor an initiation into the symbolism of the patron deities of a particular ceremony and text, but a blessing which was important because of the status of the person giving it. All may agree that the ceremony was for *wang* (*dbang*). On the term there is a general public consensus: but, whereas for the knowledgeable *wang* is 'authority', 'permission', or 'empowerment' (Beyer, 1973: 402), for the villager it is a blessing. It is more important but of the same type as that blessing contained in the ball of barley given to each congregant on the last main day of the festival of Nara (*na-ra*, literally 'hell') by the village head lama, which also is called *wang*. And this Nara *wang* is a blessing of the same type but more important than that given by the head lama by the touch of his hand, bell, *vajra* or book on the bowed head of a congregant on a normal day when meeting him in the village square. Thus, though all would agree that they were receiving *wang* the conceptions of what this means vary considerably.

Some of the village priests are well aware of the divergence between doctrinal Buddhism and the local order, and to the extent that they participate in the public practice of religion their position is a conscious compromise. All of these people, from the head lama to the illiterate pastoralist, form a single community and participate together in village ceremonies in the temple: they come together in a single social order. Here it is the public exhibition and statement of status and concept, such as is indicated in the temple, the village square and houses, and other everyday contexts of word and deed, that I am principally concerned with; that is the external and common forms of practice that link the community together, rather than on any single individual's varying-interpretations: by village conceptions I am referring to this public level alone.

At this lowest common level in the village the voicing of Tibetan syllables or Sanskrit *mantra* has an intrinsically sacred nature; it is the key to ritual control over fortunes in this and other worlds. The word is itself sacred. Books must not be placed on the floor but stored above on special shelves, and the touch of a book on the head is itself beneficial. One cannot sit on chests that contain books, and when a book is so worn that it can no longer be used, it cannot just be thrown away but must be buried in a sacred site. The exercise of learning the Tibetan alphabet, of chanting the sounds of the combinations of letters whose name and sequence is learnt by rote, is itself a form of religious activity, analogous to but at a lower level than the practicing of a text in the home. Tibetan characters, whether inscribed on paper and made manifest by the turning of a prayer wheel, on a prayer flag by the action of the wind, on the paddles of a wheel turned by water, or read from a book, are always sacred. And the priest who can select a suitable text and manifest it through reading has the power of control over this sacred order: hence the significance of read-

ing as a public sign of religious competence. No such reverent attitude attaches to literacy in Nepalese, which in the village is regarded as a useful skill, but one independent of the religious order and status.

The Local Conception of Order and the Cosmos

For the villager, all religious action is *chō*. As I noted above the term *chos* is often translated into English as 'religion' or 'religious work', with a particular sense of 'Buddhist doctrine' (Skt. *dharma*) although it also has the sense of 'custom'. At least in Helambu if not in Tibet as a whole it has the wider sense of the 'customary way' or 'order'. Here the idea of the Buddhist order as the 'proper order' is usually implicit: for the villager, all customs associated with Tibetan Buddhist culture as they exist are *chō*. It has a sense of 'morality' or 'correctness', but it is not just the religious order in the sense that religion has today in the West: it is *the* proper order which stands behind all aspects of nature and culture, behind all possible worlds. If there is a landslide, if there is a storm, if one is sick, if a building collapses, if trade is bad, the answer is always in *chō*. In village as in doctrinal conceptions, everything ultimately is explainable by *chō*, there is no division into separate areas of technical knowledge as exists in western thought. Hence, in the social world as much as any other, the differences of position between Lama and Tamang, between landlord and tenant, between the wealthy and the poor, are as much expressions of *chō* in the sense of the 'order of things', as is anything else.

This local conception of *chō* embodies both a cosmology and an idea of correct or proper action that for the large part explains the position of the individual in this order. The cosmos is ordered vertically, consisting of layered worlds, with a descending hierarchy from the upper to the lower levels. From the viewpoint of the individual, there are levels that are 'up' or above him, other levels that are 'down' or below him, and his own level. This is the basis of a three-way division in the manner of 'heaven, earth, and hell', here referred to as the 'land of the gods' (*lha-yul*), the 'land of men' (*mi-yul*), and 'hell' (*dmyal-ba*).[4]

The idea of a layered cosmos is reported as being quite common at the popular level in Tibetan culture (Stein, 1972: 211). I do not intend to discuss this further, other than to point out that the general expression in Tibetan for 'all possible worlds', is *'jig-rten-gsum*, literally the 'three materially based worlds', and has the sense of heaven, earth, and hell (Jäschke, *op. cit.*).

[4] In literary Tibetan I believe that *mi-chos* can be contrasted to *lha-chos* as the 'order of men' versus the 'order of the gods'. This division between heaven and hell corresponds, in a general sense, to that between gods (*lha*) and evil spirits (*'dre*). In Helambu the general term for evil spirits is not *'dre* but the conjunct *gdon bgegs bar-chad*.

Though the latter does adorn the temple portico in the usual corner, it is this former layered conception rather than the Buddhist 'wheel of existence' (*srid pa'i 'khor-lo*) with its six domains which is the village conception of the cosmos. One sophisticated informant mapped the one on to the other in the following manner: the gods and the demi-gods form the gods; the men and animals form this world; and the hells and the domain of the 'ghosts' form the underworld. Here the Buddhist idea of an escape from the 'wheel of existence', that is of 'liberation' (*thar-pa*) as a radically different state, is altogether absent. The idea of such an opposition is, of course, implicit in the Buddhist interpretation of the root *'jig-rten* in the term *'jig-rten-gsum* (see above).

Village ideas are not other-wordly in the doctrinal sense of 'liberation' as an appreciation of the lack of essence of material worlds: here liberation is not the negation of this world but the apotheosis of worldly-desire, an idealised material heaven, an earthly paradise (*zhing-khams*), the land of the gods (*lha-yul*). The main sense in which the people are 'other-wordly' is in that they pay attention to the after-life and to a presumed reincarnation: here their actions are directed towards going 'up' rather than 'down', not to discovering a radically different conception of the order. Heaven and hell are the ideal poles of this vertical hierarchy of worlds, and any village ideas about 'liberation' conceive of it as the highest form of heaven. Insofar as one can talk about general ideas on rebirth these are directed towards the next immediate reincarnation, with the expectation and hope that they will be reborn in a similar locality, with a slightly higher status.[5]

This vertical representation of the cosmos is the same scheme that applies to the social world and the natural order. 'Above' is towards the ridge and northwards, towards the snow-peaks and Buddhist temples of the Lamas where religious work is carried out; 'down' is towards the river and southwards, towards the land cultivated by Tamangs and trade. The natural, ethnic and economic divisions of the region are subsumed in this village conception of *chō* as a vertical hierarchy. The same set of ideas is carried through within the village itself, with "up" and "down" applied both to the relative statuses of men in their seating positions, and to their positioning with respect to deities, in the home and the temple. Rank and status in this world are contained in the same logical order as the relationships between different worlds.

This ideology, in which spiritual progress, social status, and material wealth are analogous and interconnected areas, also provides the Lama People

[5] Such general village notions do not apply in a simple or direct manner to all individuals, many of whom express a sceptical attitude to the usefulness of a discussion in reincarnation; yet at the same time a large part of public ritual is directed to just this purpose.

with a justification of the social order and the reasons behind fortune and misfortune. In their terms as health and material success are the lot of those who live up the hill, so sickness and poverty are the lot of those who live below. A tenant farmer at the bottom of the hill may be well aware that the direct cause of his misfortune is economic, and that he cannot make offerings at the temple because of his poverty. From the viewpoint of the Lama community the explanation is in terms of the people's *karma*, and the best way of improving their position is by acting according to Buddhist precepts and supporting the temples of their Lama landlords. Hence the hegemony of these lama landlords has a religious legitimation not only in the law of the state (see Clarke, *op. cit.*) but also in the local ideology.

Merit as Virtue and Blessing

The position of the individual villager is thought to depend on his 'accumulation of merit' (*bsod-nams-kyi tshogs*). 'Virtue' (*dge-ba*) results in an increase, and sin or 'vice' (*sdig-pa*) in a decrease, of this stockpile of merit.[6] This is a *karmic* model of just returns according to the morality of intentions and actions, in which individual responsibility is stressed. The accumulation of merit is held to transcend any one lifetime: the direction of the individual's reincarnation depends on this store, and his present status can be justified by reference to actions in this, as well as in previous, lifetimes.

Although in reply to direct questions, individuals stress the importance of the intention behind an action for gaining merit, at a public level actions, and moreover institutionalised actions, are of major importance for accumulating merit. In the monastic form of Buddhism in Tibet the main forms of virtuous action which result in this merit are keeping to the vows of the householder and a veneration of the 'Buddha, Doctrine and Community'. A person gains merit by acting as the *jindah* (*sbyin-bdag*), the 'donor' who supports religious institutions by actions such as the construction of buildings, the copying of books, and donating land and other sources of income. In Helambu, the figure of the donor is formalised in the status of the *jiwa* (a contraction of the Tibetan term *sbyin-bdag*). He is responsible for managing the secular aspects of a ceremony and in return receives the primary merit of the ritual. As well as the merit implicit in the action of this support, he has the right to make offerings and receive blessings on his own behalf on that day.

As a donor a person is a client of the priesthood, and the position of donor is rotated amongst all villagers in an elaborate manner so that all house-

[6] The terms *sonnam* (*bsod-nams*) and *dikpa* (*sdig-pa*) are often used loosely as the contraries for 'good' and 'bad'.

holds which are full members of the village have the right to occupy the position of donor on certain annual festivals, and hence have institutionalised access to merit. In addition, the other village households have both the right and obligation to support the donor of each festival with gifts of crops. These are redistributed in the form of food to the community at the festival; they also support member households with similar donations of crops at life-cycle ceremonies. Hence, the performance of one's duty as a village member is itself a virtuous act that results in the accumulation of merit.

Other practices that are a part of routine daily activities are also seen as producing merit. The house-father's recitation of a text, and the house-mother's purification at the household altar in the morning, are both virtuous acts. The morning and evening clockwise circumambulation of the temple, the turning of prayer-wheels, and the recitation of simple liturgical formulae are similarly seen by non-literate members of the community as virtuous acts producing merit. And at an informal level all acts of generosity are virtuous.

In the same way that the giving of goods as a donor is an act of virtue, so the carrying out of duties as a priest in an act of virtue. In this way the position of a priest in the temple results in merit for the incumbent. Hence, in daily activity and as client and priest, a villager has access to institutionalised positions which result in the production of merit.

All public ritual is at least in part associated with the accumulation of merit. This is transparently so with the major public ceremony that occurs after death, which itself is known as the *dge-ba* — the term that means virtue. At this time, when it is thought that the soul of the deceased is in an intermediary state prior to reincarnation, acts of generosity are carried out in the name of the deceased with the intention of increasing his stockpile of merit so that he has a good reincarnation. More generally, at every ceremony in which offerings of the small rice *torma* that in this as other Tibetan areas of the Himalaya are known as *tso* (*tshogs*, literally 'accumulation') are made, the entire congregation receives merit. Then each donor who makes an offering gives 108 of these *torma*, which after they have been blessed at the end of the ceremony are redistributed to each of the member households of the village as a sign of merit[7]. The ceremonies for *tashi* (*bkra-shis*) and *nowa* (*sngo-ba*) which are performed after major temple ceremonies are also connected with merit. The former is a thanksgiving for merit and good-fortune received in the past; the latter is thought to ensure that the merits produced by the ceremony are actually received by the person for whom they are intend-ed, notwithstanding

[7] There are 103 houses in Tarkhyeghyang. According to some villagers, there should ideally be 108 houses in the village. This number 108 has a general symbolic significance in Tibetan religion.

any mistakes that may have been made in the carry-ing out of the ritual[8].

In one sense, merit is for the individual who performs the act of virtue himself, and at this level it is the state of mind of the actor while carrying out the action which is of importance. Both the sophisticated villager and the monk hold that the importance of such acts of virtue ies not in the automatic accumulation of merit, but in directing thoughts to the after-life and religious doctrine which redirects and improves the mind. Here routine and automatic acts of offering can have no virtue in themselves and are only of service to the individuals who carry out the action if accompanied by the correct intentions: these have to be other than the self-interested accumulation of a hypothetical merit. However, public ritual acts at a different level whereby acts of offering and receiving are institutionalised and formalised as obligations and duties: it emphasises the social act rather than the intention and state of mind of the individual.

For the villager, merit is both for the individual carrying out the action and for others who are part of the community. In some cases the individual acts as the representative of a social unit, or of social units of the village, such as the household or the local lineage. For example, rituals carried out in the temple in the name of the founding lineage of the village can be both for that Lineage and the village collectivity as a whole, as is the continual rotation of the paddles of the water-wheel at the edge of the village.

Merit is also acquired indirectly. At a formal level, all the religious texts carry at their end the Mahayana dedication for any merits from the ceremony to be for all living beings (*sems-can don-byed*). Moreover the villager believes that the merit acquired by an offering in the temple can be redirected to a person other than the donor himself. As well as the 108 small rice-cones known as *tso*, there is a larger rice *torma* placed in the centre of the tray known as the *lumba* (?) *tso*. The former are for those people who are alive, for *sonden wang* (*gson-pa*) 'to be alive, to save or preserve one's own life'; the latter are for people who are already dead, for *shinbu wang* (t:*gshin-po*, 'a ghost, the dead, anything that is dead' Das, 1902, p. 1314, 1248). These *torma* are delivered to the *uje* (*dbu-je*), the Lama's assist-ants, for placement in the temple on the morning of the day on which they must be offered. One rupee for each person for whom the 'merit' of the *lumba tso* is intended must be handed to one of the Lama's assistants, who writes down the name of this person on the list for the day, which is read out at the time of the offering by the priests. At this popular level, the state of mind of the person for whom the merit is intended obviously is not of central importance to the ritual.

[8] In western Tibet *sngo-ba* is a blessing in the sense of a requital for a present, that is a form of spiritual recompense or repayment (Jäschke, 1881, p. 137).

It is clear that the term merit is linked to the popular idea of blessing as much as it is to virtuous action. This connection between merit and blessing is of major social importance, as it takes responsibility for merit away from the actor and places it in the hands of the priest carrying out the ceremony.

In answer to a direct question people will reply that whatever happens to them is according to their merit, or that a religious ceremony gives them merit. At this level, the doctrine of karmic returns according to accumulation of merit from past actions stands behind the village conception of the order. However, other ideas about the effectiveness and mode of action of ritual, besides merit in the sense of virtue, enter into everyday life. Indeed, with a notion of merit being produced only by the virtue of one's *own* actions the idea of a priest performing services for a client, as is implicit in the village practice of Vajarayana ritual, would be difficult to comprehend. The contradiction between *karma* as a law of moral returns and ritual altering fortune has been noted for Buddhists elsewhere in Asia (Obeyesekere, 1968: 22; Tambiah, 1968: 42). This may appear as a contradiction; however, at the public level not only is there no observable contradiction but there is no simple distinction between the two: merit, as well as being the direct aim of the general support of religious institutions and of numerous actions of devotion, is an accompaniment to ritual actions which are intended to direct a person's fortune quite independently of any virtue implicit in the action of the donor or client himself.

Villagers' attention is directed to merit, in the sense of the after-life and virtue (*dge-ba*), on certain occasions only. Apart from repetitive chanting of prayers and other such ritualised actions, these are times in the annual calendrical or life-cycle when thoughts of the after-life are to the fore: death and the annual festival of Nara are the prime examples of merit as a collective and public concern. Merit, in the sense of accumulation of virtue, also comes to the fore as an explanation of events, or states of fortune, which are otherwise inexplicable. For example, when a pious and well-thought of individual met with an unlucky accident which killed him within the day, then a deficit of merit from previous lifetimes was put forward as the possible reason behind this event[9]; similarly, merit accumulated from previous lifetimes is used to explain the material wealth of foreigners who do not practise Buddhism. However, merit in this sense is rarely invoked as an explanation for the minor particulars of this lifetime, such as success or failure in a trading venture, gambling, divorce, meat rotting rather than drying over the fire, a minor disease, and so on. Only when it concerns death or other major events, or a repetitive state of fortune without another direct or obvious reason, is merit in the sense of the accumulation of virtue invoked as the explanation.

[9] Other immediate explanations, such as witchraft accusations against outsiders, can also be invoked on such occasions.

I referred above to the way in which *wang* (*dbang*) is popularly conceived of as a blessing. By 'blessing' I mean both to protect or guard from evil and to confer well-being by some sacred act, which here is the customary religious service of a priest for his client. This can be distinguished from merit, in the sense of the accumulation of virtue, in that its value depends not so much on the virtuous action of the donor or client as on the effective ritual action of the priest. This sense of blessing is wider than the Tibetan term often translated as 'blessing', that is *chinlap* (*byin-rlabs*; Skt. *prasād*). In Helambu, this latter term is publicly used to refer only to certain kinds of blessing, and is largely defined by contrast to another term that is also, in the wider sense, blessing: namely, *tendil* (*rten-'brel*; Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*). Whereas the first is connected to health and a general well-being, the latter is specifically connected to good-fortune and matters of direct material prosperity[10]. Both of these terms are associated with specific substances and ceremonies, and their meaning comes about in part from reference. The consecrated pills, known as *wang*, that are handed out to the entire congregation on the last day of Nara to many people actually *are* a form of *chinlap*; the dough of the broken up bodies of the *torma*, that are distributed after a ceremony, actually *is chinlap*. The flour sprinkled over each member of the congregation on the last day of Nara by the Markhu Gyatso 'butter ocean') temple official is *tendil*, as is the fried bread handed out to the entire assembly on two days of Nara.

On a large number of occasions, the principal concern is with blessing and this life rather than with merit in the sense of virue for the after-life. The point is not that in their terms there is a clear distinction between ceremonies for virtue (*dge-ba*) and others for blessings in the sense of *chinlap* and *tendil*. At the level of village concepts the local term for merit, *sonnam* (*bsod-nams*), has a sense both of an accumulation of merit attached to the individual on which his fate in the after-life depends, and of blessing in the sense of the beneficial effects of ritual action carried out by the priesthood. At the popular level, there is no clear separation between the two.

One sign of the importance of blessing in the wider sense is the number of occasions on which blessing rather than merit is the direct purpose of the ceremony. I will give a few illustrations of these here. The *sang* (*bsangs*, purification) ceremony which forms part of the major clan ceremonies has material prosperity, that is *tendil*, for the donor, as its main concern, as does the equivalent village festival of *Da-lha pangto* (*dgra-lha pang-bstos*); the latter also contains a libation offering (*ser-bskyems*) for the material prosperity of each and every village household. Semi-formal gatherings, whether for activities such as

[10] In its popular use *tendil* also has the sense of omen; in Helambu a monkey is the best, and a deer or a wild-cat the worst, omen.

gambling or for repairing the paths into the village after the monsoon, are always accompanied by a libation offering made by the donor who provides the refreshments. And the offerings and blessings at marriage, namely, the butter anointed on the heads of the couple, the rice laid out in the pattern of a *vajra* and swastika on their seats, the cloths and money offerred to them, and the cup of milk sipped by each in turn, are all signs of, or actions for, material prosperity for the union[11].

The divination ceremony which the oracle above the village performs to see if it will be advatageous to remain in the village or to leave and trade is perceived by many simply as a blessing on the departure. So too often are the 'merits' received by the donor for a day of ceremony at Nara, when at the end of the day they enter the temple, sit facing the altar in the centre aisle, and in sequence receive and hold various objects off the altar and then prostrate. On many formal and informal occasions popular concern is directed not so much towards merit in the sense of virtue as towards what, in the general sense, are blessings.

This lack of popular differentiation between blessing and merit is typical of all the Lama villages in Helambu where I have pursued the question: public ritual inescapably links merit with blessing and control.

The penultimate folio of the Tibetan text HD2 (see Clarke, 1980a), which tentatively has been dated to the beginning of the eighteenth century, suggests that it has existed for at least a century. This document contains the names of individuals who are the donors of a ceremony, the amount of money or objects that they have given for the ceremony, and the name of the place or paradise where they wish to be reincarnated. In this case where an offering and the action of a priest are thought to control one's future reincarnation, there is little left in the notion of merit as inherent virtue associated with either the intent behind an action, or *karma* as just returns on conduct. Here virtue is subordinate to the ritual action of a priest on behalf of a client.

This link between merit and blessing provides a clue to the motivation behind an important social fact. People prefer to make gifts to their superiors rather than to their inferiors or equals. For example, even the vows of the householder considered earlier are not simply instructions in precepts, taken with an eye to merit by virtuously following them, but a blessing. And, as a blessing, they are more effective the higher the rank of the religious expert who confers them. In the village the people prefer to receive initiations from people of high rank, and here we also have a reason for the fictional elevation of the status of the diviner to that of a *rin-po-che*: the higher his status, the

[11] Marriage is not a major life-cycle event in the same way as birth and death. This is because it is not concerned with a transition to another life, and so there is more emphasis on material-blessing.

greater the blessing they receive, quite independently of the nature of the services performed.

In popular thought, the more important the lama the more important the blessings that he can bestow; also, the larger the offering made to him, the greater the blessing that is received. Here, instead of a concentration on the nature of the ceremony and the intention behind the offering as a sign of spiritual status, this latter quality is externalised and made public in terms of social rank and quantity. Hence the emphasis on concrete signs of rank, such as seating position and precedence in offerings, and then in the numbers and types of fried breads that are redistributed to the congregation at Nara. Furthermore, compared to those for the same ceremonies in surrounding villages, the very size and complex elaboration of the main *torma* in the temple of Tarkhyeghyang (each of which on Nara requires four men to lift into place), is a public sign of the importance of the village and the divinities and ritual powers associated with it.

It follows that one should give to the superior person, quite literally to the *bla-ma*. It is better to give to a Lama than to a Tamang, to a literate priest rather than to an illiterate villager, to a Lineage Lama rather than to a common priest, and amongst the Lineage Lamas to the head lama. Above all, it is best to give to a high religious dignitary from outside the region. Hence there is an obvious justification for the support by Tarkhyeghyang village and of the hermitages above the village: to do so is a matter of enlightened self-interest.

In addition, these same ideas and actions maintain the asymmetries of the local social hierarchy: not only can the position of poor tenants down the hillside be justified by reference to their past lack of merit, but it follows that the way for them to acquire merit is to make offerings up the hillside to their superiors. And while for a landlord to make material gifts to his tenant is, in Buddhist doctrinal terms, an act of merit, in terms of this logic a gift in the other direction will give him more merit. Furthermore, from a lama villager's viewpoint, the delivery of crops to him by his tenant is not only a legal duty, but an opportunity for the tenant to acquire merit by supporting a religious institution.

Blessings, Virtue, and the Temple

Whether it is viewed as an immediate blessing or merit to be acquired by virtue, the distribution of goods is a spiritual as well as a material investment: both are aspects of *chō* and ultimately belong to the same domain. It follows that the intelligent use of his possessions is a matter of great concern to the householder, and he has to balance the needs of immediate consumption and direct economic exchange against an investment via offerings in the temple. He must necessarily make his minimum commitment to the temple as a village-

member, but offerings and religious work above and beyond this figure are a matter of choice. For example, if his wife dies he might have to decide whether merely to carry out the ritual for the forty-nine days after death (after which the person is presumed to have reincarnated), whether to make annual offerings for merit at Nara in the name of his wife, or whether to donate land to the temple or a hermit monk so that the annual income from this land can be used to create merit in the name of the deceased. Is land or money best given to the village temple, to a hermit monk, or to Bakan Monastery? Is it better to use money immediately in a donation, to finance the passage of another son through a monastery, or to erect a monument; or is it perhaps better to use the money directly in business ventures in India for a number of years in order to increase it, and then to return to the village to make the correct offerings?

One example is given by the practice of placing sons in large monasteries in the Kathmandu valley and Dharamsala, outside the region rather than at Bakan, where it is thought that they will receive a better religious training. Although to give such training is itself meritorious, a major reason for giving it is so that when the father dies his descendants will be capable of, and see the reason for, making effective offerings for his next life. In other words it is to help ensure that he goes 'up' rather than 'down'. Altruism or filial affection can be seen as enlightened self-interest.

A comment of Mauss' on India (quoted by Tambiah [1968: 117] in the context of merit in Thailand) is fitting here:

> "The thing given brings return in this life and in the other. It may automatically bring the donor an equivalent return — it is not lost to him but reproductive; ... Food given away means that food will return to the donor in this world; it also means food for him in the other world . . .".
>
> Mauss M., *The Gift*, (trn.) 1954: 54

Pure economic activity, even if apparently successful, is thought to lead to eventual misfortune unless it is accompanied by religious offerings. It is said in the past in Helambu at large, and in a few locations still today, that some people made offerings and pacts with non-Buddhist deities that enable them to gain great material wealth. The form of these offerings was supposed to be a human life at regular intervals: this was done by poisoning their guests[12]. Owing to the inherent lack of virtue in this action, the eventual outcome for these people would be reincarnation in a lower state. The logic of *karma* ex-

[12] This idea was invoked in 1974 to explain the death of the Abbot of Bakan on his return to Helambu, after he had stayed in this household. It was also used to explain the death of a Swiss person in 1975. It is clear that a lack of merit could not be put forward to explain the death of the former.

plains an these peoples' success in long-term negative returns. To the anthropologist, such a remark appears as a form of witchcraft accusation against a seemingly successful person who does not subscribe to the communitys' values[13]. Practical decisions have to take into account both the direct material benefits and the eventual *karmic* effect. And though any course of action that results in one being able to make offerings has some beneficial effect, the means have to fit against the ends. In one sense this belief in the necessity of a religious accompaniment to economic activity is self-definitional of village membership: it is the person who does not think in this manner who does not return from abroad to the village and renounces his village membership.

Although the villager has a degree of choice, many of his actions and commitments for the redistribution of his goods are defined by his membership of the village community. Minimally, he must act as a donor on certain occasions, and in return has the right to the services of the priesthood and temple. The temple represents the priesthood as a collectivity, and exchanges between the households and the temple are an institutional embodiment of the exchanges between villager as priest and villager as client. The circulation of goods between households via the temple adds value to them in the form of merit and blessing in the community, and it is not out of place to gloss the system as a whole as 'religious capitalism', or if we wish to take account of the history of the institution, a religiously legitimated feudalism or theocracy.

In western material terms, it is the possession of rights in land by non-cultivators that gives a temple-village control over the economic surplus of the region. This surplus is then used in ceremonies for purposes of prestige and non-productive symbolism and ritual, and these commodities are eventually consumed by the community. But from this local perspective, it is not that the possession of wealth allows them to carry out ritual, but that the performance of the ritual allows them to accumulate wealth. Ceremonies in the temple are seen as part of the productive cycle.

This is illustrated in a discussion held between some of the higher priests of the temple and a villager who had recently returned after a long period in India. The latter suggested that they might cut down on the number of days of a ceremony, as the costs were high and he thought that the money could be used in a more productive way than in ritual and for the villagers' direct consumption. It was pointed out to him that the wealth of the village depended on these festivals being carried out, and if that if they did not carry them out the crops would fail, business ventures would be unsuccessful, and there would be sickness. It was thought that the best way to increase his wealth and that

[13] The anthropologist has a vested interest in this viewpoint, if the occasion that gave rise to the information was a discussion of his stay and meal in this household on the way to the village.

of the village as a whole was to increase, rather than decrease, the number and size of the festivals.

One villager went so far as to say that he would prefer to give all his money to the temple and then receive it back as a loan, rather than use it directly in trade. He thought that the blessing acquired in receiving the money from the temple would increase the chance of success in business. This was both directly and indirectly, in that he would be using blessed money, and by giving him as a donor the opportunity to acquire more blessings. To pursue the economic metaphor further, the extra cycle of exchange set up via the temple would add 'value' to the commodity.

This idea of both merit and material blessings being associated with the flow of goods and money through the village temple had a logical development in Tarkhyeghyang in the early 1940's, when Bakan Monastery was newly built, and the authoritative individuals responsible for its construction were still alive. A plan was put forward that all private property, all the land, houses, money and possessions owned by the villagers, would be donated to the temple. The temple administrators, namely the senior lamas, would have been responsible for the allocation of houses, food, clothing and even the careers and occupations of the villagers.

To speculate, Tarkhyeghyang would then perhaps have moved from a village as a 'co-operative', in which there was mutual aid for the gain of the individual, lineage, household or family, to a wider collective or communal form in which joint responsibility extended to the productive resources of the community as a whole. This would have been in keeping with an earlier (albeit temporary) form of the organisation of the village this century in which all were 'citizens' (*khral-pa*, literally 'tax-payer'), as well as with both a Socialist and a Mahayāna Buddhist ethic. One sophisticated villager referred to the proposed system system as 'communism'.

One immediate effect of such a system would have been the direct channelling of all rights in the village *via* the temple hierarchy: while all citizens would have had some say, direction would have only been joint, but not equal. Control would then have as before derived from the collective embodied in the religious hierarchy, a theocracy controlled by those above, the lamas.

To recapitulate on the form of this paper, I began with a consideration of Buddhist doctrinal statuses in the context of the village hierarchy, and showed the divergences between these two orders. In looking at the local situation it was clear that these did not appear as distinct, but were condensed into single statuses and concepts. Moreover, the local ideology was not so much one of the 'world-renouncer' as one of a 'world-embracer', in which cosmological notions and the social order were together part of the same hierarchy of 'up' and 'down'. I showed how the local concept of merit referred

not just to virtue but also to blessing, and how this combination provided a further reinforcement of the social hierarchy, I described how the public notion embraced both, and how at an institutional level the village system of exchange oriented around the temple could be termed 'religious capitalism'.

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ON AN OUTSTANDING TIBETAN SCHOLAR DBYANGS CAN DGA' BA'I BLO GROS

TS. DAMDINSÜREN (Ulan Bator)

A kya yongs 'dzin dGa' ba'i blo gros is one of the most popular Tibetan scholars among the Mongols. There is no written biography of him, but it is possible to obtain some biographical data on his life from some colophones of his works. For example, in one of them, which is in the first volume of his gsung 'bum consisting of two volumes and printed in sKu 'bum, it is said: "This work was written in the Year of the White Tiger of the 14 th rab byung" which corresponds to 1830.

In another work in the first volume of his collected works we find the following information: "In the first half of the Moon of the Wooden Snake Year I wrote down some instructions of the Holy Vajra dhara Blo bzang ye shes bstan pa rab rgyas on the rules of making offerings to the Lama". The Wooden Snake Year in question corresponds to 1809.

There are also some data about the correspondence of dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros with numerous Mongolian scholars who lived in the 18th and 19th centuries. For example, Alashan Ngag dbang bstan dar (1759—1840) and Ārya Janlung paṇḍita Ngag dbang blo bzang bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan (18th c.), as well as the Urga chos-rje Ngag dbang dpal ldan (1797—1864) regarded him as their teacher and quoted some of his works.[1]

From the above it can be said that dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros lived between the end of the 18th and the middle of the 19th century and he wrote most of his works between 1809—1830.

In Mongolia, he is famous under the name of A kya Yongs 'dzin, but in his own works he called himself Blo bzang Don grub, Sudi Arthasidhi, Don yod rdo dje, dByangs can dga 'blo etc.

The word yongs 'dzin means "teacher of a Qutuγtu or reincarnation". So A kya yongs 'dzin was a teacher of one of the reincarnations of A kya Qutuγtu.

[1] Ṅag dbang dpal ldan, *Gsang chen rgyud sde bzhi'i sa lam gyi rnam bzhag rgyud gzhung gsal byed*, f. 38

In the works of B. Baradiyn[2] and W. Heissig[3] there are data about the A kya reincarnations, but it is necessary to find out, which of the A kyas was dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros's contemporary?

In the biography of Caqar gebshi Blo bzang tshul khrims, the Mongolian scholar who lived in the 18th and 19th centuries, it is also stated that A kya gegen qutuqtu (Blo bzang bstan ba'i rgyal mtshan) died in the 9th Mongolian month of the Red Hen Year, that is 1777. But dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros, who lived evidently between the end of the 18th and the middle of the 19th century, could not have been a teacher of the above mentioned A kya. So the next A kya, Blo bzang 'jam dbyangs rgya mtsho (1768—1816)[4], the fortieth abbot of the monastery of sKu 'bum, must have been the pupil of dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros. dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros's two volume gsung 'bum includes works on philosophy, literature, linguistics and the theory of poetry. His *Commentary on the Bunch of White Lotuses*[5] is one of the most popular of his works. This treatise has been published in blockprint at least twice in sKu 'bum and in the Kun dga' chos gling monastery in Urga.

The commentary on *The Bunch of White Lotuses* was translated into Mongolian by Ngag dbang blo bzang skal bzang spyin pa, a Buriat scholar, in 1853 and printed in Tsugol grwa tshang twice. The first blockprint is entitled *The Sunbeam, commentary on the śāstra named the Bunch of White Lotuses.* The title of the second blockprint is *The first chapter of the śāstra entitled The Bunch of White Lotuses.*

The Commentary on *The Bunch of White Lotuses* is one of the most important works in Tibetan literature and contains various ancient Indian and Tibetan tales and legends. By its compositional structure this treatise is identical to the commentaries on *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* and *The Drop, That Nourishes the People.* In this "Commentary" we meet many tales popular in Tibet and Mongolia, such as "Travelling frog", the tale of *mThun pa zhi*, "The Blue fox" etc.

dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros also wrote several grammatical works such as *The Commentary on grammatical symbols*,[6] a treatise on *The Differences between Grammatical signs*,[7] a work entitled *Distinguishing features of eight*

[2] Б. Б. Барадин, *Буддийские монастыри* (М. Н. Богданов. *Очерки истории бурят-монгольского народа.* Верхнеудинск 1926, стр. 119).

[3] W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache*, Wiesbaden 1954, pp. 109—110.

[4] *Gdan sa chen po sku 'bum byams pa gling gi gdan rabs mu tig 'phreng ba*, ff. 69—71.

[5] dByangs can dga ba'i blogros, *Mkhas pa dang blun po brtag pa'i bstan bcos dge ldan legs bshad padma dkar po'i chun po'i 'grel pa Nyi ma'i 'od zer*, 102 f.

[6] Id., *Rtags kyi 'jug pa'i dgongs 'grel rab gsal snang ba*, 18. f.

[7] Id., *Rtags kyi 'jug pa'i dka' gnas bdag gzhan dang bya byed las gsum gyi khyad par zhib tu phye ba nyung gsal 'phrul gyi sde mig*, 6 f.

cases, actions of subject and object.[8] We find in them a detailed definition of the Tibetan cases and the peculiarities of their use. His work *Elementary grammatical rules or the Clear Mirror*[9] is the most popular. Afterwards Blo bzang bkra shis, a Mongolian scholar of the 19th century wrote commentaries on these grammatical treatises.[10]

dByangs dga' ba'i blo gros is also an author of a series of lexicographic works, known in Mongolia as the "Ten Dictionaries of A kya yongs 'dzin". Among them there are commentaries on *The Book of Parables*[11], *The Blue Pot*[12], *Vinaya*[13] the *Lam rim*[14], the *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* and other works.[15] Certain commentaries on some of his works were not included in the author's *gsung 'bum*, but they are often met in Mongolia in separate manuscript copies and in blockprint editions.

In these commentaries difficult words, expressions, terms and mythological concepts are explained in easily understandable Tibetan literary language.

dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros wrote many of his works at the request of Mongolian scholars such as Blo bzang sbyin pa, the abbot of Qalqa Tsetsen qan qoshun, Lharamba Ngag dbang bstan 'dzin from the qoshun of Qalqa Jonon beyse, as well as the Torgut rabjamba Blo bzang Shes rab. dByangs can dga' ba'i blo gros had many pupils who became prominent Mongolian scholars; he answered many of their questions and wrote works for them, therefore we can state that he was in close and friendly relations with Mongols.

The works of dByangs dga' ba'i blo rgos are distingished by their clarity and simplicity of expression, depth of thought and the wide range of themes. His works are not described in catalogues of Tibetan books, preserved in Western libraries, they are not even to be found in other literary works and studies in this area. Therefore, I believe, that the study of his life and literary heritage is of great importance for Tibetan research.

[8] Id., *Rnam dbye brgyad dang bya byed las sogs kyi khyad par mdo dsam brjod pa dka' gnad gsal pa'i me long*, 7 f.

[9] Id., *Yi ge'i thob thang nyer mkho rab gsal me long*, 2 f.

[10] Blo bzang bkra shis, *Yi ge'i thob thang nyer mkho rab gsal me long gi 'grel ba blo gsar 'jug sgo*, 21 f.

[11] dByang can dga'ba'i blo gros, *Dpe chos rin chen spungs pa'i brda bkrol don gnyer yid kyi 'ga' ston*, 12 f.

[12] Id., *Be'u bum sngon po'i ming brda go dka' ba 'ga' zhig bshad pa Som nyi'i mun sel*, 15 f.

[13] Id., *'Dul ba'i gleng 'bum chen mo las byung ba'i ming brda go dka' ba rnams bshad pa Blo ldan dga' skyed*, 29 f,, and *'Dul 'dzin rin po ches mdzad pa'i dge slong gi bslab bya chen mo'i brda don go dka' ba 'ga' zhig bkrol ba*, 9 f.

[14] *Byang chub lam gyi rim pa chen pa las byung pa'i brda bkrol nyer mkho bsdus pa*, 49 f.

[15] *Thog mar blo sbyong gi dris lan brda don gsal ba'i me long*, 9 f., *Theg pa chen po'i blo sbyong nyi ma'i 'od zer gyi brda dong*, 7 f., *Sa skya legs bshad sogs kyi brda don 'ga' zhig dgrol ba. Chu'i bstan bcos brda dkrol*, 10 f., *Shing gi bstan bcos brda dkrol*, 5 f.

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SRONG-BTSAN SGAM-PO'S "BIOGRAPHY" IN THE *MAṆI BKA' 'BUM*

EVA K. DARGYAY (Calgary)

Introduction[1]

The ideological foundation of power is a crucial question in most civilizations. At a time when tribal societies became transformed into societies of high culture, characterized by a form of economy which provided for the storing of food for periods of shortage, spiritual and political resources were freed. This intricate process of transformation lead up to the development of a central power being in command of all the resources of the tribe. Eventually hereditary chiefs secured control over the entire range of their subjects' lives. Soon a need was felt to justify the position of rulers and of the other privileged classes through a number of myths extolling their superhuman origin. Their expertise in directing the resources of the populace was obviously not a sufficient justification.

Many archaic civilizations justified the ruler's authority by claiming that he descended from a better realm, often referred to as the world of the gods, in order to bring not only certain skills, but also knowledge, order and stability to the world. The ruler could be seen as the human embodiment of the gods, as their representative, their son, or as guided and inspired by the gods. The correlation between the priest-ruler and the city's god in the world of the ancient Near East has been the subject of many scholarly studies, as has the Chinese conception of the ruler as the "son of heaven". In both cases native belief systems provided the ideological framework for understanding the king's divinity.[2]

Buddhism as one of the world religions developed the idea of the *cakravartin* as the ideal universal ruler.[3] His authority rests upon his unlimited power, a result of his previously accumulated good deeds, but it also relies upon his virtue. Whenever a Buddhist ruler reached the height of power he

[1] This paper is based upon research made possible through a fellowship awarded by The Calgary Institute for the Humanities, University of Calgary, Canada.

[2] *The Sacral Kingship*, Studies in the History of Religion, supplements to *Numen*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1959.

[3] See D. L. Snellgrove. "The Notion of Divine Kingship in Tantric Buddhism", *The Sacral Kingship*, p. 205 f.

claimed to be a *cakravartin*. Such claim was made, for instance, by Kublai Khan, when he surpassed in power all the other members of the wide-spread Yuan Dynasty. In India as well as in China the idea of *cakravartin* was sensed within the frame of pre-Buddhist.

In Tibet, the situation was slightly different — firstly, because Tibet was a more or less tribal society till the advent of Buddhism, and secondly because Tibet embraced Buddhism whole-heartedly, thus making it the only effective belief-system there. These specific circumstances stipulated a Buddhist conception of divine kingship, but also a representation of this idea understandable to the vast majority of Tibetans still engulfed in tribal mythology. Such adaptation could not be undertaken at the very beginning of Buddhist influence upon Tibet, but at a later time, when a consolidation of religious ideas was effected.

Let me summarize: the Tibetan tribes of the pre-Srong-btsan sgam-po era visualized their chief(s) as elevated above common men because of their closeness to the world of the ancestors and of the bTsan demons, and because of their direct control over the forces of sky and/or earth.[4]

When Tibetan civilization crossed over the borderline of tribal existence and became a highly articulate civilization with access to learning, writing, central authority, bureaucracy, etc., Buddhism was introduced to lead the country into a future in which the light of the dharma would illuminate what was then felt to have been the darkness of the past. Gradually, Buddhist thought became the centre of gravity attracting parts of pre-historical mythology and amalgamating with only partially understood ideas imported from abroad. The ideology of the ruler had to be redefined in the light of this new development. The "biography" of Srong-btsan sgam-po is one of the several texts composed during the 12th and 13th centuries which attempt to redefine the ruler's divine nature and his mission on earth to better man's lot.[5]

Grong-gong brTan-mgrin, who compilated Srong-btsan sgam-po's biography as found in the *Gab pa mngon byung Mani bka' 'bum*, reveals his motivation for writing the king's life story:

> When I thought about writing such a short life-story [of King Srong-btsan sgam-po] I requested that the wise translators should clarify my doubts. The translators

[4] E. Haarh has outlined these concepts in great detail in his book *The Yar lung Dynasty*. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad's Forlag, 1969, p. 316 ff. The ruler's relationship with the earth, the soil, the domain of his might, frequently personalized as a female demon, is the subject of some Bhutanese myths which had been studied by Michael Aris in his *Bhutan, The Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1979, p. 15 ff.

[5] The earliest known reference to the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* is found in 'Brug-sgom Zhig-po's (1184—1251) biography. (M. Aris. *Bhutan—the Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*, p. 11)

> told me personally: There are 1500 biographies, short and long ones, of the precious *acārya* [Padmasambhava] known; and two [biographies], a short and a long one of Nor-bzang; and three [biographies], short and long ones of Dri-med kun-ldan. With regard to long and short recensions, the fact is that, the long recension of the biography of King [Srong-btsan sgam-po]. Protector of Religion is soo lengthy for reading, and is in many [ways] incomprehensible in its entirety. For this reason it is appropriate to write a short [recension] of this text to further the faith of the people. This they had said.[6]

In other words, there had been an older, more detailed version of Srong-btsan sgam-po's biography which did not appeal to 12th century sensibilities Therefore the need to re-write the life-story of this extraordinary king was deemed legitimate. The author presented the king as the impeccable manifestation of the Buddhist world-view. Let us now examine the biography more closely.

Survey of the "Short Biography of King Srong-btsan sgam-po, Protector of the Religion, which is called A Clear Mirror of Desiderata, that is to Remove the Darkness of Ignorance of All Sentient Beings"[7]

The origin and growth of the various versions of the collection of Tibetan texts called *Maṇi bka' 'bum* is still largely unknown to us, and this is certainly not the place to dwell further on this issue.[8] For the purpose of the present article I use the *Gab pa mngon byung Maṇi bka' 'bum* only.

The text starts with Avalokiteshvara's well-known mantra, *Oṁ maṇi padme hūṁ*, before it outlines the religious parameter within which we have to understand the entire text: Buddha Amitabha is the ultimate reality (*dharmakāya*), Avalokiteshvara manifests the first level of revelation where he and the disciples communally rejoice in teaching and listening to the dharma

[6] 'di lta ba'i 'khrungs rabs mdor bsdus shig na bsam pa la | lo chen mkhas pa rnams la dogs gcod zhus pas | lo chen rnams kyis zhal nas slob [d]pon rin po che la yang rnam thar rgyas bsdus stong dang lnga brgya nor bzang la rnam thar rgyas bsdus gnyis | dri med kun ldan la rgyas bsdus gsum | snang ba la rgyas bsdus gnyis sogs gsungs pa le ltar chos skyong rgyal po'i rnam thar rgyas pa ni | klog pa ni rgyas grags tshang mas go ma myong bar mang bas | mi rnam[s] dang dad pa skyed phyir gsungs par mdor bsdus shig bris na rung gsungs ba bzhin no || *Gab pa mngon byung* ed. by Sonam Thobgya. Dolan: Bon-po Monastic Centre, 1973, p. 510. 1—6

[7] *Chos skyong ba'i rgal po Srong-btsan sgam-po'i rnam thar mdor bsdus nyer mkho gsal ba'i me long zhes bya ba 'gro kun ma rig mun sel bzhugs so in Gab pa mngon byung* p. 455—510

[8] A. I. Vostrikov. *Tibetan Historical Literature.* (Soviet Indology Series no. 4). Calcutta: Indian Studies: Past & Present, 1970, pp. 52—57; M. Aris. *Bhutan, the Early History of a Himalayan Kingdom*, pp. 8 ff.

(*sambhogakāya*), while King Srong-btsan sgam-po embodies the ultimate truth on earth as *nirmāṇakāya.*

The biography is divided into five parts:

1. How Avalokiteshvara incarnated in Amitabha's Pure Field (*buddhakshetra*);

2. How Avalokiteshvara proceeded to Mt. Potala;

3. The establishment of three statues representing the true image of Shakyamuni;

4. How the human race spread in the Land of Snow;

5. How King Srong-bstan sgam-po appeared in this world and how he got absorbed into Avalokiteshvara's statue.

1

Amitabha is portrayed as residing at ease in the Pure Field of Sukhavati, when light from his right eye is emitted and becomes transformed into Avalokiteshvara. From the Buddha's left eye blue light emanates and assumes the form of Tara. While this is the true origin of Avalokiteshvara, the text continues to tell us next of the "birth" of Avalokiteshvara in terms of the conventional truth. In this context, Avalokiteshvara was born as the son of a king living in Amitabha's Pure Field. Amitabha calls the boy the embodiment of the charismatic activity of all Buddhas, the incarnation of the spirit of all Buddhas.

When the young prince is confronted with the misery of sentient beings, Tara appears from his tears in her peaceful and wrathful forms. In both forms, Tara admonishes him to generate bodhicitta in order to liberate sentient beings. The prince takes the formal vow of bodhicitta, promising to generate as many incarnations as he has hairs on his body. Should there ever arise a selfish thought in him, he pledges, may his head burst into a thousand pieces.

Avalokiteshvara appears in six different forms in the realms of the six categories of living beings and liberates as many as possible, but overwhelmed by the nearly endless number of creatures, frustration overcomes him and he thinks: better to attain nirvana for my own benefit. This selfish thought causes his head to burst asunder. Amitabha helps Avalokiteshvara to piece together the fragments of his head which now has a pyramidal shape of eleven heads. Avalokiteshvara reinforces his pledge and generates a thousand arms and a thousand eyes to better assist him in his endeavour to liberate the world. He also wishes that his thousand arms should become a thousand *cakravartins* working toward the liberation of all sentient beings.

This part ends with a short exposition of the meaning of Avalokiteshvara's mantra.

2

Amitabha designates the palace built on top of Mt. Potala as Avalokiteshvara's proper residence. The palace is structured like the centre of a mandala. As a sign of his agreement, Avalokiteshvara lets light emanate from his body that is so intense that it outshines the sun. This unusual phenomenon is perceived on earth by disciples of Buddha Shakyamuni, who ask what the reason for this light is. Buddha Shakyamuni answers that it is due to Avalokiteshvara's pledge to preach the six paramitas to all living beings.

Later, when Avalokiteshvara sees Shakyamuni is about to enter nirvana, he asks him to remain active for the benefit of all beings, particularly, as he has not yet entered Tibet, where beings still remain in the state of darkness. Shakyamuni replies that it will be Avalokiteshvara's task to teach the beings living in the Land of Snow. In the pursuit of this aim Avalokiteshvara should use a triple strategy. First, he should discipline them through his emanation; secondly, he should provide them with what is necessary for human beings, and thirdly he ought to instruct them in the dharma.

This threefold advice lays out the structure of the Tibetan history as presented in the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*: The genesis of humanity originating from the monkey, who is a form of Avalokiteshvara; developing the crafts of human civilization, whereby Avalokiteshvara acting as a kind of cultural hero; disciplining the people in the dharma, whereby Avalokiteshvara becomes manifest as King Srong-btsan sgam-po.

3

Before going on with the history of Tibet the narrative inserts the story of the three statues of Buddha Shakyamuni. Here, it suffices to say that three statues resembling Shakyamuni at the age of eight, twelve, and twenty-five, were miraculously made. The statue showing Shakyamuni at the age of twenty-five was carried to the abode of the Thirty Three Gods; the one showing him at the age of twelve ended up in the hands of the Chinese ruler; and the one showing him at the age of eight was finally given to the Nepalese ruler. These last two statues were later given to Srong-btsan sgam-po as part of the dowry of his queens; this however is not mentioned in the present text.

4

This part is actually the continuation of pt. 2. At the beginning the structure of this part is outlined — unfortunately, however, it does not agree with the text itself. Here, I limit myself to an exposition of the actual text.

This part starts with reiterating that it is Avalokiteshvara's duty to train the Tibetan people in the dharma, and that he should persue a threefold

policy. Subsequently, Avalokiteshvara lets a monkey emanate from light radiating from his left hand. The monkey dwells in a forest, meditating there, but a demoness, although the embodiment of Tara, falls in love with him and tries to seduce the monkey by pointing at the negative effects a rejection will produce. In this dilemma the monkey asks Avalokiteshvara for counsel. Although he would prefer to continue his celibate life of quiet meditation, the demoness will hold him, the monkey, responsible for the out-come — if she has to marry with a male demon, the suffering of beings will inevitably increase. Avalokiteshvara's advice is to marry the demoness.

The couple's six children represent the six categories of living beings and their appropriate temperament. Gradually they develop more human shape, while initially the off-spring were more monkey-like.

The second step of the threefold strategy consists in Avalokiteshvara giving five kinds of grain to the monkey-father in order to feed his off-spring. This food eventually turns his off-spring into half-humans. Avalokitshvara then blesses the natural resources of the Land of Snow so that the humans may prosper by using them. The monkey-father shows his off-spring how to work the ground and how to seed the grain. The area where the first field was developed is known as Zo-thang (*zo* meaning "eat!" and *thang* "plain") or "the plain where you should eat".

The third task, disciplining the inhabitants of the Land of Snow by means of the dharma, is done by Srong-btsan sgam-po. His existence is grounded in the transcendental being of Avalokiteshvara. In the biography it is put in this way:

> Then light emerged from the palm of Avalokiteshvara's right hand and assumed the shape of a boy, endowed with all the signs and marks [of beauty]. He went to where all the monkeys were gathered together. They addressed him [in the following manner]: "Your body looks handsome. How does that come about?" The boy answered: "I have given up performing the evil deeds of the ten immoral activities by means of body, speech, and mind; thus [my handsomeness] comes from my practising the ten moral precepts." They (the monkeys) replied: "Such [knowledge] you should teach us!"[9]

Thus, the boy taught the monkeys how to avoid the ten immoral acts and how to comply with the ten moral precepts. As a consequence of the monkeys' improved morality they gradually assumed human shape. This was the third step in the threefold strategy, i. e. the disciplining through the dharma.

[9] de nas 'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi phyag g-yas pa'i mthil nas 'od zer spros pa la | 'od zer de khye'u mtshan dang dpe byad pa gcig tu gyur nas | spre'u phrug rnams kyi khrod du phyin pa dang | de dag gis smras pa | khyod kyi gzugs mdzes pa 'di ci las byung | bdag gis lud ngag yid gsum gyi nyes spyod mi dag pa bcu spyang pa las byung ngo || de dag gis smras pa | khyod kyi de bdag cag rnams la yang slob shig | (*Gab pa mngon byung* p. 485.3—6)

5

The fifth part deals specifically with the establishment of the Tibetan monarchy. The initial state of the human race in Tibet was one of social chaos, or — as the texts puts it — "At this time the differentiation of ruler and ruled did not exist in Tibet". For this reason the first ruler of Tibet had to come from abroad, in this case, from India. As do so many other later historical works of Tibetan literature, this text traces the origin of the Tibetan monarchy back to the Shakya dynasty, i. e. the family of Buddha Shakyamuni.[10]

A prince of the Shakya dynasty retreats together with his army into the mountainous terrain of the Himalayas. At this point our text exhibits the traces of unskillful editing. Usually the fully developed story tells that when the prince crossed the Great Himalayan Range the local herders asked from where he came. Unable to answer in their language, the prince points to the pass, implying that it is from there that he has come. The local people, however, misunderstand his gesture and think that he has come down from heaven. They carry him on their shoulders to their village. In the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, though, it is said that the prince descended by means of a "ladder of the gods" (*lha skas*) made of sandal wood to the human world. Such a device, in some cases a ladder, in others a rope, is a well-documented element of the pre-Buddhist Tibetan mythology, and in general of north Eurasian shamanism.[11] The assessment of this passage I will leave until the interpretation of the religious ideas contained in Srong-btsan sgam-po's biography.

The prince was accepted by the local people as their first ruler. From him the whole lineage of Tibetan rulers originated. In the 28th generation King Lha-tho-tho-ri came to rule Tibet. At this time a mysterious charm-box fell from heaven which contained several Buddhist texts. Nobody could understand them then, but a voice from heaven announced that in five generations there would be a ruler capable of understanding the texts. Thus the entire scenario was well set for the later advent of Srong-btsan sgam-po, the embodiment of Avalokiteshvara. The miraculous arrival of the sacred texts is seen by Tibetan historians as the beginning of the buddhadharma in Tibet. Consequently, Lha-tho-tho-ri is classified as an embodiment of Samantabhadra, the germinal buddha-nature whence the entire dharma originates.

Avalokiteshvara realizes that the time has come for instructing the Tibetans in the dharma. To achieve his aim he radiates light from his right

[10] A similar phenomenon could be observed in medieval Europe, when local noblemen attempted to to establish an ancestry leading back to King David of ancient Israel.

[11] See Helmut Hoffmann. *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon Religion* (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftliche Klasse, 1950 no. 4). Mainz: Akademie Verlag, 1950, p. 141.

eye and transforms this light into the shape of a tiny boy (he is said to be one foot tall). The queen being intimately united with the king sees in a dream the little boy entering her womb. At this moment unusual light phenomena are observed throughout Tibet. All Buddhas recognize that Avalokiteshvara has at this moment gone to Tibet to benefit all sentient beings.

The subsequent life-story of the prince follows the same pattern as the life-story of Buddha Shakyamuni in the later legendary works, where his life is recounted as a number of landmark events, called the "twelve deeds". This parallelism between Shakyamuni's life-story and that of Srong-btsan sgam-po could be treated more fully than space and time permits here. Therefore I shall merely recapitulate the most decisive events:

Still in his youth, the prince felt the necessity of having a system of writing at hand, when he wanted to spread the dharma. In pursuit of what we may call his masterplan, he summoned the most gifted young men to his court. Among them Thon-mi A-nu-i Sambhodra (this is the actual spelling in the text as against the more common Thon-mi Sambhota) was the most outstanding personality. The king sent him to India together with 16 other young fellows in order to acquire a thorough education in the grammatical disciplines. After his return, Thon-mi Sambhota developed the two forms of Tibetan script, the one "with head", and the one "wothout head" (i. e. the script used for printing and the script for handwriting).

The biography next reports how the prince assumed power at the age of thirteen. Thus, we may conclude that he was younger than thirteen when he had sent Thon-mi to India. Apparently oblivious of the fact that most Tibetan kings assumed power at the age of thirteen (with some indications of ritual murder of the king's father),[12] the biography has the young prince saying to his parents:

> Because I have previously promised Buddha Amitabha to discipline the land of Tibet by means of the dharma you ought to endow me now with the true power." Thus he had spoken. The parents were very glad [when they learned their son's wish] and conferred the royal power upon him. Thus he became king of the entire Land of Snow.[13]

At this moment the strategy for liberating the sentient beings of the land of Snow culminates in an eruption of the divine potential of the universe: Buddhas and bodhisattvas shower limitless light over the earth and each ray unfoldes into a buddhakshetra. In the centre of all these individual kshetras

[12] R. A. Stein. *Tibetan Civilization*. London: Faber & Faber, 1972, p. 48; G. Tucci: *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings* (Serie Orientale Roma 1). Rome: IsMEO, 1950, 25

[13] bdag gis sngon sangs rgyas snang ba mtha' yas spyan sngar | bod khams dam pa'i chos kyis 'dul bar blangs pas | de'i phyir bdag rgyal srid la mngon par dbang bskur du gsol | zhes zhus pa dang | yab yum shin tu dgyes nas rgyal srid dbang skur te kha ba can gyi rgyal khams thams cad kyi rgyal por gyur ro || (*Gab pa mngon byung* p. 494.2—4)

the primordial Buddha rNam-par snang-mdzad Gangs-can-mtsho (Vairocana Haimavāta?)[14] appears emitting limitless light. The forms and numbers of emanations multiply and the entire universe abounds with the light of reality.

More than any other paragraph this one illustrates the religious role attributed to king Srong-btsan sgam-po in this biography. One might be tempted to call him a messianic figure in this context, although otherwise Buddhism rules out such a concept.

The king's first act is to promulgate a legal code, but unlike that existing previously, it is based upon the dharma and therefore will establish the subject in happiness. The understanding is that by enforcing religiously grounded laws the ruler enables the subjects to live a moral life, which eventually will make them happier.

Another prominent deed of the king is the making of a statue of his personal *ishtadevatā* (*yi dam*), i.e. Avalokiteshvara. This story leads us again to India and Ceylon (Singhala) but I shall not further elaborate on it; it might suffice for the present purpose to say that the chosen statue represented Avalokiteshvara as Kha-sar-pa-ni (Khasarpana). It might be appropriate here to elaborate on the significance of Avalokiteshvara Khasarpana within the framework of early Tibetan Buddhism, but the present purpose precludes such an excursus, tempting though it is.[15] When a monk from Singhala had brought the statue of Khasarpana to Tibet, the king was tremendously pleased and venerated the statue together with all the other sacred objects.

The third exceptional action of the king was his marriage with a Chinese and a Nepalese princess. As in previous cases the actual deed starts in the realm of Avalokiteshvara. Light emanates from his heart — one beam travels to Nepal, the other to China, thus predefining the suitable queens for the king. The Chinese princess is called Bhrikuti, the name of a goddess otherwise closely associated with Avalokiteshvara Khasarpana; while the Nepalese princess is an embodiment of Tara, who had been the consort of the monkey/Avalokiteshvara when mankind was about to appear on earth.

Then the biography comes to an abrupt end saying:

> Upto here goes the short biography of what the king himself has done, which I have composed for the benefit of all us living beings on the good day of Wesakh.[16]

[14] This "ur-Buddha" is mentioned also in some of the Buddhist Donor Chronicles (*chab brjod*) of Zanskar; a publication describing these documents is forthcoming.

[15] Khasarpana images played a vital role in the propagation of early Buddhism in mNga'-ris (Ladakh) where some beautiful examples may still be seen. Furthermore, several Khasarpana sadhanas were incorporated into the *Sādhanamālā*. (Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Calcutta: Mukhopadhyay, 1958, p. 128 ff).

[16] 'di yan chad rgyal po rang gi mdzad pa rnam thar mdor bsdus go sla la khyer bde ba bdag cag sems can rnams gsol ba 'debs pa'i phyed du sa ga zla ba'i yar tshes bzang por bris pa'o || (*Gab pa mngon phyung* p. 509.6—510.1)

In a certain departure from a statement at the beginning of the text, that is to report how the king had been absorbed into the statue of Avalokiteshvara, the biography does not mention event, but inconsistency is common throughout the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*.

Religious Ideas Imparted in the King's Biography

The most evident intention of the biography is to portray the king as the true representative of Avalokiteshvara, who is nothing less than the embodiment of Amitabha. For this reason the biography dwells extensively upon the description of the transcendental scenario, how Avalokiteshvara prepared himself for the task of liberating the living beings of the Land of Snow.

All the decisive events in the king's life are founded in the realm of the Buddhas and bodhisattva who, in their turn, acclaim his actions. The political accomplishments of the king, (he being the first one to establish political ties with the neighbouring countries and expand the territory controlled by his family beyond the boundaries of ethnic Tibet) all become insignificant.

The narrative attempts to reconcile, although largely unsuccessfully, the diverse mythological realms and their individual truth claims. There is the pre-Buddhist mythology, surfacing in particular when the story has the first king, gNya' khri-btsan-po descending from a mountain pass by means of the "ladder of the gods". R. A. Stein reports that "A native version sees him ⟨i.e. the first ruler, E. D.⟩ as a Sky God"[17] who descended by means of a ladder from the heavenly abode of the gods and the king's ancestors to man's world. H. Hoffmann considers this myth which is transmitted in various versions as of a pre-Buddhist origin.[18] When Avalokiteshvara gives five kinds of grain to the half-monkey half-human ancestors of the Tibetans he functions in a way similar to I-sho-legs, the 15th king of the Tibetan dynasty (still part of the mythic segment of the entire lineage), usually credited with introducing agriculture.[19] The second mythological realm is that of Mahayana Buddhism with its numerous Buddhas, their dharmakayas, sambhogakayas, and nirmanakayas. This mythology provides the actual framework for the narrative of the biography, and for Avalokiteshvara as the essential being embodied in King Srong-btsan sgam-po. Without any question the Mahayana mythology is the dominant element in the entire story. I do not see any need to dwell thereon any further, as the facts are well known. Indian myths and legends constitute the third component of the narrative. Above all I have to mention

[17] R. A. Stein. *Tibetan Civilization*. p. 42; M. Aris. *Bhutan*, p. 125.
[18] H. Hoffmann. *Quellen zur Geschichte der tibetischen Bon-Religion*, p. 148 ff.
[19] E. Haarh. *The Yar-lung Dynasty*, p. 122.

the story of the making of the three statues of Buddha Shakyamuni, but also the story of finding the statue of Avalokiteshvara Khasarpana. These Indian elements need, as do all the other elements, further study. Further influence of other Central Asiatic civilizations, and those of the Middle East can not be precluded.

Because of these internal criteria I am inclined to date the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* biography into a time when the amalgamation of the pre-Buddhist mythology with the Buddhist world-view was not yet fully completed, but when the pre-Buddhist heritage was already dim enough that the author could easily take his chances in distorting vital components of the pre-Buddhist mythology. Other reasons would support this analysis, leading to the assumption that the *Maṇi bka' 'bum* biography was composed after the renaissance of Buddhism had started in the 11th century, but before the rise of the Mongols.

Future research plans

The next step in my investigation of Srong-btsan sgam-po's biography will be to compare the two versions preserved in the Punakha edition and in the *Gab pa mngon byung*. Findings will then be put into perspective within the parameter of documents dating from the era of the Yar-lung dynasty and of other texts written about the same time as the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*, or which were composed by writers who played a major role in the transmittance of the *Maṇi bka' 'bum*. I expect that these studies will help us to deepen our understanding of the Tibetan conception of divine kingship and its re-definition after the introduction of Buddhism.

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THE DIVISION OF LABOUR BY GENDER AMONG THE KHUMBO[1]

HILDEGARD DIEMBERGER—CHRISTIAN SCHICKLGRUBER
(Vienna)

Introduction

We intend to analyse how socio-economic factors influence the division of labour by gender in the household of the Khumbo. To illustrate this, we will briefly consider the economic system, focusing on subsistence-production, the household as the basic economic unit, and the division of social roles between men and women. Further we try to show how in this society the division of labour by gender is less pronounced and to a high degree subordinated to the division of labour determined by these gender specific social roles within the household.

Inspired by the work of Eva Dargyay and Barbara N. Aziz on households in Tibetan societies, we carried out a field-work from September 1983 to March 1984 in an area inhabited by a Tibetan speaking group, called Khumbo or Nawa,[2] who live in the Arun vally in North-East Nepal.

The society of the Khumbo consists of several village communities contianing varying numbers of autonomous households, whose authority can only be surpassed by the *gyinbu* (*rgan po*),[3] who acts as administrator for the entire area by collecting small amounts of taxes and who also holds a juridical function.[4]

The Khumbo are egalitarian, in the sense that there are no class divisions, even if wealth distinctions among households exist.

They are organized to a degree by kinship. There are named, exogamous and patrilinear clans[5] (*rus*), whose function is limited to marriage regulation

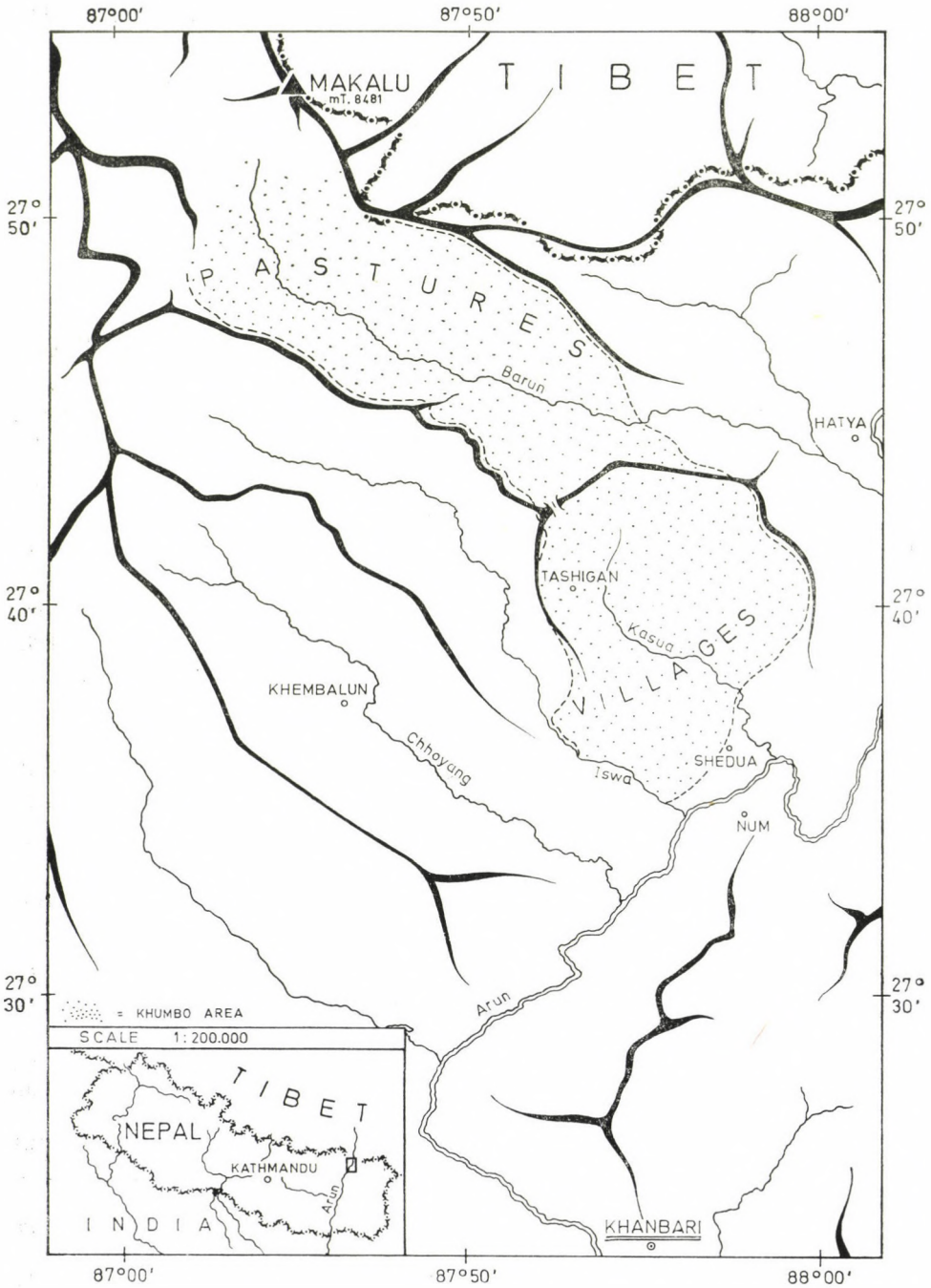
[1] We wish to thank Prof. Walter Dostal, Dr. André Gingrich, Prof. András Róna-Tas, Prof. Ernst Steinkellner and Prof. Géza and Dr. Käthe Uray for their helpful comments and Dr. Dilli Ram Dahal for his help in Nepal.

[2] cf. Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, Himalayan Traders, London 1975, pp. 117—121.

[3] The transliteration of the Tibetan words follows the system used at the University of Vienna.

[4] Since the introduction of the Panchayat-system the importance of the *gyimbu* is gradually decreasing.

[5] The clan names are: *Ngompa*, *Kongbo*, *Kampa*, *Nawa*, *Serwa*, *Chiawa*. The *Chiawa* clan is split in two subclans: *Chiawa Mepa* and *Chiawa Tepa*. Some of these clan names are the same as the Sherpa ones in Solu-Khumbu, cf. M. Oppitz, Geschichte und Sozialstruktur der Sherpa, Innsbruck—München 1968.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Arun
INDIA
KHANBARI

and the religious domain. Marriages are mostly monogamous with very rare cases of polygynie. The post-nuptial residence follows no strict rules: the most common form is neolocality, followed by patrilocality and uxorilocality if there are no sons in the family. Land and cattle are inherited by sons (except in *mag pa* marriages, where they are inherited by daughters) and equally divided among them. Some cattle and moveable goods are inherited by the daughters, usually in form of a dowry at the time of marriage.

There are no monasteries in this region, all the religious activities are performed by the village *lama*[6] (*bla ma*), the *pembu* (*bon po*?) or *lowen* (*slob dpon*?) who deals especially with local deities and the male and female deities of the patrilineal clans, and the *lhakama*[7] (*lha bka' ma*?) or *kandroma* (*mkha' 'gro ma*), a female healer and medium.

Subsistence Production

The economy is centered around the household. All households produce mostly for their own subsistence. Production is characterized by a combination of agriculture and animal husbandry, a combination which can be found in varied forms in the entire Himalaya.

Among the Khumbo cultivation is practised on two types of fields. The first are unirregated terrace-fields (*nangma*), which are cultivated with the help of plougs, hoes, and digging sticks. The second are slash and burn fields (*shinga*), which are cultivated every eigth year only. These fields are cleared with knives and sickles and are planted with the help of hoes and digging sticks. Fields of both types are usually located near the villages, but may be as far as one day's walk away. The main crops are maize, barley, wheat, millet, potatoes, sojabeans and vegetables.

The animals — depending on which breed and season — are kept quite often on distant pastures (*drogsa* [*'brog sa*], this term includes also the "mobile shelter"). This type of pasturage is practised throughout the year. Cow and buffalo *drogsa* are at an altitude of 1500—2200 m., usually in the vicinity of cultivated fields. Sheep, goat and *zomo* (*mdzo mo*) are kept on *drogsa* as high as 5000 m. in summer. The winter is passed in the snowless region of the lower *drogsa*. In the spring and autumn, the herdkeepers bring the animal near or into the village, where sheepshearing, slaughtering and fertilisation can take place. In periods of peak agricultural activity, the herdkeepers can thus help with fieldwork and handicrafts.

[6] All the lamas are married. There are two different *chos* called by the people *san gaba* (*gsaṅ sṅag pa?* belonging to the *rñiṅ ma pa*. cf. R. A. Paul, Some Observations on Sherpa Shamanism, in J. T. Hitchcock and R. L. Jones (eds.), Spirit Possession in the Nepal Himalayas, Warminster 1976, pp. 141—151) and *lovanga* (?)

[7] cf. R. de Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, Graz 1975, p. 428.

The *drogsa* are permanently supplied with staple foods such as roasedt flour (*zampa* [*rtsam pa*]), salt and spices, which are brought from the village house. It is there, that tools are kept and that storage and processing of corps, *drogsa* products (wool, butter, meat) and gathered raw materials (bamboo, wood) for handicrafts take place. Aside from this, agriculture and some hen- and pig-breeding is practised. The house is also the place in which trade with neighbouring groups and wandering tradesmen takes place and from which one goes to the market.

The Household

House and *drogsa* are separated places of production forming the household, the basic social unit in economic and in ritual terms. Household members are either a nuclear family or an extended family. The household controls access to the means of production[8] and produced goods. Hence it can be considered as a complete unit of production, distribution and consumption. Productive and reproductive[9] activity takes place independently on the *drogsa* as well as in the house, where as contact, exchange and distribution of goods among the places of production and the households pass exclusively through the central agency of the house.

Drongpa ama ('groṅ pa'i ama) and Drongpa apa ('groṅ pa'i apa)

The latter and the economic activities performed at the house require the presence of at least one member of the family. This is in all cases the *drongpa ama* (lit.: housemother). An exception are small families, strongly oriented towards animal husbandry, where no presence at the house is possible.

In that case the activities at the house are reduced to a minimum and are performed in the period where the family is near the village with the herds. For agricultural activities usually the men travel back and forth between house and *drogsa*. The permanent presence at the house of the *drongpa ama* becomes possible as soon as there is enough manpower to carry out the necessary work on the *drogsa*. To guarantee this, adolescents — regardless of their sex — must be able to work on the *drogsa* independently. Table 1 shows the relationship between the household's labour capacity, the number of possible *drogsa*, the residence and the economic situation.

[8] Except the pasture land, which is property of the twelve villages of the "lower" Khumbo group (the people described by Ch. von Fürer-Haimendorf, op. cit., are called Khumbo *tema* (*steṅ ma*) the "higher" Khumbo group.)

[9] To clarify the sense in which we use this term see table 2.

Table 1

Relation between labour capacity and economy

Number of workers in the household	Number of *drogsa*	Type of residence	Economic situation
1 worker	no *drogsa*	house residence	subsistence by agriculture, hens and pigs buying of wool and dairy products
2 workers	a) no *drogsa*	house residence	like above, but with over-production in the speres of handicraft and agriculture
	b) one *drogsa*	permanent house residence is not possible because of necessity of commuting	no sufficient agriculture, buying of corn and handicraft products
3 workers	one *drogsa*	permanent house residence of one household member is possible	self-sufficiency in all spheres
4 and more workers	one or two *drogsa*	permanent house residence of one household member is possible, possibility of another one for handicraft or religious specialisation	self-sufficiency in all spheres plus over-production

In addition to subsistence production, the *drongpa ama* is also responsable for the distribution of goods. It is she who supervises the supply of the *drogsa*, keeps the money of the household, is responsible for the families clothing, the maintenance of tools, keeps up trading contracts, prepares and distributes food and brews *chang* (chan) and arak (a rag). She maintains social contacts with other households by reciprocal gift giving and offering hospitality.

This role becomes hers when an economic unit is newly established or an existing one taken over.

As the family increases her duties in this field increase accordingly and thus expand her economic power and prestige. At the same time her participation in subsistence production decreases.

It is not the fact she is a woman that binds her to the house but the fulfilment of this social role. If there are other married women (*mna' ma*) within the family, these always stay at the *drogsa*, even with their babies. The *drongpa*

ama's residing at the house is not a direct result of her maternal function. If the situation requires it, even she will work and live on the *drog sa.*

Complementary to the *drongpa ama* is the *drongpa apa* (lit.: housefather) who, in addition to his subsistence activities, is responsible for the payment of taxes and represents the household in decisions concerning land transactions and village and tribal politics. These decisions are made collectively by all grown up family members.

If the family's labour situation additionally allows a man to reside in the house, it will be in most cases the *drongpa apa.* In this case, he will devote himself increasingly to agriculture rather to husbandry, trade and in some cases to a specialisation in handicrafts. To a certain extent he also takes partially over some activities originally assigned to the *drongpa ama.* So he participates for example in foodprocessing, housecleaning, child rearing, trading and keeping up social contacts. Since many *drongpa apa* are at the *drog sa* the whole year round, their work does not greatly differ from that of other men.

This in sheer contrast to the women, where nearly all *drongpa* ama reside in the house and all other women are at the *drogsa.* For this reason their work differs. So, as we will see in the following paragraph, there is a much more pronounced labour division between *drongpa ama* and other women than between non *drongpa ama* women and non *drongpa apa* men.

Labour Division between the Genders

Table 2 shows clearly that agriculture, animal husbandry and reproductive activities are mostly gender neutral. This results from the necessity that every household member, regardless of sex, must be capable of running the house or *drog sa* autonomously. Among them agricultural, pastoral and reproductive activities must be interchangable. The lack of differentiation in the distribution of these tasks is deeply rooted, also in the ideology of the Khumbo.[11] So that it remains, even if the obligation of self-suffiency is not contingently required, as in the case of a coresidence. Even the few reproductive activities, which in the house are assigned to the *drongpa ama* (for instance cooking), never have gender specific nature.

Handiwork not limited to the house (such as basket weaving on the *drogsa*) is carried out by both genders. These activities also must be mastered by both, since they are required in any situation. Here, even women work with materials such as bamboo or wood, which are at the house reserved for men.

[11] In some cases there is a certain gap between this ideology and practice: activities like ploughing and building of stables which are more often performed by men than by women are described by the people as gender neutral.

Photo 1: *Drongpa ama* and *drongpa apa* at the local market, a three days walk away from the village

Photo 2: "Even the few reproductive activities, which in the house are assigned to the *drongpa ama* (for instance cooking) never have a gender specific nature"

The gender specific labour division is found in activities that demand a specific trained knowledge and skill, and, for reasons of storage of materials and tools take place in the house.

In the field of handiwork women are responsible for making textiles, whereas men are in charge of bamboo and wood, sheep-shearing, slaughtering[12] and every further utilization of animals.

Since the handiwork production aims mainly at satisfying the demands of the household, the labour of one of it's members is usually sufficient to cover the need of each gender-specific area. Here, an interchangeability of tasks is not necessary, because this type of work is tied to the house, so that a complementary labour division becomes possible.

These gender-specific activities are equally esteemed and demand approximately the same amount of time.

Handicraft production for sale is only possible with the permanent house presence of a second worker, and is dependent on the workers individual skill and the needs of the market. Only the men can produce more than what is needed by the family and wha can be sold within the village or Khumbo-area. The required quantity of his products (bamboo mats and wood elements for house- and plough construction) is not dependent on the size of the family. In small families, the man stays mostly on the *drogsa*, and is therefore unable to make sufficient building material when there is an increased demand for these products (roof covering every 3rd year and housebuilding every 10th year). Through purchase this material can be obtained from men belonging to large families, who can live permanently in the house and have thus time to produce more than their households requires. Furthermore they can devote their energy to a specialisation suiting their personal interest and skill. Certain feats of woodworking (e.g. board-cutting and plough construction) can only be accomplished by a few specialists. Thus a market within the village or the own group comes into being, where the men sell and exchange their own handiwork products.

No such market and no specialisation exists for women. The necessary quantity of their products — e.g. textiles — grows proportionally with the size of the family. Should a permanent house residence not be possible for a woman, which is only the case in very small families, the demand for their products will be so small, that it can be covered by a short house residence, which is always possible. In this way no needs arise that exceed the capacity of the female producer. A permanent house residence enables her to make sometimes more wool-products than needed and to sell them beyond the Khumbo area.

[12] Except the *lama*, every man in the village slaughters and the *pembu* performs also ritual sacrifice of animals.

Photo 3: "When female handiwork reaches a certain stage of specialisation (e.g. weaving) it becomes strictly exclusive and domain of the *drongpa ama*"

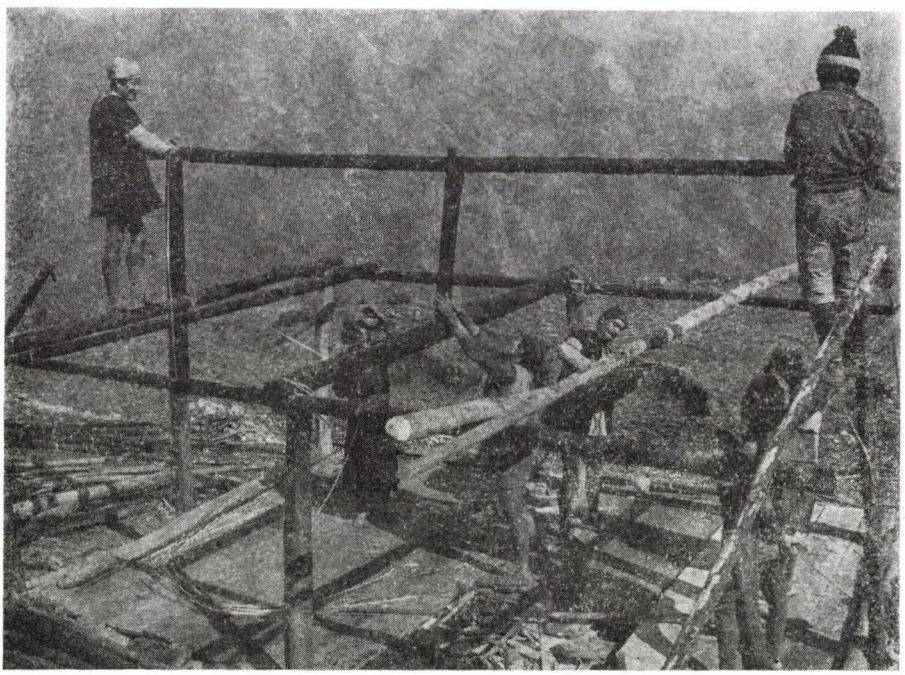

Photo 4: "Every household must send one labourer . . . If a man is not available a woman may take his place. The importance of this social obligation surpasses the exclusiveness of the labour division by gender"

Table 2[10]

Division of labour by gender

	excl. △	pred. △	swing	pred. ○	excl. ○
AGRICULTURE					
clearing the forest			x		
building and preparing of the terraces			x		
ploughing		x			
crushing of clods				x	
sowing			x		
weeding			x		
harvesting			x		
transport			x		
GATHERING			x		
ANIMAL BREEDING					
building of stables		x			
driving of animals			x		
keeping watch over animals			x		
feeding			x		
milking			x		
buttering			x		
production of curd and cheese			x		
slaughtering hens	x[1]				
slaughtering cattle	x				
HANDICRAFT					
work on skins	x				
yengo (fibres of stinging nettles)					
harvesting			x		
production of strings			x		
work on raw materials (cooking, spinning)				x	
weaving					x
wool					
shearing	x				
work on raw material (washing, spinning)				x	
weaving					x
felting			x		
sewing: repair			x		
production				x	
knitting				x	
bamboo					
harvesting			x		
splitting		x			
weaving: baskets			x		
mats	x[1]				
wood					
felling	x				
production of tools		x			
specialized activities (planks, ploughs)	x				

[10] The categories are freely taken from G. P. Murdock and C. Provost, Factors in the Division of Labor by Sex: A Cross-Cultural Analysis in Ethnology April 1973, vol. 12, pp. 203—225.

Table 2 continued

	excl. △	pred. △	swing	pred. ○	excl. ○
HOUSE—BUILDING	x[1]				
REPRODUCTIVE ACTIVITIES					
gathering of firewood			x		
fetching of water			x		
preparing of food					
threshing			x		
grinding			x		
cooking outside			x		
cooking in the house				x	
production of *chang* and *arak*				x	
care for babies				x	
cleaning of the house			x		
cleaning of the clothes			x		
TRADE					
near trade (itinerant traders, weekly market)			x		
long distance trade		x			
RELIGION					
layman in the house		x			
lama (bla ma)	x				
pembu (bon po)	x				
lhakama (lha bka' ma)					x

swing: activity performed by both genders with approximately equal participation
predominant: activity performed by both genders but predominantly by males or females
exclusive: activity performed exclusively by one gender (either male △ or female ○)
exclusive[1]: activity performed exclusively by one gender, but in case of the absence of the assigned gender these tasks can be done by the other one

The asymmetry of these markets (men selling on internal and external markets, women only occasionally and then externally) is a result of a preference of women (*drongpa ama*) for the house-residence and the different demand for male and female handiwork. It must be said, however, that the sale of handiwork products has no striking significance for the household, but it is, nevertheless, interesting for us to note that both sexes make and sell their products.

Parallel to the asymmetry of markets is an asymmetry in the exclusiveness with which men and women practise their handiwork. When female handiwork reaches a certain stage of specialisation (e.g. weaving) it becomes strictly exclusive and a domain of the *drongpa ama*. It is she who stays in the house as soon as one household member can reside there. So, following the pattern of the economic organisation of the Khumbo household, a man will

never have to weave, which is one of the reasons why he will not even learn it. This fact is so deeply rooted in the ideology, that in womanless households the widowers do not weave, even if that is in contrast with the immediate practical necessities. Kin households usually have to provide for the needs.[13]

Non-specialized male handiwork, meaning it can be performed by any man, is occassionally taken over by women, whose output however, will not meet the entire family's needs.

An example of this can be seen in certain cases of cooperation between households in house-or barn-building, which in contrast to the preparation of building material, surpass each family's labour capacity. Every household must send one labourer, and since the materials being worked on are bamboo and wood, this should be a man. If a man is not available, a woman may take his place. The importance of this social obligation surpasses the exclusiveness of the labour division by gender.

Conclusion

The lack of labour division between the genders in subsistence production and reproduction is linked to the requirement of the economic system. Due to the necessity of the system of *drogsa* and house and the shortage of labour, both genders must be able to perform all required tasks there. The differentiation of gender — specific fields of work in activities which demand specialisation and bind the doer to the house. The question of house residence depends on the family's labour capacity and the possibility for a women to take on the role as *drongpa ama*. This means, then, that she is not tied to the house on ground of her gender. The exclusive *drogsa* residence of the *nama*, even with babies, goes to prove this. The labour division between women performing and not performing the social role of the *drongpa ama* is much more pronounced than between non *drongpa ama* women and non *drongpa apa* men. The distributive function and power of the *drongpa ama* and the representative function of the *drongpa apa* are expressed in rituals as well as in everyday life. We intend to work on this matter in our further studies.

Our attempt to explain the gender-specific labour division by means of socio-economic facts can be regarded as a purely ethnic model. From an emic point of view the well balanced division of labour and the assignment of gender-specific activities were often explained to us not only through pragmatic socio-economic, and to these people well-known factors, but also from the perspective of complementarity and mutual dependence of *drongpa ama* and

[13] Analogically widows do no cattle slaughtering and sheep shearing. Except these activities, widows and widowers usually take over the tasks of the lacking household member.

dronpa agpa. This conception is deeply rooted in the ideology of the Khumbo. The idea of male and female opposites predominates, extending from the material culture to the world of gods. In the world of gods, however, these opposites are not only in form of any man and woman, but between the *drongpa apa* and the *drongpa ama*, who together from the unity of the *drongpa*.

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REMARKS ON AN HITHERTO UNKNOWN COSMOLOGICAL TEXT IN THE KANJUR

SIGLINDE DIETZ (Göttingen)

To this day, Willibald Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder, nach Quellen dargestellt*, Bonn 1920, is a basic work on Buddhist cosmology. In the chapter dealing with the cosmography of the Buddhists (pp. 178—207), he mainly exploited the *Vinaya-* and *Sutta-Piṭaka* of the Pāli canon and various early Buddhist Sanskrit works that were known at his time, e.g. *Divyāvadāna, Lalitavistara, Mahāvastu*. Among the Sūtras, the *Aggañña-Suttanta*[1] of *Dīghanikāya* and the *Shih chi ching* "Sūtra 'Record of the World' " in *Dīrghāgama* (Taishō No. 1, 114b—121b) must above all be mentioned as sources of cosmogony. One Sūtra in the *mDo*-section of the Tibetan Kanjur that contains cosmological information was translated by A. Csoma de Kőrös as early as 1833, i.e. the *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-Sūtra*[2] "The Sūtra on the entrance [of Śākyamuni] into the ascetic life".

One year before Kirfel's Kosmographie, Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Vasubandhu et Yaçomitra, troisième chapitre de l'Abhidharmakoça: Kārikā, Bhāṣya et Vyākhyā, avec une analyse de la Lokaprajñapti et de la Kāraṇaprajñapti*, Bruxelles 1919 (*Bouddhisme. Études et Matériaux, Cosmologie: Le Monde des Êtres et le Monde-Réceptacle*) was published. La Vallée Poussin edited or

[1] It is Sutta no. 27. In Chinese it is preserved as Sūtra no. 154 in the *Madhyāgama*. The Sanskrit fragments were published by E. Waldschmidt, "*Fragment of a Buddhist Sanskrit Text on Cosmogony*" in *Añjali*, Felicitation Volume presented to O. H. de Alwis Wijesekera, Peradeniya 1970, pp. 40—45. Hiān-li Dschi gave in his article "*Parallelversionen zur tocharischen Rezension des Puṇyavanta-Jātaka*", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 97, 1943, pp. 317—319, a comprehensive biblography of parallel versions in Chinese and Sanskrit. Cf. also *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, ed. by G. P. Malalasekera, s. v. *Aggañña Sutta*, and Konrad Meisig, *Das Sūtra von den vier Ständen: Das Agañña-sutta im Licht seiner chines. Parallelen*, Wiesbaden 1988 (Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, 20).

[2] "*Origin of the Shakya Race.*" in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. II, pp. 385 sq. The *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra*, Tib. *mNon par 'byuṅ ba'i mdo*, is found in Peking no. 967, Vol. 87, (Śu), fol. 1—131a1. Derge Vol. 28, (Sa), fol. 1—125a7. For a Chinese version of this Sūtra see *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, ed. G. P. Malalasekera, s. v. *Abhiniṣkramaṇa Sūtra*.

analysed those Buddhist texts that contain complete descriptions of the cosmology, i.e.:

1. The third chapter of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośakārikā* in Sanskrit (henceforth: Skt.) and Tibetan (henceforth: Tib.).

2. Vasubandhu's autocommentary *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, chapter three, translated from the Tibetan.

3. Yaśomitra's commentary *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā Sphuṭārthā* on the third chapter in Skt.

4. A detailed analysis of the Tib. translation of *Lokaprajñaptiśāstra*.

5. A detailed analysis of the Tib. translation of *Kāraṇaprajñaptiśāstra*.

Of these works the three first mentioned are available in critical editions of the original Skt., whereas *Lokaprajñaptiśāstra* (henceforth: LP) "The treatise on the arrangement (or description) of the world" is preserved only in Tib. translation with the exception of very few Sanskrit fragments. As part of the project "Investigations on Buddhist literature" (Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur) of the Academy of Sciences in Göttingen, I was charged by Prof. Bechert with the edition of the fragment that is contained in the manuscript Bauddhāgama No. 4737 of the Library in the Scindia Oriental Museum at Ujjain.

Lokaprajñaptiśāstra, the first part of *Prajñaptiśāstra* of Maudgalyayana, belongs to the oldest[3] part of the Abhidharma of the Sarvāstivādins, which comprises seven works in all. Three complete versions of LP are available.

1. A Chinese translation of Paramārtha from the year 558 with the title **Lokaprajñaptyabhidharmaśāstra**, Chin. *Li shih A wei t'an lun*, "Abhidharma-treatise [on] the arrangement of the world".

2. The Tib. translation *'Jig rten du bźag pa*, most probably from the time of King Khri sroṅ lde btsan[4] (8th/9th cent.). It is contained in the beginning of

[3] Together with *Dharmaskandha* and *Saṃgītiparyāya*. Cf. J. Takakusu, "*On the Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins*", in Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1904—5, pp. 116—118. E. Frauwallner, "*Abhidharma-Studien II. Die kanonischen Abhidharma-Werke*", in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, Vol. 8 (1964), pp. 70—71. *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, ed. by G. P. Malalasekera, s. v. Abhidharma Literature, p. 70. The oldest Abhidharma-works have the same construction, e.g. LP (Tib.), Peking Vol. 115, (Khu), fol. 2a1—4, begins as follows: "Thus have I heard: at one time the Blessed One was staying at Śrāvastī in the Jetavana, in the grove of Anāthapiṇḍada. At that time the Blessed One spoke to the monks: Monks, there exist three universes. What three? . . .". After the Sūtra-quotation the universes etc. are described. Cf. also S. Dietz, *Fragmente des Dharmaskandha, Ein Abhidharma-Text in Sanskrit aus Gilgit*. Göttingen 1984 (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Nr. 142), p. 18.

the section *mṄon pa'i bstan bcos* "Abhidharmaśāstra" of the Tanjur.[5] Moreover, we find it in the 37th volume of the *mDo*-section of the manuscript Kanjurs in London,[6] Tokyo[7] and Ulan Bator[8] and in the reprint of the Tog Palace Kanjur.[9] These Kanjur editions belong to the western branch of the tradition according to H. Eimer.[10]

3. The *Lokapaññatti* is either a Pāli compilation of several Sanskrit writings or a Pāli translation of a Sanskrit compilation; it is dated by its editor E. Denis[11] to the 11th—12th cent.[12] The main source of *Lokapaññatti* is a Skt. work that largely agrees with the Chin. translation of Paramārtha. This text was enlarged by passages taken from *Ṣaḍgatikārikā* and an Aśoka legend.

The available Skt. fragments of LP (also those preserved in Japan) correspond to the Tib. translation. The Tib. LP is considerably extended in comparison with Paramārtha's version and is presumably a work of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School.[13] The Skt. fragments are written in the script Gilgit/

[4] The colophon of this translation is missing. Most probably LP was translated by the same translators as *Kāraṇaprajñaptiśāstra* and *Karmaprajñaptiśāstra*, i.e. Jinamitra, Prajñāvarman, Ye ses sde and others. LP is already mentioned in the Ldan kar catalogue. Cf. M. Lalou, "*Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan*", in *Journal Asiatique* 241, 1953, no. [275] *'Jig rten bźag pa* (2.100 Ślokas). It is included in the section *Theg pa chuṅ ṅu'i sde*. It is noteworthy, that at this time *'Jig rten bźag pa* belonged to the Kanjur.

[5] Cone Vol. I (60), fol. 1—93a7
Derge Vol. I (60), fol. 1—93a7
Narthang Vol. Khu (62), fol. 1—107
Peking Vol. Khu (62), fol. 1—112a1
For two Mongolian versions cf. Walter Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten*. Wiesbaden 1961 (*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* Bd. 1), Nr. 289.

[6] Listed by L. Barnett, "*Index der Abteilung mDo des handschriftlichen Kanjur im Britischen Museum* (Or. 6724)", in *Asia Major*, VII (1932), p. 170, fol. 1—132b2.

[7] Listed by Kōjun Saitō, "*Kawaguchi Ekai-shi Shorai Tōyō Bunko Shozō Shahon Chibetto Daizōkyō Chōsa Bibō*", in *Taishō Daigaku Kenkyū Kiyō*, LXIII (Sept. 1973), p. 356, No. 310, fol. 1—128b8.

[8] Listed by G. Bethlenfalvy, *A Hand-List of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-Rtse Them 'Spaṅs-ma*, Budapest 1982, (*Fontes Tibetani* 1), No. 359, fol. 1—127b2.

[9] Vol. 88, fol. 1—130a7.

[10] "*Some Results of Recent Kanjur Research.*" in *Archiv für Zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung*. H. 1, St. Augustin 1983, pp. 7—21.

[11] *La Lokapaññatti et les idées cosmologiques du bouddhisme ancien*. T. 1.2. Thèse présentée devant l'Université de Paris IV — Le 16 Juin 1976 — Paris 1977.

[12] *Op. cit.*, T. 1, Ch. I, pp. II—X.

[13] Cf. the author's study „*Untersuchungen zur Schulzugehörigkeit der in Ujjain liegenden Gilgit-Fragmente.*" in *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*, Teil 1 (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung III, 1), Ed. H. Bechert, Göttingen 1985 (*Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Nr. 149), pp. 163—179.

Bamiyan type II[14] that was used from the 6th to the 10th cent. and the manuscript might date from the 8th cent.

As was mentioned above, the Tib. translation of LP is contained not only in the Tanjur blockprints but also in some manuscript Kanjurs and in the reprint of the Tog Palace Kanjur. In these Kanjur editions we find a cosmological text[15] that is not included in the other Kanjur and Tanjur editions. It follows the translation of *Udānavarga* and precedes that of *Kāraṇaprajñaptiśāstra*. The Skt. title given is *Kośalokaprajñaptisaṃkṣepa*[16] and could be translated "Brief exposition of the arrangement of the world [according to] the [*Abhidharma*]*kośa*'/ or "Epitome of [*Abhidharma*]*kośa* and *Lokaprajñapti*". The Tib. title *mDzod daṅ 'Jig rten brjod pa'i mdo* agrees with the second version. This text of about 25 pages ends as follows: *lo ka pra dzña rdzogs so*: "*Lokaprajña*,[17] i.e. the device of the world, is concluded". A colophon with the names of the translators or the compiler is missing. It is noteworthy that such a text was included in the Kanjur, since *bKa' 'gyur* means "the translation of the words [of Buddha]" and the Kanjur contains mainly works that were revealed by Buddha. One could assume an explanation similar to the one given in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (henceforth: Abhidh-k-bh), Ed. P. Pradhan, p. 3,3—4 by Vasubandhu as proof of the canonical status of the Abhidharma among the Sarvāstivādins (Vaibhāṣika): *sa tu prakīrṇa ukto bhagavatā bhadantakātyāyanīputraprabhṛitibhiḥ piṇḍīkṛtya sthāpito bhadantadharmatrātodānavargīyakaraṇavad ity āhur vaibhāṣikāḥ* | "It (scil. the *Abhidharma*) was taught by the Blessed One piecemeal and compiled by the venerable Kātyāyanīputra[18] etc. like the arrangement of the solemn utterances (*Udānavarga*

[14] *Paläographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Wiesbaden 1968 (*Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*. Suppl. 8), pp. 138—161 and plates 21—26. Dr. A. Yuyama, who is publishing the Japanese Sanskrit fragments of LP, dates these to the same time. They are written in a similar script and were brought from China to Japan in the 9th cent. Cf. A. Yuyama, "*Remarks on the Kōkiji fragment of the Lokaprajñapti*", in India and the Ancient World ... Professor P. H. L. Eggermont Jubilee Volume, Leuven 1987 (Orientalia Lovanensia Analecta 25), pp. 215—217.

[15] London fol. 192b8—209b2
Tog Palace fol. 190b6—204a6
Tokyo fol. 186a3—199b1
Ulan Bator fol. 184a3—197a8

[16] The transmitted transliteration *koṣa-lokapradzña ba ti ka na tsa kśe ba* seems to be not quite correct.

[17] This is also the title of a cosmological text from Tun-huang. Cf. M. Lalou, *Inventaire du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, T. II Paris 1950, No. 958 and L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang in the India Office Library*, Oxford 1962, Stein Collection p. 31, no. 76,4.

[18] He is the author (or compiler) of *Jñānaprasthāna*, an Abhidharma-work of the late period.

by Dharmatrāta." *Udānavarga* is found in the Kanjur as well as in the Tanjur of all editions.

Kośalokaprajñaptisaṃkṣepa (henceforth: KLP) seems to be a compilation of the third chapter of Abhidh-k-bh and LP, as may be seen by a comparison of the three works. That the arrangement of the subjects treated corresponds to Abhidh-k-bh shows that this work served as the main source for the compilation. After a preface stressing that everyone's fate is caused by his own karma, KLP[19] begins with a short description of the structure and the formation of the world: This world rests on a golden foundation under which the water-circle is situated. This in turn lies above the wind-circle, beneath which the ether spreads. The exact height and width of each stratum as well as its genesis are told: a saltcloud rises out of the wind-circle and becomes the water-circle by raining in drops the size of a yoke. On the water-circle a violent storm springs up, which stirs up the water-circle so much that its surface is covered by foam. This solidifies to the golden foundation as cream forms on the surface of milk. Mount Meru surrounded by seven ring-mountains arises upon the golden foundation. The space between the mountain-ranges is filled with water of eight special properties: it is cool, has a pleasant taste and agreeable smell, is light, soft, pure and harms neither throat nor stomach. Beyond the seven ring-mountains the iron Cakravāḷa-mountain encloses this cosmos. The space between it and this outermost ring-mountain is filled with salt-water.

Diverging from the order of Abhidh-k-bh, KLP[20] continues with the description of Mount Meru and the classes of gods and demons who live on its different levels in the cardinal points. God Indra's town Sudarśana is located on the very peak of Meru. There stands Indra's palace Vaijayanta, near which are situated four pleasure-parks, the magnolia tree Parijāta, that fulfils all the desires of the Trayastriṃśa-gods, and Sudharmā, the assembly-hall of the gods. Here the gods gather and judge on the good and evil deeds of men and decide in which state they will be reborn. In KLP, this last part is much more detailed than the corresponding sections in Abhidh-k-bh and LP.

Hereupon the four continents[21] Jambudvīpa, Videha, Godanīya and Uttarakuru, their shape and dimensions are set forth. Then the eight cold hells[22] are listed, and it is explained which actions cause beings to be reborn in them.

[19] Tog 191a1—192a6 corresponds to Abhidh-k III 138—145. (Abhidh-k = *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*. Transl. L. de La Vallée Poussin, Paris 1923—1931. References are to book (of the original) and page of the translation.) Cf. a similar description in *Śes bya rab gsal* (*Sa skya bka' 'bum*, Pa, pp. 2sq.).

[20] Tog 192a7—193a4 corresponds to Abhidh-k III 159—163.

[21] Tog 193a4—193b2 corresponds to Abhidh-k III 145—146.

[22] Tog 193b4—194a5 corresponds to Abhidh-k III 148—155.

The place of residence of the Pretas[23] is situated 500 Yojanas below Jambudvīpa. A minute description, not contained in Abhidh-k-bh, of the pains suffered by ghosts and of the deeds that cause a rebirth as Preta follow in KLP.

The Asuras[24] are merely mentioned. In Abhidh-k-bh only five[25] gatis are known, which means that the Asuras are omitted. However, in LP the realm of the Asuras is briefly described as corresponding exactly to the realm of the Trayastriṃśa-gods.[26]

In KLP[27] the course of the sun and the phases of the moon are also described in greater detail than in Abhidh-k-bh. A list[28] of the different classes of gods beginning with the Trayastriṃśa-gods and ending with the Akaniṣṭha-gods follows. Then full details are given of the span of life, the mode of propagation and the kinds of actions that cause the rebirth of all living beings, including the men of the four continents as well as the beings in the other five gatis.

KLP[29] ends with a precise account of the four kinds of kalpa, i.e. intermediate kalpa (*antarakalpa*), kalpa of destruction (*saṃvarta*), kalpa of evolution (*vivarta*) and the great kalpa (*mahākalpa*). The three kinds of kalpa of destruction — i.e. fire, water, wind — and the three kinds of intermediate kalpa — i.e. sword, disease and famine — as well as the evils that cause decline and lesser span of life, are specified in even more detail.

As mentioned above, with one exception[30] KLP is arranged in the same order as Abhidh-k-bh, but the effects of good and bad actions and the sole responsibility for one's own deeds are more stressed and detailed in KLP. Discussions of heterodox views are omitted. E.g. Abhidh-k-bh[31] refers to two etymologies of A-vīci, whereas KLP (Tog 193b4) gives only the first one, namely that Avīci is so named because the sufferings in this hell have no interruption. However, in KLP there are some striking divergences from the tradition as it is handed down in Abhidh-k-bh and LP; they are not easily

[23] Tog 194a5—194b6 corresponds to Abhidh-k III 156.

[24] Tog 194b6—7.

[25] For 5 or 6 gatis see Abhidh-k III 11, n. 2 and É. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien des origines à l'ère Śaka*, Louvain 1967, pp. 697—698. Whereas LP has 6 gatis, in *Kāraṇaprajñaptiśāstra* (cf. Tshigs 15) only 5 gatis are known.

[26] Peking Vol. 115, Khu, fol. 46a1—46b5.

[27] Tog 194b7—195b3 corresponds to Abhidh-k III 156—158.

[28] Tog 195b7—201a3 corresponds to Abhidh-k III 164—177.

[29] Tog 201a3—204a6 corresponds to Abhidh-k III 207—210.

[30] The description of Mount Meru and its inhabitants is found in Abhidh-k between the descriptions of the phases of the moon and the classes of gods.

[31] Abhidh-k-bh, p. 163,3: *duḥkhanirantaratvād avīciḥ* "[It is called] Avīci, because the sufferings have no interruption [there]" Abhidh-k-bh, p. 163,6: *nāsmin sukhavīcir astīty avīcir ity apare* " 'There is no agreeable interval', thus others explain 'Avīci'.

explained as e.g. corruption of the original text or of the translation.[32] Thus many numerical data specifying the dimensions of the mountains, the size and lifetime of beings etc. are different.

Other divergences are:

In KLP (Tog 199b7) we read that the Buddha *Vairocana* (Tib. *rNam par snaṅ mdzad*) lives together with innumerable Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas in *Akaniṣṭha* (*'Og min*)-heaven, the highest *Śuddhāvāsa* (*gNas gtsaṅ ma*) of the *Rūpadhātu*. Vairocana is not mentioned in Abhidh-k-bh and LP. In later texts Vairocana is one of the five Tathāgatas of the actual universe and resides as Ādibuddha in the Akaniṣṭha-heaven.[33]

KLP (Tog) 196b2 lists the *Mahāmaheśvarāyatana*-heaven (*Chen po'i che ba dbaṅ mchog 'du mched gnam*) in addition to the five usual *Śuddhāvāsa* (*gNas gtsaṅ ma*). This additional heaven is not mentioned in KLP (Tog) 200a1, where the *gNas gtsaṅ ma lṅa* are quoted again and a sixth one would be contradictory to the statement that there exist "five Pure Abodes". The *Mahāmaheśvarāyatana* seems to be quite unknown, since only one reference to it is found, i.e. *Mahāvyutpatti* No. 3108. In *Mahāvyutpatti*, along with the five known *Śuddhāvāsa* and *Mahāmaheśvarāyatana* yet a seventh name is found, i.e. the *Aghaniṣṭha*-heaven (*Mahāvyutpatti* No. 3107),[34] which is only dubiously attested elsewhere.

The most remarkable pecularity of KLP is its rendering of names, which I should like to deal with at somewhat greater length. Among 68 quoted names 46 differ from translations used in other texts, e.g. Abhidh-k-bh, LP and *Mahāvyutpatti*. These 46 names can be classified in three groups:

I. Names that are merely transliterated, although current translations are available.

II. Names translated by synonyms of the words usually used.

III. Divergent translations.

I. Sanskrit	KLP	others
1. *aṭaṭa*	*a la la*	*so thams thams*
2. *utpala*	*utpa la*	*ut pal ltar gas pa*
3. *naraka*	*na rag*	*sems can dmyal ba*
4. *padma*	*padma*	*padma ltar gas pa*
5. *hahava*	*ha ha ha*	*a chu zer ba*
6. *huhuva*	*hu hu hu*	*khyi hud zer ba*

[32] In the diverging statement on the height of Cakravāḷa mountain we find most probably a mere corruption of the text. In Abhidh-k the height is 312,5 Yojana, in KLP 302,5: *sum brgya rtsa phyed daṅ gsum. bcu* "ten" seems to be omitted.

[33] Cf. G. Grönbold, *Die Mythologie des indischen Buddhismus* (*Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, I. Abt., 13. Lieferung, Stuttgart 1976), s. vv. *Ādibuddha* and *Vairocana*.

[34] Cf. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v. *aghaniṣṭha*.

In the first group we find six names of hells, among them five of eight cold hells. The transliteration *na rag* is used only once (Tog 193b7), whereas all other references (Tog 193b3—194a4 *et passim*) have the translation *sems can dmyal ba*.

II. Sanskrit	KLP	others
1. *arbuda*	*chu bur*	*chu bur can*
2. *cakravāḷa*	*kho ra khor yug*	*khor yug*
3. *naivasaṃjñānā-saṃjñāyatana*	*'du śes yod 'du śes med ma yin mtha' yas skye mched*	*'du śes med 'du śes med min skye mched*
4. *brahmakāyika*	*tshaṅs pa kun ris*	*tshaṅs ris pa*
5. *mahāraurava*	*cher 'bod pa*	*ṅu 'bod chen po*
6. *rūpadhātu*	*gzugs yod pa'i khams*	*gzugs kyi khams*
7. *raurava*	*'bod pa*	*ṅu 'bod*
8. *sudharmā*	*chos bzaṅs khaṅ*	*chos bzaṅ*
9. *apramāṇābha*	*tshad med snaṅ*	*tshad med 'od*
10. *ākiṃcanyāyatana*	*cuṅ zad med pa'i mtha' yas skye mched*	*ci yaṅ med pa'i skye mched*
11. *ābhāsvara*	*kun snaṅ daṅ ba*	*'od gsal*
12. *mālādhāra*	*phreṅ ba 'dzin*	*phreṅ thogs*
13. *virūpākṣa*	*mig mi bzaṅ*	*spyan mi bzaṅ*
14. *saṃjīva*	*phyir 'tsho*	*yaṅ sos*

In the second group I have listed all those names that are similar but not exactly identical with the common form (nos. 1—8). Synonyms were used for the translations of nos. 9—14.

III. Most of the names belong to the third group, which can be subdivided again:

1. Sanskrit	KLP	others
1. *kukṣiṃ na vyā-bhādate*	*khoṅ la mi gnod pa*	*lto la mi gnod pa*
2. *caitraratha*	*śiṅ rta brgyan*	*śiṅ rta sna tshogs*
3. *dhṛtarāṣṭra*	*gnas sruṅ po*	*yul 'khor (b)sruṅ*
4. *nirarbuda*	*rab tu chu bur*	*chu bur brdol ba*
5. *parijāta*	*kun 'byuṅ*	*yoṅs 'du*
6. *mahāpadma*	*padma chen po*	*padma ltar cher gas pa*
7. *mahāmaheśvarā-yatana*	*chen po'i che ba dbaṅ mchog 'du mched*	*dbaṅ phyug chen po che ba'i skye mched*
8. *sudarśana*	*bzaṅ snaṅ*	*(b)lta na sdug*

In this group I have listed those names of which the two Tib. translations are nearly synonymous. E.g. 2. *Caitraratha* "belonging to *Citraratha* ('having a

bright chariot')" is rendered *śiṅ rta brgyan* "decorated, provided with a chariot" in KLP, *śiṅ rta sna tshogs* "[having] manifold chariots" in other texts. 8. *Sudarśana* is translated *bzaṅ snaṅ* "good looking" in KLP and *blta na sdug* "agreeable to look at" in other texts.

2. Sanskrit	KLP	others
1. *atapa*	*ma* (v.l. *mi*) *dros*	*mi gduṅ ba*
2. *avīci*	*mtshams med pa*	*mnar med*
3. *karoṭapāṇi*	*gyo mo 'dzin*	*lag na gźoṅ thogs*
4. *nimiṃdhara*	*rmaṅ 'dzin*	*mu khyud 'dzin*
5. *pāruṣya*	*khra bo*	*rtsub 'gyur*
6. *brahmapurohita*	*tshaṅs lha ñe phan*	*tshaṅs pa'i mdun na 'don*
7. *mahānagna*	*mthu bo che*	*tshan po che*
8. *yugaṃdhara*	*zuṅ 'dzin*	*gña' śiṅ 'dzin*
9. *vivartakalpa*	*'du ba'i bskal pa*	*'chag(s) pa'i bskal pa*

This group includes those names, the Tib. translations of which assume different meanings or etymologies of the Sanskrit-word:
e.g. 1. *Atapa* can mean "without pain" or "without heat". KLP *ma* (v.l. *mi*) *dros* "not heated" renders the second meaning, whereas the others have *mi gduṅ ba* "not causing pain". *Ma dros* is the usual rendering of the name of lake *Anavatapta*.
2. In KLP, the rendering *mtshams med* "without interstices" for Skt. *Avīci* agrees exactly with the etymology that is quoted in KLP.[35] *mNar med* "without suffering" is the more common translation of *Avīci*. As H. Wenzel[35] noted, this is a euphemism and could be a euphemistic interpretation of the second etymology[37] quoted in Abhidh-k-bh, since the etymology *nāsmin sukhavīcir asti* could be translated "there is no agreeable interval" as well as "there is no interruption of happiness".
4. Skt. *nimiṃdhara*: in KLP we find *rmaṅ 'dzin* "holding the ground, the foundation". In this case, Skt. *nimi*, a word that does not occur in Skt., seems to be derived from *ni-mi* "to fix or dig in", whereas *mu khyud 'dzin* "holding the circumference" renders Skt. *nemiṃdhara*, deriving it from *nemi* "the felly of a wheel, any circumference". The name *Nemiṃdhara* is an attested variant (e.g. *Dharmasaṃgraha* 125) in Skt. and the usual form of the name in Pāli.

[35] Cf. n. 31 above.

[36] "*Nāgārjuna's 'Friendly Epistle'*. (Bçes pai phrin yig)", in *Journal of the Pali Text Society* 1886, p. 23.

[37] Cf. n. 31 above and Maheśvara's commentary to Amarokośa: *na vidyate vīciḥ sukhaṃ yatra*. Cf. Abhidh-k III 149, n. 1.

6. Skt. *brahmapurohita* is *tshaṅs lha ñe phan* in KLP and *tshaṅs pa'i mdun na 'don* in Abhidh-k-bh etc. In *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (Ed. Nobel: Tib. 164,4 = Skt. 221,12) Skt. *purohita* "the king's priest, family priest" is translated *ñe phan*. KLP corresponds to this rendering. The usual translation *mdun na 'don* renders literally *puro-hita* "placed" or "put in front".
7. Skt. *mahānagna* has the meaning "champion" and "man of distinction, dignitary". In KLP *mthu bo che* "[man] of great power, strength" is found, in Abhidh-k-bh *tshan po che* "high dignitary". In this context the rendering of KLP is the better one.
8. *Yugaṃdhara* is "holding a yoke" or holding a pair". KLP has *zuṅ 'dzin* "holding a pair", the others *gña' śiṅ 'dzin* "holding a yoke".
9. The rendering *'du ba'i bskal pa* "kalpa of joining" is an *ad sensum* translation of *vivartakalpa* "kalpa of evolution". *'chag pa'i bskal pa* is the literal rendering.

3. Sanskrit	KLP	others
1. *anabhraka*	*kun che ba*	*sprin med*
2. *tuṣita*	*gnas bde*	*dga' ldan*
	gnas bden po'i lha	
3. *parīttaśubha*	*kun dge*	*dge chuṅ*
4. *parīttābha*	*kun snaṅ soṅ*	*'od chuṅ*
5. *puṇyaprasava*	*tshad med che*	*bsod nams skyes*
6. *yāma*	*mtshe ma*	*'thab bral*
7. *vinitaka* (v.l. *vinataka*)	*khyad par 'byin*	*rnam 'dud*
8. *vaiśravaṇa*	*ṅal bso po*	*rnam thos kyi bu*
9. *saṃghāta*	*gźor ba*	*bsdus 'joms*

Here are listed those names the translation of which could render a *varia lectio* in the Skt. source or a wrong reading.
2. *gnas bde* "pleasant place" for *Tuṣita* is almost synonymous with *dga' ldan*; the alternative translation *gnas bden po'i lha* could be caused by a corrupt Tib. transmission.
3. *parīttaśubha* means "of limited happiness, bliss". But if the translators read *parītaśubha* "surrounded by" or "filled with bliss", *kun dge* would be a possible rendering. The same explanation applies to no. 4 *parīttābha* "of limited radiance". *kun snaṅ soṅ* would be a word for word translation of *parītābha*.
7. *khyad par 'byin* could be a translation of a word deriving from the Skt. root *vi-nī* "to take away, remove, stretch, extend" and render *vinīta(-ka)* "taken away, removed, extended, stretched". The usual Tib. *rnam 'dud* is the translation of the Skt. reading *vinataka* "bent down".

8. *ṅal bso po* "resting, reposing, relaxing" could render Skt. *vaiśramaṇa.*[38]
9. *gźor ba* could be a secondary form belonging to *bcar ba, bcir ba, bcer ba, 'chir ba* "press, squeeze" (?). *saṃghāta* has the meanings "striking together, killing, crushing, compressing". In the lexica we find *gźor* only as secondary form of *'jor* "hoe". For the translations of no. 1 *anabhraka* "without clouds" and no. 5 *puṇyaprasava* "having increase of merit" I have no explanation.

As mentioned above, two thirds of the names occurring in KLP differ from standardized translations. Since the time of Khri sroṅ lde btsan[39] most of the early translations of the Tib. canon were revised several times until the final compilation of Kanjur and Tanjur in the 13th cent. KLP could be an unrevised text, since in all Kanjur-editions in which KLP is included the text is followed by the remark *brda rñiṅ du snaṅ ṅo* "It (scil. KLP) is [written] in old language". *brda rñiṅ* often refers to old orthography or phonology and is well known from manuscripts that were transmitted extracanonically.[40] But in KLP we do not find any words[41] in old orthography or phonology. It may be that the remark *brda rñiṅ du snaṅ ṅo* refers to the unusual rendering of well known names, names that occur in every text of cosmological or cosmogonical content.

KLP is not just as a comprehensive compendium of cosmology a very remarkable text. It is worth being studied in detail due to its many peculiarities of content and language.*

[38] Cf. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

[39] Cf. B. Laufer, "*Bird Divination among the Tibetans*", in *T'oung Pao* 15 (1914), pp. 64—67.

[40] Cf. N. Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien I*, Uppsala 1957, p. 19 and n. 4. Cf. also the cosmological text from Tun-huang mentioned in n. 17.

[41] Old orthography could be: *pho smos* "man and woman" (four times) in Tog 197b3 sq., *mthon dman* "height" in London 198a2 (twice; Tog has *mtho dman*) and bzaṅs in *chos bzaṅs khaṅ*.

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NOTES ON SA-SKYA PAṆḌITA'S *MKHAS-'JUG**

ALICE EGYED (Budapest)

The theory of Tibetan poetry is one of the blank spots in Tibetological scholarship. Only one article has been published in a Western language to introduce us to the terminology that the Tibetans have used, and are using, in their poetic treatises.[1] There are, in addition, some works which present us with some sort of outline or review of the Tibetan poetical literature, including both treatises on poetry as well as the poetry itself.[2] That the roots of Tibetan poetic theory can be found in the theory of Sanskrit literature, in particular, in Daṇḍin's (ca. seventh century A. D.)[3] *Kāvyādarśa*,[4] is well known.

The *Kāvyādarśa* was translated into Tibetan together with some Indian poems[5] by Shong Lotsāba Rdo-rje rgyal-mtshan[6] at the request of 'Phagspa (1235—1280) and Dpon-chen Sha-kya bzang-po. Shong Lotsāba was a master of *snyan-ngag* (*kāvya*), especially rhetoric.

Their reason for seeking a translation was that they — mainly 'Phagspa — wanted to introduce the best-known handbooks on Indian poetry into Tibet for the sake of the art of composing poetry, principally *alaṃkāra*. From this time, Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* became a standard textbook in Tibet, and series of commentaries on it were produced from the thirteenth through the nine-

* The paper was submitted in 1987.

[1] van der Kuijp (1986).

[2] Jackson (1983, 1983/e, 1985); van der Kuijp (1982, 1983, 1984, 1986); Smith (1969).

[3] Scholarship has produced radically differing dates for Daṇḍin. We can find plausible explanations for dates ranging from the fourth to the eighth century A. D. The seventh century A. D. date is by Jacobi (1922: 338—341).

[4] There is a bibliography on the editions of the *Kāvyādarśa* by Banarjee, in Bhattacharya (1974: XLVII—LII). The only complete English translation is by Belvalkar (1924).

[5] Work on a bilingual Tibetan-Sanskrit edition of the *Kāvyādarśa* by Si-tu Paṇchen Chos-kyi 'byung-gnas (1699/1700—1774) is in progress (van der Kuijp, 1982: 71).

[6] For his biographical dates, see *Deb-ther Sngon-po* (Vol. Tha: 14ff.). His name, Shong, derives from the place where he was born (i. e., in Bong in Spyang-lung Char-kha).

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teenth century.[7] The most famous one is the *Snyan-ngag me-long-gi dka' 'grel dbyangs-can dgyes-pa'i glu-dbyangs* (1656: vol. va.), written by the fifth Dalai Lama. In this work, he also gives a survey of the development of *alaṃkāra* in Tibet, quoting the opinions of earlier commentators and refuting them.

The *Mkhas-'jug*, one of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's major writings, was composed before Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* was translated into Tibetan. From the colophon alone we cannot be certain about the time when it was written. Jackson (1987: 228) says the *Mkhas-'jug* belongs to the third period of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's oeuvre and was composed sometime between 1220 and 1230. Van der Kuijp (1984: 47) assumes on the basis of internal citations and cross-references that the date of 1219 for both verse and prose text is too early and that the *Mkhas-'jug* was probably written at the same time as the *Sdeb-sbyor sna-tshogs me-tog-gi chun-po* of ca. 1220—1230.

The question might be raised why it was important for Sa-skya Paṇḍita to write on this topic even before the major Indian poetical works had been introduced into Tibet. Apart from any personal interest that might have motivated Sa-skya Paṇḍita, the answer might be found in relation to the leading role played by the Sa-skya order in the early decades of the thirteenth century in Tibet, when initial signs of the later theocracy of the Dalai Lamas — specifically, the drive toward centralization of political and religious power — can be discerned. The possibility of the existence of that political and religious domain required the standardization not only of the manner of religious practice but also of the arts and sciences. The collection and translation of texts by the Sa-skyas can be understood as belonging to an ambitious effort to arrive at an early "pre-"canonization. It was very important, in the first place, to restrict the increase of *gter-ma* literature. Secondly, since at that time neither religious practice nor the generally accepted corpus of knowledge was homogeneous throughout Tibet, it was seen as necessary for the extension of their authority to determine not only the religion itself but also the material pertinent to every other aspect of the civilization.

[7] Bo-dong Paṇ-chen Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1375—1450), *Snyan-ngags me-long-gi 'grel-pa de-nyid gsal-ba* (new publ. 1969); Bod mkhas-pa Mi-pham dge-legs rnam-rgyal (1618—?), *Snyan-ngag-gi bstan-bcos chen-po me-long-la 'jug-pa'i bshad-sbyor daṇḍi'i dgongs-rgyan* (new publ. 1971); Khamssprul Bstan-'dzin chos-kyi nyi-ma (1730—1779), *Rgyan-gyi bstan-bcos me-long paṇ-chen bla'ma'i gsung bzhin bkral-ba dbyangs-can ngan-gyi rol-mtsho legs-bshad nor-bu'i 'byung khungs* (new publ. 1976); Si-tu Bstan-pa'i nyima (1699/1700—1774), *Tshig-rgyan-gyi bstan-bcos snyan-ngag me-long* (new ed. in progress); 'Jam-mgon Mi-pham rgya-mtsho (1846—1914), (new publ. 1969); the Fifth Paṇ-chen Bla-ma Bstan-pa'i dbang-phyug (1853—1882), *Snyan-ngag-gi dper-brjod tshangs-sras dgyes-pa'i rol-mtsho* (new publ. 1971).

There exist early canonizations that were compiled during the *snga-dar*,[8] but those up to the catalog of the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka* of Bu-ston (1290—1364) did not, or did only partly, refer to the *Bstan-'gyur*. The *Bka'-'bum* of the Sa-skyas was the first "encyclopedic" work to contain all of the religious and secular knowledge of the age. Besides the major writings, we can also find some introductory works intended to define the content of each area of knowledge. It was suitable to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's purpose, too, that one of the specialized fields of Indian learning that he cultivated was the Sanskrit language arts. He devoted all or part of five major works to the subject.[9] The *Mkhas-'jug*, for instance, has three main sections, the first of which discusses general principles of grammar and prosody and concludes with an account of poetics, including a description of *rasa*s and *alaṃkāra*s. For his treatment of the latter, he translated parts of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*.

Sa-skya Paṇḍita dealt with the topic of poetics in two other works. One of them, the *Sdeb-sbyor Sna-tshogs me-thog-gi chung-po*, is a detailed introduction to Sanskrit prosody based on the metrical work of Ratnākaraśānti.[10] Sa-skya Paṇḍita's third poetical work is the *Tshig-gi gter*, an adaptation of the *Amarakośa*, on synonymy or lexicography.[11]

The name *Mkhas-'jug* identifies the genre as a scholarly type of compendium which was, according to Gene Smith's introduction to *A 15th Century Tibetan Compendium of Knowledge* (L. Chandra, 1969: 6), "intended to serve as a manual for instructing the beginning monk in the concepts and methods of Mahāyāna scholarship". The text can be further described as an introductory work with three functions: teaching, philosophical refutation, and literary

[8] Work on collecting and revising the texts went on ca. 800—1035. Bu-ston refers to three main catalogs of collections of the kings' age that served as his sources (*gzhi*) while working on the canonization. These are: 1) the *Dkar-chag of the Bsam-yas Mchims-phug* which pertained to the religious-cultural life in the Bsam-yas monastery and in the religious college at Bsam-yas monastery called Mchims-phug. But this text is lost. We know more about the other two catalogs mentioned by Bu-ston, the *'Phang-thang ka-med-kyi dkar-chag* and the *Pho-brang Stong-thang-ldan dkar-gyi dkar-chag*. They comprise of lists based upon collections of books of the castle *Stong-thang ldan-dkar* and the *'Phang-thang ka-med* monastery. These lists are known under the names of *'Phang-thang-ma* and *Ldan-dkar-ma dkar-chags*. In *The Collected Works of Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub*, ed. by Lokesh Chandra, vol. 1a, 117b 3/634/3; Ruegg (1966).

[9] The *Tshad-ma rigs-gter* (1219?), the *Sdom-gsum rab-dbye* (1232?), the *Legs-par bshad-pa rin-po-che'i gter* (1215—25?), the *Tub-pa'i dgongs-pa rab-tu gsal-ba* (1225—35?) and the *Mkhas-'jug*. This last work traditionally has not been counted among his "great works", but Jackson's explanation (1985: 87) has convinced me that it does indeed deserve to be included. (See van der Kuijp, 1984/e; Jackson, 1983, 1985).

[10] For references, see Huth (1890) and Hahn (1982).

[11] These three works are mentioned together as Indian-based poetical treatises of Sa-paṇ (*rgya gzhung-gi don bsdus-pa'i bstan-bcos rnam-pa gsum*). In Kong-sprul Blo-gros mtha'-yas (new publ. 1970: 596).

composition for monks. This genre differs from the so-called *bshad mdzod* works intended to help the laymen (L. Chandra, 1969: 7).

The *Mkhas-'jug* is divided into three parts corresponding to the three major topics of grammar, poetry and philosophical debate.

An outline of the structure of the work is:

1. grammar
- 1.1. preliminaries
- 1.2. grammar and semantics (*yi-ge, ming, tshig, brda, tha-snyad*, etc.)
- 1.3. introduction to poetics based upon an explanation of the nine *rasa* (aesthethic emotions, the "soul of poetry")[12] and their combinations. Sa-skya Paṇḍita shares the common opinion of the Indian scholastic poetic tradition when he allows nine *rasa*s, although, as he says, there are only eight in Amara Siṃha's dictionary.[13] (The present paper contains a translation of the main part of this chapter.):
  - a typology of literary genres[14]
  - verse types according to Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* differences between *Vaidarbha* and *Gauda* styles (after Daṇḍin)[15]
  - meaning of the nine poetical figures (*don-rgyan, arthālaṃkāra*; based on the text of Daṇḍin)

2. poetry (principles and techniques)
- 2.1. introduction (student, teacher, and educational subjects)
- 2.2. actual practice, based on Vasubandhu's *Vyākhyāyukti*, divided into five main topics according to Vasubandhu

3. philosophical debate[16]
- 3.1. preparation
- 3.2. the debate itself
- 3.3. conclusion

The *Mkhas-'jug*, as was ususal among early works, consists of basic mnemonic verses,[17] supplemented with a prose auto-commentary. The writing

[12] "The Indian *Rasa* School is expounded and propagated by Bharata's *Nātya-Śāstra*, Daṇḍin has also suggested this in his *Mādhurya* quality and Rudrata (835—875? A. D.) (mainly) in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra*." In Bhattacharya (1974: XXIII).

[13] While Rudra (835—875 A. D.?) shares the common opinion that there are nine *rasas*, he nonetheless admits ten (Jacobi, 1970: 473).

[14] This part is analyzed by van der Kuijp (1986).

[15] Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, 41—42, 44.

[16] This chapter is translated and analyzed by Jackson (1985).

[17] See the explanation of Vostrikov (1935—37: 72) for the classification of commentary types. He describes three types:

of such treatises featuring mnemonic verse was already well established in India. The verses might consist partially of close adaptations or even translations of sections from basic Indian works. The prose commentary which immediately follows the verse explains the ideas introduced in the verse. Sometimes the prose only grammatically or semantically adds something to the verse, like some missing grammatical particles or explanatory words. According to van der Kuijp (1984/a: 47), the verses and the prose of the *Mkhas-'jug* probably were composed at the same time. To the best of our knowledge, separate verse and prose commentary texts for the *Mkhas-'jug* do not exist (Jackson, 1985: 239).

The only complete commentary known on the *Mkhas-'jug* is the *Mkhas-pa-rnams 'jug-pa'i sgo'i rnam-par bshad-pa rig-gnas gsal byed*, published in 1527 by Glo-bo mkhan-chen Bsod-nams lhun-grub (1456—1532). In addition to the commentary on the *Mkhas-'jug*, it contains a biography and a bibliography of Sa-skya Paṇḍita. Glo-bo mkhan-chen also mentions a couple of early commentaries in his colophon commentary, but unfortunately those works are lost.[18]

There are three modern editions of the *Mkhas-'jug*:

1. the publication (1968) of the Derge edition of *Sa-skya Bka'-'bum* (about 1730)
2. the Peking edition (1982) which provides no reference to the text upon which it is based. But it must be based upon the Derge edition since the slight differences between them are easily attributable to misspelling.
3. the edition (1979) based on a fifteenth-century Bhutanese manuscript[19]

Translation

The Entrance Gate for the Wise

Having examined the subject of grammar, I am going to begin an introduction to poetry with an explanation of the figures of speech.

A modifier expresses the manner of praising and blaming
good- or bad-quality natures.

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1. *rnam-bshad*
   1.1. *tshig-'grel*
   1.2. *don'grel*
2. *mchan*
3. *mtha'-dpyod.*

[18] Lho-pa kun-mkhyen Rin-chen-dpal (1165—1240?) and 'Phags-pa Blo-grso rgyal-mtshan (1235—1280). According to Glo-bo mkahn-chen, those commentaries were not complete.

[19] As Jackson identifies it, before 1458 (1985: 291).

Take a look at something straightly or indirectly;
Then make examples of it by recalling the reality with similes.
When you make sentences, combine in them figures of speech and the nine *rasa*s,
and mix them up.

Rang-bzhin only mean the individual, etc., itself.

Yon-tan [means] a beautiful body and happiness, etc.

Las [means] a verb[al action, such as] to go, come, talk, etc.

Ngo-bo means an adjective; as an adverb, it can be used as a manner of praise and blame, in the sense of praising and blaming good or bad qualities. When the adjetive is used as an adverb, it is called "straight". When used to express someone's experience, it is another kind of adverb, called "indirect". [The previous two sentences might better be translated as follows: In the case of immediately understood speech, it is called "straight". When used to express someone's experience unmindfully, it is called "indirect".]

There is the case in which both the word and the intended reference are immediately understood, for example, "There is no scholar like me." The case in which both the word and the intended reference are indirectly understood is exemplified by [the statement]: "The vast water (ocean) is associated with the goose and the flower with the bee." A demonstration of the immediately understood (*dngos*) is, [for example], "The water is bigger than I am" or "Have you ever perceived the sweet smell of a flower?" The indirectly understood would be "Have you ever seen, among all people, a scholar like me?"

Having entered the "gate" with examples of "straight" and "unmindful" [modes of expression], in order to decorate [them] with figures of speech, I am going to elaborate their connection with the nine *rasa*s of poetry together with the charms of the body.

The nine *rasa*s are:

Charming, heroic, unpleasant,
Humorous, fierce, fearful,
Kind, arrogant, [and] peaceful are the nine.
'Chi-med-mdzod [Skt. dict. by Amara Siṃha] collected eight [of them].

I am going to explain each of these *rasa*s in detail, one at a time.

[1.] *Sgeg-pa* ["charming"] is the appearance of the body and speech and all things that are attractive in the environment.

Sgeg-pa is the existence of a nice tree, the manner of a flowing river.

[1.1.] In greater detail, this is also subdivided as:

[1.1.1.] *Nang-gi sgeg-pa* ["inner charm"] derives from a having a nice body and speech.

[1.1.2.] *Phyi' sgeg-pa* ["external charm"] derives from things in the environment, etc., such as, a house, a park, a flower, a piece of fruit, a river, a cloud, a chain of mountains, a plateau of bliss which is rich in medicinal plants, a bird, and a wild animal, etc., and a decoration, a garment, a pomelo, and the enjoyment of purple dye, etc., a spring wind, and the burning lamp of the moon, etc., [and all those things] which make the body and mind happy.

After entering the "gate" of excitements which make the body and mind happy, the things in our examples and the [attendant] excitements would be praised with words of the form *sgeg-pa*.

[2.] *Dpa'-ba* ["heroic"] is the manner or being fearless.

Specifically, [it could be] a natural endowment or associated with religious behavior, etc.

[Someone of] the Dharma faith, [someone engaged in] face-to-face fighting with the enemy, a conquerer, etc., is known as a hero of this world.

Dpa'-ba [refers to a condition] of being without fear.

[2.1.] There are also some distinctions to add:

[2.1.1.] Religious behavior, etc., the ability to practice the six *pāramitās*, and fearlessness are [manifestations of] the "heroism of the Dharma" (*chos-kyi dpa'-ba*).

[2.1.2.] Face-to-face fighting with enemies, with carnivorous animals, with demons, etc., without fear, is [a manifestation of] the "heroism of this world" (*'jigs-pa med-pa*).

[3.] *Mi-sdug-pa* ["unpleasant"] [denotes] the rejection of beauty.

[3.1.] According to [the entrance] "gate", this is also subdivided as [unpleasant] body, [unpleasant] speech, [unpleasant] clothing [or, appearance in general] and [unpleasant] manner.

[3.1.1.] *Lus mi-sdug-pa* ["unpleasant body"], [for example, one who becomes] afraid, [is] decrepit, [has] three goiters, etc.

[3.1.2.] *Ngag mi-sdug-pa* ["unpleasant speech"], [for example, one who] stammers, [is] hoarse, talks idly, etc.

[3.1.3.] *Cha-lugs ma-mjes-pa* ["unpleasant clothing"], [for example, clothes which are] dirty, disheveled, etc.

[3.1.4.] *Yul mi-sdug-pa* ["unpleasant manner"], [for example, one who becomes] angry, always fidgets, [is] stubborn, [is] irritable ("prickly"), etc.

[4.] *Dgod-pa* ["humorous"] refers to jestmaking words.

[4.1.] According to the entrance "gate", this is subdivided into the modifications of body, speech and manner, in order to represent the good qualities and faults of behavior in others.

Dgod-pa are those words which make you laugh.

[4.2.] This is also subdivided into [deliberate] modifications of body and speech, as in performing [the actions of] going [or] coming, etc., and representing to others with words [for the purpose of] jestmaking.

[5.] *Drag-shul* ["fierce"] [refers to] acting in a manner of wrathful reproach. Conquering the [selfish] striving [of those] with a propensity for the two kinds of moral and mental obscurations, the wrathful reproachers on behalf of the Dharma, by body, speech and mind, damage the enemies of the Dharma's existence. They are the "fierce" [ones] of this world.

Drag-shul: With regard to the entrance "gate" of wrathful reproach, subduing [those who are on] discordant paths consists in wrathfully reproaching [them on account of their] sinful misery and base thoughts, whereupon [they] are sent forth [again]. Eradicating the misery of sin together with that [kind of] knowledge [which embraces] habits of moral and mental obscuration, the Buddha disciplined the antagonists of the Dharma. The Buddha's manifestation in the form of the wrathful Rdo-rje Chang became the way [i.e., method] of the Dharma. Upon entering the "gate" of subduing enemies, [his] body, speech and mind assumed the conquering form of angry, wrathful disposition, as the fierce [one] of this world.

[6.] *'Jigs-su rung* ["fearful"] refers to the behavior of making somebody timorous.

Assuming forms unpleasant in body and speech, they offer something [for the sake of] other [sentient beings, causing them] through their own suffering to be enlightened in the Dharma.

In this respect, [they are] different from this world.

'Jigs-su rung-ba [refers to] making others terrified and timorous. [This is done] for the sake of sentient beings of the Dharma [by those who] even make of the form of their own body and speech objects [so that others might] attain enlightenment at the highest moment [of such an act]. I give as examples the six *Prajñāpāramitās*: Thams-cad-sgrol's [offering of] his own son and daughter, king Shi-bi-pa's [offering of] his own eyes, Byamspa'i stob's [offering of] his own flesh, king Zla-'od's [offering of] his own head, and Gser-mdog's cutting of his own body into upper and lower parts, etc.

With regard to this, [one could say that] the religious behavior of the *Prajñāpāramitās* on behalf of others went beyond the range of capacity [to endure] suffering in the practice of others. All would call [such actions] "cloudy'/ [i.e., obscure] and [those who perform such actions] the fearful of the Dharma. Accordingly, they are different from this world.

*

The commentary for the text is apparently not very helpful. Bsod-nams lhun-grub repeats the text of Sa-skya Paṇḍita with some grammatical changes and with an occasional misspelling.[20] The only place in which the commentator adds new text to Sa-skya Paṇḍita's treatise is where the number of *rasa*s is discussed. There he cites several authors and their differing lists of the names of the *rasa*s, the number of *rasa*s varying from six to thirteen,[21] while the original Sanskrit literature usually mentions nine in the case of *alaṃkāras*. Otherwise, the commentary of Bsod-nams lhun-grub does not provide notes or explanations for that part of Sa-skya Paṇḍita's treatise treated in the present paper. Still, the commentary does suggest a framework that is useful in preparing an outline of the text.[22]

[20] *sgur-ba* (104a.4); *zhar-ba* (104a.4); *ngag-gi* (104a.5); *mi mdjes-pa* (104a.5); *ya-yo-la sogs-pa 'khrugs-pa* (104a.5); *rgod-pa* (104a.6); *rgod-pa* (104b.1); *'gro 'am 'ong-la* (104b.1—2); *gnon-pa* (104b.3); [*dang*] omitted (104b.4); *rtsad-nas* (104b.5); *Phyog-na rdo-rjes drag-pos* (104b.5); *btul-pa longs-pa* (104b.5); *sdang-gi* (104b.6); *dgra-*[*bo*] omitted (104b.6); *mi zad-pa* (104b.1); *da* [*tu*] omitted (104b.2); *gyi* (104b.2); *pi* (104b.2); *she* (104b.2); *kyi* (104b.3); *gi* (104b.3); *pha-rol phyin pa* (104b.3); *gzhan-la yang* (104b.3); *gyi* (104b.3); *byed-pa chos th*[*ams ca*]*d* (104b.4); [*ni*] omitted (104b.4); *seng-ge/glang chen stag-la sogs-pa'i spyod tshul 'jigs-su run-par dang/* (104b.4—5); *g-yang 'grog stong/* (104b.5.; *de-dag-la* (104b.5); *rang-bzhin dang bcos-pa* (104b.6). All numbers refer to the commentary.

[21] See pages 102a.4—104a.4.

[22] The outline is as follows:

2. *gzhugs don dngos* (52b.1)
2.1. *rtsom-pa*
2.2. *bstan-bchos-kyi lus rtsom-pa'i tshul*
2.2.1. *sgra'i rgyu yi-ge dang ming dang tshig-gi tshogs gsum bshad-pa*
2.2.2. *snyan-ngag rtsom-pa-la 'jug-pa'i tshul* (83b.3)
2.2.2.1. *spyi'i don*
2.2.2.2. *snyan-ngag-gi rgyan*
2.2.2.2.A. *thun-mong ma-yin-pa'i rgyan*
2.2.2.2.B. *tun-mong-gi rgyan gnyis* [*gsum*?]
2.2.2.2.B.1. *don rgyan*
2.2.2.2.B.2. *sgra rgyan*
2.2.2.2.B.3. *gab-tshig rgyan*
2.2.2.3. *gzhug-gyi don* (101a.2)
2.2.2.3.A. *rgyan-gyi sbyor tshul spyir bstan-pa*
2.2.2.3.A.1. *nyams dgu dang sbyar-te mdor bstan-pa*

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2.2.2.3.A.1.1. *sbyar-ba'i gzhi*
2.2.2.3.A.1.2. *brjod-pa'i tshul*
2.2.2.3.A.2. *nyams dgu so-sor rgyas-par bshad-pa* (102a.3)
2.2.2.3.A.2.a. *rtsa-ba*
2.2.2.3.A.2.b. *'grel-pa* (103b.2)
2.2.2.3.A.2.b.1. *so-so'i mtshan-nyid dang rab-tu dbye-ba*
2.2.2.3.A.2.b.2. *de-dag-gi dpe* (105a.5).

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THE POSITION OF THE 'JAṄ SA THAM/LITHANG EDITION WITHIN THE TRADITION OF THE TIBETAN KANJUR

HELMUT EIMER (Bonn)

Recently a copy of the 'Jaṅ Sa tham or Lithang Kanjur has turned up in Orissa. This fact is now commonly known from two valuable publications by Yoshiro Imaeda, viz., his article entitled "L'édition du Kanjur tibétain de 'Jang sa-tham", in the *Journal Asiatique*[1] and his two-volume *Catalogue du Kanjur tibétain de l'édition de 'Jang sa-tham*,[2] in which the said article is incorporated by way of introduction. The surviving volumes of the Lithang Kanjur in Orissa were microfilmed by members of the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project. The kind help of Professor Albrecht Wezler, Hamburg, made it possible to use these microfilms — besides eight other text witnesses — in studying three short Avadānas. It is for the first time that the Lithang Kanjur is used in editing canonical texts according to the principles of textual criticism. The observations made during these studies yielded some interesting results as to the interrelationship of the various manuscript and blockprint editions of the Kanjur.

The aim of the present communication is to give some preliminary results of the text collation and to make some comments on the position of the Lithang edition within the tradition of the Kanjur. This leads to the question of whether the observations made in studying those three Avadānas correspond to the results achieved in editing the Tibetan *Pravrajyāvastu*.[3] The edition of the *Pravrajyāvastu* is based on eleven text witnesses. Therefore our investigations started with an analysis of the variant readings in order to find out how the several recensions of the Kanjur used are related to one another. Since none of the early manuscripts and blockprints is accessible, Tibetan accounts concerning the transmission of the Kanjur had to be utilized as well for drafting

[1] Tome CCLXX, numéro 1—2 (1982), pp. 173—189.

[2] Tokyo 1982, 1984. (Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica. Series Major. IIa. IIb.).

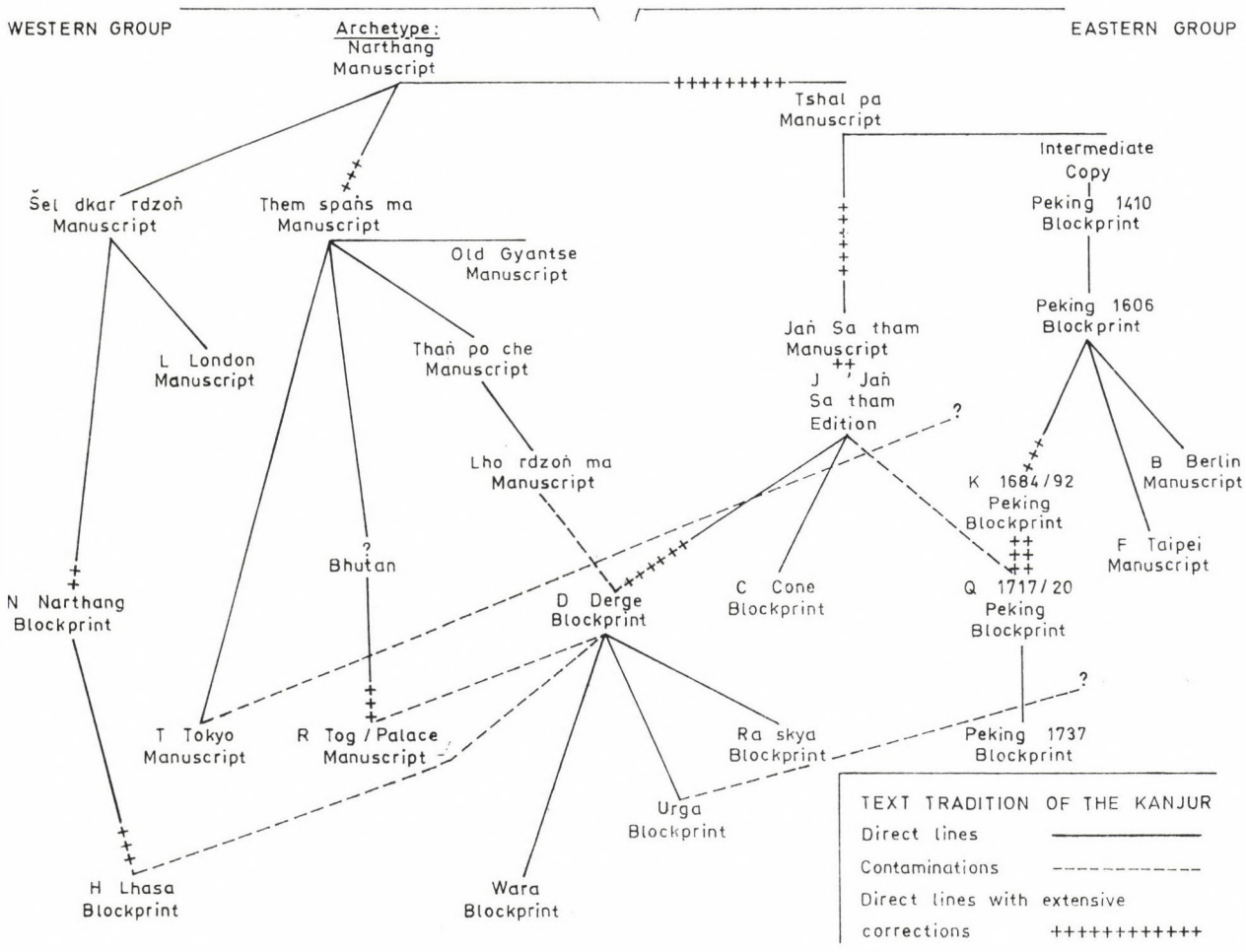
[3] See Helmut Eimer, *Some Results of Recent Kanjur Research*. Sankt Augustin 1983. (Archiv für zentralasiatische Geschichtsforschung. 1.), and *Rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i gźi. Die tibetische Übersetzung des Pravrajyāvastu im Vinaya der Mūlasarvāstivādins*. Nach Vorarbeiten von Frank-Richard Hamm † und weiteren Materialien herausgegeben durch Helmut Eimer. Wiesbaden 1983 (Asiatische Forschungen. 82.), 1. Teil, pp 55—137.

a first diagram of the text tradition. The different order of the individual texts of a corpus is commonly regarded as an appropriate criterion for determining the interrelation of text witnesses, and so the arrangement of the *'dul ba* section was analysed. The results arrived at by these three methods are not contradictory, but corroborate and complete one another. The Diagram of the Text Tradition of the Kanjur drawn up on the basis of these considerations also includes the results from collating the Lithang version of those three Avadānas.[4]

According to the observations made in studying the Tibetan *Pravrajyāvastu*, there are two main branches in the transmission of the Kanjur, both of which originate from the archetype prepared at Narthang in the beginning of the XIVth century. The Western Group of transmission — so named, since the witnesses extant come from Gtsaṅ Province — appears, as far as the earlier manuscripts are concerned, to preserve the original text with slight changes only; this holds good for the arrangement as well. The Eastern Group — so called, because only witnesses from Eastern Tibet and China are accessible at present, follows a different order. Moreover, it shows a remarkable number of variant readings as against the Western Group. The differences between the two groups are largely due to the re-edition of the early Narthang manuscript by Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje about the middle of the XIVth century. The Tshal pa Kanjur was the exemplar of a copy serving as the basis for the first Peking print, which was finished in A. D. 1410. Another copy of the Tshal pa manuscript was revised several times by Tibetan scholars. A copy of this revised version was brought to 'Jaṅ Sa tham, revised again, and xylographed. This 'Jaṅ Sa tham print in turn served as exemplar for the editions prepared at Cone and Derge, but for the latter other sources were used as well. It seems very likely that one of the later revised issues of the Peking Kanjur — i.e. the editions of A. D. 1684/92, 1700, or 1717/20 — used the Lithang blockprint as a source for corrections. In our diagram the contaminations are indicated by dotted lines.

The three Avadānas from the *mdo* section, namely, the *Jñānakasūtrabuddhāvadāna*, *Sūkarikāvadāna*, and *Puṇyabalāvadāna*, contain variant readings confirming the results obtained in editing the Tibetan *Pravrajyāvastu*, which belongs to the *'dul ba* section of the Kanjur. In the present communication only a few such variant readings are discussed in order to corroborate this statement.

[4] This Diagram differs from the version given in the papers quoted in note 3 (pp. 15 and 120—121 resp.) in one point: The original used for preparing the Peking 1410 blockprint does not necessaryly stem from a manuscript in 'Jaṅ Sa tham. I thank Dr. Manfred Taube, Markkleeberg, very much for having corrected my former statements (letter dated 15.7.84).


WESTERN GROUP
Archetype:
Narthang
Manuscript
EASTERN GROUP
Tshal pa
Manuscript
Šel dkar rdzoń
Manuscript
Them spańs ma
Manuscript
Old Gyantse
Manuscript
Intermediate
Copy
Peking 1410
Blockprint
Peking 1606
Blockprint
Jań Sa tham
Manuscript
J 'Jań
Sa tham
Edition
L London
Manuscript
Thań po che
Manuscript
Lho rdzoń ma
Manuscript
K 1684/92
Peking
Blockprint
B Berlin
Manuscript
F Taipei
Manuscript
N Narthang
Blockprint
Bhutan
D Derge
Blockprint
C Cone
Blockprint
Q 1717/20
Peking
Blockprint
T Tokyo
Manuscript
R Tog / Palace
Manuscript
Ra skya
Blockprint
Peking 1737
Blockprint
Urga
Blockprint
H Lhasa
Blockprint
Wara
Blockprint
TEXT TRADITION OF THE KANJUR
Direct lines
Contaminations
Direct lines with extensive
corrections

The first example is meant to show that the transmission of the Kanjur is split into the said main groups:

The ancient manuscript housed at Gyantse,[5] the manuscript kept in Tokyo, that issued from Tog Palace, and the Narthang blockprint do not contain the four syllables *bam po dań po*, i.e., the reference to the beginning of the first *bam po*, which appears in all other text witnesses after the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles of the *Puṇyabalāvadāna*. On the face of it this will be regarded as a grave error in the Western Group of transmission, since as a rule the first *bam po* is indicated after the titles of texts exceeding a certain length. However, the *Lhan dkar ma*, i.e., the earliest extant catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures in Tibet, states the length of the *Puṇyabalāvadāna* to be 210 *ślokas*;[6] this does not fit the other sources, especially not the *dkar chags* of the Kanjur, which mention two *bam pos* for this Avadāna. Due to the great age of the Gyantse manuscript, which must have been written prior to A. D. 1439,[7] it seems most probable that the said *bam po* division was not contained yet in the original Narthang manuscript, but inserted by Kun dga' rdo rje while re-editing the Kanjur at Tshal Guń thań.

The second reading presented here is meant to prove that the blockprints from Cone, Derge and Lithang form a subdivision of the Eastern Group:

The usual Tibetan title of the *Puṇyabalāvadāna* is *Bsod nams stobs kyi rtogs pa brjod pa*, meaning "the Edifying Tale of Him Whose Strength is [His] Religious Merit". This title suits the contents of the text, the leading figure of which is Prince Bsod nams stobs. At the beginning of the *Puṇyabalāvadāna* the Tibetan title appears as *Bsod nams kyi stobs kyi rtogs pa brjod pa* in the editions from Cone, Derge, and Lithang. This variant reading makes the first compound of the Sanskrit title not a *bahuvrīhi* but a tatpuruṣa, meaning "the Edifying Tale on the Strength of Religious Merit". This form of the title suits the general contents of the Avadāna but disagrees with all other text witnesses and with the tradition manifesting itself in the colophon and in the indication of the second *bam po*. Therefore the additional *kyi* after *bsod nams* is a mistake[8] common to the Cone, Derge, and Lithang Kanjurs.

[5] I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Dieter Schuh, Bonn, for putting at my disposal the slides taken by him.

[6] See Shyuki Yoshimura, *The Denkar-ma. An Oldest Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*. Kyoto 1950, p. 26, no. 283, and Marcelle Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroń-lde-bcan." *Journal Asiatique*, tome CCXLI (1953), p. 325, no. 283.

[7] The manuscript most probably was written by Rab brtan Kun bzań 'phags (died A.D. 1439) for his mother.

[8] The same mistake appears in Géza Bethlenfalvy, *A Hand-List of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse Them Spańs-ma*. Budapest 1982. (Fontes Tibetani. I.). (Debter. Deb-ther. Debtelin. 1.), p. 31, no. 301; but it cannot be utilized to establish a relation between the Them spańs ma manuscript and the editions from Cone, Derge, and Lithang.

For determining the interrelation between the Lithang xylograph and the Cone blockprint a variant reading in the latter can be utilized:

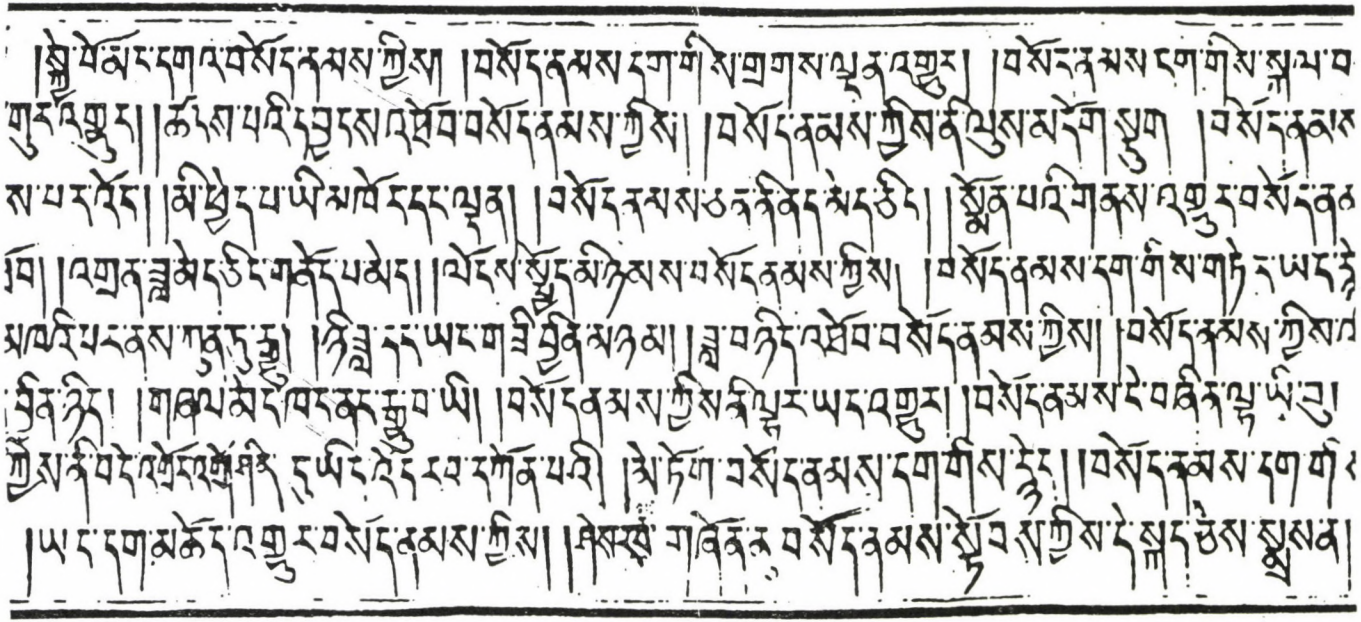
In the *Jñānakasūtrabuddhāvadāna* is found the stereotyped description of how the Buddha puts on his clothes; the sentence in point ends in the Cone edition (folio 318a 5) with *smad g.yogs daṅ chos gos gsol lo*, the final *slar bsdu ba*, i.e. *lo*, is not given by any of the other text witnesses. How can this mistake in the Cone Kanjur be explained? If the Lithang edition was the exemplar used at Cone, it may possibly give a hint as to how the mistake arose. And so it does: Above the last letter of the syllable *gsol* — see line 6 in the section from the Lithang page 311/312a within the volume *mdo sde, am* — the subscript *y* of *skyed mos tshal* in line 5 is printed on the same level as the *o* sign above the three preceding syllables. The scribe who prepared the calligraphic master copy for the Cone blocks mistook the subscript *y* of the preceding line for a second *o* sign of *gsol*, thinking he had a contracted spelling[9] before him: viz., *gsol* (*l*)*o*, which he accordingly restored to its full form *gsol lo*.

In the text tradition of the Kanjur there are no direct interrelations — in the sense of original and copy — between the subgroup formed by the Cone, Derge, and Lithang editions on the one hand and the Peking editions on the other. A graphic peculiarity found in the Peking print of 1717/20 (folio 11a 8) proves that the Lithang print served as a source for contamination:

In the *Puṇyabalāvadāna* a passage of 85 lines of verse is given, the last of which reads *yaṅ dag mchod 'gyur bsod nams kyis*. After this line the Tibetan equivalent of Sanskrit *iti*, i.e. *žes*, is expected; it occurs in some of the text witnesses collated. The Tokyo manuscript has the variant reading *šes*, the euphonic form often used after a final sibilant in the earlier Kanjur manuscripts. Instead of *žes* or *šes* the Cone and Lithang editions have *šes rab*, the Tibetan equivalent of Sanskrit *prajñā* "wisdom", which does not make sense in this context. This variant is found in the Peking Kanjur of 1717/20 as well. But the syllables *šes rab* — in the last line of the specimen of folio 11a presented here — are written in letters more slender than the surrounding ones, and between the syllables *rab* and *gžon* there is a small gap in the line. This shows that the word *šes rab*, together with the *šad* before it, was inserted into the text after the blocks had been cut.[10] That the original reading in the earlier Peking editions was *šes* or *žes* appears from the Berlin manuscript, which reads *žes* as against *šes rab* in the Cone, Lithang, and 1717/20 Peking editions.

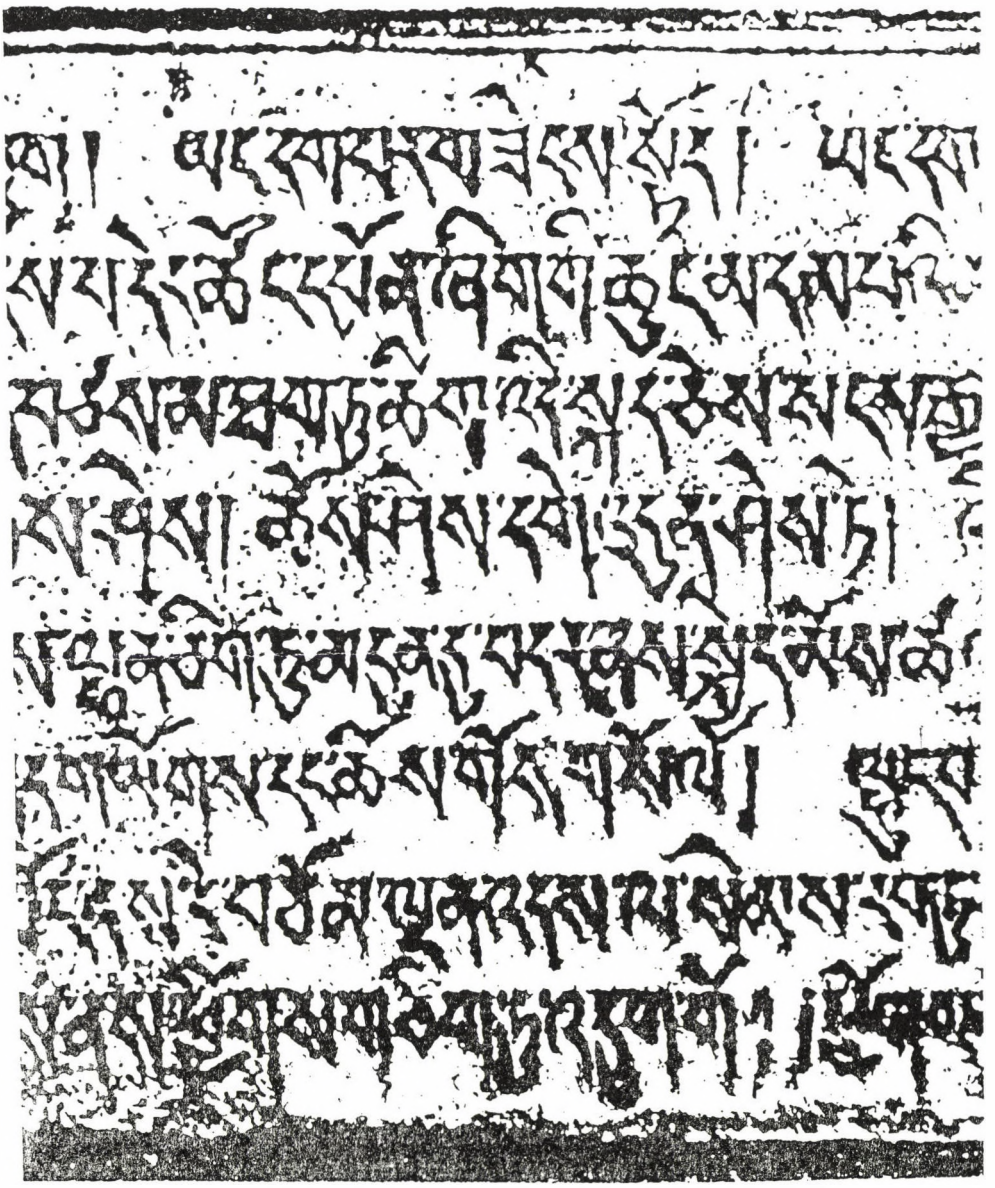
[9] For the different forms of shortened writing common in Tibet see e.g. the edition of the *Rab tu 'byuṅ ba'i gži* (quoted above in note 3), 1. Teil, pp. 146—150.

[10] The methods for correcting a printing block are described by Helmut Eimer, „Einige Hinweise zur Edition tibetischer kanonischer Texte — Beobachtungen zur Überlieferung in Blockdrucken." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 14/1 (1980) pp. 198—207.



Peking Kanjur (1717/20), mdo, ke, lla

At present the Lithang print is the earliest dated text witness of the Kanjur of which more than a few leaves are accessible. Copies of the very first xylographic edition, the Peking print finished in A. D. 1410, are still existent, but not available. Copies of the revised reprint issued in Peking in A. D. 1606 are not known. The ensuing Peking editions of 1684/92, of 1700, of 1717/20 etc. are based upon these early prints and can be regarded as re-editions. The



fifth issue is the Peking Kanjur now generally known from the Japanese reprint edition. In spite of the four stages of revision the number of archaic variants found in this issue is — as far as can be seen to-day — somewhat higher than in the Lithang edition completed A. D. 1621. Therefore the Lithang edition must be regarded as presenting a more heavily edited text. The peculiar readings common to both the Lithang and the Peking edition, originate from the manuscript prepared by Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje, which was a re-edition of a copy of the archetype, the earliest manuscript at Narthang. The extent of this revision is not yet known, but it seems to have been a thorough one. So the distance between the first Kanjur manuscript and the Lithang edition is relatively great. This does not mean that the text of the Lithang edition is of inferior quality. Text-critical research on the Kanjur faces a paradox situation: The earliest manuscript, i.e., the archetype, did not contain a fully correct text, since in compiling the canons to a great extent sources were utilized which stand at the end of about five hundred years of transmission. And this transmission took place under very poor conditions, it suffered from the civil-war situation in Tibet after the assassination of Glaṅ dar ma. Therefore it was the aim of the Tibetan scholars in revising the Kanjur again and again to improve upon the text. Thereby a great number of correct emendations was achieved, but the remnants of the archaic language were wiped off almost completely.

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DER TIBETISCHE MEDIZIN-BAUM

ELISABETH FINCKH (Hamburg)

Die tibetische Heilkunde — in hohem Maße sowohl von der indischen als auch von der chinesischen Heilkunde beeinflusst — hat dennoch ein Eigengepräge entwickelt; der tibetische Medizin-Baum, der das System dieser Heilkunde darstellt, ist mit Sicherheit eine tibetische Schöpfung.

Dieser Medizin-Baum besteht aus 3 Wurzeln, 9 Stämmen, 47 Zweigen und 224 Blättern.

Die Erforschung der tibetischen Heilkunde muß mit der Erarbeitung einer Medizin-Terminologie beginnen, die Quellen entnommen ist. Das wichtigste Medizinwerk der tibetischen Ärzte ist das Buch rGyud bźi (Vier Traktate).[1] Der Medizin-Baum wird im 1. Teil dieses Buches beschrieben. Diese Arbeit wird die entsprechenden Kapitel vorlegen:

Kapitel 3

Anordnung (der Körperteile), Grundlagen der Krankheit = gnas lugs nad gźi = Wurzel A

Kapitel 4

Diagnose = ṅos ḥjin rtags = Wurzel B

Kapitel 5

Therapie = gso thabs = Wurzel C

Alle aus den Texten abgeleiteten Begriffe werden mit ihren tibetischen Termini[2] genannt. (283 Termini.)

[1] rGyud bźi = Kurztitel. Titel = bdud rći sñiṅ po yan lag brgyad pa gsaṅ ba man ṅag gi rgyud. Übersetzung = Geheim-Unterweisungs-Traktat über die achtgliedrige Unsterblichkeits-Essenz.

Teil 1 = rća baḥi rgyud = Wurzel-Traktat
Teil 2 = bśad paḥi rgyud = Erklärungs-Traktat
Teil 3 = man ṅag gi rgyud = Unterweisungs-Traktat
Teil 4 = phyi maḥi rgyud = Schluß-Traktat.

Mit Hilfe von R. E. Emmerick ist die sehr schwierige Übersetzung unserer Kapitel entstanden.

[2] Einige Termini sind in den Darstellungen verkürzt wiedergegeben, wie im Blockdruck; z. B. snum statt snum pa, yaṅ statt yaṅ ba.

Das System

			Stamm IX Heilmethoden 3 Zweige 7 Blätter
		Stamm V Fragen 3 Zweige 29 Blätter	*Stamm IIX* Arzneimittel 15 Zweige 50 Blätter
	Stamm II Kranker Organismus 9 Zweige 63 Blätter	*Stamm IV* Fühlen 3 Zweige 3 Blätter	*Stamm VII* Lebensweise 3 Zweige 6 Blätter
	Stamm I Gesunder Organismus 3 Zweige 25 Blätter	*Stamm III* Beschauen 2 Zweige 6 Blätter	*Stamm VI* Ernährung 6 Zweige 35 Blätter
3 9 47 224	*Wurzel A* II Stämme 12 Zweige 88 Blätter *ANORDNUNG* *KRANKHEITS-GRUNDLAGEN*	*Wurzel B* III Stämme 8 Zweige 38 Blätter *DIAGNOSE*	*Wurzel C* IV Stämme 27 Zweige 98 Blätter *THERAPIE*
	Kapitel 3	Kapitel 4	Kapitel 5

Der tibetische Medizin-Baum ist nicht nur wichtig, um eine Medizinterminologie zu erarbeiten, er vermittelt uns auch Erkenntnisse, die der Praxis dienen.

Wurzel A = *Anordnung* (der Körperteile und) *der Krankheits-Grundlagen*

Stamm I = Gesunder Organismus
Stamm II = Kranker Organismus
(Blockdruck: fol. 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a meines Blockdruckes)

TEXT

de nas drań sroṅ Yid las skyes kyis drań sroṅ Rig pa̲hi ye śes la
h̲di skad ces gsol to / /
kye ston pa drań sroṅ Rig(6b5) pa̲hi ye śes lags / /
gso ba rig pa̲hi rgyud sde rnam bźi las / /

rća baḥi rgyud la ji ltar bslab par bgyi / /
ḥćho mĵad sman paḥi rgyal pos bśad du gsol / /
źes źus pa las / thugs kyi sprul(6b6)pa draṅ sroṅ Rig paḥi
ye śes kyis ḥdi skad ces gsuṅs so / /
kye draṅ sroṅ chen po Yid las skyes / /
daṅ po rća rgyud mdo yi gnas bstan pa / / [1]
rća ba gsum la ḥdril baḥi sdoṅ po dgu / / [2]
(7a5)gyes paḥi yal ga bźi bcu rća bdun te / / [3]
lo ḥdab ñis brgya rća bźir rgyas pa yin / / [4]
gsal baḥi me tog ḥbras bu lṅa ru smin / / [5]
ḥdi dag rća baḥi rgyud kyi sdoms su bśad / / [6]
de ñid rgyas par bkrol na ḥdi lta ste / / [7]
nad daṅ lus zuṅs dri(7a6)ma rnam pa gsum / / [8]
rnam par ma gyur pa daṅ gyur pa las / / [9]
lus ni gnas daṅ ḥjoms par byed pa yin / / [10]
nad ni rluṅ daṅ mkhris pa bad kan gsum / / [11]
A,I,1 srog ḥjin gyen rgyu khyab byed me thur sel / / [12]
ḥju byed mdaṅs sgyur sgrub(7b1)mthoṅ mdog gsal lṅa / / [13]
rten myag myoṅ ćhim ḥbyor byed bco lṅaḥo / / [14]
A,I,2 daṅs ma khrag śa ćhil rus rkaṅ khu ba / / [15]
A,I,3 lus zuṅs bdun yin dri ma bśaṅ gci rṅul / / [16]
de ltar rnam graṅs ñi śu rća lṅa po / / [17]
ro daṅ nus pa spyod lam rnam(7b2)gsum po / / [18]
thams cad mñam par gnas pas ḥphel ḥgyur źiṅ / / [19]
de las ldog pa gnod par ḥgyur ba yin / / [20]
nad ni skyed par byed paḥi rgyu gsum ste / / [21]
de la lhan cig bskyed paḥi rkyen bźi yis / / [22]
ḥjug sgo rnam pa drug tu(7b3) źugs nas ni / / [23]
lus kyi stod smad bar du gnas bcas śiṅ / / [24]
rgyu bar byed paḥi lam ni bco lṅa ru / / [25]
na so yul dus dgu ru ḥphel byed de / / [26]
ḥbras bu srog gcod pa yi nad dgur smin / / [27]
ldog paḥi rgyu ni bcu daṅ gñis su ḥgyur / / [28]
(7b4)mdo don dril bas ćha graṅ gñis su ḥdus / / [29]
de ltar drug cu rća gsum gso byaḥi nad / / [30]
A,II,1 de la ḥdod chags źe sdaṅ gti mug gsum / / [31]
rluṅ mkhris bad kan rim pas skyed paḥi rgyu / / [32]
A,II,2 de la dus gdon zas daṅ spyod lam bźis / / [33]
de dag(7b5)ḥphel daṅ zad par gyur nas ni / / [34]
A,II,3 pags la gram źiṅ śa la rgyas pa daṅ / / [35]
rća ru rgyu źiṅ rus la źen pa daṅ / / [36]
don la ḥbab ciṅ snod du lhuṅ bar ḥgyur / / [37]

A,II,4	bad kan klad pa la brten stod na gnas / /	[38]
	mkhris pa mchin dri la brten bar na(7b6)gnas / /	[39]
	rluṅ ni dpyi rked la brten smad na gnas / /	[40]
A,II,5	rus pa rna ba reg bya sñiṅ srog loṅ / /	[41]
	khrag rṅul mig daṅ mchin mkhris rgyu ma daṅ / /	[42]
	dvaṅs ma śa ćhil rkaṅ khu bśaṅ gci daṅ / /	[43]
	sna lce glo mcher pho mkhal lgaṅ pa rnams / /	[44]
	lus(8a1)zuṅs dri ma dbaṅ po don snod lṅa / /	[45]
	rluṅ mkhris bad kan rgyu baḥi lam du bśad / /	[46]
A,II,6	rgas pa rluṅ mi dar ma mkhris paḥi mi / /	[47]
	byis pa bad kan mi yin na sos gñan / /	[48]
	ṅad can graṅ ba rluṅ gi yul yin te / /	[49]
	(8a2)skam sa ćha gduṅ che ba mkhris paḥi yul / /	[50]
	rlan can snum pa bad kan yul du bśad / /	[51]
	rluṅ nad dbyar dus dgoṅs daṅ tho raṅs ldaṅ / /	[52]
	mkhris pa ston dus ñin dguṅ mćhan dguṅ ldaṅ / /	[53]
	bad kan dpyid dus srod daṅ sṅa(8a3)dro ldaṅ / /	[54]
A,II,7	ḥćho ba gsum zad ḥdu ba gśed du babs / /	[55]
	sbyor ba mćhuṅs daṅ gnad du babs pa daṅ / /	[56]
	dus ḥdas rluṅ nad srog rten chad pa daṅ / /	[57]
	ćha ba la ḥdas graṅ ba gtiṅ ḥkhar ba / /	[58]
	zuṅs kyis mi thub rnam par ḥćhe ba(8a4)rnams / /	[59]
	ḥbras bu srog gcod nad dgu źes su bśad / /	[60]
A,II,8	rluṅ mkhris bad kan źi daṅ ma źi ba / /	[61]
	gñis gñis bźi ru ldog pas bcu gñis so / /	[62]
A,II,9	rluṅ daṅ bad kan graṅ ba chu yin te / /	[63]
	khrag daṅ mkhris pa ćha ba me ru ḥdod / /	[64]
	(8a5)srin daṅ chu ser ćha graṅ thun moṅ gnas / /	[65]
	de ltar rnam graṅs brgyad cu rća brgyad kyis / /	[66]
	nad gźiḥi rnam pa ma lus śes par ḥgyur / /	[67]
	źes gsuṅs so / /	
	bdud rći sñiṅ po yan lag brgyad pa gsaṅ ba man	
	ṅag gi rgyud las(8a6)gnas lugs nad gźiḥi leḥu	
	ste gsum paḥo / /	

Wurzel A — 2 Stämme

Anordnung (der Körperteile und) der Krankheits-Grundlagen-gnas lugs nad gźi

Stamm I — 3 Zweige

Nicht verändert-rnam par ma gyur pa d. h. Gesunder-Organismus

Zweig 1 15 Blätter

(Grundlagen der) Krankheit-nad
Wind — rluṅ
Das Leben tragend — srog ḥjin
Aufsteigend — gyen rgyu
Durchdringend — khyab byed
Feuer (begleitend) — me(mñam)
Abwärtstreibend — thur sel
Galle — mkhris pa
Verdauung machend — ḥju byed
Glanz (des Chylus) produzierend — mdaṅs sgyur
(Wünsche) verwirklichend — sgrub byed
Sehen machend — mthoṅ byed
Die Farbe (der Haut) hell machend — mdog gsal
Schleim — bad kan
Stützend — rten byed
Zersetzend — myag byed
Schmecken machend — myoṅ byed
Zufrieden (stellend) — ćhim byed
Verbinden machend — ḥbyor byed

Zweig 2 7 Blätter

Grundstoffe des Körpers — lus zuṅs
Chylus — daṅs ma
Blut — khrag
Fleisch — śa
Fett — ćhil
Knochen — rus pa
Mark — rkaṅ
Samen — khu ba

Zweig 3 3 Blätter

Unreinheiten — dri ma
Kot — bśaṅ
Urin — gcin
Schweiß — rṅul

25 Blätter

Aus Stamm I entspringen außerdem:
2 Blüten = Gesundheit und langes Leben
3 Früchte = Religion, Wohlstand und Glück.

Stamm II 9 Zweige

Verändert — rnam par gyur pa
d. h. Kranker Organismus

Zweig 1 3 Blätter

Erzeugende (primäre) Ursachen — rgyu
Begierde — hdod chags (Wind)
Haß — źe sdaṅ (Galle)
Verblendung — gti mug (Schleim)

Zweig 2 4 Blätter

Mitwirkende (sekundäre) Ursachen — rkyen
Zeit — dus
Böser Geist — gdon
Nahrung — zas
Verhalten — spyod

Zweig 3 6 Blätter

Einfallstore — hjug sgo
1. Haut — pags pa
2. Fleisch — śa
3. Gefäße, Nerven — rća
4. Knochen — rus pa
5. Vollorgane — don[3]
   Herz — sñiṅ
   Leber — mchin pa
   Lungen — glo ba
   Milz — mcher pa
   Nieren — mkhal ma
6. Hohlorgane — snod
   Dickdarm — loṅ ka
   Gallenblase — mkhris pa
   Dünndarm — rgyu ma

[3] Vollorgane = don = tsang (chinesisch) = Yin
Hohlorgane = snod = fu (chinesisch) = Yang
Wir hatten entdeckt (*Grundlagen tibetischer Heilkunde*, Band 1 1975), daß die Einteilung in diese Gruppen mit der chinesischen identisch ist. Vermutlich haben die Tibeter diese Einteilung wegen der Puls-Diagnose, die chinesischen Ursprungs ist, übernommen.

Magen — pho ba
Harnblase — lgaṅ pa
(bsam se̲hu)[4]

Zweig 4 3 Blätter

Plätze (Sitz) — gnas
Oberer Sitz — stod na gnas (Schleim)
Mittlerer Sitz — bar na gnas (Galle)
Unterer Sitz — smad na gnas (Wind)

Zweig 5 15 Blätter

Wege (der Zirkulation) — rgyu-)lam[5]

	Wind	Galle	Schleim
Grundstoff des Körpers	1 Knochen 42	6 Blut 47	11 Chylus, Fleisch Fett, Mark, Samen 52
Unreinheit	2 [„Haut"] 43	7 Schweiß 48	12 Kot, Urin 53
Sinnesorgan	3 Ohr [Tastsinn] 44	8 Auge 49	13 Nase, Zunge 54
Vollorgan	4 Herz [Lebens-(Gefäße)] 45	9 Leber 50	14 Milz, Nieren Lungen 55
Hohlorgan	5 Dickdarm 46	10 Gallenblase Dünndarm 51	15 Magen Harnblase 56

Kombination von Wind, Galle und Schleim mit:
1. Grundstoffe des Körpers

[4] Der Terminus „bsam se̲hu" findet sich nicht in unserem Text. Es ist anzunehmen, daß die Tibeter das „Organ Dreifacher Erwärmer" = san chiao (= bsam se̲hu) hinzugefügt haben.

[5] Die komplizierte Zuordnung der 5 Komponenten zu Wind, Galle und Schleim hat R. E. Emmerick geklärt (*A chapter from the Rgyud-bźi*. In: *Asia Major*, Vol. XIX/part 2, pp. 141—162). Für Wind findet sich in unserem Text als Unreinheit ein Sinnesorgan, nämlich der Tastsinn (reg bya). Vermutlich sind gemeint: die Haut (die kleinen Haare) als Unreinheit (dri ma) für Wind.

2. Unreinheiten
3. Sinnesorgane — dbaṅ po
   Ohr — rna ba
   Tastsinn — reg bya
   Auge — mig
   Nase — sna
   Zunge — lce
4. Hohlorgane
5. Vollorgane

Zweig 6 9 Blätter

1. Alter — na so
   Alter Mensch — rgas pa (Wind-Krankheiten)
   Jugendlicher — mi dar ma (Galle-Krankheiten)
   Kind — byis pa (Schleim-Krankheiten)
2. Ort — yul
   Aromatisch-windig — ṅad can, kalt — graṅ ba (Wind-Krankheiten nehmen zu)
   Trocken — skam pa, heiß — ćha ba (Galle-Krankheiten nehmen zu)
   Feucht — rlan can fett — snum pa (Schleim-Krankheiten nehmen zu)
3. Zeit — dus
   Sommer (Regenzeit) — dbyar ka, früher Abend — dgoṅs, Morgengrauen — tho raṅs (Wind-Krankheiten brechen aus)
   Herbst — ston ka, am Mittag — ñin dguṅ, um Mitternacht — mćhan dguṅ (Galle-Krankheiten brechen aus).
   Frühling — dpyid ka, in der Dämmerung — srod, am Morgen — sṅa dro (Schleim-Krankheiten brechen aus).

Zweig 7 9 Blätter

Frucht (Ergebnis) — h̲bras bu
1. Drei Leben sind vollendet — h̲ćho ba gsum zad pa
   (d. h. alle drei — durch Zeit, Taten und Verdienste bestimmte Leben sind vollendet)
2. Das Zusammentreffen ist dem Vollstrecker in die (Hände) gefallen — h̲du ba gśed du babs pa
   (d. h. die notwendige Behandlung wird durch das Zusammentreffen von Hitze und Kälte verhindert)
3. Gleiche Mischungen (von Arzneien) — sbyor ba mćhuṅs pa
   (d. h. in bezug auf Hitze und Kälte hält man an der gleichen Behandlung fest, anstatt sie zu wechseln)

4. Ein lebenswichtiger Punkt ist (von Waffen) befallen — gnad du babs pa
   (d. h. lebenswichtige Organe sind verletzt)
5. Die Erhaltung des Lebens ist abgeschnitten, weil die Zeit für die (rechtzeitige Behandlung der) Wind-Krankheit vorbei ist) — dus ḥdas rluṅ nad srog rten chad pa
   (d. h. zu spät behandelte Wind-Krankheit)
6. (Der Zeitpunkt), eine Hitze (Krankheit zu behandeln) ist überschritten — ćha ba la ḥdas pa
   (d. h. zu spät behandelte Hitze-Krankheit)
7. Angefallen-Sein von der Tiefe der Kälte — graṅ ba gtiṅ ḥkhar ba
   (d. h. der Zeitpunkt, eine Kälte-Krankheit rechtzeitig zu behandeln, ist verpaßt)
8. Die (Körper) Elemente sind nicht fähig, (medizinische Behandlungen) zu ertragen — zuṅs kyis mi thub
   (d. h. selbst, wenn die Zeit für eine Behandlung noch nicht verstrichen ist, kann der Körper eine Behandlung nicht ertragen)
9. Starke Verfolgungen (durch Dämonen) — rnam par ḥćhe ba rnams
   (d. h. starke seelische Störungen)

Zweig 8 12 Blätter

(Einander) entgegengesetzte Ursachen — ldog rgyu

Wind + 75 Galle +	Wind — 78 Galle —	Wind — 81 Galle +	Wind + 84 Galle —
Wind + 76 Schleim +	Wind — 79 Schleim —	Wind — 82 Schleim +	Wind + 85 Schleim —
Galle + 77 Schleim +	Galle — 80 Schleim —	Galle — 83 Schleim +	Galle + 86 Schleim —

Zweig 9 2 Blätter

Prinzipien (Bedeutung in Kürze) — mdo don
Kälte — graṅ ba
Hitze — ćha ba

	63 Blätter
Stamm I 3 Zweige	25 Blätter
Stamm II 9 Zweige	63 Blätter
Wurzel A	**88 Blätter**

Wurzel B = Diagnose

Stamm III = Beschauen
Stamm IV = Fühlen
Stamm V = Fragen
(Blockdruck: fol. 8a, 8b, 9a meines Blockdruckes)

Text

	de nas yaṅ draṅ sroṅ Rig paḥi ye śes kyis ḥdi skad ces gsuṅs so / /	
	kye draṅ sroṅ chen po ñon cig / /	
	nad la blta reg dri bas yoṅs śes bya / /	[1]
	(8b1) mig gis blta ba lce daṅ chu la brtag / /	[2]
	brtag pa ḥdi ni mthoṅ ba yul rig yin / /	[3]
	sor mos reg pa brda sbyor ḥphrin pa rća / /	[4]
	brtag pa ḥdi ni dpyod pa don rig yin / /	[5]
	ṅag gis dri ba sloṅ rkyen na lugs zas / /	[6]
	brtag pa ḥdi ni thos pa(8b2)sgra rig yin / /	[7]
B,III,1	rluṅ gi lce ni dmar źiṅ skam la rćub / /	[8]
	mkhris lce bad kan skya sar mthug pos g-yogs / /	[9]
	bad kan skya gleg mdaṅs med ḥjam la rlon / /	[10]
B,III,2	rluṅ gi chu ni chu ḥdra lbu ba che / /	[11]
	mkhris chu dmar ser rlaṅs che dri ma(8b3)dugs / /	[12]
	bad kan chu ni dkar la dri rlaṅs chuṅ / /	[13]
B,IV,1	rluṅ gi rća ni rkyal stoṅ skabs su sdod / /	[14]
B,IV,2	mkhris paḥi rća ni mgyogs rgyas grims par ḥphar / /	[15]
B,IV,3	bad kan rća ni byiṅ rgud dal baḥo / /	[16]
B,V,1	dri ba yaṅ la rćub paḥi zas spyod kyi / /	[17]
B,V,2	(8b4)rkyen gyis g-yal ḥdar bya rmyaṅ graṅ śum byed / /	[18]
	dpyi daṅ rked pa rus ćhigs ma lus na / /	[19]
	gzer ba ṅes med ḥpho źiṅ stoṅ skyugs byed / /	[20]
	dbaṅ po mi gsal śes pa ḥćub pa daṅ / /	[21]
B,V,3	bkres dus na źiṅ *snum* bcud phan par ṅes / /	[22]
	rno źiṅ ćha (8b5)baḥi zas daṅ spyod lam gyis / /	[23]
	kha kha mgo na śa drod ćha ba daṅ / /	[24]
B,V,3	stod gzer źu rjes na źiṅ *bsil* ba phan / /	[25]
	lci la snum paḥi zas daṅ spyod lam gyis / /	[26]

dań ga mi bde kha zas hju ba dkah / / [27]
skyug ciń kha mńal pho ba ćhiń ste sgreg / / [28]
(8b6)lus sems lci la phyi nań gñis ka grań / / [29]
B,V,3 zos rjes mi bde zas spyod *dro* na hphrod / / [30]
de ltar brtag thabs sum cu rća brgyad kyis / / [31]
nad kun hkhrul med ńes par gtan la hbebs / / [32]
źes gsuńs so / /
bdud rći sñiń po yan lag brgyad pa (9a1)gsań ba
man ńag gi rgyud las ńos hjin rtags kyi lehu
ste *bźi* paho / /

Wurzel B — 3 Stämme

Diagnose — ńos hjin rtags

Stamm III — 2 Zweige

Beschauen — blta

Zweig 1 — 3 Blätter

Zunge — lce
Rot — dmar, trocken — skam, rauh — rćub (Wind)
Mit dickem, gelbbraunem Schleim bedeckt — bad kan skya sar mthug pos g-yogs (Galle)
Grau — skya, dick — gleg, glanzlos — mdańs med, glatt — hjam, feucht — rlon (Schleim)

Zweig 2- — 3 Blätter

Urin — chu
Wie Wasser — chu hdra, große Blasen (stark schäumend) — lbu ba che (Wind)
Rötlich-gelb — dmar ser, viel Dampf (stark schäumend) — rlańs che, warmer Geruch (d. h. starker Geruch) — dri ma dugs (Galle)
Weiß — dkar, wenig Geruch — dri chuń, wenig Dampf — rlańs chuń (Schleim) — *6 Blätter*

Stamm IV — 3 Zweige

Fühlen (des Pulses) — reg pa

Zweig 1 — 1 Blatt

Schwimmen (schnell schlagend) — rkyal, leer — stoń, stockend — skabs su sdod (Wind)

Zweig 2 1 Blatt

Schnell, stark (und) fein schlagen — mgyogs rgyas grims par hphar (Galle)

Zweig 3 1 Blatt

Absinken — byiṅ, schwach — rgud, langsam sein — dal ba (Schleim) *3 Blätter*

Stamm V 3 Zweige

Fragen — dri ba

Zweig 1 3 Blätter

Auslösende Ursachen — sloṅ rkyen
Leicht — yaṅ, ba rauh — rćub pa (Wind)
Streng — rno ba, Scharf (heiß) — ćha ba (Galle)
Schwer — lci, ba fettig — snum pa (Schleim)

Zweig 2 23 Blätter

Krankheitszeichen — na lugs
Gähnen, Schaudern — g-yal hdar, sich strecken — bya rmyaṅ, vor Kälte zittern — graṅ śum byed, Schmerzen in allen Knochengelenken des Oberschenkels und der Hüfte — dpyi daṅ rked pa rus ćhigs ma lus na, unbestimmte, umherwandernde Schmerzen — gzer ba ṅes med hpho, Erbrechen machend (bei einem) leeren (Magen) — stoṅ skyugs byed, Sinnesorgane sind nicht klar — dbaṅ po mi gsal, das Erkennen ist unterdrückt (Patient ist verwirrt) — śes pa hćhub pa, Schmerzen zur Zeit des Hungers — bkres dus na (Wind = 9)
Bitterer Geschmack — kha kha, Kopfschmerzen — mgo na, heißes Fleisch (Fieber) — śa drod ćha ba, Schmerzen im oberen Teil (des Körpers) — stod gzer, Schmerzen nach der Nahrungsaufnahme — źu rjes na (Galle = 5)
Unbehaglicher Appetit (schlechter?) — daṅ ga mi bde, Schwierigkeit bei der Nahrungsaufnahme — kha zas hju ba dkah, Erbrechen — skyug, (schlechter Geschmack in) der Mundhöhle — kha mṅal, aufgeblähter Magen — pho ba ćhiṅ, Aufstossen — sgreg, Körper und Geist sind schwer — lus sems lci, aussen und innen kalt sein — phyi naṅ gñis ka graṅ, Unbehagen nach dem Essen — zos rjes mi bde (Schleim = 9)

Zweig 3 3 Blätter

(Gewohnheiten bei der) Nahrung — zas
Fettig — snum pa (Wind)
Kühl — bsil ba (Galle)
Warm — dro ba (Schleim)

29 Blätter

Stamm III 2 Zeige 6 Blätter
Stamm IV 3 Zweige 3 Blätter
Stamm V 3 Zweige 29 Blätter

Wurzel B **38 Blätter**

Wurzel C = Therapie
Stamm VI = Ernährung
Stamm VII = Lebensweise
Stamm IIX = Arzneimittel
Stamm IX = Heilmethoden (äussere)
(Blockdruck: fol. 9a, 9b meines Blockdruckes

Text

	de nas yaṅ draṅ sroṅ Rig paḥi ye śes kyis ḥdi skad ces gsuṅs so / /	
	kye draṅ sroṅ chen po ñon cig / /	
	(9a2) nad la gso bar byed paḥi gñen po ni / /	[1]
	zas daṅ spyod lam sman dpyad bźi yin te / /	[2]
C,VI,1	rta boṅ ḥphyi ba lo śa śa chen daṅ / /	[3]
	ḥbru mar lo mar bu ram sgog skya bćoṅ / /	[4]
C,VI,2	ḥo ma lca ba ra mñe zan chaṅ daṅ / /	[5]
	bur chaṅ rus chaṅ rluṅ nad can gyi(9a3)zas / /	[6]
C,VI,3	ba raḥi źo dar mar gsar ri dvags śa / /	[7]
	ra śa skom śa gsar pa chag ćhe daṅ / /	[8]
C,VI,4	skyabs daṅ khur ćhod chab ćha chu bsil daṅ / /	[9]
	bskol graṅs mkhris paḥi nad kyi zas su bśad / /	[10]
C,VI,5	lug daṅ g-yag rgod gcan gzan ña yi śa / /	[11]
	(9a4)sbraṅ rći skam saḥi ḥbru rñiṅ zan dron daṅ / /	[12]
C,VI,6	ḥbri yi źo dar gar chaṅ chu skol ni / /	[13]
	bad kan nad gźi can gyis bsten par bya / /	[14]
C,VII,1	rluṅ la dro sar yid ḥoṅ grogs bsten źiṅ / /	[15]
C,VII,2	mkhris paḥi nad la bsil sar dal bar bsdad / /	[16]
C,VII,3	bad(9a5)kan nad la rćol bcag dro sa bsten / /	[17]
C,IIX,1,2	rluṅ la mṅar skyur lan ćha snum lci ḥjam / /	[18]

C,IIX,3,4 mṅar kha bska bsil sla rtul mkhris paḫi sman / / [19]
C,IIX,5,6 ćha skyur bska rno rćub yaṅ bad kan no / / [20]
ro nus de la sbyor ba źi sbyaṅ gñis / / [21]
źi byed rluṅ la khu ba (9a6)sman mar gñis / / [22]
mkhris paḫi nad la thaṅ daṅ cur nis bsten / / [23]
bad kan nad la ril bu tres sam sbyar / / [24]
C,IIX,7 khu ba rus khu bcud bźi mgo khrol te / / [25]
C,IIX,8 sman mar jā ti sgog skya ḫbras bu gsum / / [26]
rća ba lṅa daṅ sman chen dag la (9b1)sbyar / / [27]
C,IIX,9 ma nu sle tres tig ta ḫbras buḫi thaṅ / / [28]
C,IIX,10 ga bur ćan dan gur gum cu gaṅ phye / / [29]
C,IIX,11 bćan dug ćhva sna rnams kyi ril bu daṅ / / [30]
C,IIX,12 tres sam se ḫbru da lis rgod ma kha / / [31]
ćhva daṅ coṅ źi bsregs paḫi thal sman no / / [32]
sbyoṅ byed(9b2)rluṅ gi nad la ḫjam rći ste / / [33]
mkhris pa bśal la bad kan skyugs kyis sbyaṅ / / [34]
C,IIX,13 ḫjam rći sle ḫjam bkru ḫjam bkru ma slen / / [35]
C,IIX,14 bśal la spyi bśal sgos bśal drag daṅ ḫjam / / [36]
C,IIX,15 skyugs la drag skyugs ḫjam(9b3)skyugs gñis su sbyar / / [37]
C,IX,1 dpyad du bsku mñe hor gyi me bćaḫ daṅ / / [38]
C,IX,2 rṅul dbyuṅ gtar ga chu yi ḫphrul ḫkhor daṅ / / [39]
C,IX,3 dugs daṅ me bćaḫ rim bźin dpyad kyis bcos / / [40]
de ltar gso thabs dgu bcu rća brgyad po / / [41]
(9b4)yeṅs med gus par brćon pas bsten byas na / / [42]
nad kyi ḫdam las myur du grol bar ḫgyur / / [43]
źes gsuṅs so / /
bdud rći sñiṅ po yan lag brgyad pa gsaṅ ba man
ṅag gi rgyud las gso thabs kyi leḫu ste lṅa paḫo / /

Wurzel C — 4 Stämme

Therapie — gso thabs

Stamm VI — 6 Zweige

Ernährung — zas

Zweig 1 — 10 Blätter

Speise — zas
Pferde(Fleisch) — rta, Esel(Fleisch) — boṅ, Murmeltier(Fleisch) — ḫphyi ba, ein Jahr altes Fleisch — lo śa, »großes Fleisch«[6] —

[6] śa chen. Wörtlich: großes Fleisch. Angabe der tibetischen Ärzte in Dharmsala: Fleisch eines Helden, der in der Schlacht fiel.

śa chen, Sesamöl — hbru mar, ein Jahr altes Öl — lo mar, Rohzucker — bu ram, Knoblauch — sgog skya, Zwiebeln — bćoṅ. (Wind).

Zweig 2 4 Blätter

Trank — skom
(Warme) Milch — ho ma, Karotten-Zwiebelsuppe — lca ba ra mñe zan chaṅ chaṅ aus Rohzucker — bur chaṅ, chaṅ aus Knochen —rus chaṅ (chaṅ = tib. Bier) (Wind).

Zweig 3 9 Blätter

Speise — zas
Quark von Kuh und Ziege — ba rahi źo, Buttermilch — dar, frische Butter — mar gsar, Wildfleisch — ri dvags śa, Ziegenfleisch — ra śa, frisches Fleisch von Tieren gemischter Zucht — skom śa gsar pa, frisch (geschrotete) Gerste — chag ćhe, »skyabs« — Früchte — skyabs,[7] Löwenzahn — khur ćhod (Galle).

Zweig 4 3 Blätter

Trank — skom
Heißes Wasser — chab ćha, kühles Wasser — chu bsil, gekochtes und gekühltes Wasser — chu bskol graṅs (Galle).

Zweig 5 6 Blätter

Speise — zas
Schaf (Fleisch) — lug, (Fleisch vom) wilden Yak — g — yag rgod, Raubtier (Fleisch) — gcan gzan, Fischfleisch — ña yi śa, Honig — sbraṅ rći, warmer Brei von altem Getreide von trockenem Land — skam sahi hbru rñiṅ zan dron (Schleim).

Zweig 6 3 Blätter

Trank — skom
Quark und Buttermilch vom Yak — hbri yi źo dar, kräftiges chaṅ — gar chaṅ, gekochtes Wasser — chu skol (Schleim).

35 Blätter

Stamm VII 3 Zweige

Lebensweise — spyod (pa)

[7] skyabs. Angabe der tibetischen Ärzte in Dharmsala: eine Art Löwenzahn.

Zweig 1 2 Blätter

Angenehme Gesellschaft haben — yid ho̱ṅ grogs bsten
Eine warme Gegend — dro sa (Wind)

Zweig 2 2 Blätter

Ruhig sitzen — dal bar bsdad
Eine kühle Gegend — bsil sa (Galle)

Zweig 3 2 Blätter

Einen kräftigen Spaziergang machen (Anstrengungen auf sich nehmen — rćol bcag
Eine warme Gegend — dro sa (Schleim) *6 Blätter*

Stamm IIX 15 Zweige

Arzneimittel — sman

Zweig 1 3 Blätter

Geschmack — ro
süß — mṅar ba, sauer — skyur ba, salzig — lan ćhva ba (Wind)

Zweig 2 3 Blätter

Wirkung — nus pa
fettig — snum pa, schwer — lci ba, milde — hjam pa (Wind)

Zweig 3 3 Blätter

Geschmack — ro
süß — mṅar ba, bitter — kha ba, zusammenziehend — bska ba (Galle)

Zweig 4 3 Blätter

Wirkung — nus pa
kühl — bsil ba, dünn — sla ba, derb — rtul ba (Galle)

Zweig 5 3 Blätter

Geschmack — ro
scharf — ćha ba, sauer — skyur ba, zusammenziehend — bska ba (Schleim)

Zweig 6 3 Blätter

Wirkung — nus pa
streng — rno ba, rauh — rćub pa, leicht — yaṅ ba (Schleim)

Zweig 7 3 Blätter

Suppen — khu ba (beruhigend)
Knochensuppe — rus khu, die vier Säfte — bcud bźi, »mgo khrol«[8] — mgo khrol (Wind)

Zweig 8 5 Blätter

Medizinische Ölje — sman mar (beruhigend)
Muskatnuss — jā-ti, Knoblauch — sgog skya, die drei Früchte[9] — hbras bu gsum, die fünf Wurzeln — rća ba lṅa, die Eisenhüte — sman chen (Wind)

Zweig 9 4 Blätter

Sirup (Absude) — thaṅ (beruhigend)
Veilchenwurzel — ma nu, guduch — sle tres, chirata — tig ta, die drei Früchte — hbras bu gsum (Galle)

Zweig 10 4 Blätter

Puder — cur ni (beruhigend)
Kampfer — ga bur, Sandelholz — ćan dan, Safran — gur gum, Bambussaft — cu gaṅ (Galle)

Zweig 11 2 Blätter

Pillen — ril bu (beruhigend)
Eisenhut — bća̱n dug, verschiedene Salzarten — ćhva sna rnams (Schleim)

Zweig 12 5 Blätter

Pasten — tres sam (beruhigend)
Granatapfel — se hbru, Rhododendron — da li, »Stutenmaul« — rgod ma kha,[10] alkalische Medikamente aus gebranntem Salz — ćhva bsregs pahi thal sman, »weißer Stein« — coṅ źi.[11] (Schleim)

[8] mgo khrol. Angabe der tibetischen Ärzte in Dharmsala: Suppe aus einem alten Schafkopf.

[9] hbras bu gsum. Es sind die drei Myrobalanen.
1. a ru ra = chebulic myrobalan (Terminalia Chebula)
2. ba ru ra = beleric myrobalan (Terminalia Bellerica)
3. skyu ru ra = emblic myrobalan (Phyllantus Emblica)

[10] rgod ma kha. Eine scharfe Substanz (Mündliche Mitteilung von R. E. Emmerick).

[11] coṅ źi. Der weiße Stein ist wahrscheinlich Kalk.

Zweig 13 3 Blätter

Ölklistiere — hjam rći (reinigend)
milde — sle hjam, abführende — bkru hjam, abführende, nicht milde — bkru ma slen (Wind)

Zweig 14 4 Blätter

Abführmittel — bśal sman (reinigend)
allgemeine — spyi bśal, spezielle — sgos bśal, starke — drag bśal, milde — hjam bśal (Galle)

Zweig 15 2 Blätter

Brechmittel — skyugs sman (reinigend)
starke — drag skyugs, milde — hjam skyugs (Schleim)

50 Blätter

Stamm IX 3 Zweige

Heilmethoden (äussere) — dpyad

Zweig 1 2 Blätter

Einreibung mit Massage — bsku mñe, mongolische Brenn (Methode) — hor gyi me bćah (Wind)

Zweig 2 3 Blätter

Erzeugung von Schweiß — rṅul dbyuṅ, Blutenlassen — gtar ga, »das magische Wasserrad« — chu yi hphrul hkhor (Galle).[12]

Zweig 3 2 Blätter

Heisse Anwendungen — dugs, Brennen — me bćah (Schleim)

7 Blätter

Stamm VI	6 Zweige	35 Blätter
Stamm VII	3 Zweige	6 Blätter
Stamm IIX	15 Zweige	50 Blätter
Stamm IX	3 Zweige	7 Blätter

[12] chu yi hphrul hkhor. Nach den Angaben der tibetischen Ärzte in Dharmsala ist es eine Art Kneipp-Therapie; man begießt die Patienten mit kaltem Wasser oder stellt sie unter einen Wasserfall.

Wurzel C **98 Blätter**

Wurzel A 88 Blätter
Wurzel B 38 Blätter
Wurzel C 98 Blätter

224 Blätter

Hiermit sind alle Termini der drei Wurzeln aus den Texten bestimmt.

Die Darstellung des gesamten Systems = der tibetische Medizin-Baum ist von grundlegender Bedeutung: das Charakteristikum der tibetischen Heilkunde, die Drei-Teilung, ist mit Deutlichkeit zu erkennen. Die neun Disziplinen, d. h. die neun Stämme werden uns — auch in ihren Relationen zueinander — vor Augen geführt, die Medizin-Terminologie läßt sich ableiten. Für die Praxis ergeben sich wichtige Erkenntnisse. Die drei Typen Wind, Galle und Schleim werden durch diagnostische Mittel erkannt, und den Typen sind bestimmte Heilmethoden zugeordnet.

Diese Arbeit ist eine Zusammenstellung aus meinen Büchern *Grundlagen tibetischer Heilkunde*, Band 1, ML-Verlag Uelzen, 1975.

Foundations of Tibetan Medicine, Vol. 1, Watkins Publishing, London/Dulverton 1978. Vol. 2, 1984.

Hier wird — aus beiden Bänden — das gesamte System vorgelegt; die Darstellungen sind verkürzt und verbessert.

Transliteration: Das Hamburger Transliterationssystem

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THE EARLIEST TYPES OF CHINESE BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS EXCAVATED IN TURFAN

FUJIEDA AKIRA 藤枝晃 (Kyoto)

A large number of fragments of Chinese Buddhist manuscripts were excavated at the ruins of Buddhist monasteries in Turfan and adjacent oases. They are now preserved at the Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR in Berlin, Finno-Ugor Society in Helsinki, Ryukoku University in Kyoto and several other places in Japan. They are nearly 20,000 in number, all fragmentary, most of them the size of a post-card. In my last publication, the plate volume of *Fragmenta Buddhica Turfanica* 高昌殘影 (Kyoto 1978), which contains 130 fragments of this kind preserved by Rev. J. Deguchi 出口常順 in Osaka, I classified these fragments into three types, i.e., 1) transitory stage from *li* 隸 to *kai* 楷, or Northern Dynasties period and the Gaochang Kingdom 高昌國, 2) typical Tang 唐 style, and 3) those written during the period of Uigur rule. After having looked through all the fragments of the German collection, photographed and measured those of the Finnish collection which consists of 2,000 fragments, as well as a portion of the Otani 大谷 collection, I have decided to divide the first type into three subtypes in the text volume of the above-mentioned publication (now in preparation) as follows:

1. Type AA. Earlier stage of the Northern Dynasties period style.
2. Type A. Later stage of the Northern Dynasties period style.
3. Type A'. Type written in the Gaochang Kingdom.

The dating of these fragments needs the aid of dated manuscripts found at Dunhuang, since the fragments from Turfan very seldom bear dated colophon except for the Type A'. While the manuscripts from Dunhuang include very few numbers of those in the Types AA and A'.[1]

[1] For the dating of the manuscripts from Dunhuang, see Fujieda Akira, "The Tunhuang Manuscripts. A general description" Part II in *Zinbun* (*Memoires of the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University*) No. 10, 1969; also chronological table on page 329.

1. TYPE AA

Earlier stage of the Northern Dynasties style

This type is the earliest of the paper scrolls. The Chinese used wooden strips for writing before paper came into wide use. Consequently, this type bears a lot of legacy of wooden strips. The paper of this type of scrolls was made from used hemp cloth, coarse and thick, about 0.2 mm. Each sheet is 25×45 cm in size, approximately one foot by two feet in Han 漢 measure. On this sheet upper and lower marginal lines are drawn 23 cm apart, and then perpendicular lines to form clumns 1.8 cm wide. Each column, therefore, is the same size as a wooden strip. In this column the text is written in the writing style the same as on the wooden strips, that is, the typical *li* style or slightly modified style from *li*. The number of characters per column is not uniform, 16 in some manuscripts, while 18—20 in other (Plate I). After having filled up the column, the sheets are pasted together one after another to form a scroll, but in some cases the text is written after the sheets have been pasted together. The paper is usually not dyed in this type.

The latest extant example of this type of manuscripts is P. ch. 4506, *Jinguangmingjing* 金光明經 (*Suvarṇaprabhâsa sûtra* = T. 663) on silk, dated 471 A. D., written in Dingzhou 定州, former capital of the Zhungshan State 中山國. This manuscript was recently studied by Prof. Jao Tsung-i 饒宗頤 as "the earliest dated manuscript in the Pelliot collection" in *Journal Asiatique* tome CCLXIX 1981. This will be treated below. But this is written on silk and it is not certain that the manuscripts on paper were also in the same form. The latest example on paper is the fragment of the *Shoulengyan-sanmeijing* 首楞嚴三昧經 (Śûragamasamâdhisûtra = T. 642), dated 437 A. D., which had been divided in two pieces, one was published in Huang Wenbi 黃文弼, *Tulufankaoguji* 吐魯番考古記 (1954) and the other in Fujieda, *Fragmenta Buddica Turfanica*.

2. TYPE A

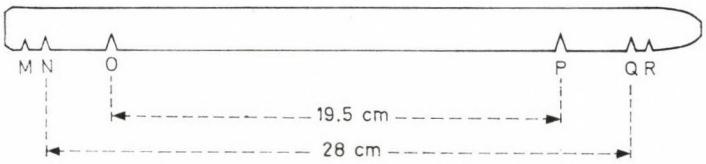
Later stage of the Northern Dynasties style

After the Toba 托拔 Dynasty or Northern Wei 北魏; unified the northern half of China early in the fifth century, they were very eager to adopt the southern Chinese civilisation, and finally they moved their capital to Luoyang 洛陽, capital of the Later Han, in 494 A. D. In the course of their sinisization, they changed the form of books to that of the southern Chinese style sometime in the middle of the fifth century. The new type of books is also in scroll form, but leaves a margin of about 3 cm on the upper and lower edges. Still the books preserve the length of one foot as the length of paper, about 25 cm

or a foot of that time. Each column, about 20 cm long, bears seventeen characters.[2] The quality of paper is finer and thinner than that of the Type AA, about 0.1—0.15 mm thick, although it is still made from used hemp cloth. It is dyed in brown or dark yellow colour. The writing style is much soter than that of the Type AA, or closer to the sothern Chinese style.[3] A number of manuscripts of this type were discovered at Dunhuang, but they were much less numerous at Turfan (Plate I).

The earliest example of the Type A is S. 996, a scroll of the *Za-abitansin-jing* 雜阿毗曇心經 (T. 1552) in the Stein collection from Dunhuang,[4] with a colophon dated 479 A. D. donated by Feng Jinguo 馮晉國 or Feng Xi 熙. The colophon says that he was then the Governor-General of Luozhou 洛州刺史, present Luoyang, and this is a scroll of the ten sets of Tripitakas which he donated at that time. His biography in the *Beishi* 北史 says that he donated sixteen sets of Tripitakas in his life, and had been appointed the Acting Director of the Imperial Library in 471 A. D. before he came to Luo-

[2] Three pieces of wooden rulers to draw lines on scrolls from the 8th—9th centuries were excavated at three sites in Japan, i.e., Nara, Nagaoka-kyo and Sendai. The former two are for governmental documents and the last one for Buddhist texts (fig. 1).



All of them are made of discarded wooden strips. The last one from Sendai is 31 cm long, 1.8 cm wide, 0.5 cm thick, with small notches M and R, large notches N, O, P, and Q on one side. The methods of lining must have been as follows:

First, one places the ruler slightly (3—5 cm) inside the perpendicular edge of paper, of which edges come to the notches M and R, then places small marks at all the edges, similarly on the other edge of paper. Next, he cuts off the upper and lower edges of paper along the marks N-N (upper) and Q-Q (lower); then draws the horizontal or marginal lines along the marks O-O and P-P; finally draws the perpendicular lines at the width of the ruler to form the columns.

We now recognise very small pinholes or dots of ink on the upper and lower marginal lines 3—5 cm apart from the joint of sheets on some manuscripts of the Type A and later. But on some manuscripts the lines are drawn after the sheets have been pasted together, and no such marks are found.

[3] For the southern Chinese style, see A. Fujieda und Th. Thilo, „Bemerkungen zu Ch. 422 und damit zusammenhängenden Fragmenten", Appendix to *Katalog der chinesicher buddhistischer Textfragmente*, Band 1. Berliner Turfantexte VI. Berlin 1975, pp. 203—208.

[4] This manuscript has been studied in Fujieda (1969) mentioned in note 1, pp. 23—24.

zhou.[5] He was likely to have followed the new type of books which had been adopted by the Imperial Library, that was the southern Chinese style. It should not be overlooked that he had been the Governor-General of Dingzhou where the above-mentioned latest dated manuscript of the Type AA was made. It must have been written at the copying office which he had established there, because he must have had begun to make the Tripitaka when he was in Dingzhou in order to make sixteen sets, at least ten, in his life. In short, the latest example of the Type AA (471 A. D.) and the earliest of the Type A (479 A. D.) are both concerned with Feng Jinguo.

3. TYPE A'

Manuscripts written in the Gaochang Kingdom

When the Siliang 西涼 Kingdom in Gansu was defeated by the Northern Wei late in the fourth century, some of the royal family took refuge at Turfan together with a number of people, and established the Kingdom of Gaochang half a century later. The dynasty changed several times, but the small state survived for nearly two hundred years (450—640 A. D.). The kings received honorary titles from the courts of north and south China, as well as the Tuchue 突厥 (Turks) and the Ruanruan 蠕蠕 (Avars). The later dynasties were Chinese, so that governmental documents were made in Chinese, and noble families preserved Chinese customs such as dress, funeral rituals, Confucian education etc. The kingdom might be called an isolated colony of Chinese civilisation in Central Asia.

There are a number of fragments of colophons to Buddhist texts donated by the kings of Gaochang state. They copied several hundred scrolls and presented them to Buddhist monasteries year after year. In order to do so, there must have been a copying office on a large scale with a number of scribes lead by a master. We find a number of fragments of the same part of a text. They are uniform in quality of paper, writing style, and layout of characters.[6] That implies that a number of scribes copied the model made by their master. Besides the donation of the kings, there are fragments donated by other people and those without colophon. Those fragments are similar in quality of paper and iriting style, probably made at the royal copying office. This group

[5] Biography of Feng Xi in *Weishu* lxxii was lost in the Song edition, and that in the present edition is copied from the *Beishi* lxxx with very slight changes. Therefore we should quote the latter.

[6] For example, compare the fragment of *Jinguangmingjing* shown in Plate II (Type A') with the fragment Ch. 1891 of the German collection, Abb. 28 in Tafel 24 of the *Katalog* Band 1, mentioned in note 3.

Plate I

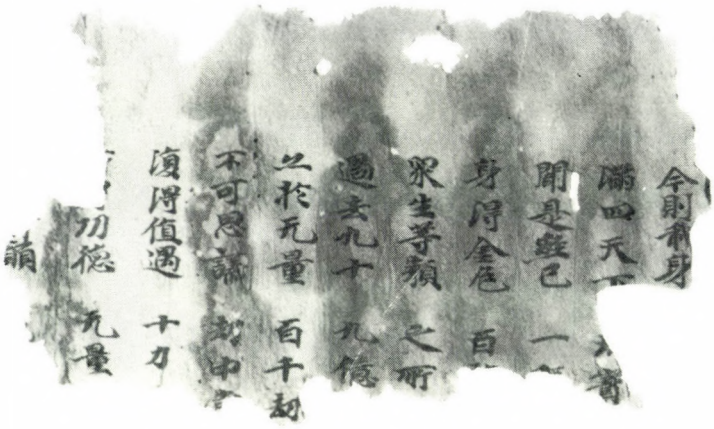
Type A
Youposaijiejing
(Upâsakasîla, T. 1488)
Height 28 cm

Type AA
Lotus sutra
(Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, T. 262)
Height 25 cm

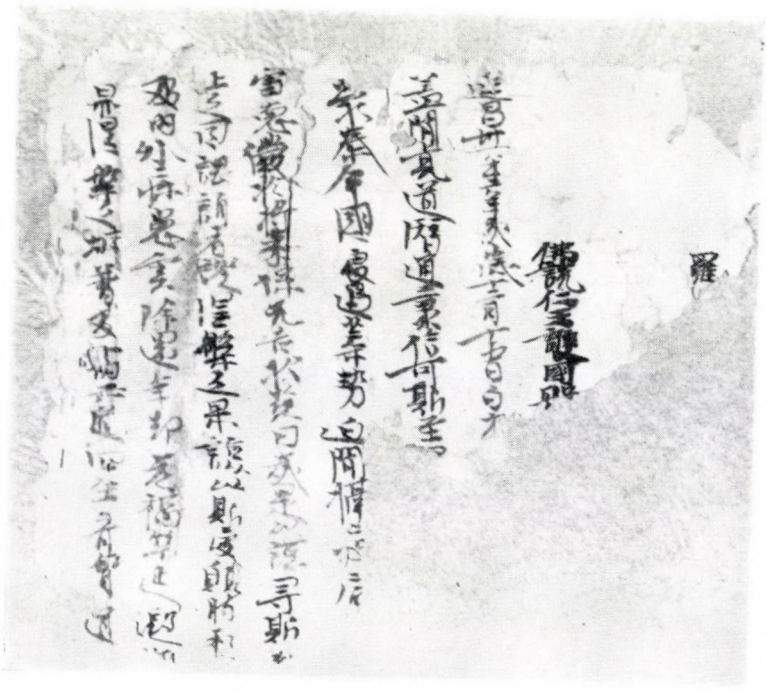
National Museum of Kyoto

Plate II

Type A'



Jinguangmingjing
(Suvarnaprabhâsa, T. 663)
Deguchi collection
19×11 cm



Renwangjing, dated 591 A. D.
(T. 245)
Finnish collection
21×14 cm

of fragments form a different from the Type A, and we would like to call it the Type A'.

The Type A' might be regarded as an extention of the Type A. The paper is slightly finer and thinner than that of the Type A, that is, more advanced technically, but still it is made from used hemp cloth. It might have been imported from somewhere in north China, since it is impossible to produce so advanced one in Gaochang at their early stage of removing a new technique. The writing style is later than the Type A, or remoter than the Type AA. In north China a different style had already appeared by that time. Another characteristic of the Type A' is a kind of irregularity in the form of scrolls, such as the omission of perpendicular and marginal lines, sometimes perpendicular lines only, lining with the press of a peg instead of inking,[7] misunderstandings of some Chinese characters and so forth.

Conclusion

Now, the characteristics of the three different subtypes of the manuscripts of the Northern Dynasties period type have been clarified. We may say that these three different types principally belong to a major Northern Dynasties period type, because the manuscripts of all the three types are written on the paper of Northern Dynasties period type, or paper made from used hemp cloth, and written with a brush of the Northern Dynasties period type, or a brush made of hard hair such as of deer and wolf and wooden holder. For the manuscripts of the Types B and C (see chronological table), they used the paper made from the bark of hemp directly and with a brush made of rabbit hair and bamboo holder.

A chronological table of Chinese MSS. from Turfan and Dunhuang

400	500	600	700	800	900	1000	1100	1200	1300A.D.

TURFAN

AA	A	A'	C	D

DUNHUANG

A	B	C	D/C	D

B = Southern Chinese and Sui type

[7] See the fragment of *Jinguangmingjing*, Plate II (Type A').

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PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF BATANG TIBETAN

GESANG JUMIAN (Beijing)

1. As it is well-known, the Tibetan language belonging to the Tibeto—Burmese branch of the Sino-Tibetan family is spoken mainly in the Autonomous Region of Tibet and in the provinces of Sichuan, Qinghai, Gansu and Yunnan of the People's Republic of China. According to the 1982 general census 3 870 068 Tibetans lived in China.

Tibetan spoken in China can be divided in three major dialects of Central Tibet (*Ü* and *Tsang*, Chin. *Weizang* 衛藏), of Kham (Chin. *Kang* 康) and of Amdo (Chin. *Anduo* 安多). The dialect of Ü and Tsang (Tib. *dBus gCaṅ-gi yul-skad*) is the main idiom of Southern and Northern Tibet and of the territory that is on the South of the mountains.

There are no tonemes in the dialect of Amdo (Tib. *A-mdo'i yul-skad*) which is mainly used by the Tibetans living in Qinghai and Gansu as well as in a part of the Tibetan autonomous districts (*zhou*) of Ganzi 甘孜 of Aba in the province of Sichuan.

The main territory of the Kham dialect (*Khams-kyi yul-skad*) embraces the Tibetan autonomous district of Ganzi in Sichuan, the areas of Changdu 昌都 (Tib. *Čhab-mdo*), of Naqu 那曲, of Linzhi 林芝, and of Ali 阿里 in the Autonomous Region of Tibet as well as the Tibetan autonomous districts (*zhou*) Yushu 玉樹 in Qinghai, and Diqing 廸慶 in Yunnan. Difference between Central Tibetan (Ü-Tsang) and that of Amdo is great, decidedly raising difficulties in the communication, but a relative homogeneity rules inside of these dialects with only minor discrepancies. Inner difference is relatively great within the Kham dialect which is represented by the groups of subdialects of the South, of the North and of the Central area, and of the cattle-breeders.

Batang 巴塘 Tibetan belongs to the Southern group of the Kham dialect. Batang (Tib. *'Ba'*) lies in the Eastern longitude of 99.3° and in the Northern latitude of 30°, on 2700 m height above the sea-level, in the *xian* 縣 of *Mang-kang* 芒康 of Changdu, near the Jinshajiang 金沙江 river (Yangzi), it is an important centre of the southern part of the district of Ganzi. Its climate is mild, one harvests twice a year, and its land deserved to be called "the Jiangnan beyond the eastern boundaries". Its cultural life is comparatively developed, the number

of people speaking both Chinese and Tibetan is increasing. The Tibetan population in the five areas of Batang is 43 727 living in 8558 households.

Batang Tibetan represents the central group of the southern subdialects of Kham Tibetan and by its phonological analysis one can comprehend all the peculiarities of Kham phonetics.*

2. Consonants and initials

2.1. There are 48 simple consonants, and 6 compound ones beginning with a nasal. The glottal stop [ʔ] occurs only as final, all the other 48 consonants can appear as initial.

The consonantal phonemes

Organ / Mood			bilabials	apicals			dorsals			glottals
				pre	medio	post	pre	medio	post	
Stops	voiceless	unaspirated	*p*		*t*				*k*	ʔ
		aspirated	*p‘*		*t‘*				*k‘*	
	voiced	unaspirated	*b*		*d*				*g*	
Affricates	voiceless	unaspirated		*ts*		*tʂ*	*tɕ*			
		aspirated		*ts‘*		*tʂ‘*	*tɕ‘*			
	voiced	unaspirated		*dz*		*dʐ*	*dʑ*			
Nasals	voiceless		*m̥*		*n̥*		*ɲ̊*		*ŋ̊*	
	voiced		*m*		*n*		*ɲ*		*ŋ*	
Lateral	voiced				*l*					
Fricatives	voiceless	unaspirated		*s*			*ɕ*		*x*	*h*
		aspirated		*s‘*	*l̥*	*ʂ‘*	*ɕ‘*		*x‘*	
	voiced	unaspirated		*z*		*ʐ*	*ʑ*		*ɣ*	
Semivowels			*w*					*j*		

* For technical reasons, IPA symbols of the palatalized dental, nasal, and fricatives (also as parts of affricatives) are rendered here by *t́*, *ń*, *ć* and *ź*; those of the retroflex fricatives (also as parts of affricatives) — by *ʂ* and *ʐ*.

	Written Tibetan	*Batang*	
p	spags	*pàʔ*	vegetable sauce
	(spugs)	*pùʔ*	a suit (of clothes)
	spo	*pò*	to transfer, transplant
	spar	*pā*	to add
	bal	*pé*	wool
	bog	*pôʔ*	rifle
pʿ	phag	*pʿàʔ*	pig
	'phug	*pʿùʔ*	to bore, to pierce
	'pho	*pʿò*	to fall
	'phar	*pʿā*	to grow, to increase
b	sbag	*bàʔ*	to connect
	sbug	*bùʔ*	the innermost part
	sbo	*bò*	belly, abdomen
	lbu-ba	*bá*	bubble, foam
nb	'bag	*nbàʔ*	mask
	'bug	*nbùʔ*	awl
	'bo	*nbò*	a peck
	'ba'-ba	*nbā*	inhabitant of Batang
t	btags	*tàʔ*	to tie, to fasten
	rta	*tà*	horse
	btog	*tòʔ*	to pick
	gtub	*tùʔ*	to slice
	dom	*tã́*	bear
	ded	*têiʔ*	to chase
tʿ	'thag	*tʿàʔ*	to weave
	mtha'	*tʿà*	share, bank
	thogs	*tʿòʔ*	to delay, to hinder
	thug	*tʿùʔ*	to come in contact, with, to encounter
d	ldag	*dàʔ*	to lick
	bda'	*dà*	to drive
	zlog	*dòʔ*	to take back
	gdugs	*dùʔ*	umbrella
nd	'dag	*ndàʔ*	to cook, to boil
	mda'	*ndà*	arrow
	mdog	*ndòʔ*	colour
	'dug	*ndûʔ*	to sit
k	rko	*kò*	to dig out
	bskams	*kã⁻*	to dry in the sun
	skol	*kỹ*	to boil, to cook
	ka-ba	*kā*	pillar

	gar	*ká*	where
	gab	*kâuˀ*	to hide
kʿ	kho	*kʿò*	he
	khams	*kʿã̀⁻*	Khams
	'khol	*kʿȳ̀*	to boil (*intr.*)
	kha-ba	*kʿā̀*	snow
g	sgo	*gò*	door, gate
	sgam	*gã̀⁻*	box, chest
	sgul	*gȳ̀*	to move sg.
	rgo-ba	*gā̀*	gazelle
ng	mgo	*ngò*	head
	'gam	*ngã̀⁻*	to cram into the mouth
	'gul	*ngȳ̀*	to move (*intr.*)
	mgar	*ngā̀*	blacksmith
ts	rcva	*ts*à	grass
	rce	*tsè*	top, extremity
	bcaṅ	*tsõ̀⁻*	to block up
	rcis	*tsɨ̀*	reckoning
tsʿ	chva	*tsʿà*	salt
	che	*tsʿè*	lifetime, destiny
	chaṅ	*tsʿõ̀⁻*	hole
	chil	*tsʿɨ̀*	fats, *n.*
dz	rja	*dz*à	scattered rocks
	rje	*dzè*	to pull up, to truss up
	rjoṅ	*dzũ̀⁻*	to despatch
	rji'u	*dzū̀*	shepherd boy
ndz	('ja')	*ndz*à	the upper storey
	mje	*ndzè*	leprosy
	'jom	*ndzã̀⁻*	to gather together
	'jeg	*ndzàˀ*	to climb up
tṣ	dkrog	*tṣòˀ*	to frighten
	spri	*tṣè*	cream
	skraṅ	*tṣõ̀⁻*	to smell
	sprul	*tṣȳ̀*	to transform
	braṅ	*tṣõ̀⁻*	breast, chest
	drub	*tṣûˀ*	to sew
tṣʿ	'phrog	*tṣʿòˀ*	to rob
	khre	*tṣʿè*	millet
	('phraṅ)	*tṣʿõ̀⁻*	diligent, industrious
	'khrol	*tṣʿȳ̀*	to loosen, to untie
dẓ	sgrog	*dẓòˀ*	to connect
	bsgre	*dẓè*	to dip into

	sbraṅ	*dʐõ⁻*	sugar
	sbrul	*dʐȳ*	snake
ndʐ	'drog	*ndʐòˀ*	to shudder (from fear)
	'bri	*ndʐè*	yak-cow
	'graṅ	*ndʐõ⁻*	to eat to the full
	('drus) 'dris	*ndʐȳ*	to be well acquainted with sg.
tɕ́	bča'	*tɕ́à*	to chew
	rkyaṅ	*tɕ́õ⁻*	wild ass
	bkyag	*tɕ́àˀ*	to advance, to recommend
	(bčab)	*tɕ́àuˀ*	to fall on one's face
	ǰa	*tɕ́â*	tea
	gyod	*tɕ́øˀ*	quarrel
tɕ̋	ča	*tɕ̋à*	pair
	čaṅ	*tɕ̋õ⁻*	Tibetan beer
	'čag	*tɕ̋àˀ*	to destroy, to smash
	khyab	*tɕ̋àuˀ*	to spread far and wide
dź	rgya	*dźà*	Chinese *n.*
	brgyaṅ	*dźõ⁻*	to fit a shoe to the last
	rgyags	*dźàˀ*	corpulent
	rgyab	*dźàuˀ*	a load
ndź	'ǰa'	*ndźà*	rainbow
	'ǰaṅ	*ndźõ⁻*	Nakhi (naxi)
	'ǰags	*ndźàˀ*	to reduce (a swelling)
	'ǰab	*ndźàuˀ*	to observe
m	rma	*mà*	wound
	dmar-dmar	*mā mā*	red
	miṅ	*mĩ́*	name
	mal	*mé*	a trace of sg.
ɱ	sman	*ɱẽ⁻*	drug, medicine
	sme-ba	*ɱiā*	spots on the body, moles
	smad	*ɱèˀ*	the lower part of the body, the privates
	smugs-pa	*ɱū pà*	fog
n	mna'	*nà*	oath
	nag-nag	*ná nàˀ*	black
	gnod	*nèˀ*	to hinder
	nam	*nã́*	when
ɳ	sna	*ɳà*	nose
	snabs	*ɳàuˀ*	mucus
	snod	*ɳòˀ*	vessel
	(snog) snaṅ	*ɳòˀ*	to exist
ń	gñis	*ńĩ̀*	two

	mñam	*ńã⁻*	equal
	ñams	*ńã′*	condition, department
	myoṅ	*ńũ′*	to experience
ṇ̊	sñiṅ	*ṇ̊ĩ⁻*	heart
	(sñim) snim	*ṇ̊ũ⁻*	oil
	sñal	*ṇ̊ẽ*	to let one sleep
	sñan-po	*ṇ̊ẽ⁻pò*	harmonious, well-sounding
ŋ	rṅo	*ŋò*	sores, caused by scabies
	lṅa	*ŋà*	five
	mṅags	*ŋàʔ*	to send
	ṅo	*ŋô*	face
ŋ̣	sṅo	*ŋ̣ò*	fresh green grass
	sṅa-mo	*ŋ̣ā mò*	early
	sṅags	*ŋ̣àʔ*	incantation, dhāraṇī
	sṅo-sṅo	*ŋ̣õ ŋ̣ò*	blue
l	glaṅ	*lõ⁻*	bull
	brlag	*làʔ*	to lose
	blo-phud	*lò pʿỳʔ*	to offer a suggestion
	lam	*lã′*	road
s	sra	*sà*	solid, hard
	sruṅ	*sũ⁻*	to protect, to guard
	gso	*sò*	to bring up
	srub	*sùʔ*	to stir
	zug	*sûʔ*	to pierce
	zog	*sôʔ*	goods
sʿ	so	*sʿò*	tooth
	sub	*sʿùʔ*	to peck, to cough
z	gza'	*zà*	star
	gzoṅ	*zũ⁻*	chisel
	bzo	*zò*	to produce
	gzugs	*zùʔ*	person
l̥	lha	*l̥à*	god, ghost
	lhod	*l̥òʔ*	to loose, to relax
	lhob	*l̥àuʔ*	to teach
	sla-bo	*l̥āu*	thin, diluted
s̥ʿ	(hrag)	*s̥ʿàʔ*	to take off, to reduce
	(hrad)	*s̥ʿèʔ*	to scratch
	(hrig)	*s̥ʿìʔ*	to eat (*vulg.*)
	hral-hral	*s̥ʿẽ̄ s̥ʿẽ̄*	sparse, scattered
z̥	rig	*z̥îʔ*	to see
	ras	*z̥é*	cotton cloth
	sbra	*z̥à*	black tent (made of yak-hair felt)

	rogs	*ʒôʔ*	companion
ć	skya	*ćà*	to remove, to transfer
	skye	*ćè*	to be born (and grow up)
	bskyaṅ	*ćõ⁻*	to protect
	spyi-ba	*ćā*	everybody
	byaṅ	*ćõ′*	expertensed, well-tried
	byug	*ćûʔ*	to anoint
ć‘	’phya	*ć‘à*	to laugh at
	phye	*ć‘è*	to open
	’phyaṅ	*ć‘õ⁻*	to suspend
	phye-ba	*ć‘ā*	marmot
ź	(sbya)	*źà*	to beat
	sbyar	*źā*	to stick together
	sbyaṅ	*źõ⁻*	to practise
	bsgyur	*źū*	to turn (aside)
x	bša’	*xà*	to kill, to slaughter
	gšar	*xā*	to come out from
	gšo	*xò*	custom, habit
	bšog	*xòʔ*	to mix
	žiṅ	*xĩ′*	field
	lham	*xã⁻*	boot, shoe, slipper
x‘	ša	*x‘à*	meat, flesh
	šar	*x‘ā*	to raise
	šo	*x‘ò*	dice
	šog	*x‘òʔ*	to come
γ	bža’	*γà*	to bury, to dig into
	bžar	*γā*	to shave the hair on the head
	bžo	*γò*	to milk
	gžog	*γòʔ*	to cut, to hew
h	khyod	*hèʔ*	you (thou, sing.)
	khyod-yul	*høȳ*	you (ye, Plur.)
	khyod-kyis	*hø̄*	by you
	khyod-raṅ	*hø̄ γõ⁻*	yourself
w	wa	*wà*	fox
	dbag	*wàʔ*	tile (Chin.)
	g-yar	*jā*	to borrow
j	yob	*jâuʔ*	stirrup
	dbyaṅs	*jõ⁻*	song
	yaṅ-mo	*jõ′mò*	light, not heavy

2.2. Explication to the initials

2.2.1. The bilabial semi-vowel [*w*] and the postapical (retroflex) aspirated voiceless spirant [*ʂʿ*] appear only in some monosyllables, their usage is rather restricted.

2.2.2. The glottal stop is usually phonemic as final. Although the vocalic (vowel) phonemes of some syllables in initial position practically all have a slight glottal stop at the beginning, this does not take part in differentiating the meanings. E. g.:

Written Tibetan	Batang	
dbaṅ	(ˀ)*õ*⁻	might, power
″e-de	(ˀ)*ē dè*	this
dbur	(ˀ)*ū*	to grind
'e-de	(ˀ)*é dè*	that

2.2.3. The voiceless laryngeal spirant [h] has a special place among the phonemes, it mainly occurs in the second personal pronoun. No wonder people of other territories often say:

'Ba'-pa mi gsum 'joms dus |
luṅ-pa ho-yis gaṅ soṅ |

"Where three Batang people come together, the valley is full of *ho-ho*."

khyos (*khyod-kyis*) *khyod-yul-gi las-lugs de gras gčig bšad-gis-daṅ* | *hə̄ høȳ ki lé lùˀ tè tʂɛ tɕìˀ xèˀ ki da*

"Tell, please, about (those) your methods!"

2.2.4. The phoneme pronounced as retroflex spirant [*ʐ*] in monosyllables and in word initial position of dissyllable compounds is pronounced vibrant [r] in the initial of the second syllable. E. g.:

ras	*ʐɛ́*	cotton cloth
raṅ-rig	*ʐõ′rìˀ*	initiative
rag	*ʐâˀ*	brass
rigs-rus	*ʐí rȳ*	clan

2.2.5. A considerable variety of Written Tibetan initial clusters consisting of basic, prebound and postbound consonants distinguished different words. Of these clusters undergone to changes Batang did not preserve but six voiced compound initials beginning with a homorganic nasal: *mb*, *nd*, *ŋg*, *ndz*, *ɳdʐ*, *ńdź*, the nasal of these remounts either to an original [*m*—] or ['—]. For the sake of simplicity these nasals are marked here by [*n*—] uniformally. These voiced compound initials are in correlation with the corresponding simple initials, distinguishing word meaning or aspect.

2.2.6. As initials, all stops, affricates and spirants show the correlation voiceless — voiced:

$$p - b,\ t - d,\ k - g,\ ts - dz,\ ts\!\cdot - dz\!\cdot,\ t\acute{c} - d\acute{z};\ s - z,\ \acute{c} - \acute{z},\ x - \gamma.$$

These simple voiced initials correspond to Written Tibetan initial clusters consisting of voiced basic consonants with prebound stops *b-*, *d-*, *g-*, and prebound liquids *r-*, *l-* or *s-* (with and without postbound liquids). The initial clusters consisting of originally voiced simple consonants or voiced basic consonants followed by postbound *-r* or *-y* became voiceless but they are pronounced with low pitch.

2.2.7. Alike stops and affricates, spirants are divided not only into voiceless and voiced but within voiceless into aspirated and non-aspirated: $s^{\epsilon} - s$, $\acute{c}^{\epsilon} - \acute{c}$, $x^{\epsilon} - x$. Historically they represent two types. One remounts to an old spirant which was a basic consonant without prebound element or postbound (*-r*), and pronounced with or without aspiration. The other remounts to a non-spirant basic consonant with a postbound (*-y*), with or without aspiration following the basic consonant. If the basic consonant was aspirated, aspiration is preserved, if not, there is no aspiration. Here are some more examples:

bsad	*sɛ̀ʔ*	to kill,
sran	*sẽ⁻*	to endure patiently;
sad	*sᵋɛ̀ʔ*	to awake (intr.),
sems	*sᵋẽ⁻*	mind, heart;
spyi	*ćè*	common, general,
skyogs	*ćòʔ*	copper laddle;
phyi	*ćᵋè*	outer,
phyogs	*ćᵋòʔ*	direction;
bšal	*xē*	to wash,
bšam	*xã⁻*	to arrange;
šal	*xᵋē*	to harrow,
lham	*xᵋã⁻*	Tibetan boot.

2.2.8. There is a correlation between voiced and voiceless nasal initials: [*m*, *n*, *ń*, *ŋ*], and [*m̥*, *n̥*, *ń̥*, *ŋ̊*], the latter correspond to a Written Tibetan nasal with prebound [*s-*]. If there was no prebound consonant or there was a prebound consonant other than [*s-*], the Batang initial nasal is voiced.

2.2.9. Some initials written by different Tibetan letters or differing in other dialects, e.g. in Lhasa Tibetan, coincided in Batang. Thus literary *h* and *š* or *ž* result the same [x^{ϵ}]; literary *č*, (*ǰ*), *čh*, *rǰ* and *ky* (*gy*), *khy*, *rgy* are represented by [*ć*, $\acute{c}^{\epsilon}$, *dź*]; literary *sl* and *lh* coincided in [*ɬ*], e. g.:

Written Tibetan	Lhasa	Batang	
lham	*hām*	*xʿã⁻*	Tibetan boot,
šiṅ	*ɕĩ⁻*	*xʿĩ⁻*	tree;
lčags	*tɕàk*	*tɕàʔ*	iron,
bkyag	*càk*	*tɕàʔ*	to raise;
čhag	*tɕʿàk*	*tɕʿàʔ*	fodder,
'khyag	*cʿàk*	*tɕʿàʔ*	cold;
rǰen	*tɕẽ′*	*dźẽ⁻*	raw,
rgyan	*cẽ′*	*dźẽ⁻*	ornament;
lha	*l̥à*	*l̥à*	god, ghost,
sla	*là*	*l̥à*	easy, slight.

2.2.10. Written Tibetan palatalized initials *sky*, *spy*, *py*, *sgy*, *sby*, *by* are changed by the predorsal spirants while Lhasa Tibetan has mediodorsal stops for old palatalized gutturals and predorsal affricates for old palatalized labials, e. g.:

Written Tibetan	Lhasa	Batang	
skyel	*cē*	*ɕē*	to send,
spyi	*tɕî*	*ɕè*	general,
byaṅ	*tɕʿáŋ*	*ɕõ′*	north;
phyuṅ	*tɕʿūŋ*	*ɕʿũ⁻*	to be more than expected or required,
'phyags	*tɕʿàk*	*ɕʿàʔ*	to sweep;
sgyur	*cúr*	*źò*	to translate,
sbyaṅ	*tɕáŋ*	*źõ⁻*	to exercise.

2.3. Change of the initial consonant occurs mainly in the second syllable of a disyllable word.

2.3.1. The particles *pa* and *po* become voiced [*ba*] and [*bo*] after the nasalized vowel of the first syllable, they are represented by [*nba*] and [*nbo*]; however they remain voiceless when preceded by a mute guttural, e. g.:

'go-pa	*ngô pà*	→	*ngõ bà*	boss, chief,
čhar-pa	*tɕʿā pà*		*tɕʿā bà*	rain,
rgyal-po	*dźé pò*		*dźé bò*	king,
nor-bu	*nó pô*		*nó bò*	jewel;
khaṅ-pa	*kʿõ⁻pà*		*kʿõ⁻ nbà*	house,
sman-pa	*ɳɛ̃⁻ pà*		*ɳɛ̃⁻ nbà*	physician,
bzaṅ-po	*zõ⁻ pò*		*zõ⁻ nbò*	good,
snam-bu	*n̥ã⁻ pô*		*n̥ã⁻ nbò*	blanket;
dad-pa	*tɛ̂ʔ pà*		*té pà*	to believe; faith,
rmig-pa	*mìʔ pà*		*mi⁻ pa'*	footstep,
rcub-po	*tsùʔ pò*		*tsū pò*	coarse,
phyug-po	*ɕʿùʔ pò*		*ɕʿū pò*	a rich man.

2.3.2. Written Tibetan *dkar*, Batang [*ka*] "white; light (colour)" changes or remains unchanged, when occurs as the second element of a compound according to the final of the first element, thus it has a voiced spirant *γ* initial after an open syllable with short tone, it receives a prebound nasal after a nasalized vowel, but remains unchanged after a syllable with long tone. E. g.:

zla-dkar	*ndâ kā* → *ndá γā*		moonlight,
sṅo-dkar	*ŋ̍ò kā*	*ŋ̍ō γā*	light bue;
duṅ-dkar	*tũ′ kā*	*tũ′ ngā*	conch-shell,
gzan-dkar	*zẽ⁻ kā*	*zẽ⁻ngā*	garment;
thal-dkar	*tʿéi kā*	*tʿéi kā*	white ashes (of wood or grass),
gsal-dkar	*sē kā*	*sē kā*	light, brightness.

2.3.3. In a group of disyllabic compounds the voiceless initial of the second element with low pitch (originally a voiced simple initial) does not assimilate to the final of the first element, but it is pronounced voiced, accompanied with high pitch. E. g.:

srin-bal	*sĩ⁻ pé* →	*sĩ⁻bē*	cotton,
gser-bum	*sē pũ′*	*sē bũ⁻*	golden vase;
raṅ-don	*ʐõ′ tø̃′*	*ʐõ′dø̃⁻*	private affair, private interest,
slad-ded	*lɛ̀ʔ têiʔ*	*lɛ̄ dèiʔ*	to follow;
ras-gos	*ʐé kø′*	*ʐé γø⁻*	cotton suit,
zog-goṅ	*sôʔ kũ′*	*só gũ⁻*	the price of commodities;
so-dreg	*sʿò tʂâʔ*	*sʿo⁻dʐàʔ*	tartar formed in the teeth,
gduṅ-gru	*dũ⁻tʂô*	*dũ⁻dʐò*	drift;
rgyun-gyon	*dźỹ⁻ tɕø̃′*	*dźỹ⁻dźø̃⁻*	ordinary dress,
kha-gyod	*kʿà tɕêʔ*	*kʿā dźèʔ*	a slip of the tongue;
khyim-bya	*tɕʿĩ⁻ ɕâ*	*tɕʿĩ⁻ź̀a*	domestic fowl,
raṅ-byon	*ʐõ′ ɕø̃′*	*ʐõ′źø⁻*	selfborn;
choṅ-zog	*tsʿũ⁻ sôʔ*	*tsʿũ⁻zôʔ*	trade goods,
lčags-zam	*tɕàʔ sã′*	*tɕā zã⁻*	iron bridge;
rcva-ža	*tsà xâ*	*tsā γà*	straw hat,
sa-žabs	*sʿà xâuʔ*	*sʿā γàuʔ*	underground.

2.3.4. Written Tibetan *phrug* has two Batang equivalents according to its two meanings, [*tʂʿùʔ*] "small animal" and [*ʐùʔ*], diminutive particle, e. g.:

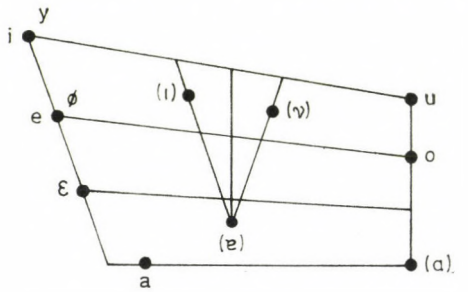
ña-phrug	*ńá tʂʿùʔ*	fingerling, young, small fish,

phag-phrug	*pʿā tʂʿù²*	pigling, young pig;
slob-phrug	*ɭāu ʐù²*	schoolboy, pupil,
byi-phrug	*ćí ʐù²*	a natural child.

3. Vowel phonemes and finals

3.1. There is 9 oral vowel phonemes, 8 nasalized finals, 9 monophthong and diphthong finals with glottal stop, and 5 diphthong finals, in all 31 finals.

VOWELS ACCORDING TO THE TONGUE POSITION



The finals

oral	*i*	*e*	*ɛ*	*y*	*ø*	a	*a*	*o*	*u*
nasalized	*t*	*ẽ* *eɪ̃*		*ỹ*	*õ*		*ã*	*õ*	*ũ*
diphthongs	*ia* *iu*	*ei*			*øy*		*au*		
monophthong and diphthong finals with glottal stop	*i²*	*ei²*	*ɛ²*	*y²*	*ø²*		*a²* *au²*	*o²*	*u²*

i	mthil	*tʿi̱*	bottom
	chil	*tsʿi̱*	fats
	be'u	*pí*	calf
	dkris	*tʂi̱*	hoop, snare
	gčir	*tći̱*	to press
	ṅa'i	*ŋí*	mine, my
e	gser	*sē*	gold
	thal	*tʿē*	to went away
	ches	*tsʿē*	date
	sprel	*tʂē*	donkey year

	gri	*tṣê*	knife
	bye	*ćê*	to separate
ɛ	skas	*kɛ̄*	ladder
	čhas	*tɕʿɛ̄*	dress
	'bras	*ndzɛ̄*	rice
	rjas	*dzɛ̄*	gun-powder
	las	*lɛ́*	job
	('bas)	*nbɛ́*	to abuse
y	'khol	*kʿȳ*	to boil (intr.), to bubble
	'khrol	*tṣʿȳ*	to untie
	'gul	*ngȳ*	to shake (intr.)
	(gul)	*ký*	another
	lus	*lý*	remainder
	byi'u	*ćý*	sparrow
o	bčos	*tɕø⁻*	to repair
	chos	*tsʿø⁻*	paint
	sbos	*bø⁻*	a swelled belly
	'gos	*ngø⁻*	to infect (pf.)
	gos	*kø′*	garment, cloths
	bros	*tṣø′*	to escape
a	bka'	*kà*	order, command
	mtha'	*tʿà*	edge, bank
	ǰa	*tɕâ*	tea
	dra	*tṣâ*	scissors
a	g-yar	*jā*	to borrow
	('jar)	*ndzá*	lunch, dinner
	kha-ba	*kʿā*	snow
	dmar-dmar	*mā mā*	red
	byi-ba	*ćá*	mouse, rat
	(lar-lar)	*lá lā*	to amass
o	bskor	*kō*	to turn sg.
	brko	*kò*	to dig out
	'gor	*ngō*	to tarry
	spu	*pò*	hair
	ǰo-bo	*tɕó*	holy Lord
	žo	*xô*	yoghurt
u	bskur	*kū*	to bestow
	skyur	*ćū*	sour
	(spur)	*pū*	to blow
	rji'u	*dzū*	shepherd
	gur	*kú*	yurt
	(lur)	*lú*	to fall down

ĩ	thim	*tĩ⁻*	to leak, to soak through
	žiṅ	*xĩ′*	cultivated field
	brliṅ	*lĩ⁻*	to knead (dough)
	ziṅ	*sĩ′*	anxious, flurried
	spyiṅ	*pĩ⁻*	glue
	byiṅ	*pĩ′*	to give
ẽ	than	*tʿẽ⁻*	bad omen
	žan	*xẽ′*	feeble, weak
	rlan	*lẽ⁻*	moisture
	zan	*sẽ′*	porridge
	sems	*sʿẽ⁻*	mind, heart
	len	*lẽ′*	to take
eĩ	'then	*tʿeĩ⁻*	to pull
	mnan	*neĩ⁻*	to press
	('khen)	*kʿeĩ⁻*	to increase
	men	*meĩ′*	dough (< Chin.)
	(šen)	*xʿeĩ⁻*	cruel beating
	thon	*tʿeĩ′*	to finish (aux.)
ỹ	spun	*pỹ⁻*	brother, brethren
	bdun	*dỹ⁻*	seven
	khun	*kʿỹ⁻*	to groan, to hum over
	rjun	*dzỹ′*	lye
	rgun	*gỹ⁻*	grape
	mthun	*tʿỹ⁻*	harmonious
ø̃	dpon	*pø̃⁻*	clerk, functionary
	gdon	*dø̃⁻*	evil spirit
	skyon	*ćø̃⁻*	fault
	lon	*lø̃′*	to take
	gon	*kø̃′*	to wear
	non	*nø̃′*	to hear
ã	skom	*kã⁻*	to dry
	gtams	*tã⁻*	advice
	pham	*pʿã⁻*	defeat,
	dom	*tã′*	bear
	(gyam)	*tćã′*	to carry on a pole
	nam	*nã′*	when
õ	spaṅ	*põ⁻*	meadow
	gsaṅ	*sõ⁻*	hidden
	gaṅ	*kõ′*	one catty
	bcaṅ	*tsõ⁻*	to stop up
	braṅ	*tʂõ′*	breast, chest, the pectoral part o the body

	sbaṅ	*bõ′*	to soak
ũ	spuṅs	*pũ⁻*	to pile up
	sruṅ	*sũ⁻*	to guard
	goṅ	*kũ′*	standard of value, price
	bcoṅ	*tsũ⁻*	to sell
	skum	*kũ⁻*	to draw the legs up under one
	rum	*rũ′*	bossom, womb
iɲ	gñid	*ńìɲ*	sleep(ing)
	chigs	*tsʿìɲ*	articulations of the joints
	brid	*tʂîɲ*	to deceive
	gšibs	*xìɲ*	to arrange
	'jib	*ndźìɲ*	to suck up
	žig	*xîɲ*	to destroy
eiɲ	gleb	*lèiɲ*	to press flat
	zed	*sêiɲ*	to receive, to meet
	brǰed	*dźèiɲ*	to forget
	šed	*xʿèiɲ*	force, vigour
	(bgebs)	*gèiɲ*	to roast
	sdeb	*dèiɲ*	to join, to unite
ɛɲ	bšad	*xɛ̀ɲ*	to speak
	'brad	*ndʐɛ̀ɲ*	to bite, to gnaw
	bgrad	*dʐɛ̀ɲ*	to open wide
	zad	*sɛ̂ɲ*	to exhaust
	nad	*nɛ̂ɲ*	illness, disease
	bad	*pɛ̂ɲ*	to moisten, to wet
yɲ	mthud	*tʿỳɲ*	to join on
	šud	*xʿỳɲ*	to slip downwards
	žud	*xŷɲ*	to dwindle
	bud	*pŷɲ*	to escape from
	(lhud)	*ɬỳɲ*	to undress
	drud	*tʂŷɲ*	to pull, to drag out
øɲ	šod	*xʿòɲ*	ground-floor
	gcod	*tsòɲ*	antelope
	dod	*tôɲ*	to manifest
	sod	*sʿòɲ*	to hunt
	yod	*jôɲ*	to have, to be
	'phrod	*tʂʿòɲ*	to receive
aɲ	bkag	*kàɲ*	to hinder
	skrag	*tʂàɲ*	to fear
	bsgrags	*dʐàɲ*	to declare
	brag	*tʂâɲ*	rock
	dag	*tâɲ*	clean

	ṅag	*ŋâˀ*	tune, voice
oˀ	bkog	*kòˀ*	to pluck up, to drag
	btog	*tòˀ*	to pluck, to pick
	bog	*pôˀ*	rifle, gun
	bsog	*xòˀ*	to blend
	log	*lôˀ*	to fall into ruins
	ñog	*ńôˀ*	mud
uˀ	bkug	*kùˀ*	to curve
	gtub	*tùˀ*	to cut
	phub	*pʿùˀ*	to prop up
	drub	*tʂûˀ*	to sew
	nub	*nûˀ*	one night
	thug	*tʿùˀ*	to touch
auˀ	gcabs	*tsàuˀ*	to chop
	khab	*kʿàuˀ*	needle
	bab	*pâuˀ*	descend
	lab	*lâuˀ*	turnip
	btab	*tàuˀ*	to sow
	sñob	*ɲ̊àuˀ*	to be enough, to reach
ia	sgal-ba	*giā*	back
	sbal-ba	*biá*	frog
	thal-ba	*tʿiā*	ashes
	lte-ba	*tiā*	navel
	skal-ba	*kiā*	portion
	šal-ba	*xʿiā*	wooden plough
ei	pha-yul	*pʿēi*	homeland
	dkar-yol	*kēi*	china bowl
	sa-g-yul	*sʿēi*	threshing-floor
	″a-phyi	*ēi*	paternal grand-mother
	chal	*tsʿéi*	vegetable
	thal-dkar	*tʿéi kā*	white ashes (of wood or straw/grass)
øy	khyod-yul	*høy⁻*	you (Plur)
	(khyod	*høˀ'*	you)
	ṅa-yul	*ŋøy'*	we
	(ṅa	*ŋâ*	I)
	kho-yul	*kʿøy⁻*	they
	(kho	*kʿò*	he)
au	dpa'-bo	*pāu*	hero, brave
	pha'u	*pʿāu*	uncle
	čhe-bo	*tčʿáu*	great, big
	ga'u	*káu*	amulet
	bra-bo	*tʂáu*	buck-wheat

	cha-bo	*tsʿāu*	nephew or nice, grandson
iu	spre'u	*tṣi̯u*	monkey
	le'u	*li̯u*	chapter

3.2. Explanation to the finals

3.2.1. The phonemes [*e*] and [*o*] have two distinct allophons; with the short tonemes (ˋ, ∧) they appear as near high position and near central vowels [ɪ] and [*v*]; with long tonemes (¯, ´) they preserve their mid-high standard phonemic character. The allophon [ɪ] corresponds to an older *i* and *e*; the allophon [*v*] remounts to an older *u* and *o*, but in an open syllable, long tone [*e*] and [*o*] are derived from vowels of syllables originally with final *-r*, *-l*, *-s* or from vowels of contracted disyllables.

Written Tibetan	phonetical from	phonemical from	meaning
čhi (či)	*tɕʿɪ̀*	*tɕʿè*	what,
čhe	*tɕʿɪ̀*	*tɕʿè*	great;
ri	*ʐɪ̂*	*ʐê*	mountain,
re	*ʐɪ̂*	*ʐê*	price;
'thu	*tʿv́*	*tʿò*	to blend/mix,
tho	*tʿv́*	*tʿò*	an account, a bill;
ṅu	*ŋv̂*	*ŋô*	to cry, to weep,
ṅo	*ŋv̂*	*ŋô*	face

---

bal	*pé*	wool,
šes	*xʿē*	to know,
skor	*kō*	to turn,
ǰo-bo	*tɕó*	the holy Lord (Śākyamuni).

3.2.2. As far their distinction, front [a] and back [*a*], follow the same pattern as described in 3.2.1. however native speakers feel the difference between the sounds be relatively great, and the examination of the subdialects of other areas of the Khampa dialect (like that of Derge which has a considerable influence) shows that there are corresponding phonemes developed; thus here too, these sounds in question may be considered as different phonemes.

Batang

kha	*kʿà*	mouth,
kha-ba	*kʿā*	snow;
mtha'	*tʿà*	border,
thar	*tʿā*	to be saved;

gra	*tʂâ*	bristle,
gra-ba (grva-pa)	*tʂá*	lama;
ma	*mâ*	mother,
mar	*má*	butter.

Derge

bkab	*kàʔ*	to cover,
bkag	*kàʔ*	to hinder;
khab	*kʿàʔ*	needle,
khag	*kʿàʔ*	division, section;
žabs	*xâʔ*	bottom, foot
žag	*xâʔ*	one night

3.2.3. There are five diphthongal phonemes, each having two elements of identical intensity which are however suited in a genuine diphthong. These diphthongs remount to two open syllables contracted, or to Chinese loan-words (see the examples of finals). These diphthongal phonemes occur relatively rare, moreover restricted is the use of the diphthong [*iu*] which occurs only in two-three monosyllables of literary origin.

3.2.4. The diphthong [*au*] is practically pronounced [*ɐu*], another diphthong [*øy*] has a more open pronounced [*œy*], and strange as it is this diphthong, like the phoneme [*h*] does not occur but in the plural forms of personal pronouns, e. g:

sla-bo *ɬ̄ɐu* → *ɬāu* thin,
ma'u *mɐ́u* → *máu* aunt;

khyod-yul čhi las bžor yin

hø̄y tɕʿè lɛ́ γō ʑin
"What are you (Plur.) doing?"

ṅa-yul kho-yul daṅ 'dra li ma red

ŋɐ́y kø̄ʿy da ndʑá lè má ʑêʔ
"We differ from them."

3.2.5. The number of the old final consonants represented by Written Tibetan decreased from nine (without 'a-čhuṅ) to two: Batang replaced old oral stops (*-b, -d, -g*) by glottal stop [*ʔ*], while old nasal stops (*-m, -n, -ŋ*) are dissolved in the nasalization of the vowel; old final liquids (*-r, -l, -s*) and spirant *-s* dissapeared but resulted long vowels of now open syllables, moreover, four contemporary Batang diphthong finals are due to dissapeared final consonants.

3.2.6. Compared with Written Tibetan representing *grosso modo* old Tibetan or with other dialects, regular representation of old nasal finals in modern Batang appears somewhat peculiar. Written *-aṅ* corresponds to spoken [*-õ*],

written *-oṅ* to spoken *-ũ*; written *-uṅ* to spoken *-ũ*; written *-am* to spoken *-ã*. This interesting systematic change is in some aspects very similar to the great shift of German vowels. E. g.:

Written Tibetan	Lhasa	Batang	Meaning
čhaṅ	*tɕʿāŋ*	*tɕʿõ⁻*	beer,
laṅ	*làŋ*	*lõ′*	to get up;
bcoṅ	*tsōŋ*	*tsũ⁻*	to sell
doṅ	*tʿóŋ*	*tũ′*	pit, hole;
btum	*tūm*	*tũ⁻*	to wrap,
skuṅ	*kūŋ*	*kũ⁻*	to hide, to conceal
'tham	*tʿām*	*tʿã⁻*	to enlock; to hug,
dom	*tʿóm*	*tã′*	bear.

3.2.7. The three diphthongs, the nasalized one and the two orals with glottal stop are of different origin:

[*eĩ*] remounts to older *-en* and *-an*;
[*eiʔ*] < *-ed* or *-eb*; [*auʔ*] < *-ab* or *-ob*, e. g.:

(khen)	*kʿeĩ⁻*	to increase,
phan	*pʿeĩ⁻*	advantage;
phyed	*ɕʿèĩʔ*	half,
phebs	*pʿèĩʔ*	to descend;
'chab	*tsʿàuʔ*	to repay/compensate,
yob	*jâuʔ*	stirr up.

3.3. Phonetic changes of the finals are relatively small. Thus:

3.3.1. In certain compound numerals beginning with the word "ten" as well as in some other words, the initial of the second syllable provokes the assimilation of the first open syllable final. E. g.:

bču-gñis	*tɕù* + *ńi⁻*	→ *tɕũ⁻ńi⁻*	twelve,
bču-bži	*tɕù* + *γì*	→ *tɕỹ⁻γè*	fourteen,
bčo-lṅa	*tɕù* + *ŋà*	→ *tɕè ŋà*	fifteen,
bčo-brgyad	*tɕù* + *dźèʔ*	→ *tɕāu dźèʔ*	eighteen,
bču-dgu	*tɕù* + *gù*	→ *tɕỹ gò*	nineteen;
''a-myes	*ʔà* + *ńē*	→ *ã⁻ńè*	grandfather,
rma-bya	*mà* + *ɕâ*	→ *mau źà*	peacock.

3.3.2. A group of dissyllables containing the particles [*wa*], [*wo*], [*ĥu*] or the free morpheme [*jý*] as second element following an open syllable, undergoes to contraction in the spoken language and form monophthongal or diphthongal mono-syllables. E. g.:

gco-bo	*tsù* + *wû*	→ *tsō*	(the most) important,
bzo-bo	*zù* + *wû*	→ *zō*	to sew, sewing;

rgya-bo	*dźà + wû*	*→ dźāu*	beard,
phra-bo	*tṣà + wû*	*→ tṣʿáu*	thin,
ma'u	*mâ + ĥû*	*→ máv*	aunt;
khyo-ba	*tɕʿỳ + wâ*	*→ tɕʿā*	Tibetan man's shirt,
snaṅ-ba	*n̥ŏ⁻ + wâ*	*→ n̥ā*	idea, image;
pha-yul	*pʿà + jý*	*→ pʿēi*	the native place,
rgya-yul	*dźà + jý*	*→ dźāi*	inland (China),
kho-yul	*kʿù + jý*	*→ kʿ̄øy*	they.

3.3.3. In disyllabic compound words the final glottal stop of the first syllable drops, its tone changes and the new open first syllable becomes long, e.g.

lčags-thag	*tɕà˺ + tʿà˺*	*→ tɕā tà˺*	wire
'dug-rogs	*ndû˺ + rô˺*	*→ ndù rò˺*	to mate
skyob-skyob	*ɕàu˺ + ɕàu˺*	*→ ɕāu ɕàu˺*	excuse me
nag-nag	*nâ˺ + nâ˺*	*→ ná nà˺*	black

4. Tonemes and syllable structure

4.1. Toneme class and toneme value. Batang Tibetan has four tonemes (the fifth is the "light tone" of unstressed syllables).

4.1.1. High even (high long) tone (55):

ka-ba	*kā*	pillar
spar	*pā*	to burn, to light
bkal	*kē*	to spin
(gtal)	*tē*	to knock down
skor	*kō*	to turn
/ba'-ba	*bā*	a (native) inhabitant of Batang
sras	*sɛ̄*	a nobleman's son
spros	*tṣ̄ø*	to engrave

4.1.2. High falling (high short) tone (53):

bkag	*kà˺*	to hinder
spags	*pà˺*	supper
ske	*kè*	neck
gter	*tè*	mineral treasures
rko	*kò*	to dig
'bag	*nbà˺*	mask
bsad	*sɛ̀˺*	to kill
sprod	*tsø̀˺*	to deliver

4.1.3. Low rising (low long) tone (13):

gar	*ká*	where
bar	*pá*	(space) between
gal	*ké*	firm
dal	*té*	slow
go-bo	*kó*	white vulture
'bar	*nbá*	to burn
zas	*sé*	food
bros	*tṣǿ*	to escape

4.1.4. Low rising-falling (low short) tone (23):

gag	*kâˀ*	to obstacle
bag	*pâˀ*	tablet
ge	*kê*	odd-job man
de	*tê*	that
go	*kô*	to hear
('bags)	*nbâˀ*	to carry on the back
zad	*sêˀ*	to exhaust
drod	*tsø̂ˀ*	warmth

4.2. *Explanation of the tonemes*

4.2.1. Historically the four Batang tonemes can be divided according to two kinds of opposition. One of them is the opposition of the old voiced and voiceless initials which determines the high or the low pitch. High level tone and high falling tone form the high pitch group, low raising and falling tones form the low pitch group. The other reflects the old finals which determine long or short quantity, the high level (or high long) and the low rising (low long) tones form the low group; the high rising (high short) and low rising-falling tones form the short group.

4.2.2. Long toneme means long vowel; short toneme means short vowel; in asymmetric "symbiosis" with tone length but in accordance with native speakers' feeling of language usage here we economized length symbol and only mark the few tonemes HL HS LL LS.

4.2.3. The value of the high falling toneme with a final glottal stop is somewhat deeper than 52, its value is less steeper than 54. These two toneme values converge but do not coincide, nevertheless in this analysis, for simplicity's sake they are marked 53:

gsog	*sòˀ*	52 → *sòˀ*	53	life,
gso	*sò*	54 → *sò*	53	to nurture;
sgrags	*dẓàˀ*	52 → *dẓàˀ*	53	to declare,
sgra	*dẓà*	54 → *dẓà*	53	voice.

4.2.4. A syllable with a high toneme and voiceless initial is pronounced somewhat higher: 55, and accordingly a syllable with voiced initial is pronounced somewhat lower, approximately 44, but as the main difference of these syllables is in the voiced or voiceless initials, their tonemes may be marked uniformally, as follows:

skraṅ	*tṣõ*$^{-}$	55 → *tṣõ*$^{-}$	55	a swelling
sbraṅ	*dẓõ*–	44 → *dẓõ*$^{-}$	55	sugar
'graṅ	*ndẓõ*–	44 → *ndẓõ*$^{-}$	55	to eat to the full

4.2.5. A voiced initial can appear with any of the four tonemes, however in a group of otherwise homophonous words the high-low tonal difference makes clear the meaning (in Khams dialect there are a few similar cases). E. g.:

high tonemes			low tonemes		
sgam	*gã*$^{-}$	box, chest	bgam	*gã'*	to pass over
'jiṅ	*ndzĩ*$^{-}$	to wrestle	'jin	*ndzĩ'*	a contact
'bras	*ndẓɛ̄*	rice	'gras	*ndẓɛ́*	hate
'ǰal-ba	*ńdźā*	pointment	'byar	*ndźà*	to paste up
'bru	*ndẓò*	grain	'gro	*ndẓô*	to go
'bag	*nbàˀ*	mask	('bags)	*nbâˀ*	to carry on the back

4.2.6. The old aspirated stops and affricates of other tonal dialects never appears with low tonemes. In Batang Tibetan, under certain conditions, e. g. when a monosyllabic item incorporated a following particle melting it in a secondary diphthong, the originally high toneme of the first initial may turn to be low in reduplications:

(čhe = tɕʿè)	čhe-bo	*tɕʿáu*	great, big,
(phra = tṣʿà)	phra-bo	*tṣʿáu*	thin;
thuṅ-thuṅ	*tʿũ*$^{-}$ + *tʿũ*$^{-}$	*tʿũ'tʿũ*$^{-}$	short, brief,
kha-kha	*kʿà* + *kʿà*	*kʿákʿà*	oneself,
phrum-phrum	*tṣʿũ*$^{-}$ + *tṣʿũ*$^{-}$	*tṣʿũ'tṣʿũ*$^{-}$	cartilage, gristle,
čhuṅ-čhuṅ	*tɕʿũ*$^{-}$ + *tɕʿũ*$^{\sim}$	*tɕʿũ'tɕʿũ*$^{-}$	small, little.

4.2.7. Toneme, initial and final are in close connection. Concerning the connection between final and toneme there are twenty-one finals which occur only with low tonemes: the eight nasalized finals derived from the old *-am*, *-an*, *-aṅ* etc., the eight long vowel finals derived from the old *-al*, *-ar*, *-as* etc., as well as the five finals with diphthongs derived from contraction of two syllables. Accordingly there are twelve finals which occur only with short tonemes: the nine closed finals with glottal stop derived from the old *-ab*, *-ad*, *-ag* etc. and the three finals with short vowels derived from old open finals. Concerning the connection between initial and toneme: there are thir-

finals	tonemes	initials
		non-asp., voiceless plosives, affricates, spirants *p t k ts tʂ tɕ s ɕ x*
		initials voiceless aspirated plosives, affricates *pʻ tʻ kʻ tsʻ tʂʻ tɕʻ*
		simple oral plosives/affricates *b d g dz dʐ dʑ*
		nasal + plosive/affricate initial *nb nd ng ndz ndʐ ndʑ*
		semivowels and lateral *w r j l*
		m n ɲ ŋ
		voiceless nasals *m̥ n̥ ɲ̊ ŋ̊*
		aspirated spirants *sʻ ʂʻ ɕ xʻ l̥ h*
		voiced spirants *z ʑ ɣ*

						high pitch	low pitch
nasalized vowels	*ɪ̃*	*ẽ*	*ỹ*	*ø̃*		long ˥ 55	˧˥ 13
	ã	*õ*	*ũ*	*eĩ*			
open syllables	*i*	*e*	*ɛ*	*y*			
	ø	*a*	*o*	*u*			
	ia	*ei*		*øy*			
	au		*iu*				
	e(ɪ)	*o(ʊ)*		a		short ˧˩ 53	˧˩ 231
closed syllables (finals with glottal stops)	*iɔ̃*	*eɔ̃*	*ɛɔ̃*	*yɔ̃*	*øɔ̃*		
	aɔ̃	*auɔ̃*	*oɔ̃*	*uɔ̃*			

teen initials which occur only with high tonemes: the four voiceless nasals, the six aspirated spirants, and the three voiced spirants, while the other 37 initials may occur with both high and low tonemes: initials accompanied with low tonemes are mostly those nine, now aspirated ones derived from old simple voiced initials or from old voiced initials only with postbound *-r-* or *-y-*, and the four voiced nasal initials remounting to old nasals without prebound consonants. Beside this, there are four initials, the two semivowels and two liquids, which belong to the group of the voiced initials with low tonemes. See table on page 353.

4.3. *Toneme shift (change) in compound words (toneme harmony)*

4.3.1. In fluent pronunciation of disyllabic compounds the two syllables form a relatively close unit, the pause between them is very little, which is favorable for mutual influence and producing toneme change. The four tonemes in disyllabic compounds may appear in 16 combinations and except those four in which the original tonemes are preserved unchanged, the other 12 combinations undergo to changes. The toneme after the one changed retains its value like those in the four invariable combinations (see below). What about the different tonemes, high level toneme remains unchanged, independently from the character of the proceeding or following ones; high falling toneme before any toneme in a compound changes into high level toneme, low rising toneme does not change in the first syllable, but is replaced by high level toneme in the second; the low rising-falling toneme cannot preserve its original melody, it turns to be low rising in the first syllable and changes into high falling in the second syllable. E. g.:

1)	˥ + ˩ → ˥˥		
gduṅ-zam	*dũ⁻ + sã́*	*dũ⁻zã⁻*	a wooden bridge
gtam-ṅan	*tã⁻ + ŋẽ́*	*tã⁻ŋẽ⁻*	bad rumour
srin-bal	*sĩ⁻ + pé*	*sĩ⁻nbē*	cotton
spos-ril	*pø̄ + rí*	*pø̄ rī*	Tibetan perfume
(2)	˥ + ˧ → ˥˩		
rkaṅ-lag	*kõ⁻ + lâˀ*	*kõ⁻lâˀ*	hands and legs
šiṅ-leb	*xᶜĩ⁻ + lêiˀ*	*xᶜĩ⁻ lèiˀ*	board, plank
'gos-nad	*ngø̄ + nêˀ*	*ngø̄ nêˀ*	a contagious illness
gduṅ-gru	*dũ⁻ + tṣô*	*dũ⁻dẓò*	drift
(3)	˩ + ˥ → ˥˥		
phag-chil	*pᶜàˀ + tsᶜī*	*pᶜā tsᶜī*	porc fat
gñid-gtam	*ńìˀ + tã⁻*	*ńī tã⁻*	explanation of a dream
kha-mchar	*kᶜà + tsᶜā*	*kᶜā tsᶜā*	jokes
sa-'gul	*sᶜà + ngȳ*	*sᶜā ngȳ*	earthquake

(4) ˥ + ˥ → ˥ ˥

slob-phrug	*l̥àʿuˀ* + *tṣʿùˀ*	*l̥āu rùˀ*	pupil, student
'gad-srub	*ngèˀ* + *sùˀ*	*ngɛ̄ sùˀ*	a crack, a rent
che-chad	*tsèʿ* + *tsʿèˀ*	*tsʿē ʿtsèˀ*	life-time
kha-spu	*kʿà* + *pò*	*kʿāpò*	moustache

(5) ˥ + ˧ → ˥ ˥

mgo-ras	*ŋgò* + *ré*	*ŋgō rɛ̄*	kerchief, turban
čhu-zom	*tɕʿò* + *sã́*	*tɕʿō zã⁻*	water-bucket
gzig-rus	*zìˀ* + *rý*	*zɨ̄ rȳ*	leopard bone
mgyogs-lam	*ndźòˀ* + *lā́*	*ndźō lã⁻*	the shorter way

(6) ˥ + ˩˧ → ˥ ˧

sa-žabs	*sʿà* + *xâuˀ*	*sʿā ɣàuˀ*	underground
kha-leb	*kʿà* + *lêiˀ*	*kʿā lèiˀ*	a cover
rta-lud	*tà* + *lŷˀ*	*tā lỳˀ*	horse dung
'khyug-yig	*tɕʿùˀ* + *jîˀ*	*tɕʿū jìˀ*	shorthand writing

(7) ˧ + ˧ → ˧ ˥

ras-gos	*ré* + *kǿ*	*ré ɣø̄*	cotton cloths
miṅ-ṅan	*mɨ̃́* + *ŋɛ̃́*	*mɨ̃́ ŋɛ̃⁻*	nickname
ñal-gur	*ńé* + *kú*	*ńé gū*	mosquito curtain
raṅ-don	*rṍ* + *tø̃́*	*rṍ dø̃⁻*	private matter

(8) ˧ + ˩˧ → ˧ ˩˥

lam-rogs	*lã́* + *rôˀ*	*lã́ròˀ*	a companion during a journey
ral-gri	*z̥é* + *tṣê*	*z̥é dz̥è*	sword
zas-dug	*sé* + *tûˀ*	*sé dùˀ*	poison in food
zuṅ-zad	*sũ̀* + *sɛ̂ˀ*	*sṹ zɛ̀ˀ*	tiny

(9) ˩˧ + ˥ → ˧ ˥

lag-sgam	*lâˀ* + *gã⁻*	*lã́gã⁻*	drawer
žabs-khaṅ	*xâuˀ* + *kʿõ⁻*	*xáu kʿõ⁻*	a one-storied house
gro-rcam	*tṣô* + *tsã⁻*	*tṣó tsã⁻*	parched wheat
bri-thur	*tṣê* + *tʿū*	*tṣé* + *tʿū*	reed pen

(10) ˩˧ + ˩˥ ˧ ˩˥

bag-čhu	*pâˀ* + *tɕʿv̀*	*pá tɕʿò*	starch (paste)
ra-rtug	*râ* + *tùˀ*	*rá tùˀ*	goat-dung
zla-smad	*ndâ* + *ŋɛ̀ˀ*	*ndá ŋɛ̀ˀ*	the 2nd half of the lunar month
lug-ša	*lûˀ* + *xʿà*	*lú xʿà*	mutton

(11) ˩˧ + ˧˥ → ˧˥ ˥

bu-lus	*pô + lý*	*pó lȳ*	boy
ňe-riṅ	*ńê + rĩ'*	*ńé rĩ⁻*	relatives
zog-goṅ	*sôꝑ + kũ'*	*só gũ⁻*	price, value
bu-lon	*pô + lɵ̃*	*pó lɵ̃⁻*	loan

(12) ˩˧ + ˩˧ → ˧˥ ˥˧

'dug-rogs	*ndûꝑ + rôꝑ*	*ndú ròꝑ*	to mate
ra-lug	*râ + lûꝑ*	*rá lùꝑ*	sheep (and goat)
mo-bya	*mô + ćâ*	*mó źà*	hen
nag-nag	*nâꝑ + nâꝑ*	*ná nàꝑ*	black

(13) unchanged ˥ ˥

choṅ-khaṅ	*tsʿũ⁻kʿõ⁻*	shop
bzaṅ-gtam	*zõ⁻tã⁻*	good word
rkaṅ-mthil	*kõ⁻tʿĩ*	the sole of the foot
'bras-gsol	*ndẓɛ̄ sȳ*	ceremonial rice-pudding

(14) unchanged ˥ ˥˧

rṅul-čhu	*ŋȳ tʿćò*	sweat
khyim-phyags	*tćʿĩ⁻ćʿàꝑ*	rubbish
stoṅ-skod	*tũ⁻kỳꝑ*	silk thread
brgyaṅ-'go	*dźõ⁻ngò*	a last for making shoes

(15) unchanged ˧˥ ˥

draṅ-gtam	*tṣõ'tã⁻*	true words
gyaṅ-sgar	*ćã'gā*	wall
lam-dṅul	*lã'γȳ*	travel expenses
ñal-čhas	*ńé tć'ɛ̄*	bedding

(16) unchanged ˧˥ ˥˧

bal-skod	*pé kỳꝑ*	wool thread
dom-sug	*tã' sʿùꝑ*	the paw of the bear
raṅ-'thag	*ẓõ'tʿàꝑ*	hand-mill
zil-čhu	*si' tćʿò*	dew drops

4.3.2. In some disyllabic compounds the toneme of the first syllable changes when the compound is pronounced fluently, but remains unchanged when both syllables are pronounced as separate units. Toneme shift (with fluent pronunciation) makes clear that the meaning of the compound changed, from action, being or happening (predicative function) to person, e. g.:

conjoined pronunciation

ṅo-šes	*ŋò xʿē*	acquaintance, friend
skra-bžar	*tʂā γā*	hair dresser
kha-šor	*kʿā xʿō*	slip of tongue
lo-čhuṅ	*ló tɕʿũ⁻*	a young man

disjoined pronunciation

ṅo-šes	*ŋô xʿē*	to get acquainted with
skra-bžar	*tʂà γā*	to dress sy's hair
kha-šor	*kʿà xʿō*	to commit a slip of tongue
lo-čhuṅ	*lô tɕʿũ⁻*	to be/appear younger

4.3.3. Trisyllabic compounds show two syntactic patterns: (AB)*C* and *A*(BC), not to speak about the fact that each of these sets may have conjoined and disjoined pronunciations, the toneme shift follows the rule of that of the disyllables without any peculiar forms.

(AB)*C*	lu-gu-bal	*lú γù pé*	wool
	skyes-pa-po	*ɕē pà pʿò*	a lad
	bu-mo-spun	*pó mò pỹ⁻*	sister(s)
A(BC)	ǰa-khu-ser	*tɕâ kʿō sʿē*	yellow tea
	dar-gos-čhen	*tá kǿ tɕẽ⁻*	silk goods
	mo-ña-ñog	*mô ńá ńòˀ*	a nun

4.4. The syllabic structure.

The syllabic structure embraces the following eleven types of syllables (C = consonant; V = vowel; T = toneme):

1) VT	″ur	*ū*	to rub, to grind
	dbaṅ	*õ⁻*	privileges, rights
2) VCT	'od	*ôˀ*	light, brightness
3) VVT	'a-phyi	*ēi*	grandmother
	″a-bo	*āu*	elder sister
4) CVT	rta	*tà*	horse
	skra	*tʂà*	hair of the head
5) CVCT	stag	*tàˀ*	tiger
	skrag	*tʂàˀ*	to have fear
6) CVVT	cha-bo	*tsʿāu*	nephew
	(khen)	*kʿeĩ⁻*	to increase
7) CVVCT	thabs	*tʿàuˀ*	method
	ded	*têiˀ*	to pursue
8) CCVT	'ba'-ba	*nbā*	a native of Batang
	'gul	*ngỹ*	to move

9) CCVCT 'grub	*ndzù?*	to be finished
'dug	*ndû*	to sit
10) CCVVT ('den)	*ndeĩ⁻*	to bar the door
'ba'i	*nbāi*	of Batang
11) CCVVCT 'dred	*ndzèi?*	to slip, to glide
'bab	*nbàu?*	to fall

Among these 11 types 1—3 have vowel initials without consonants: a rare type. 4—11 have consonant initials with full tonemes: a relatively frequent type. The most frequent is the group of 4, 5, 8, 9, with monophthongs; the next group consist of 6, 7, whith diphtongs; it is followed by 10—11 having initial clusters and diphthongs (a relatively rare group). Besides types 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, and 10 have open syllables (6 types), while 2, 5, 7, 9, 11 have a glottal stop final (5 types). In contrast to the old language the number of open syllables increased, the number of the closed syllables decreased.*

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* Translated by G. Kara

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ON SOME OLD CORRUPTIONS IN THE TRANSMISSION OF THE TIBETAN TANJUR

MICHAEL HAHN (Marburg)

During the past few years considerable progress has been made with regard to the textual history and textual criticism of the Tibetan Kanjur. It might suffice here to mention the publications of Yoshiro Imaeda and Helmut Eimer. Whereas the Kanjur has been transmitted in a great number of blockprints and manuscripts some of which are lost, others inaccessible, the situation is much simpler with regard to the Tibetan Tanjur. Only four xylographic editions are known to have survived, those of Derge, Narthang, Peking, and Chone. All of them were carved in the eighteenth century, and their relationship has been described by Claus Vogel in the preface to his edition of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*.

While preparing critical editions of eight collections of moral maxims (Nītiśāstra) which are preserved in the Tibetan Tanjur I was struck by the great number of instances where the Tibetan text did not seem to correspond with the Sanskrit original of the stanzas identified by me. This is particularly surprising because the language of most of these maxims is quite simple and straightforward. The question arising from this observation is whether the general confidence in the reliability of canonical Tibetan translations is justified or not. There are several quite contradictory opinions and statements on this issue and I will certainly not try to give a final answer to this question. That is not possible because of the complexity of the situation. I would like to outline the problems involved in a few words.

The first thing we have to consider is that the works incorporated into the Tibetan Buddhist canon were written by various individuals with different degrees of qualification over a long span of time, from the seventh (or at least eight) to the fourteenth century (or even later). After having been written, copied and circulated in manuscript form for several centuries all these works were made part of the first manuscript edition of the Tibetan canon by Bu ston in the beginning of the fourteenth century. There is again a gap of four centuries between the first compilation of the two Tibetan canons and the four printed editions of the Tanjur to which we refer nowadays.

The second thing I would like to turn your attention to is the complicated interaction of various possible sources of mistakes. The basic problem is the

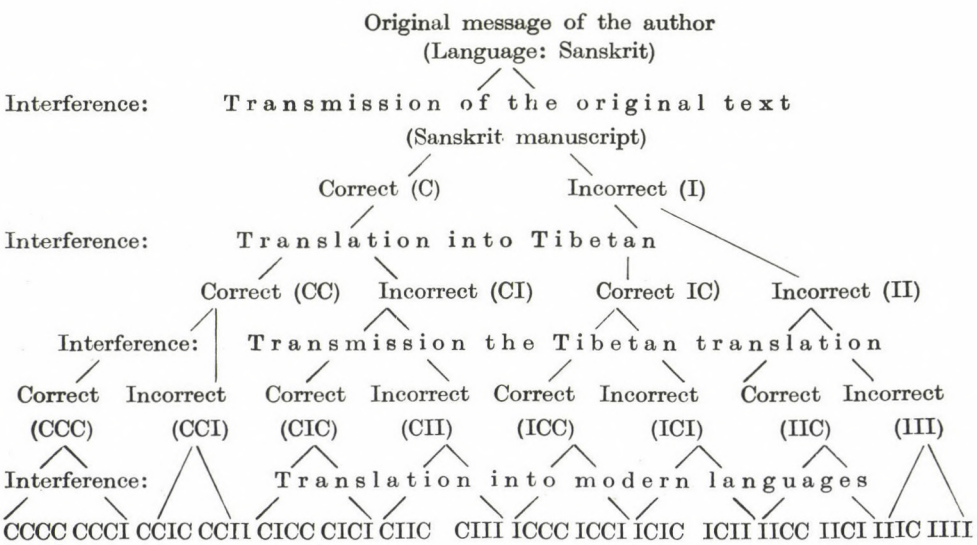
transmission of certain information which is exposed to distortion by the interference of various factors on the way from its source (the original author) to the ultimate receiver (the modern reader or interpreter of the original text). Let us assume, for the sake of simplicity, that there are only four kinds of interference:

1) The transmission of the original text
2) The translation of the original text into Tibetan
3) The transmission of the Tibetan translation
4) The translation of the Tibetan text into modern languages

If we think in binary terms ("correct" = C and "incorrect" = I) then there are already $2^4 = 16$ possible ways of transmission of the basic information. These possibilities are shown in the diagram of TABLE 1.

Table 1

The transmission and possible distortion of information in the case of Tibetan Tanjur texts



It is quite obvious that not all the possibilities of TABLE 1 do actually occur. Some of them may be non-existent, some very rare. However, there are other possible factors not yet taken into account, such as the three stages of transmission (precanonical, canonical, and paracanonical), the complicated effects of contamination and inner-Tibetan textual criticism, or, at the last stage, the translation from one modern language into another. These additional

factors will, when properly taken into account, create a much more complicated picture than the one just described. This is what we have to consider when we talk about the reliability of the canonical Tibetan translations.

Now I would like to confine myself to one aspect only: to those cases where a certain word or passage in the printed editions of the Tibetan Tanjur is undoubtedly wrong, that means not in harmony with its underlying Sanskrit text, but where the Tibetan translators can be exempted from any blame because the mistake seems to be due to corruption during the process of transmission.

Instead of giving long lists of corrupted words together with their restored correct readings which would not mean much without their specific contexts I propose to discuss just two instances which contain many of the features which I have described above in a theoretical manner.

My first example consists of two sets of verses from Nāgārjuna's *Prajñādaṇḍa*, or *Śes rab sdoṅ bu* "The Staff of Wisdom", translated into Tibetan by Śīlendrabodhi and Ye śes sde at the beginning of the ninth century. Stanzas 5 and 86 are quoted in TABLE 2, together with an English translation which is as literal as possible.

Table 2

Prajñādaṇḍa 5 (identical with *Gāthāśataka* 98):

| *bye brag phyed pa'i* ***blo ldan*** *yaṅ* |
| *bya ba gros kyis bsgrub par bya* |
| *'grub 'gyur kho na ma zad kyi* |
| *ma grub*[1] ***na yaṅ mdzes pa yin*** |

[1] grub NP, 'grub CD

Even if one is wise enough to distinguish
One should do things (only) after consulting (somebody).
Not only in the case of success
But even in the case of failure (this procedure) is commendable ('brilliant').

Prajñādaṇḍa 86:

| ***bya ba'i*** *thabs kyis grogs byed na* |
| ***blo ldan*** *dag la dri bar bya* |
| *phun sum tshogs pas*[1] *smos*[2] ***ci dgos*** |
| *'phuṅ 'gyur* ***na yaṅ mdzes pa yin*** |

[1] pas CD, pa NP [2] smros C

If (you wish) to help (somebody) by way of action
Then (you) should ask wise (people) (beforehand?).
(The usefulness of this maxim) is self-evident in the case of success,
But even in the case of failure ('ruin') (this procedure) is commendable ('brilliant').

From lines 3 and 4 of both stanzas it becomes obvious that there exists a close relationship between them. With the help of the Sanskrit stanza quoted in TABLE 3 the nature of this relationship can be ascertained more precisely.

Table 3

kāryaṃ ālocitāpāyaṃ matimadbhir viceṣṭitam[1] |
na kevalaṃ hi sampattau vipattāv api śobhate ||

[1] v.l. vivecitam

"An act done by the intelligent, v. l.: "An act scrutinized . .

After having considered the possible pitfalls,
Is commendable not only when one is in affluence
But also when one is in adversity." (K. V. SHARMA)

In my opinion, *Prajñādaṇḍa* 5 is a free but nonetheless correct rendering of the Sanskrit stanza just quoted. *gros kyis bsgrub par bya* seems to correspond to *ālocitāpāyam* "after having considered the (possible) pitfalls" whereas *bye brag phyed pa'i* "distinguishing the differences" seems to go back to the variant reading *vivecitam* "discriminated, distinguished".

In *Prajñādaṇḍa 86* we have a combination of (a) an incorrect source, (b) a faulty transmission of the Tibetan text and (c) a wrong (free?) rendering of the Sanskrit original:

a) *thabs* "means" can easily be explained by the assumption that the Sanskrit manuscript did not read *ālocitāpāyam* but *ālocitopāyam* "after having considered the (appropriate) means".

b) In the light of *Prajñādaṇḍa* 5b it becomes obvious that the reading *grogs* cannot be correct but must go back to an original **gros*. Fortunately there is an external independant corroboration of this assumption because *Prajñādaṇḍa* 86 is quoted in Dmar ston's commentary on Sa skya Paṇḍi ta's *Legs par bśad pa rin po che'i gter* verse 375 (Bosson's edition; = VIII 71). Dmar ston's version is given in TABLE 4, the deviations from the canonical text of *Prajñādaṇḍa* 86 are marked by bold face.

Table 4

Dmar ston ad Sa skya paṇḍi ta 375 (= VIII 71):

| *bya ba'i thabs kyis* ***gros*** *byed na* |
| *blo ldan dag la dri bar bya* |
| *phun sum tshogs* ***na*** *smos ci dgos* |
| ***phuṅ bar gyur kyaṅ*** *mdzes pa yin* |

c) *blo ldan dag la* Here it is not clear whether the original syntactical relationship between *matimadbhir* and *vivecitam* "scrutinized *by* wise people" was not properly recognized or just rendered freely. It is the same thing with

dri bar bya which rather corresponds to **vivecitavyam* "to be scrutinized" than to *vivecitam* "scrutinized".

As for *bya ba'i thabs kyis* I am rather doubtful whether this is another old corruption for either **bya ba thabs kyis*, caused by the frequent syntagma *thabs* preceded by a genitive case, or for **bya ba'i thabs ni*. A reading *bya ba* could much more easily be brought into agreement with the Sanskrit original than the reading *bya ba'i*. However, this question is rather difficult to decide and probably one of those cases where we can no longer find out what exactly the translators had in mind.

Just for the sake of completeness I would like to add Sa skya paṇḍi ta's adaptation of this stanza which seems to be closer to *Prajñādaṇḍa* 5 than to *Prajñādaṇḍa* 86. The text of *Legs par bśad pa rin po che'i gter* 304 (= VIII 1), accompanied by Bosson's English translation, is given in TABLE 5.

Table 5

Sa skya paṇḍi ta's *Legs par bśad pa rin po che'i gter* 304 (VIII 1):

blo ldan bya ba cuṅ zad kyaṅ
rgyun du gros kyis bsgrub par bya
grub par gyur na lta[1] *ci smos*[2]
ma grub na yaṅ mdzes pa'i rgyu

[1] v.l. smos [2] v. l. dgos

"The prudent should always perform a deed, even a small one, with the counsel (of others). Not to mention if it is successful, even if it is not successful, is the cause of splendidness." (Bosson)

My second example is taken from Candragomin's *Śiṣyalekha* or *Slob ma la spriṅs pa'i spriṅ yig* "The Letter to the Disciple". Stanza 27 describes how man in his old age is devoured, as it were, from the head down by the god of death. The canonical Tibetan text and my English translation are given in TABLE 6.

Table 6

de nas de ni ***'chi bdag*** *rga ba'i* ***spun***	(*Śiṣyalekha* 27)
gźil ba'i bcos thabs med pas bzuṅ nas ni	
rgas pa'i nu bo 'chi bdag 'oṅs nas ni	
dgod pa bźin du spyi nas 'dzin par byed	

Thereafter, when the god of death, the brother of old age,
who cannot be warded off, has seized him,
the younger brother of old age, the god of death, having approached him,
laughingly seizes him by his head.

The meaning of the stanza is quite clear whereas the wording with its repetitions seems to be rather clumsy, not worthy of a poet of the calibre of Candragomin. In TABLE 7 I now quote the Sanskrit original, together with my English translation.

Table 7

atha tam prahasann ivāntakaḥ (*Śiṣyalekha* 27)
palitaughair daśanair ivolbaṇaiḥ |
śirasi grasituṃ pravartate
nirupāyapraśamo jarānujaḥ | | 27 | |

Thereafter Death, the younger brother of old age, who can by no means be appeased, laughingly, as it were, sets out to devour him beginning with his head — by the shock of white hair, resembling his huge teeth.

It can immediately be seen that this text is much more logical. The underlying image of the poet is quite simple: the white hairs of an old man are compared, by way of a figure of speech called "ascription" *(utprekṣā)*, to the huge (white) teeth of the god of death and his laughter.

The Tibetan translation seems to contain two expressions twice: "the god of death" (*'chi bdag*, line 1 and 3) and "the (younger) brother of old age" (*rga ba'i spun*, line 1, and *rgas pa'i nu bo*, line 3). At the same time we do not see Tibetan equivalents of *palitaughair* "by the shock of white hair" and *daśanair ivolbaṇaiḥ* "resembling his huge teeth".

The simplest assumption would be that the second line of the Sanskrit stanza was not available in the manuscript used by the translators and that they filled the gap with their own inventions. This, however, is in contradiction with the two Indian commentaries on the *Śiṣyalekha* which can be found in the Tibetan Tanjur. The full text of the *Śiṣyalekhaṭippaṇa* (SLṬ) and the *Śiṣyalekhavṛtti* on verse 27 of the *Śiṣyalekha* is quoted in TABLE 8.

Table 8

Śiṣyalekhaṭippaṇa ad Śiṣyalakha 27: | ***de nas*** *źes pa ni gnas skabs gźan du'o* | |***mthar thug pa*** *ni dpe'o* | | ***gzuṅ ba*** *ni za ba'o* | | ****bdo ba**** *ni chen pos so* | | *gan źig źi bar byed pa'i thabs med pa ni rgyu med pa'o* | | **rga ba ñid kyi* ***rjes su skyes pa*** *gaṅ źig nu bos so* | | *yaṅ na *rga ba ñid za ba źes bya ba'o* | *Śiṣyalekhavṛtti ad Śiṣyalekha* 27: | *raṅ gis phun sum tshogs pa ñams par 'gyur ba ston pa na skra ñams pa ni* ***de nas de ni*** *źes tshigs su bcad pa gcig go* | | ***dgod pa bźin du*** *źes pa ni skye bo rnams dgod pa'i tshe so dkar po snaṅ ba bźin du rgas pas skra dkar po snaṅ ba'o* |

The gloss ***bdo ba*** *ni chen pos so* | in SLṬ refers to *ulbaṇaiḥ* "huge" of the Sanskrit text, and the expression *skra dkar po . . .* in the analysis of SLV refers to *palit(augh)air* "(tufts of) white hair".

It is again the assumption of an old corruption which removes all our difficulties. We merely have to regard *'chi bdag* in line 1 as an old corruption for **mche bdo* "huge teeth" and similarly *rga ba'i spun* as a corruption for *rga ba'i spus* "by the (white) hair of old age". By making these two alterations we can bring the Tibetan text into agreement with its Sanskrit original and thereby exempt the Tibetan translators from the reproach of having produced a rather non-sensical translation. Anyone who feels reluctant to accept these alterations is invited to consider that the text of stanza 27 is even more corrupted in some editions of the Tanjur which read *dga' ba'i* "joy" instead of *rga ba'i* "old age", *ṅo bo* "intrinsic nature" instead of *nu bo* "younger brother" and *rgod pa* "wild" instead of *dgod pa* „laughing". Even *gźil ba'i* "to remove, ward off" seems to be nothing but a corruption (?) of *źi ba'i* "appeasement", to judge by its Sanskrit original *praśama* "appeasement" and the *Śiṣyalekha-ṭippaṇa* which glosses *gaṅ źi bar byed pa'i thabs med pa ni . . .*

I would like to conclude my examples with an instance where it is rather difficult to analyze a correct but very unusual rendering of an Indian name. Stanza 70 of the *Prajñādaṇḍa* which is quoted and translated in TABLE 9 contains *rab dmar* as the name of a king.

Table 9

| *raṅ gi phyogs ni yoṅs spaṅs nas* | (*Prajñādaṇḍa* 70)
| *gźan gyi phyogs la dga' ba gaṅ* |
| *de ni ṅes par brlag 'gyur te* |
| *rgyal po* ***rab dmar*** *ji bźin no* |

He who entirely abandons his own party
and finds pleasure (only) with the party of others
will certainly be destroyed
like king Rab dmar.

I am sure that everybody who is unbiased will understand *rab dmar* as a metrical shortening of *rab tu dmar po* (or *ba*) "very red, dark-red". However, the Sanskrit versions of this stanza which can be found in various Indian primary sources offer the following two names: *Caṇḍarava* "crying harshly (or fiercely)" and *Kakuddruma* "a tree on top of a mountain", cf. Table 10.

Table 10

The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, ed. Gnoli, Part II, p. 213:

yasya vābhyantarā bāhyā bāhyā vābhyantarīkṛtāḥ |
sa evaṃ nidhanaṃ yāti hastinā kroṣṭuko yathā ||

He who either makes those who are close (to him) outsiders
Or makes outsiders close (to him)
Will come to death
Like the jackal (who was killed) by the elephant.

Tantrākhyāyikā (ed. HERTEL) 1.86:

tyaktā ābhyantarā yena bāhyāś cābhyantarīkṛtāḥ |
sa bhūmau nihataḥ śete mūrkhaś caṇḍaravo yathā ||

Pañcatantra (ed. BÜHLER) 1.259:

(*sa eva mṛtyum āpnoti yathā rājā kakuddrumaḥ* ||)

He who has abandoned those who are close to him
And made outsiders his friends,
Lies dead on the ground
Like the fool Caṇḍarava.
(Will die like king Kakuddruma.)

Mahāsubhāṣitasaṃgraha (ed. STERNBACH; source: *Hitopadeśa*) No. 4588:

ātmapakṣaparityāgāt[a] *parapakṣeṣu yo*[b] *rataḥ |*
sa parair hanyate mūḍho[c] *nīlavarṇaśṛgālavat ||*
[a] v.l. *ātmapakṣaṃ parityajya.* [b] v.l. *ca.* [c] v.l. *mūrkho.*

He who entirely abandons his own party
And finds pleasure (only) with the party of others
That fool will be killed by the others
Like the blue-coloured jackal.

It is obvious that lines a) and b) of *Prajñādaṇḍa* 70 correspond to the text of the *Hitopadeśa*, line c) to the text of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* (where we have to read *eva* instead of *evaṃ*) or the *Pañcatantra* and line d) to the text of the *Pañcatantra*, except for the name. I do not see any possibility of connecting *Rab dmar* "dark-red" with *Kakuddruma*. However, I think that in the case of *Caṇḍarava* "crying harshly", name of a jackal, in the *Tantrākhyāyika* version, such a connection can be established, even if it presupposes a very idiosyncratic and, at the same time, hybrid translation. The clue is the Tibetan expression *rluṅ dmar* which has, according to its usage (cf. Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* 4.17 where it renders Sanskrit *pravāta*) and the dictionary of CHOS GRAGS (he explains *rluṅ dmar* as *rluṅ drag po*, p. 844b), the meaning "a fierce wind, strom". As *drag po* "fierce" is a very suitable rendering of Sanskrit *caṇḍa*, I assume that *dmar* (*po*) has, besides its ordinary meaning "red", an obsolete secondary meaning "fierce". If this assumption is correct then we may take *rab* as a Tibetan transcription of Sanskrit *rava* "roar,

howl", and hence *rab dmar* was, for some strange reason, intended to mean "Rava, the fierce". I am absolutely convinced that without the knowledge of the original Sanskrit it would have been impossible to arrive at this interpretation of *rab dmar*, be it correct or incorrect.

The conclusion to be drawn from these few observations is that we have to be extremely careful while editing and translating Tibetan Tanjur texts. One may not be able to reach at a satisfactory solution even after having taken account of all four blockprints, viz. those of Chone, Derge, Narthang and Peking. It is necessary to be a specialist in the subject matter and one must not neglect any ancillary material that may be available. Moreover one has to be aware of all the possible wrong or idiosyncratic translations of Sanskrit terms and the corruptions which might have occurred in the course of the transmission of the Tibetan text. In quite a few cases it might even then not possible to determine what the original author wished to express.[1]

[1] As for idiosyncratic and therefore cryptic translations of Indian names I would like to refer to the Tibetan version of Nāgārjuna's *Prajñāśataka*, which has recently been published by me: *Hundert Strophen von der Lebensklugheit. Nāgārjunas Prajñāśataka tibetisch und deutsch.* Eingeleitet, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Michael HAHN. Bonn 1990. 124 pp. (*Indica et Tibetica.* 18.). Stanza 6 of this text runs as follows: */ śes rab ldan pa gcig rkyaṅ yaṅ / / gźan gyis 'di la gnod mi 'gyur / / dor thabs ldan pa['i] lus chuṅ yaṅ / / tshan daṅ ldan pas yoṅ mi brñas /.* A literal translation runs as follows: "To a wise (man), even if he is without any assistance, others can do no harm. He who has *dor thabs* ('a specific way of walking or striding'), even if his body is small, will never be humiliated by somebody who has *tshan* ('a party, band')." It was only by very good luck that I was able to find a parallel passage in Prajñāvarman's *Viśeṣastavaṭīkā* which made it clear that *dor thabs* renders Sanskrit *vikrama* and that the illustration of the moral maxim in the latter half of the stanza refers to the story of Viṣṇu and Bali. Therefore *dor thabs ldan pa* is nothing but a rendering of Vikramin, one of Viṣṇu's names (derived particularly from this story), and similarly *tshan daṅ ldan pa* translates Bali which was wrongly interpreted as *balin* "possessing strength, strong". *tshan* is obviously a cognate of *b(r)tsan po* "strong" and an obsolete equivalent of *stobs* "strength". I dare to assert that without the knowledge of the parallel passage it would have been impossible to solve and analyse the idiosyncratic renditions of these two names which in later times were translated as *rnam par gnon pa* (*daṅ ldan pa*) (cf. *Mahāvyutpatti* No. 1347) and *stobs* (*daṅ*) *ldan* (*pa*) (cf. the *Viśeṣastavaṭīkā*).

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DIE TIBETISCHE WÖRTERLISTE VON J. E. FISCHER

FELIX HALLER (Wien)

Ich möchte zuerst über den Nutzen der älteren Texte für das Tibetische sprechen. Meiner Ansicht nach können sie in zweifacher Weise von Nutzen sein:

1. Sie stellen einen Beitrag zur Sprachgeschichte dar, denn, nur wenn man verschiedene Sprachstufen kennt, läßt sich eine Sprachgeschichte schreiben.

2. Sie stellen einen Beitrag zur Lexikographie dar, da wir durch sie noch unbekannte Wörter kennenlernen können.

Dazu folgendes Beispiel:

Im Wörterbuch von Katharina II., das von 1786 bis 1789 in St. Petersburg herausgegeben wurde, wird im Band II, Nr. 155 für russisch *Kot''* (Kater) *livo* angegeben.

Im »Tibetan-English Dictionary« von Sarat Chandra Das wird *a li* als Äquivalent von *byi la* (cat) angegeben.

Daher läßt sich Folgendes aussagen:

1. Der Transskription *livo* liegt wahrscheinlich die Schreibweise *li bo* zugrunde.

2. Vermutlich existiert eine feminine Entsprechung *li mo.*

3. a li ist eine abgeleitete Form, ebenso wie z. B. *a jo* eine Ableitung von *jo bo* ist.

Durch diesen älteren Text erhalten wir also 2 neue Wörter, nämlich *li bo* »Kater« und *li mo* »Katze«, und außerdem wird die Form *a li* näher bestimmt.

Die Wörterliste, über die ich im Folgenden sprechen werde, stammt von Johann Eberhard Fischer. Fischer, der von 1697 bis 1771 lebte und ab 1730 am Akademischen Gymnasium in Petersburg tätig war, nahm ab etwa 1740 an einer russischen Expedition nach Sibirien teil, wo er sich unter anderem der Erforschung der dort gesprochenen Sprachen widmete. Zu detaillierteren Informationen über Fischer, seine Lebensgeschichte und seine Werke verweise ich auf *M. Adamović*, »Das Tartarische des 18. Jahrhunderts«.

Fischer hat als Resultat seiner Forschungsreise unter anderem ein mehrsprachiges Vokabular verfaßt, welches er »Vocabularium continens trecenta

vocabula triginta quatuor gentium, maxima ex parte Sibiricarum« nannte.

Es wurde 1767 vom historischen Institut in Göttingen erworben. Außerdem existiert noch eine Abschrift in Leningrad. Es wurde von G. Doerfer im Band 18 der »Asiatischen Forschungen« im Faksimile herausgegeben.

Es ist in 4 Teile gegliedert, die in jeweils 10 Spalten zerfallen, in denen je eine Sprache behandelt wird.

Teil IV, Spalte 3, genannt »Tangutice« behandelt das Tibetische.

Jede Spalte hat folgenden Aufbau:

1. Eine Liste, in der verschiedene Eigennamen angegeben werden.
2. Das eigentliche Vokabular, das 307 nach Sachgebieten geordnete Stichwörter enthält.
3. Die Rubrik »Analecta«, in der Fachausdrücke und Eigennamen angegeben werden.

Abschließend zu meinen kurzen Bemerkungen zu dieser Wörterliste möchte ich darauf hinweisen, daß sie eine komplizierte Entstehungsgeschichte aufweist, die in der früheren Literatur behandelt wurde, hier aber außer acht gelassen werden kann.

Da diese Wörterliste eine der frühesten Quellen zu den archaischen Dialekten ist, möchte ich im Folgenden 5 Beispiele behandeln. Unter der Nummer 72b wird für lateinisch *Vir* (Mann) *portschà* angegeben. Die Rekonstruktion dazu lautet *pho skye ba* oder *pho skyes pa*. Jäschke übersetzt *pho skyes* mit »man, male person«.

Es stellt sich die Frage, worauf das *r*, das zwischen *pho* und *skyes* aufscheint, zurückzuführen ist. Dieses scheinbar irreguläre *r* ist eine für die Ostdialekte typische Erscheinung. — Darum also *portschà* und nicht *potschà*.

Roerich gibt für *pho skyes* die Aussprache *hork^{i}ē* an. Die Aussprache im Lhasa-Dialekt lautet nach Goldstein *phōkēè*.

Unter der Nummer 91 wird für lateinisch *mentum* (Kinn) *dschongwà-magi-mani kàl* angegeben. Die Rekonstruktion dazu lautet *'gram pa ma gi ma ne mgal*. Jäschke übersetzt *'gram pa* mit »cheek« und *ma gi* mit »the lower one«. Im Wörterbuch von dGe bśes chos kyi grags pa wird *ma ne* mit *kos ko* erklärt, welches nach Jäschke »chin« bedeutet. *mgal* übersetzt Jäschke mit »jaw, jawbone«.

Die eigentliche Übersetzung lautet daher »Das sich unter den Wangen befindliche Kinn und die Kinnbacken.«

Ich habe hier aus inhaltlichen Gründen angenommen, daß *dschongwà* auf *'gram pa* zurückzuführen ist, obwohl man hier eigentlich *'graṅ ba* oder ähnliches erwarten würde.

Die Aussprache im Lhasa-Dialekt lautet nach Goldstein ṭa̲mpa mə̲qi ma̲ne qɛ̲ɛ̲.

Unter der Nummer 106b wird für lateinisch *vestis pellicea* (Fellkleidung) *r'sek pa* angegeben. Die Rekonstruktion dazu lautet *tshags pa*.

Roerich übersetzt *tshags pa* mit »kurzer Schaffellweste«. Bezüglich des scheinbar irregulären r's gilt das vorhin Gesagte. Roerich gibt für *tshags pa* die Aussprachen ˣts'og-kᵘa, ts'okᵘa und ʳts'okᵘa an. Die Aussprache im Lhasa-Dialekt lautet nach Goldstein *tshāqpa.* Unter der Nummer 129 wird für lateinisch *charta* (Papier) *schogò* angegeben. Die Rekonstruktion dazu lautet *śo go. śo go* ist durch allmähliche Assimilation aus *śog bu* entstanden, welches Jäschke mit »paper« übersetzt. Die Aussprache im Lhasa-Dialekt lautet nach Goldstein šūqu.

Unter der Nummer 214 wird für lateinisch *esuries* (Hunger) *ulpfòng* angegeben. Die Rekonstruktion dazu lautet *dbul* (')*phoṅs*. Jäschke übersetzt *dbul* (')*phoṅs* mit »*poverty*«.

Interessant ist hier die Aussprache von (')*phoṅs* als *pfòng*. Sie repräsentiert eine Übergangsform zwischen den Formen *ph* und *f*. Die Aussprache im Lhasa-Dialekt lautet nach Goldstein ūūpoòn.

*

Abkürzungen:

H. A. Jäschke, »A Tibetan-English Dictionary«	J.
G. d. Roerich, »Le Parler de l'Amdo«	R.A.
M. C. Goldstein, »Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan«	Lh.
dGe bśes chos kyi grags pas brtsams pa'i brda dag miṅ tshig gsal ba	ChG.

Stichwort	Angabe des Tibetischen
Rekonstruktion	
Rekonstruktionsaufschlüsselung	

1.) Nr. 72b:

vir »Mann«		portschà
	pho skye(s) b(p)a	
pho skyes		»man, male person« (J)
pho		»man« (J)
skyes pa		»man, male person« (J)
	—	
	R.A.	Lh.
pho skyes	horkʲē	— (phōkēè)
pho	ho	phō
skyes pa	—	kēpa
skye ba	škʲe-wa	kēwaa

2.) Nr. 91:

mentum »Kinn«		dschongwà-magi-mani kàl
	'gram pa ma gi ma ne mgal	
'gram pa		»cheek« (J)
ma gi		»the lower one« (J)
ma ne		»= kos ko« (ChG)
	kos ko	»chin« (J)
mgal		»jaw, jawbone« (J)

»Das sich unter den Wangen befindliche Kinn und die Kinnbacken«

— — —

	R.A.	Lh.
'gram pa	—	ṭa̱mpa
ma gi	—	mə̱qi
ma ne	—	— (ma̱ne)
mgal	—	qɛ̱ɛ̱

3.) Nr. 106b:

vestis pellicea	»Fellkleidung«	r'sek-pa
	tshags pa	
tshags pa		»courte veste en peau de mouton« (R.A.)

— — —

	R.A.	Lh.
tsbags pa	x̯t͜s'og¯kᵘ̯a	— (tshāqpa)
	t͜s'okᵘ̯a	
	r̯t͜s'okᵘ̯a	

4.) Nr. 129:

charta »Papier«		schogò
	śog bu > śog gu > śog go > śo go	
śog bu		»paper« (J)

— — —

	R.A.	Lh.
śog bu	—	šūqu

5.) Nr. 214:

esuries »Hunger«	dbul (')phoṅs	ulpfòng
dbul (')phoṅs		»poverty« (J)
	— — —	
dbul (')phoṅs	—	ü̈ü̈poòn

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MI DBANG'S 1740 DECREE TO BATANG

AMY HELLER (Paris)

To the memory of Tsepon W. D. Shakabpa

In the early twentieth century, from 1913—1922, Dr. Albert Shelton, physician of the Foreign Christian Missionary Hospital at Batang, befriended the forlorn "Prince" of Batang, sole survivor of his family. Following his father's execution and the destruction of the Batang monastery in 1905, the family was exiled to Chengdu, where all other members perished. Broken in health and hopelessly addicted to opium, the young man returned to Batang as a private citizen and lived with the Shelton family for almost a year. Due to the precarious political situation generally prevailing in Batang at this time, the Prince ceded to Dr. Shelton several precious family heirlooms. These, along with other items collected by Shelton, were sold to the Newark Museum in order to provide funds for the mission hospital. Subsequently, the Newark Museum complemented Shelton's core material from Batang with items acquired from other missionaries based in Khams and Amdo, and from the first Americans invited to Lhasa.[1]

The museum's committment to the Tibetan Collection has not faltered. Eleanor Olson, former curator of the collection, published five volumes of catalogues of the Tibetan Collection from 1950 to 1971. Much of her pioneering research was accomplished per force with the aid of few tibetologists and even fewer Tibetans, and the collection has grown considerably in the intervening years. Now, through generous grants from private and public foundations, the museum has undertaken the complete revision and publication of the entire five-volume catalogue under the supervision of Valrae Reynolds, curator of the collection since 1971.

I have been privileged to collaborate in these efforts. Two months ago, while reviewing portions of the collection in preparation for the revised edition, I came across a document acquired from the Prince of Batang which I bring to your attention today, although I am not specialized in this area of Tibetology.

[1] For background information on the Shelton-Crane Collection, cf. V. Reynolds, and A. Heller, *Catalogue of the Newark Museum Tibetan Collection*, vol. I (revised edition 1983), pp. 54—58.

Prior to now, the document had been misidentified and as such, remained unexploited.[2] It may now be affirmed that the document is a decree, dated 1740, from Mi dbang Pho lha nas to the district governor *(rdzong sdod)* of Batang. It seems that the document is established to decide the succession of the present *rdzong sdod* of Batang to his two sons, named at the end of the decree.

Before discussing the document in detail, a brief review of the historic context pertinent to Batang will better enable us to assess the value of its contents. The political context of this era is well known because of the work of Professor Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*.[3] Batang is the common name for the principal town within the district of 'Ba' situated in what Sichuan. It has long been an important stop of the southern trade route from China to Lhasa. For the antecedents of the period which concerns us, according to the Fifth Dalai Lama's autobiography, in 1648 two officials were sent from Lhasa to several areas in eastern Khams to make a census of the population and collect taxes for the treasury of the Tibetan government.[4] The district of 'Ba' is specifically mentioned at this time, and as such, was considered part of Tibetan territory in 1648. In 1677 the autobiography mentions a similar mission regulating taxation as well as financial support from the Lhasa treasury for the 'Ba' district monasteries.[5]

The political situation of Batang changed, however, in the wake of the Dzungar invasion of 1717. The K'ang hsi Emperor dispatched successive contingents of imperial troops, one of which traveled from Sichuan to Khams, in the direction Tatsienlu, Li-thang, Batang. Tatsienlu was occupied in 1718 by the Governor-general of Sichuan who sent a detachment to Li-thang at this time. Batang was occupied in the following year by the Manchu general Galbi. Local opposition to the Manchu occupation was suppressed by the execution of the Abbot of the Li-thang monastery. General Galbi's forces reached Lhasa in September, 1720. Shortly thereafter, the 12 year old Seventh Dalai Lama, escorted by a large army, at last reached Lhasa to be duly enthroned in the Potala.

[2] The document bears Newark Museum Accession number 18.141. It was previously published (but misidentified) by E. Olson, *Catalogue*, Vol. III, p. 123—124.

[3] This work gives a detailed, comprehensive discussion of the period. Much of the information in this résumé of the historical context is derived from Professor Petech's analysis, as well as from J. Kolmas, *Tibet and Imperial China*.

[4] As quoted by Tsepon Shakabpa, in *Tibet, a Political History*, p. 113.

[5] As quoted by Tsepon Shakabpa, in *An Advanced Political History of Tibet*, Vol. I, p. 452, "1677 lor 'Ba' chos sder dge 'dun sum brgya skor la sngar yod phogs thob thog/ da lam phar . . . sngon du chos gzhis sbyor 'jags dang/ khral mi rnams la khras gso khungs 'jug/"

The initial organization of the new Manchu protectorate was designed at this time. The Governor-general of Sichuan was responsible for direct administration of the territory of south-eastern Tibet, from Tatsienlu to the borders of central Tibet. In early 1721, the major portion of the armies returned to China via the southern trade route, but the protectorate was reinforced by a garrison 3,000 men strong in Lhasa, and detachments of troops at Lho-rong-dzong, Chab-mdo, Batang, Li-thang, and Tatsienlu. Direct administration of this large territory soon proved unwieldy. In 1725, during the second year of the Yung Ch'eng Emperor's reign, the political administration and boundaries were redefined. Under the new arrangement, the Ning-ching-shan range, between the Mekong and the Yangtse rivers, was used as a rough divide. The territories to the west were given back to Lhasa jurisdiction; the territories to the east remained incorporated in China but the administration was entrusted to local chieftains under nominal supervision by Sichuan provincial authorities. Batang, just east of the boundary, was thus officially incorporated in China as of 1725.

In Lhasa, however, internal governmental rivalries between the Seventh Dalai Lama's father and the Lhasa cabinet led to civil war in central Tibet in 1727—28. The rival parties appealed to the Manchu who sent an army to restore order. By the time Manchu troops arrived in Lhasa, the cabinet minister Pho lha nas bsod nams stobs rgyas (1689—1747) had already established his supremacy. Already in 1727 he began to be famous in Tibet by the name Mi-dbang, literally "ruler of men". Mi-dbang received Manchu support for his regime in the form of two Imperial Representatives (Amban), accompanied by an armed garrison. From 1729—1735, the Dalai Lama was exiled from Lhasa, first in Li-thang, then in mGar-tar nearby, both located well within the area of Manchu sovereignty. Mi-dbang effectively governed during the Dalai Lama's absence, and governed so ably that the garrison was reduced to only 500 men in 1733.[6] The role of the amban became quite nominal. The Dalai Lama, accompanied by the lCang-skya Qutuqtu Rol-pa'i rdo-rje and Sichuan troops, made his return journey from Khams to Lhasa during spring and summer of 1735. From this time until the death of Mi-dbang in 1747, the Dalai Lama exercised purely religious authority.

In October 1735, the Yung Ch'eng Emperor died and was succeeded by his fourth son who became the Ch'ien Lung Emperor. Shortly thereafter, the lCang-skya Qutuqtu left for Beijing together with the Sichuan troops who had accompanied the Dalai Lama to Lhasa earlier in the year. As a result of his Tibetan sojourn, lCang-skya submitted a memorial to the emperor on the difficulties of the financial situation in Lhasa.[7] Since the annexation of Batang,

[6] Garrison figures from Kolmas, op. cit., p. 41.

[7] Cf. Petech, op. cit., p. 179—180, who quotes the L, DL ff. 244b—245a.

Li-thang, and neighbouring tracts to Sichuan, Lhasa had lost the revenue from the taxation of these places. A 1730 census for Batang shows 3,679 families for the area, whose tax contribution was apparently sorely missed in Lhasa, as lCang-skya specifically asked for the restitution of Batang and Li-thang to Lhasa in his memorial to the throne.[8] In June 1738 the Emperor accorded an annual subsidy of 5,000 taels out of the Tatsienlu customs, but referred the matter of the restitution of Batang and Li-thang to the Governor -general of Sichuan and Shensi. In January, 1739, the Governor-general sent a statement to the Emperor opposing the proposal. Ch'ien Lung accordingly refuted his sanction: Batang was not restituted to Lhasa jurisdiction. In January, 1740, Ch'ien Lung, grateful to Mi-dbang for his efficient administration, granted him a new title, that of *chün wang* (Tibetan, *jun dbang*), prince of the second rank. Professor Petech has summarized the situation in 1740 thus, "The power of Mi-dbang was absolute, the authority of the Dalai Lama was in abeyance, the supervision by the Chinese nominal only."[9]

One further comment on Mi-dbang's administrative reforms as analyzed by Professor Petech will be pertinent to our assessment of the 1740 decree.[10] The area of Tibet governed by Lhasa was divided into 53 districts. With the exception of Sa-skya which was an autonomous principality, these districts were governed by officials appointed by and dependent upon Lhasa. At the head of each district there was a civil governor and a military commander with equal status, both called *rdzong dpon* (or, archaic, *rdzong sdod*). With time, the distinction between civil and military became obsolete, and both were on equal footing. However, the administration of the territories annexed in 1725 was a curious admixture of Tibetan and Chinese bureaucratic systems. According to Goré, in Batang at this time five families contended as land-holders in the valley; only one family was responsible for governing the district and had received from Lhasa a hereditary mandate to this effect.[11] We thus far understand this person to be the *rdzong sdod* mentioned in the 1740 decree. The Manchu were represented at Batang by a functionary *liang t'ai* in charge of convoys to the garrison. The Tibetans called this functionary the *phogs dpon*. The Chinese chose two native chiefs to administer justice, impose taxation including corvée, that is labor. The Tibetan term for this position was *sde-pa*, the Chinese term *t'u szu*. One *sde-pa* had more responsability than the other. The *sde-pa* were assisted in administration by subordiates: four sub-prefects *rgyal-ngo* and three military officers *dmag-dpon*. The *dmag-dpon* in turn was assted by a subordinate military officer theoretically in charge of 100 men,

[8] Census figure for Batang in 1730 given by F. Goré, "*Notes sur les Marche Tibétain es du Sseu-tch'ouan et du Yun-nan*", p. 354.

[9] Cf. Petech, op. cit., p. 181.

[10] Cf. Petech, idem., p. 253.

[11] Cf. Goré, op. cit., pp. 322—324.

the *brgya-dpon*. According to Mi-dbang's decree, the *rdzong-sdod* to whom the document is addressed continued to serve as administrator of Batang in 1740.

Let us now consider the document itself. It is written in the *'brutsa rkang-ring dbu-med* script on yellow satin, 177.8×78 cm., rolled for purposes of convenience. The piece of satin has no cloth support as backing, and there are no seams or stitch lines which indicates that it never had a cloth support. The text of the decree is in two sections, each followed by a square red official seal. The first section is terminated by the seal, here 3.8 cm square with six columns of *hor-yig* characters. This seal is virtually identical with the reconstruction of the *rgya-dam* seal of Mi-dbang as published by Professor Schuh.[12] The second seal, 11×11.3 cm., is identical with that on Mi-dbang's 1741 decree to the Capucins preserved in the Archives of the Propaganda in Rome.[13] There can be no doubt that the document is genuine and unaltered.

The first section (Intitulatio) states that in accordance with the order of the Emperor and Mi-dbang's own powerful desire, now that those engaged in rebellion have been destroyed, Mi-dbang obtained the power to increase joy and prosperity of beings and the Buddhist doctrine. He states that in addition to being the "ruler of men" (i.e. Mi-dbang) he has now been given the title *jun dbang*, and these are his words, (lines 1—3).

The second section is the main body of the document. In the Publicatio (lines 4—9) the list of people to whom the document is directed: Mi-dbang enumerates the subjects of the monastic territories, lamas and teachers great and small, the noble patrons of the precious teachings of bTsong kha pa, the *dpon-chen* belonging to the districts of China, Tibet and Mongolia, *dpon-skya*, messengers (*al-chi*), the *mi-dpon* belonging to the governmental and aristocratic territories, the general populace in the traditional division of Tibet into Mnga-ris (bye brag dkor gsum), dBus-gTsang (ru-bzhi), mDo-khams (sgang-drug), not forgetting the *rdzong-sdod*, their stewards or intendants *(gnyer las 'dzin)*, the soldier, the robber, the trader. In particular, the message is sent to all the population of 'Ba': the district governor *(rdzong sdod)*, the officials in his domain, the lamas and the stewards of the monasteries and the village chiefs.

Within this large second section, lines 9—17 constitute the Narratio and the Disposito, i.e. the explanation of the situation and the dispositions made by Mi-dbang in regard to this situation. He initially describes the historical antecedents of the military and civil administration of 'Ba' from the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama until 1740. The ancestors of the current district governor, Rin chen, had received their commission since the time of the Fifth

[12] D. Schuh, *Grundlagen tibetischer Siegelkunde*, p. 70—71.

[13] This seal is reproduced by E. Walsh, "*Examples of Tibetan Seals . . .*", p. 470, and by L. Petech, *I Missionari . . .*, Vol. IV, pp. 210—212.

Dalai Lama as they served diligently and were rewarded by the commission as *brgya-dpon*. The document or successive documents confirming their position bore red and black seals. During the seventh year of Yung Ch'eng's reign (1730) the order came to hold the position of *rdzong-sdod* as well as *brgya-dpon*. However, this was disputed by the younger brother in the family. The trouble persisted, and in 1734, a Chinese official named Cang was sent to settle the matter at Ya'-cug. He decided to revert to a previous arrangement adopted in 1717 which distributed portions of the house, lands, and fields to the younger brother who was ordered to serve as *brgya-dpon*. The elder brother kept the position of *rdzong-sdod* however, neither he nor his descendents may make any claims to the position of *brgya-dpon*. In the following year, accordingly, the Seventh Dalai Lama issued a decree of great importance (*bka'-shog she-bam chen-mo*) for the retention (of rights and properties) in favor of Rin-chen. Mi-dbang's intervention further gives total support for possessions of Rin-chen and his family. He instructs all those mentioned in the Publicatio to help and do what is beneficial for Rin-chen, stipulating that no new harm, taxes or military service should be imposed using the welfare of the government as a pretext. Rin chen's instructions are to be obeyed without opposition. Two proverbs are used to indicate the attitude expected of the subordinates: 'Act as the body who is placed under the head' ('khri'i mgo 'og lus chug tshul bzhin byed pa) and 'Seeking a sunny side on the higher summit' (ri mgo gang mtho'i nyi ma) which here means to seek no other leader and side with the winner.[14] Rin chen is instructed to punish any who may rebel. The following administrators must not weaken or allow any talk of opposition whatsoever. From this time until as long as there are descendents of Rin Yon-tan chen's two sons, these orders are to be heeded. Such are the terms decreed by Mi-dbang in 1740. Unfortunately the scribe neglected to add the interstitial numerals for the day and month which would have allowed a more precise determination of the date.

Although there subsist a few points of vocabulary or syntax which remain obscure (cf. Tibetan text and translation), the general tenor of this document is quite clear. It seeks to be authoritative. However, to date I have found no mention of it in the biography of Mi-dbang, the *Mi-dbang rtogs brjod*, nor in the biographies of the Seventh Dalai Lama, the lCang-skya Qutuqtu Rol pa'i rdo rje, or mDo-mkhar Tshe-ring dbang rgyal. Nor in contemporary Chinese sources as analyzed by Professor Petech. Time has not allowed me to consult the Seventh Dalai Lama's *gTam-phud* nor primary sources in Chinese

[14] The proverb *ri mgo gang mtho'i nyi ma* is listed among proverbs by G. N. Roerich and L. Lhalungpa, *Textbook of Colloquial Tibetan* (revised edition), p. 272. *Khri'i mgo 'og lus chug tshul* has been specifically qualified as a proverb by Yon-tan Gyatso and mTshan-zhabs Rinpoche.

as I do not know Chinese. As an isolated document, its interpretation is all the more subject to caution. But a limited critical assessment is warranted. There is no specific date given, but the decree must date late than spring, 1740 when news of the imperial appointment of Mi-dbang as *jun-dbang* reached Lhasa. Mi-dbang was presumably well aware of the 1739 imperial refusal to return Batang and Li-thang to Lhasa. However, in seemingly direct contradiction with the 1739 imperial refusal, it is quite clear that in this document Mi-dbang, by his very intervention, regards Batang as a Tibetan territory. Mi-dbang not only indicates his support of the *rdzong-sdod*, he also decrees the possession of rights and properties allocated to him. While simultaneously granting him privileges, Mi-dbang imposes specific obligations on the *rdzong-sdod* and on the *rdzong-sdod*'s subordinates.

In the absence of further corroboration from other sources, either Chinese or Tibetan, it is impossible to know what were the consequences, if any, of this decree. It is not even certain that the "Prince" of Batang who had the document in the early twentieth century was a direct descendant of the *rdzong sdod* of 1740, but it is likely that his family had preserved the document because it directly concerned them. The very silence of contemporary sources is indicative that this document was not a source of dissension. Given the long-standing nature of the dispute and the successive interventions which preceded Mi-dbang's decree, had the decree been disputed, it would be attested. We thus conclude that it was acceptable within the relation of protectorate in vigor in 1740 for Mi-dbang to intervene in the jurisdiction of Batang.[15] This decree raises questions of the actual administration of Batang at this time.

In closing, I must express my appreciation to Tsepon Shakabpa, Samten Karmay, Yonten Gyatso, Yoshiro Imaeda, and mTshan-zhabs Rinpoche who have been of great help in the comprehension of the language of this document. I am deeply indebted to both Professor Anne-Marie Blondeau and Professor Dieter Schuh, but bear sole responsability myself for the opinions expressed here.

[15] Professor Schuh assesses this document differently, and in a personal communication comments thus: As far as the political implications of this document and the VIIth Dalai Lama's decree are concerned, I am by no means sure, that both documents show a direct intervention of Lhasa in an area supposedly outside its domain. The very existence of these documents shows of course, that the Dalai Lama und Pho-Lha-ba had some influence in Batang due to their undisputed authority as head of the yellow church and ruler of Tibet. Perpahs we should keep in mind, that we can not always strictly apply our political ideas and terms of administrative rights, authority and jurisdiction to the situation in Central Asia. Pho-Lha-ba's decree confirms only certain rights and privileges, which had been granted and established before. A great part of the document consists — as it is the case with the majority of legal documents — of formulas, which can be found in other documents quite often.

Transcription of Newark Museum Document 18.141

1 gnam bskos 'jam dbyangs Z gong ma chen po'i lung dang rang gi las smon dpung gshed btsan pos mi bsrun log par 'khu ba'i sde rigs tshar bcad nas

2 bstan 'gro'i phan bde spel ba'i mthu thob pa gangs can pa rnams kyi mi'i dbang po zhes shugs 'byung snyan pa'i dbyangs kyi bstod cing deng skabs jun dbang zhes

3 'jig rten khams na yongs su grags la che ba'i khyu mchog gang de'i gtam // (seal)

4 'phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug gi gdul bya zhing mchog dam par gyur pa bsil ldan kha ba'i ljongs kyi 'dzin

5 ma'i gzhi 'dir 'khod pa'i lha sde dang bla ma slob dpon che chung 'jam mgon bla ma btsong kha pa chen po'i bstan pa rin po che'i yon bdag rgyal rigs sogs dang rgya bod hor gsum gyi sder

6 gtogs pa'i dpon chen dpon skya al chi mi sna gzhung sger mchod gzhis mi dpon yang btsan dang bcas skye 'gro spyi dang bye brag skor gsum ru bzhi sgang drug mdo khams

7 stod smad bar gsum gyi lha sde mi sde bla dpon che chung rdzong sdod gnyer las 'dzin zhi drag gi sne mor mngags slebs dmag jag tshong gsum gyi 'grul 'grim sogs

8 mchog dman bar pa rnams dang khyad par du 'ba' rdzong sdod dang mnga' khul gyi las byed rim byor chos sde khag gi bla gnyer bsdud dang bskul brda'i 'go pa sogs mtha' dag la

9 springs pa/ 'ba' rdzong sdod rin chen zer ba 'di pa'i pha mes kyi Z gong sa lnga pa chen po nas bzungs gzhung mchod yon na rim gyi las don la khur bsams rnam dag gi rus thon

10 byung bas mtshar kha bdag brkyen gyi gnang ba'i gtan tshigs dmar nag dang 'brel bas 'ba' yi brgya dpon gtan 'jags kyi thog Z gong ma g.yung cin lo bdun pa'i nang du 'ba'i rdzong sdod du

11 Z bka' phebs pas las tshan nyis 'dzin byed bzhin la no bos nang rtsod byas par rten nang ma dum par Z g.yung cin lo bcu gcig pas nang ya' cug tu cang tha yes can gyis bcad mtshams:

12 byas pa'i Z gong ma khang shi lo lnga' bcu nga lnga phan gyi khang sa zhing dang g.yog rigs rnams bgos pas mtshams gcod dang 'ba' brgya dpon gyi zhi drag gi zhabs phyi dgos rigs no

13 bos bsgrub dgos dang bgo skal gyi sa khang zhing dang kho rang gi thog gsar lon rigs gang yod rnams rang 'jags dang kho pa brgyud bcas la 'ba' brgya dpon gyi 'gan khur spu tsam 'khri

14 med kyi bcad khra sprad 'dug pa ltar la Z gong sa skyabs mgon mchog nas 'jags gnas kyi gtan tshigs shing yos lo Z bka' shog she bam chen mo gnang 'dug don bzhin 'di

15 nas kyang rin chen brgyud bcas la dbang rigs bdag thob gong gsal gyi sa khang zhing tshang ma 'jags gnas zhabs 'degs kyi rgyab gnon gtsang mar sbyin pa yin pas khyod gong 'khod

16 tshang ma nas rogs ram phan char gang 'gro byed pa las gnod 'gal dang khral dmag las gsum gsar 'gel gzhung don la kha g.yar gyi da lam ring zer ba sogs

17 gtan nas mi 'os pa'i rkang 'gro lag 'don gyi khral 'gel bkod byas mi chog cing g.yogs rigs pho mo zhing pa dud zhib rdzis pa mgo brtag mtha' 'dug bcas nas kyang rang rang

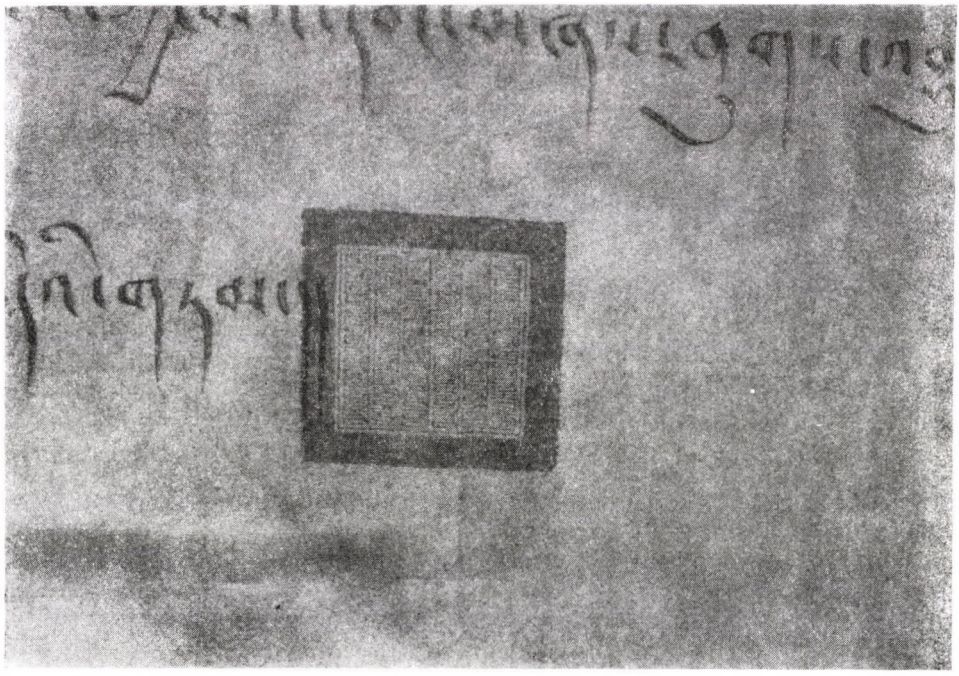
18 gi 'ba' gan nang gsal las mi 'gal ba'i rin chen brgyud bcas kyi khar nyan ngag 'khri'i mgo 'og lus chug tshul bzhin byed pa las dpe ngan lam zhugs kyi ya bzung do bsdo'i

19 don bud byol zur ltos med dran khrul ri mgo gang mtho'i nyi ma dpon 'go gzhan 'tshol sogs byas na mthus rgyu min cing nges med re zung nas byas pa byung srid na tshar good

20 rjes 'dzin khrims pa rang nas lhod yangs su ma song ba'i gtan tshigs na rim gyi rgyab rtsa byed pa ma gtogs ngan pa rgyab skor sogs 'di don las 'gal ba'i rigs skad cig tsam yang

21 chog rgyu min pas ji srid bar rin chen bu dpal byor stobs 'phel padma lha dbang gnyis brgyud bcas la bde bar yi ge 'dzin 'jug pa gyis

22 *zhes go bar bya ba'i yi ge drag po zhes pa lcags spre zla tshes dge bar phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i chos 'khor lha sa'i pho brang chen po dga'*
23 *ldan khang gsar nas bris//* (seal)



Small seal of Mi-dbang
Photo, Courtesy of the Newark Museum, Newark, N. J., USA

English Translation

Intitulatio (lines 1—3)

The words of the great leader of men now widely known in the world as *jun dbang*, called Mi-dbang of the Tibetans (or: by the Tibetans) in melodious praise of his strength, (he who) had obtained the power to increase the joy and prosperity of beings and the Buddhist doctrine, after having destroyed those engaged in rebellion in accordance with the order of the heaven-appointed Manjughosha Emperor and his (Mi-dbang's) own powerful army of karmic desire. (seal of Mi-dbang)

Publicatio (lines 4—9)

This message to those living on this soil of the cool snowy country (Tibet), the excellent, pure field of conversion of Avalokiteshvara, the subjects of the monastic territories, the lamas and teachers great and small, the noble patrons of the precious teachings of bTsong kha pa, the *dpon-chen* belonging to the districts of China, Tibet and Mongolia, the *dpon-*

skya, the messengers, the *mi-dpon* belonging to the governmental and aristocratic territories, the *yang-btsan* and the general populace, (all those in) Mnga' ris skor gsum, DbusgTsang, A-mdo, and Khams (who are) subjects of the monastic estates and non-monastic estates, lamas and *mi dpon* great and small, the *rdzong sdod*, their intenpants, those commissioned with civil and military duties, the comings and goings of the soldier, the robber, the trader, and those who are excellent, inferior or in between, and in particular to the 'Ba' *rdzong sdod*, the rotating officials of this domain, the monastic intendants, the tax-collectors and assembly of the elders, etc.

Narratio (lines 9—14)

The ancestors of this 'Ba' *rdzong sdod* called Rin-chen have served with pure intentions the successive rulers of the (Tibetan) government since the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama, resulting in the remarkable kind gift of the decree(s) bearing red and black seals permanently establishing (them) as *brgya-dpon* of 'Ba' district. In the 7th year of Yung Ch'eng (1730) the order came to serve as *rdzong-sdod* as well. As the two positions were held (simultaneously by one person) the younger brother disputed this within the family, without resolution. In the 11th year of Yung Ch'eng (1734) the (Chinese or Manchu) official Cang arranged a settlement at Ya'-cug. He decided to divide the servants, house, land and fields as it had been in the 55th year of K'ang hsi (1717). Also (as part of the decision) the younger brother must fulfill the civil and military duties as the *brgya-dpon*. (The elder brother's) portion of the land, house, fields and all that he has newly received is settled, but neither he nor his descendants may make any claim (literally: not so much as a hair) to the position of *brgya-dpon*. In accordance with the settlement thus given, the Seventh Dalai Lama made the decree of great importance in the wood-hare year (1735) for permanent establishment (of Rin-chen's possessions and title).

Dispositio (lines 14—21)

From here also, I (Mi-dbang) give pur support of confirmation establishing the fields, house, lands and all fore-mentioned possession (and title) for Rin-chen and his descendants. All of you mentioned above (in the publicatio) must help and care for (Rin-chen) as much as you can, and refrain from harm, new imposition of taxation or military service giving the welfare of the government as a pretext saying 'it is only meant for this occasion'. It is not allowed to establish imposition of taxes in kind or labor which are absolutely incorrect. From the male and female servants, the farmers, the householders, the shepherds and those who have sought Rin-chen's protection, according to each one's promise of loyalty, the instructions of Rin-chen and his descendants are to be obeyed (in a subordinate manner) like the body under the head. For example, avoid daring to go an an evil path, it is an error. Just as the sun shines first on the highest summit there is no reason to seek other leaders. If any one were to do this, punish (them). It is not allowed to have even an instant of opposition (to this decree) such as supporting evil — the next holder of legal (authority) should only support the successive decrees without any weakening. From now on, Rin chen's two sons, Dpal 'byor stbos 'phel and Padma lha dbang and their descendants must preserve these joyful (legal) documents.

Colophon (lines 22—23)

These are the letters to be heeded in the year *drag po*, called iron-monkey, month, auspicious day, from Lhasa which is the Dharma headquarters completely victorious over all directions from the dGa' ldan khang gsar palace. (seal)

Notes to the Translation

Y.G. = Yonten Gyatso, Paris (E.P.H.E.), letter July 20, 1984
D.S. = Professor Dieter Schuh, letter October 18, 1984
T.R. = mTshan-zhabs Rinpoche, Zurich
A.M.B. = Professor Anne-Marie Blondeau, letter November 26, 1984

1.1 Y.G. reads, "rang gi las smon (gyi) dpung gshad btsan pos = las dang smon lam gyi nus shugs la brten nas." T.R. also reads this way, but qualified the use as "poetic".

D.S. proposed: "by means of fierce military power due to the order of the . . . Emperor and due to his own karma-wish(?)

1.2 Both Y.G. and D.S. suggested the possible reading, "gangs can pa rnams kyis"

1.4—5 Y.G. proposes: bla ma(dang)slob dpon.

D.S. comments thus:

Line 4—5: *'dzin-ma'i gzhi 'dir 'khod-pa*

'dzin-ma is according to DAGYAB, p. 558, = *sa-gzhi*. DAS (S. 1054) gives more correctly the meaning 'earth' (= *sa-gzhi*), which means, that *'dzin-ma'i gzhi* is identical with *sa-gži* 'soil'. In legal documents, the equivalent for *'dzin-ma'i gzhi* is usually given as *sa'i-cha*. Compare MTH III 5, Document XXXII, line 5: dbus-gtsang khri-skor bcu-gsum gyi sa'i-char 'khod-pa'i lha-sde and MTH III 5, Document XXXIII, line 4—5: khri-skor gyi 'dzin-ma'i gzhir 'khod-pa bla-dpon. *'khod-pa* means 'to be placed', 'dwell'. So we come to the following translation: Living on this soil of the cool snowy country (Tibet).

1.6 Y.G. explains *dpon-skya*: "bla ma dang grva pa ma yin pa'i dpon-po la dpon-skya zer"

D.S. notes, "The title can be found also in MTH III 5, Document XXXII, line 5—6: 'khod pa'i lha-sde, mi-sde dpon-chen, dpon-skya . . . ."

1.6 D.S. explains *al-chi* = messenger:

Line 6 *al-chi*.

In a document, published in ZAS 8, S. 440, line 5, we find el-'chi mi-sna 'grim-'grul "messenger (and) different people, travelling around". The Mongolian equivalent elči for *el-chi* is directly attested by the Tibeto-Mongolian document Bylakuppe 1 (ARCHIV 4, S. 11—12). For the occurence of *al-chi* for elči compare MTH III 5, Document XXXV, line 4, where *al-chi 'grim-'grul* can be found. The usage to mention messengers in the publicationes can already be found in Mongolian documents of the Yuan-Dynasty (compare POPPE, text I, line 4; text II, line 5—6, where we find yorči'iqun yabunqun ēlč'in = tib. el(= al)-chi 'grim-'grul.

'elchi also occurs in the Mongolian Yuan dynasty document analyzed by Pelliot *in* TPS, p. 623, line 7, where its context is identical to the document published by Poppe.

1.6 *yang-btsan* also occurs in the 1735 document from Mi-dbang on Sera (cf. Uebach, line 4 (publicatio) ". . . drag btsan, yang btsan . . ." p. 124—125, *Heilen und Schenken, Festschrift für Günther Klinge.*

1.7 Y.G. explains, "bla-dpon = bla-ma (dang) mi-dpon".

D.S. comments:

Line 7 *bla-dpon che-chung*

The interpretation bla-dpon = bla-ma + mi-dpon is possible but problematic. In line 5 we read lha-sde dang bla-ma slob-dpon che-chung. So the

interpretation bla-dpon = bla-ma + slob-dpon is even more convincing in this case. But unfortunately bla-dpon (bla-dpon chen-po) also occurs in documents as the title for the highest dpon (of Tibet, the Regent). Compare MTH III 5, Document XXX Line R7, XX Line 37 and 38 etc.

1.7 *gnyer las 'dzin* = intendant.

D.S. agrees this interpretation is most probably correct and has given detailed discussion of this term in *Archiv 2*, p. 51—52.

1.7 ***zhi-drag gi sne-mor mngags-slebs*** also occurs in MTH III, 5, Document XL (Fifth Dalai Lama, 1670) p. 369, line 2—3.

D.S. comments:

Line 7 *zhi-drag gi sne-mor mngags-slebs*

mngags-slebs means '(someone) who arrives after being sent'. Evidence for this interpretation can be found in the Tibeto-mongolian document Bylakuppe 1 (compare ARCHIV 2, p. 11—12, line 8), where we find bya-ba zhi-drag gi sne-mor spyir btang dmigs-bsal mngags-slebs. The Mongolian equivalent for mngags-slebs is given as ǰaruγči elči 'messengers being send'. The whole expression should be translated as 'those who are commissioned as leading officers for civil and military (duties)'. For a similar interpretation compare also ARIS, p. 13—15, where we find the following translation: "those commissioned with civil and military duties".

1.8 reading *mchog dman bar-ma* (instead of *bar-pa*)

1.8 D.S. comments:

Line 8 *bsdud dang bskul-brda'i 'go-pa*

A similar formula is found in MTH III 4, document I, line 7—8: bsdud dang bskul-brda' byed-mi. An interpretation is given in ZAS 8, p. 429: 'taxcollectors and leaders of the assembly of eldest'. This interpretation is based entirely on the information of the Tibetan owner of this document *Pad-ma-dbang-phyug*.

T.R. agrees with this interpretation, recalling the expression *brda'i yig* = *brda'i rnying* (old orthography).

bsdud dang bskul-brda byed mi is also found in MTH III, 5. Document XL, line 2, p. 369.

1.9 reading: pha-mes (kyis)

Y.G. explains, "*khur bsams rnam dag gi* as khur sems rnam dag = bsam pa yag po'i sgo nas las ka yag po byas pa. rus-thon byung bas = las ka'i 'bras-bu byung bas".

1.10 D.S. comments thus on *mchod-yon*:

Here *mchod-yon* indeed means the ruler of Tibet as found in the persons of the Dalai Lama as mchod-gnas and the Qoshot Khans as yon-bdag. This is also evident from MTH III 5, Document XXXV, line 10—11, where 'the decrees of the previous mchod-yon' *mchod-yon gong-ma'i bka'-tham* are mentioned. Compare also ARIS, p. 18.

Y.G. proposes to read *tshan-kha* for *mtshar-kha*.

1.11 reading *nu-bo* (younger brother) for *no-bo*.

1.11 (Cang) *tha yes can* is understood here as a Tibetan transliteration of Chinese *tha'-ye* (a notable) or *ta-ch'en* (an official). We have understood Ya'cug as a place-name, but it could also be part of the official's name, i.e. Ya'-cug-tu Cang.

1.11—12 Several remarks on *dpyad mtshams byas pa*.

D.S. comments:

Line 11—12 *dpyad-mchams byas-pa*

dpyad-mchams is a settlement of a legal dispute. dpad-mchams byed-pa means 'to arrange a settlement of a legal dispute'. A different expression for this kind of settlement is dpyad-khra, which is given in line 14 with the spelling bcad-khra. For this compare WSTB 10, S. 303—314.

Y.G. remarks, "bcad mtshams byas pa = zal lce gcod pa; thag bcad pa." and, "bcad-khra = contract"

As *dpyad khra* cf. the expression *zhib dpyad gzhung khra* used to denote "land settlement", cf. Surkhang, p. 20.

1.12 Y.G. proposed the reading, " 'Ba' brgya-dpon gyi zhi-drag gi zhabs-phi('i) dgos rigs No-bos bsgrub dgos" interpreting *zhabs-phyi* in its usual sense of "service, servant", which would then give the reading 'The younger brother must fulfill the duties as civil and military *zhabs-phyi* of the 'Ba' *brgya-dpon*".

D.S. understands *zhabs-phyi dgos-rigs* as "duties" proposing thus, ". . . that the necessary civil and military duties of the (office) of the 'Ba' *brgya-dpon* had to be fulfilled by the younger brother." I.e. that the younger brother becomes the *brgya-dpon*. This interpretation is tentatively adopted in the translation, in the absence of further corroboration from other sources.

A.M.B. has remarked that *kho-rang* could designate either Rin chen or the younger brother, or perhaps both of them.

1.14 *bka'-shog she-bam-chen mo*: cf. detailed discussion of the meaning very special, very important type of decree in Schuh, WSTB, p. 321—323.

1.15 Y.G. reads, "zhabs 'degs kyi rgyab gnon = rgyab skyor".

D.S. comments:

The expression *zhabs-'degs kyi rgyab-gnon* is found in many documents (compare MTH III 5, document IV, line 11; document V, line 13; document VII, line 11—12). We have to ask the question, if the use of zhabs-'degs kyi rgyab-gnon instead of rgyab-gnon has any legal and political implications. While discussing the confirmation of 'Gyur-med-rnam-rgyal on MTH III 5, document IV, which was issued 1725, I suggested such kind of political implication (MTH III 5, p. 103), since this confirmation was issued in 1731 during the lifetime of his father Pho-lha-nas. On the other hand, it can be seen from the last confirmations of MTH III 5, documents IV and document V, that the same person seems to use both expressions indiscriminately. Nevertheless I would suggest, that the issueing chancellery of the document wanted to indicate intentionally by the addition of zhabs-'degs in the above mentioned expression, that Pho-lha-nas did not grant a confirmation of certain rights in his role as the ruler of the territory concerned, since the territory was no longer ruled by the Tibetan government.

1.16 Since Mi-dbang directs his remarks to all in the publication, as A.M.B. has remarked, who were the people capable of imposing new taxes or corvées or military service on the territories administered by the *rdzong-sdod?* Was 'Ba' subject to taxation, etc. by both China and Tibet?

1.17 Both T.R. and D.S. suggest reading *rdzi-bo* for *rdzis-pa*. T.R. suggested the meaning "those protected by Rin chen" on the basis of the expression *mgo-btags zhu-ba* for *mgo-brtag*. (Cf. Das, p. 284)

1.18 *'ba'-gan* cf. Jaeschke, p. 391 (under *'ba'*) warrant for proceeding against a debtor. Goldstein gives *'ba'* written agreement, contract; *'ba' yig* written agreement.

D.S. comments thus:

Line 17—19 g.yogs-rigs pho-mo . . . . . mthus-rgyu min cing

All servants, male and female, all farmers and herdsmen, who are subordinate (of Rin-chen), should not do anything which opposes to their 'promisses of Loyalty' and should should act as the body, who is placed under the head, by obeying Rin-chen and his decendents and respecting their order. It is improper for them, if they look for other masters etc.

As far as 'ba'-gan is concerned, it is normally a letter of intent (gan-rgya), in which a certain fine ('ba') is fixed in case somebody defaults. For such a kind of letter of intent compare FOLIA RARA. I dispose of several gan-rgya of the above mentioned type, in which the farmers promise loyalty to their landlords.

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KLONG-RDOL'S CLASSIFICATION OF VALID LOGICAL REASONS*

ZOLTÁN HORVÁTH (Budapest)

In one of his "Enumerations" (*ming-gi grangs*) Klong-rdol bla-ma Ngag-dbang blo-bzang (1719—1794) deals with the key-terms and definitions of the enormous field of Buddhist logic and epistemology.[1] The treatise consists of three parts. It describes itself as having only two main chapters,[2] however at the beginning of the work (ff. 660—64) there is also a short summary of the literary history of the Buddhist epistemology of India and Tibet.[3]

The part I wish to briefly present here is the second one, the analysis of reason which is neither new nor exhaustive[4] in Klong-rdol's presentation

* This paper could not have been written without Tom Tillemans' generous help and extremely instructive advice before, during and after the Symposium, I wish to thank him also here. Nevertheless every mistake (in conception and translation) is, of course, my personal responsibility. The paper is a by-product of my dealing with this text. I would like to prepare a critical edition of it as a useful and concise summary of Buddhist logic. Citing the work I give the folio-numbers of Lokesh Chandra's edition *The collected works of Kloṅ-rdol lama*, New Delhi 1973, *Śata-Piṭaka series, Indo-Asian: Literatures 100*.

[1] *Tshad-ma rnam-'grel-sogs gtan-tshigs rig-pa-las byung-ba'i ming-gi grangs*, "Enumeration of the terms from the Pramāṇavārttika and other logical works."

[2] *Rtags-rig-gi don-du bsdu* ("Compendium of reasons", ff. 664—68) and *Blo-rigs-kyi don bsdus* ("Description of the mental field," ff. 683—703).

[3] The main categories described or defined briefly in the work are as follows; in *R t a g s - r i g - g i d o n b s d u*: *rtags, tshul gsum, phyogs chos, rjes-* and *ldog-khyab, bsgrug-bya yang-dag, chos mi mthun, 'phen-pa, sun-'byin, mtshan-gzhi, gtan-tshigs ltar-snang*; in *B l o - r i g s - k y i d o n b s d u s*: (1) *mngon-sum, rjes-dpag, dpyad-* (*bcad-*) *shes, yid-dpyod, snang-la ma nges-pa, log-shes, the-tshom*, (2) various classifications of *yul* and *yul-can*, like (a) *snang-, zhen-, bzung-* and *'jug-yul*, (b) *mngon-* and *lkog-gyur*, (c) *'dus-byas* and *-ma byas*, (d) *dgag-pa* (= *med* and *ma yin dgag*) and *sgrub-pa*, (e) *'gal-ba* and *'brel-ba*, (f) *brjod-bya* and *-byed*, (g) *snang-ba* and *gzhan-sel* etc.

[4] Much more exhaustive a description of the topic is the so called *Yongs-'dzin rtags-rigs* (Y o n g s-'d z i n Rdo-rje-'chang Phur-ba lcog-byams-pa Tshul-khrims rgya-mtsho Dpal bzang-po's (1825—1901) work: *Tshad-ma'i gzhung don byed-pa'i bsdus-grva'i rnam-par bshad-pa rigs-lam 'phrul-gyi lde'u mig-las Rigs-lam che-ba r t a g s - r i g s-kyi skor* which I used in the edition of Shunzo Onoda, *The Yoṅs 'dzin rtags rigs. A Manual for Tibetan Logic*, Studia Asiatica, No. 5 Nagoya Univ., 1981.

but which nevertheless serves as a basis for analyzing the underlying principles of the reason-classification in the Tibetan logical tradition.

As is well-known the concept of r e a s o n (*hetu, rtags* or *liṅga, gtan-tshigs*) has a central role in Buddhist philosophy. A reason could be called a second predicate stated of the same subject and has the function to prove the truth of the first predicate of the subject. The reason can fulfil this function (i.e. it is valid) if and only if it has three qualities (*tshul gsum*):

(1) it is true of the subject (*pakṣadharmatā, phyogs-chos*),

(2) it is pervaded by the predicate (i.e. it occurs only in similar instances; *sapakṣa, mthun-phyogs*[5]), which means that the predicate must be true of the reason (*anvayavyāpti, rjes-'gro'i khyab-pa*), and

(3) the negation (viz. the opposite or "dissimilar instances") of the predicate (*vipakṣa, mi mthun-phyogs*) is pervaded by that of the reason.[6]

So, taking the classical example of "sound is impermanent because it is a product"[7], we have here "sound" as a subject, "impermanent" as a predicate and the "because it is a product" is the reason. Now, the reason is true of the subject (the sound is a product), it is pervaded by the predicate (every product is impermanent) and the negation of the predicate is pervaded by that of the reason (everything what is [not im-] permanent is not a product).[8]

In the *Rtags-rig-gi don bsdu* part of his work (ff. 664—83), which takes more than one third of the whole treatise, Klong-rdol — after a short presentation of the main terms of the topic — classifies the whole material of possible valid reasons from six d i f f e r e n t but equally e x h a u s t i v e p o i n t s o f v i e w , and illustrates almost every established category with examples. First of all let me show the corpus of valid reasons (where RYD is a short form for *rtags yang-dag*):

[5] About the special questions of the theory of *sapakṣa* which I described here in a rough and simple manner, see T. Tillemans' article in this volume.

[6] Only for the illustration of Klong-rdol's laconic style do I cite here his own summary about the same topic: *rtags yang-dag-gi mtshan-nyid ni / tshul gsum tshad-pa'am tshul gsum yin-pa'o / tshul gsum ni / phyogs-chos / rjes-'gro'i khyab-pa / ldog-pa'i khyab-pa-ste gsum /* (f. 665).

[7] *sgra mi rtag-pa byas-pa'i phyir*

[8] Again with Klong-rdol's own words:
dper-na / "sgra chos-can / mi rtag-ste / byas-pa'i phyir" zhes-pa lta-bu-la mtshon-na / "sgra" ni de sgrub-kyi chos-can yin zhing / "chos-can" zhes-pa'i chos ni / rtags chos gnyis yiṅ-la / de gnyis-dang ldan-pas-na chos-can zhes bya'o / "sgra mi rtag-pa" de sgrub-kyi bsgrub-bya yin-la / "mi rtag-pa" de sgrub-kyi bsgrub-bya'i chos yin / "byas-pa" de sgrub-kyi gtan-tshigs-so / .

I. ***ngo-bo**'i sgo-nas dbye-ba*
   1. *'bras* RYD (*kārya-hetu*)
   2. *rang-bzhin-gyi* RYD (*svabhāva-hetu*)
   3. *ma dmigs-pa'i* RYD (*anupalabdhi-hetu*)

II. ***bsgrub-bya'i chos**-kyi sgo-nas dbye-ba*
   1. *dgag* RYD
   2. *sgrub* RYD

III. ***sgrub-tshul**-gyi sgo-nas dbye-ba*
   1. *don grub*
   2. *tha-snyad grub*
   3. *don 'ba'-zhig*
   4. *tha-snyad 'ba'-zhig*
   5. *don dang tha-snyad gnyis-ka sgrub*

IV. ***bsgrub-bya**'i sgo-nas dbye-ba*
   1. *dngos-stobs-kyi* RYD
   2. *yid-ches-kyi* RYD
   3. *grags* RYD

V. ***mthun-phyogs-la 'jug-tshul**-gyi sgo-nas dbye-ba*
   1. *khyab-byed-du 'jug-pa* (*'i* RYD)
   2. *rnam gnyis-su 'jug-pa* (*'i* RYD)

VI. ***rgol-ba**'i sgo-nas dbye-ba*
   1. *rang-don skabs-kyi* RYD
   2. *gzan-don skabs-kyi* RYD

After the classification of the reasons in terms of their "inner" nature (I.) the text goes on to investigate their "outer" relationships. The relationship between the reason and the property to be proved (II.) occurs at the second time here because this (*bsgrub-bya'i chos*) can be either a positive or negative entity and it is just this difference that makes the distinction between the first class *kārya-* and *svabhāva-hetu* on the one hand and *anupalabdhihetu* on the other. The following classifying principles are:

III. the mode in which the reason proves the predicate,

IV. the "ontological status" of the proposition,

V. the relationship between the *sapakṣa* and the reason (in terms of whether or not the latter is a pervader of the former), and finally

VI. the "strategical" relationship of the reason with the background information and aim of the debaters.

The first principle (***ngo-bo**'i sgo*) is by far the most important and elaborate one. This "division according to the essence or own nature (*ngo-bo*)" is the well-known classification of the valid reasons into those of effect (*kāryahetu*, *'bras RYD*), of nature (or identity, *svabhāvahetu*, *rang-bzhin-gyi RYD*) and the valid reasons of non-apprehension (of something

which is not apperent, *anupalabdhihetu, ma dmigs-pa'i RYD*). With this class of reason I will deal later, in a separate article.[9]

The second item is called "division according to the property to be proved (***bsgrub-bya'i chos***, *sādhyadharma*, probandum)". Here we find valid reasons which prove

(a) a negative entity (*dgag-pa*) or

(b) a positive entity (*sgrub-pa*).

The first is, as I mentioned above, co-extensive with the category of non-apprehensive (*anupalabdhi, ma dmigs-pa*) reasons of the above class, the second with the first two classes of that item, viz. *kāryahetu* and *svabhāvahetu* (or reasons of effect and of nature, *'bras* and *rang-bzhin-gyi RYD*).[10]

In the third item ***sgrub-tshul**-gyi sgo-nas dbye-ba*) reasons are classified according to how they prove predicates or in terms of the mode of proof (*sgrub-tshul*). All that Klong-rdol gives is merely the classification itself,[11] so I must add here some definitions from *Yongs-'dzin rtags-rigs* which (on pp. 44—45) define the five kinds of reason belonging to this group as follows:

(a) "The definition of a valid reason for proving a sense (*don sgrub*) for the proof of a proposition (*de sgrub*): a proposition-proving valid reason (*de sgrub-kyi RYD*), [where] there is (*srid-pa*) a common basis (*gzhi mthun*[12]) between:

(i) what is to be held the actual property to be proved (*dngos-kyi bsgrub-bya'i chos-su bzung-bya*) in proving this proposition (*de sgrub*) by the given reason (*khyod-kyi rtags-kyis*) and

(ii) [what is] a definition (*mtshan-nyid*)."[13]

[9] Here I mentioned the main subclasses only. About this class see my paper delivered at the IV. IATS-Seminar in Münich, July 1985, "The classification of valid logical reasons in terms of their own nature (ngo-bo)."

[10] Or as the text says:

dgag rtags yang-dag dang / ma dmigs-pa'i rtags yang-dag gnyis don gcig / . . . de sgrub-kyi sgrub rtags yang-dag yin-na / 'bras rtags yang-dag dang / rang-bzhin-gyi rtags yang-dag gang rung yin dgos / (f. 680).

[11] He says:

sgrub tshul-gyi sgo-nas dbye-na / (a) *don grub /* (b) *tha-snyad grub /* (c) *don 'ba'-zhig /* (e) *don dang tha-snyad gnyis-ka sgrub-dang lnga'o /* (f 680).

His introductory classification (on f. 672) is even shorter: *sgrub tshul-gyi sgo-nas dbye-na /* (a) *don sgrub-kyi rtags yang-dag dang* (b) *tha-snyad sgrub-kyi rtags yang-dag gnyis /.*

[12] The *gzhi mthun* "common basis" term can be interpreted so, that this basis (x) "has" two qualities (F and G) at the same time; so F(x) & G(x). A green dog is something which gives the "common basis" of — platonically speaking — dogness and greenness.

[13] The Tibetan text of the given edition, p. 44.:

khyod de sgrub-kyi rtags yang-dag gang zhig / khyod-kyi rtags-kyis de sgrub-kyi dngos-kyi bsgrub-bya'i chos-su bzung-bya yang yin / mtshan-nyid kyang yin-pa'i gzhi-mthun srid-pa / khyod de sgrub-kyi don sgrub-kyi rtags yang-dag-gi mtshan-nyid / (In the system of transliteration used in this paper.)

(b) "The definition of a valid reason for proving a conventional designation (*tha-snyad*)

(i) (*the same text as above, till*:) and

(ii) what is a definiendum (*mtshon-bya*)."[14]

(c) "The definition of a valid reason for proving only a sense (*don 'ba'-zhig*) for the proof of a proposition: a proposition-proving valid reason, [where] there is *no* common basis between:

(i) (*see above*) and ii) a definiendum,

but there *is* (between (i) and) a definition."[15]

(d) The definition of a valid reason for proving only conventional designation (*tha-snyad 'ba'-zhig*) is the same as (c) but the common basis is between (i) and a definiendum, and there is no common basis between (i) and a definition.[16]

(e) The valid reason for proving both (*gnyis-ka*) sense and conventional designation is where there is a common basis between (i) and both a definition and a definiendum.[17]

The most important feature of this paragraph is the sharp distinction between sense (or definition, definiens, *lakṣaṇa, mtshan-nyid*) and conventional designation (definiendum, *lakṣya, mtshon-bya*). So f.e. the "momentariness" (or "to be momentary") is the definition of "impermanence" ("to be impermanent") (which is, in its turn, its definiendum). Now, the property to be proved (*sādhyadharma, bsgrub-bya'i chos*) can be of both kinds, so the reasons for proving them are also distinguishable by this opposition.

In (a) "the sound is momentary [= the definition of "to be impermanent"] because it is a product" the reason proves a sense (in other words the *sādhyadharma* is itself a *lakṣaṇa*), while in (b) "the sound is impermanent [= a definiendum of "to be momentary", i. e. something which is defined by "momentariness"] because it is a functional thing (*dngos-po*)" the reason proves a mere conventional designation.

[14] *de gang zhig / khyod-kyi rtags-kyis de sgrub-kyi dngos-kyi bsgrub-bya'i chos-su bzung-bya yang yin / mtshon-bya yang yin-pa'i gzhi mthun srid-pa / khyod de sgrub-kyi tha-snyad sgrub-kyi rtags yang-dag-gi mtshan-nyid /*

[15] *de gang zhig / khyod-kyi rtags-kyis de sgrub-kyi dngos-kyi bsgrub-bya'i chos-su bzung-bya yang yin / mtshon-bya yang yin-pa'i gzhi mthun mi srid / mtshan-nyid kyang yin-pa'i gzhi mthun srid-pa / khyod de sgrub-kyi don 'ba'-zhig sgrub-kyi rtags yang-dag-gi mtshan-nyid /*

[16] *de gang zhig / khyod-kyi rtags-kyis de sgrub-kyi dngos-kyi bsgrub-bya'i chos-su bzung-bya yang yin / mtshan-nyid kyang yin-pa'i gzhi mthun mi srid / mtshon-bya yang yin-pa'i gzhi mthun srid-pa / khyod de sgrub-kyi tha-snyad 'ba'-zhig sgrub-kyi rtags yang-dag-gi mtshan-nyid /* (ibid. pp. 44—45)

[17] *de gang zhig / khyod-kyi rtags-kyis de sgrub-kyi dngos-kyi bsgrub-bya'i chos-su bzung-bya yang yin / mtshan-nyid kyang yin-pa'i gzhi mthun srid / mtshon-bya yang yin-pa'i gzhi mthun srid-pa / khyod de sgrub-kyi don dang tha-snyad gnyis-ka sgrub-kyi rtags yang-dag-gi mtshan-nyid /*

The (c) and (d) subclasses are established according to the background information of the debaters, and are in connection with freshly realized facts or with cases when some one does not know the conventional designation or the sense of a term. (We may call this the "topic-comment dialectic" of Buddhist debates.)

The fourth group (***bsgrub-bya**'i sgo-nas dbye-ba*) divides the material according to the p r o p o s i t i o n (or state of affairs) t o b e p r o v e d (*sādhya, bsgrub-bya*). The usual way of classification is based on the three types of inference:

(a) inference by the power of the fact (*dngos-stobs-kyi rjes-dpag*),

(b) inference by faith (*yid-ches-kyi rjes-dpag*) and

(c) inference by convention (*grags-pa'i rjes-dpag*).

Klong-rdol follows this model, his examples are also the standard ones; in an inference which works by the power of the fact (a) like "sound is impermanent because it is a product" the reason proves a slightly hidden (*cung-zad lkog-gyur*) phenomena, in an inference based on faith (b) like "'By giving wealth, moral happiness [can be achieved]' and other scriptural passages (as subjects) are not false in respect to their meaning because they are free from the three contradictions",[18] the reason proves a faith-based hidden (*shin-tu lkog-gyur*) phenomena,[19] while in an inference based on conventionality (c) like "Something having a horn (as the subject) can be termed by the word 'moon' because it is one of the thinkable objects",[20] the reason proves the fact which can be called nowadays "the arbitrariness of linguistic sign". As Klong-rdol explains: It is possible to call (anything) by the name 'moon'; in the world such a name will — or will not — become a convention and on the basis of the

[18] "*sbyin-pas longs-spyod khrims-kyis bde*" *zhes-sogs-kyi lung chos-can /*
rang-gi bstan don mi bslu-ba yin-te /
dpyad gsum-gyi dag-pa'i lung yin-pa'i phyir /

[19] About the three typ s of knowable things (or objects of comprehension, *vineya, gzhal-bya*, which is one of the terms of everything knowable) Klong-rdol writes in the *Blo-rigs-kyi don bsdu* part of his work:
shes-bya thams-cad gzhal-bya'i gnas gsum-du 'dus-pas / gzhal-bya'i gnas gsum ni gang zhe-na /
(1) *mngon-sum-du mthong-ba myong-pas rtogs-par bya-ba m n g o n — g y u r dang /*
(2) *rtags-sam rgyu-mtshan bkod-pa-la brten-nas rtogs-par bya-ba l k o g — g y u r dang /*
(3) *y i d — c h e s-p a 'i lung-la brten-nas rtog-par bya-ba dper-na "mi dge-ba-las sdug-bsngal dang / dge-ba-las bde-ba 'byung" zhes-pa /* .
Briefly the (1) *manifest* type of phenomenon can be perceived by direct perception (and is irrelevant to our topic), the (2) */ slightly / hidden* ones can be known by inferences based on their signs, and the third type, based on faith, are deeply hidden. On the subject see Lati Rinbochay E. Napper, *Mind in Tibetan Buddhism*, London etc., 1980, pp. 75—84.

[20] *ri-bong-can chos-can /*
"zla-ba" zhes-pa'i sgras brjod-du rung-ste /
rtog-yul-na yod-pa'i phyir /

use of such general terms or names which became conventions one can infere the meaning. Therefore this (type of valid reasons) is called "valid reason of conventionality".[21]

The fifth category concerns "similar instances"/ (*sapakṣa, mthun-phyogs*); it is a division from the point of view of how the reason functions with regard to the *sapakṣa* (***mthun-phyogs-la 'jug-tshul**-gyi sgo*). It can either

(a) function as a pervader (*khyab-byed*) or

(b) can have a double aspect (*rnam gnyis*).

For the statement "sound is impermanent" the former kind (*khyab-byed-du 'jug-pa'i*) of reason is f.e. "because it is a product", in the latter case the reason having "double aspect" is: "because it is a special kind of product (*byas-pa'i bye-brag*)". The difference between them is that while in the former item every similar case (everything that is impermanent) is necessarily a product, in the latter subtype not every impermanent thing is (or is not) necessarily this special kind of product (however it is a product in general).[22]

The sixth and last section is a division according to the debaters (***rgol-ba**'i sgo-nas dbye-ba*). Its items are:

(a) a valid reason for an occasion (for arguing) for oneself (*rang-don skabs-kyi RYD*), or

(b) one for others (*gzhan-don skabs-kyi RYD*).

The first, (a) according to my text is the case where someone presents the reason to oneself when he freshly understands f.e. the voidness. The second, (b) occurs when a debater presents a reason to someone else.[23]

So much about this classification-system which, let me underline once more, could better be investigated in other kinds of logical text, first of all in a special *rtags-rigs*. The aim of the present paper has only been a short preliminary investigation under the pretext of one of the skeletized notes of Klong-rdol lama, which differs from the standard way of reason-classification only in minor items.

[21] *'di ni gzhi grub-na / "zla-ba" zhes-pa'i ming brtags-su rung yang 'jig-rten-na ming de-ltar grags ma grags gnyis yod-pas grags-pa-rnams-kyi sgra spyi'am ming brjod-pa-la brten-nas don rjes-su dpag nus-pas / "g r a g s" rtags yang-dag brjod-do /* (f. 681).

[22] Or, taken into formal language (a) could be formulated as $\forall x\,(Fx \supset Gx)$ and (b) $\forall x\,((Fx \supset Hx) \vee (Fc \supset Jx)) \,\&\, \exists x\,(Fx \,\&\, \sim Jx)$, where F is "to be impermanent", G means "everything that is produced", while H and J are two distinct subclasses of G.

[23] The text says about (a):

rtags yang-dag bkod yul med-pa dbu-ma thal-'gyur-las rang-gi rang-la:

"myu-gu chos-can /
rang-bzhin-gyis ma grub-ste /
rten-'brel yin-pa'i phyir /"

zhes bkod-pas stong-nyid gsar-du rtogs-pa lta-bu'o / and about (b):

rtags yang-dag 'phang yul stong-nyid gsar-du rtogs kha-ma-la gong ltar bkod-pa'o /

(See *Yongs-'dzin rtags-rig* pp. 47—49).

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COMPARATIVE SENTENCES IN TIBETAN

HU TAN (Beijing)

Comparison is an important method of cognition. It makes possible the perception of the differences and affinities of various objects, and the previous and later changes and divergences of originally identical entities. All languages have comparative sentences. The main differences between them lie in their structures. In Tibetan the comparative sentence appears in several forms which can be grouped as follows:

1. EXPLICIT AND IMPLICIT COMPARISON

In the explicit comparison both members, the basis and the compared subject, are manifest, as for example:

ba-las rdzi mang "There are more herds than cows."

gzhon-paʿi shugs-las rgan-paʿi byus bzang "The ways of the old are better than the strength of the young."

The implicit comparison does not contain the basis because it is self-evident, e.g.,

de-nas phyi-na thag-nye(-gi red) "Going that way is shorter."

zhva-mo ʿdi chung drags-pa red "This hat is much smaller (or: is very small)."

ʿdi yag shos red "This is the best."

2. SINGLE, DOUBLE, AND PLURAL COMPARISONS

The comparison is singular if the different, previous and later, stages of one unit is meant, e.g.,

da-ltaʿi Lha-sa sngon-ma-dang mi ʿdra "Lhasa today is not like the old one."

da-lo dgun-kha na-ning-las dro(-ba ʿdug) "This year the winter is warmer than it was last year."

Double comparison:

kha bu-ram-las mngar-ba "a mouth sweeter than sugar"

gting sol-ba-las gnag-pa "a soul blacker than coal"

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Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

Plural comparison:
Bod-kyi dgon-paʿi nang-nas ʿBras-spung che shos red "Drepung is the greatest among the monasteries of Tibet."
rta-yi nang-nas Cang-shes mchog "The All-Knowing (Steed) is the best of the horses."

3. COMPARISON OF SIMILARITY AND DIFFERENCE

Comparing the level of similarity, particle *dang* "and/with" is much used:
gangs dang kha-ba don-gcig red "(The words) *gangs* and *kha-ba* have the same meaning."
gro dang nas mi ʿdra "Millet and rye are not the same."
deng-sang sngon-ma-dang gcig-pa ma red "The present and the past are different."

Comparing the difference in things according to a certain quality, e.g., their value or price, the particles *las* and *bas* are mainly used, e.g.,
tsan-dan gser-las rin che = *tsan-dan gser-bas rin che* "Sandalwood is more precious than gold."

4. COMPARING PERSONS, ANIMALS, AND OBJECTS

Some dialects* have different markers for comparing humans and non-humans. Thus, Muya Tibetan has [je] for comparing human beings and [le] for comparing non-human beings and objects, e.g.,
khò ŋá-je ndźô do "He is quicker than me."
tā jà-le ndźô-lə re "A horse is quicker than an ox."
thā-pà ān-də̀ wa̱n-də̀-le ríŋ do "This rope is longer than that one."

When comparing two actions, the syntactic structure shows a different pattern:
tćhò-je ŋá ndẓó nà-gá "Your (way of going) is not like my (way of) going."

5. THE BRIEF AND THE AMPLE PATTERN

Comparative sentences may follow the brief or the ample pattern. The usage of this or that pattern depends on the content and the mode of expression. E.g.,

* For technical reasons, IPA symbols of the palatalized dental, nasal and fricatives (also as parts of affricatives) are rendered here by *t'*, *ń*, *ć* and *ź*; those of the retroflex fricatives (also as parts of affricatives) — by *ṣ* and *ẓ*.

Pad-ma-las Tshe-ring shugs che "Tshering is stronger than Padma."
Pad-ma dang Tshe-ring gnyis shugs tshad-na / Tshe-ring shugs che "If comparing the strength of Padma and Tshering, Tshering is stronger."
Pad-ma dang Tshe ring gnyis shugs che-chung bltas-na / Tshe-ring shugs che "As for measuring the strength of Padma and Tshering, Tshering's strength is greater."

Tibetan traditional grammars discuss the comparative sentence when explaining the Ablative (*'byung-khung*) of the Eight Cases (*rnam-dbye brgyad*). According to these grammars, the Ablative case has two forms, *nas* and *las*. They mark "origin", "the place of departure", "the starting point", etc., but they can also mark comparison: *dgar-ba* "difference". This *dgar-ba* is of two kinds:

(1) Comparison of homogeneous subjects (*rigs mthun-pa'i dgar-ba*) as in
shing-gi nang-nas tsan-dan dri zhim "From among trees sandal has the sweetest odour."
bya'i nang-nas rmya-bya gzugs mdzes "From among birds the peacock is the most beautiful."
In this pattern particle *nas* is used.

(2) Comparison of heterogeneous subjects (*rigs mi mthun-pa'i dgar-ba*) as in
khrung-khrung-las rmya-bya gzugs mdzes "The peacock is more beautiful than the crane."
pho-rab gcig-gi blo-rtse-las pho-'bring gsum-gyi blo-bzang dga' "The good reason of three men of average (wisdom) is more useful than the wittiness of one (person) with excellent (wisdom)."
In these sentences particles *las* or *bas* are used.

Examining modern Tibetan one can observe that all dialects have fundamentally the same pattern of comparison but differences in detail. Here below follow some examples of sentences meaning "A is bigger than Y" or "X is more A than Y", as these patterns are realized in several Tibetan dialects.

I. THE GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE

Pattern "X is bigger than Y" consists of four elements:
X, noun, the comparative element,
Y, noun, the basis of the comparison,
A, adjective marking the compared quality,
m, particle, comparative marker.
The Tibetan pattern is either X—Ym—A or Ym—X—A, as in
lug-sha ra-sha-las zhim (sheep, meat, goat, meat, ABL, tasty)
ra-sha-las lug-sha zhim (goat, meat, ABL, sheep, meat, tasty)
both meaning "Mutton is tastier than goat's meat."

From a grammatical point of view, A is at the end of the sentence, and its place is firmly determined. This kind of sentence can be augmented with nouns like "X is several years older than Y" or "Lhasa beef is more expensive than Shigatse beef." Lhasa examples:
khò ŋá-lɛ ló tɕhē-kì re (he, I, ABL, age, great, exist)
ŋá-lɛ khò ló tɕhē-kì re (I, ABL, he, age, great, exist)
"He is older than me."
khò ló ŋá-lɛ tɕhē-kì-re (he, age, I, ABL, great, exist)
"His age is more than my (age)."
ló / ŋá-lɛ khò tɕhē-kì re (age, I, ABL, he, great, exist)
"(As for his) age, he is older than me."
ɕi-kə̄-tsè-lɛ l̥ɛ̄-sā: tshāk-ɕà khõ^ tɕhē-kì re
"Compared with Shigatse, beef in Lhasa is more expensive."
l̥ɛ̄-sā: tshāk-ɕà ɕi-kə̄-tsè-lɛ khõ^ tɕhē-kì re
"Beef in Lhasa is more expensive than Shigatse (beef)."
tshāk-ɕà ɕi-kā-tsè-lɛ l̥ɛ̄-sā: khõ^ tɕhē-kì re
"(As for) beef, compared with (its price in) Shigatse, it is more expensive in Lhasa."
l̥ɛ̄-sɛ̄: tshāk-ɕà ɕi-kə̄-tsè-lɛ khõ^ tɕhē-kì re
"Lhasa beef is more expensive than Shigatse beef."
Batang Tibetan expresses comparison with the aid of the marker *da* "and/with", e.g. in
tà tṣý da ndźô lə re "The horse is swifter than the mule."
Using here the pattern Ym—X—A it is easy to confuse the meaning: *tṣý da tà ndźô lə re* where it is not clear whether *da* is a conjunction or a comparative particle and the meaning is ambiguous: "The mule and the horse are swift." or "The horse is swifter than the mule." To avoid this ambiguity, equality is expressed by a numeral (1): *tṣý da tà ńĭ ndźô-lə re* "Both the mule and the horse are swift.", while comparison (2) is marked by the word *tɕhe* "great/big": *tṣý-da tà ndźô tɕhe-lə re* "(Compared) with the mule, the horse's swiftness is greater." The most common pattern is X—Ym—A as in
tà tṣý-da ndźô-lə re "The horse is swifter than the mule."

II. MARKERS

In the Tibetan comparative sentence the entity which is compared is generally unmarked, while the entity with which it is compared is marked. The comparative particles vary according to the different dialects and the old and new forms of the standard language.

In the written language particles *bas* and *las* are the most usual, see e.g. *tsan-dan gser-bas rin che* "Sandalwood is more precious than gold." or *chu-las ja zhim* "Tea is more fragrant than water."

The modern spoken language has various local forms replacing the old *bas sgra* and *las sgra*, some dialectal forms correspond to *byed sgra*, *dang sgra*, *sum sgra*, etc., with the usual phonetical change, as in their analysis and commentary below:

(*bas sgra*)

-bɛ in Yunnan Zhongdian Tibetan:
khò ŋá-bɛ dźâ nə "He is fatter than me."
khò ŋá-bɛ ló ńī tṣhè re "He is two years older than me."
té-rīŋ khē-dzōŋ-bɛ tćóŋ nə "Today it is colder than it was yesterday."
lú-ṣà rá-ṣà-bɛ ṣóŋ re "Mutton is tastier than goat meat."

-we in Chab-mdo:
ŋá-wé khò ló tćhè re "He is older than me."
ćə̀-wà-wé lō-xò tćhè re "The cat is bigger than the mouse."

-le in Bailang Tibetan:
ní-le hə̄-kì tćhē-à jôm "That is bigger than this."
khò ŋá-le ló ńī tchē-à jôm "He is two years older than me."
ći-mò-le t'ì tćhī-à jôm "The dog is larger than the cat."
the̱-rīŋ khə̄-sà-le tṣhaŋ-ŋa nũ "Today it is colder than it was yesterday."

(*las sgra*)

-lɛ in Lhasa Tibetan:
khò ŋá-lɛ kɛ̱n-kì re "He is older than me."
phy_-jìʔ-lɛ t'ə̱-jîʔ khà-kaʔ "Chinese script is more difficult than Tibetan script."

-la in Ari (Mnga'-ris) Ritog (Ru-thog), and Cuoqin (Tsho-chen) dialects:
ŋá-la chə̀ʔ thoà "You are taller than me."
ŋá-la khò lɛ̱:-kà jáʔ-ka ntûʔ "Your work is better than mine."

-kə and its variants in Qinghai Zeku Tibetan:
khərgi tondẓəp-kə tćhe re "He is bigger than Tondrup."
teraŋ khasaŋ-ŋgə ra tćhək re "Today it is colder than it was yesterday."
tćho ŋi tćhe re "You are bigger than me."

-ji in Derge Tibetan:
ŋá-jî lō-zõ⁻ (ki) ló tćhè re "Losang is older than me."
tà tṣí-jî ndẓô ndẓō-lì re "The horse goes faster than the mule."
tṣā-xhī-jî lō-zō⁻-ki xhà tćhè do "Losang is fatter than Trashi."

-je in Muya Tibetan (comparing humans):
khò ŋá-je tćhè do "He is bigger than me."
ŋá-je khò ló tćhè-lə re "He is older than me."
lō-zōŋ ŋá-je po̱-jì khɛ̄-lə re "Losang's Tibetan is better than mine."
(comparing non-humans):
lu̱-ćà ra̱-ćà-le ćín-lə re "Mutton is tastier than goat meat."

(*dang sgra*)

-da in Batang Tibetan:
khò ŋá-da ló ŋà tɕhè re "He is five years older than me."
é-dè-da ē-dè thò do "This is higher than that."
á-lò ná-nĩ⁻-da tʂõ′ do "This year is colder than the last."
rá-xà-da lú-xà ɕĩ′ tɕhè-lə re "Mutton is tastier than goat meat."

(*sum sgra*)

-su:m in Ari Gar (Sgar) and Zhada (Rtsa-mda') Tibetan:
ŋá-sū:m chə̀ʔ thoà: "You are taller than me."
ŋá-sū:m khò lɛ̱:-kà ká: "He is better at work than me."

-sa:ŋ in Ari Geji (Dge-rgyas) Tibetan:
ŋá-sā:ŋ chə̀ʔ thoà "You are taller than me."
ŋá-sā:ŋ khò lɛ̱:kà jáʔ "He is better at work than me."

-sã: in Ari Pulan (Spu-hreng) Tibetan:
ŋá-sã:⁻ chøʔ˨ thoà: "You are taller than me."
ŋá-sã:⁻ khò lɛ̱: kà kà: "He is better at work than me."

(Other markers)

-jĩ′na in Chayu (Rdza-yul) Tibetan:
ŋá-jĩ′na tɕhò tɕhè re "He is bigger than me."
a̱-rĩ′ kha̱-dzõ⁻-jĩ′na tshɛ ɕi "Today it is colder than it was yesterday."
sə̀-jĩ′na sə̀ jâ re "One is better than the other."

-htina in Guide Tibetan:
khərgi ŋa-htina gɛn kə "He is bigger than me."
raɕa-htina ləkɕa ɕim kə "Mutton is tastier than goat meat."
ndə-htina ka ŋga kə "That is more precious than this."
tsheraŋ-htina tondʐəp ka zək raŋ kə "Tondrup is taller than Tsering."

III. WORDS MARKING QUALITY (ADJECTIVES)

Comparison is inseparable from the words marking quality or adjectives. If treated from a syntactic point of view, Tibetan adjectives have a "comparative" ending. As for usage, it is impossible to foretell whether an adjective has the "comparative" form until it becomes clear it is used in a comparative sentence. Cf. the following examples given here in their Written Tibetan forms:

common form	comparative form
chen-po "great"	*che-ba*
ring-po "long"	*ring-ba*

gsar-pa "new"	*gsar-ba*
chung-chung "little"	*chung-ba*

cf. Lhasa Tibetan

tɕhēn-pò "great"	*tɕhɛʔ˨*
riŋ-kù "long"	*ríŋ-ŋa*
sā:-pà "new"	*sā-ra*
tṣā-pù "thin"	*tṣā-pa*

Shigatse

tɕhēn-tè "great"	*tɕhè-a˨*
ríŋ-kè "long"	*ríŋ-ŋa˨*
póm-pò "coarse"	*póm-pa˨*

Derge

tɕhẽ¯-pò "great"	*tɕhè-wà*
rĩ'-pò "long"	*rĩ'-wà*
tɕhũ¯-tɕhũ¯ "little"	*tɕhũ¯-wà*

Xiahe (Labrang)

tɕhe-wo "great"	*tɕhe-se*
so-ma "new"	*so-se*
jak-kwa "good"	*jak-se*

Resuming the usage of the adjectives in a comparative sentence, it may be stated that in Written Tibetan the adjective root in itself can form the predicate, cf. the sentence already quoted: *ba-las rdzi mang* "There are more herders than cattle." In the spoken language a single adjective usually cannot figure as predicate; to form a sentence in most cases it has a verbal particle or an auxiliary verb, etc. In Lhasa Tibetan there is a sentence pattern which is closed by a comparative adverb, as in:
khāŋ-pà tí-lɛ tî tɔ̀ʔ "This house is taller than that."
kūp-ɬàʔ tí-lɛ tî màʔ "This chair is lower than that."

Its negative and interrogative forms have the auxiliary word *ntûʔ*. In these forms its usage is obligatory, e.g.,
tî-lɛ tí tɔ̀ʔ ntu kɛ̀ʔ "Is this higher than that?"
tî-lɛ tí tɔ̀ʔ mī ntùʔ "This is not higher than that."

Usually one of the two auxiliary particles are used in these sentences; one of them marks a general statement, the other marks a personal experience or opinion, as in

Lhasa
jā:-kà-lɛ tøn-kà tʻī-kì re (a general statement)
"The autumn is milder than the summer."

khē-sà-lɛ tə̱-rìŋ tṣhã̋-ŋa (subjective opinion)
"Today it is colder than it was yesterday."

Batang
rá-xà-da lú-xà ćĩ' tćhè-lə re (a generally accepted view)
"Mutton is tastier than goat meat."
ā-rī khā-tćõ⁻-da tṣõ' tćhè do (a recent personal impression)
"Today it is colder than it was yesterday."

Zhongdian
khò ŋá-bɛ ló ńī tṣhè rɛ (a formal statement) "He is two years older than me."
khò ŋá-bɛ dźâ nə (a personal opinion) "He is fatter than me."

Muya
khó ŋá-je ndźó do (a personal opinion) "He is quicker than me."
khò ŋá-je ndźó-lə re (objective statement) "He is quicker than me."

IV. NEGATION

Negated comparative sentences are formed with the negative particles *ma* and *mi*. Their usage shows dialectal differences. In Amdo and Khams *ma/mi* usually precedes and negates the adjective. Thus in Batang sentences
ē-dè é-dē-da thò do "This is higher than that."
ē-dè é-dē-da mə̱ thò do "This is not higher than that."
ē-dè é-dē-da thò tćhè do "This is higher than that."
ē-dè é-dē-da thò mə tćhè do "This is not higher than that."

If the sentence contains an auxiliary predicative element, the negative particle must precede the latter:
ē-dè é-dē-da thò tćhè-lə má rè "This is not as high as that."
tṣý tà-da ndźô-lə má rè "The mule is not as swift as the horse."

Guide Tibetan
l̥asa tshoŋon-htina tṣo kə "Lhasa is warmer than Qinghai."
tshoŋon l̥asa ndẓamo zək mə tṣo kə "Qinghai is not as warm as Lhasa."
teraŋ kharzaŋ-htina tćhək kə "Today it is colder than it was yesterday."
teraŋ kharzaŋ ndẓamo zək mə tchək kə "Today it is not as cold as it was yesterday".

In several dialects of Ü and Tsang the negative particles *ma/mi* cannot negate an adjective; in most cases the auxiliary verb is negated, as in Lhasa sentences
khò ŋá-lɛ ćùk tćhèʔ jôʔ ma̱ rè "He is not stronger than me."
khò̀ ćùk ŋá-lɛ tćhē-kì ma̱ rè "His strength is not greater than mine."
khò ćùk ŋá nə̃'-ćĩ⁻ mêʔ "His strength is not as great as mine."

Bailang sentences
hə̄-kì ní-lɛ tɕhē-a˨ mom "This is not as big as that."
náŋ ni hə̄-lɛ thō-wà mom "This house is not as high as that."
hə̄-kì ní-lɛ tɕhūŋ-ŋa˨ mom "This is not as small as that."
khò ŋá-lɛ ló kɛ̄n-pa˨ mom "He is not as old as me."

V. QUESTIONS

A comparative sentence can be questioned in several ways. E.g. in Lhasa Tibetan
ra̱-ɕà-lɛ lu̱k-ɕà ɕi̱m-kì re̱-pɛʔ˨ "Is mutton tastier than goat meat?" or "Mutton is tastier than goat meat, isn't it?"
ra̱-ɕà ɕi̱m-kì ré: / lu̱k-ɕà ɕi̱m-kì rɛ: "Is goat meat tasty (or) is mutton tasty?" = "Which is tastier, goat meat or mutton?"
ra̱-ɕà thā lu̱k-ɕà ńī: kha̱-kì (or: *kha̱-rè*) *ɕi̱m-kì rɛ:*
"(As for) the two, goat meat and mutton, which is tastier?"
pho̱-mò-lɛ phú kén-pa ntu̱-kɛ̀ʔ "Is the boy older than the girl?"
pho̱-mò kén-pa to: / phú kén-pa to: "Is the girl older (or) is the boy older?"
phú thā̃ pho̱-mò ńī: kha̱-kì kén-pa "Who is older, the boy or the girl?"
ťhə̄-rà ńī: sù kén-kì rɛ̂ʔ "Which of you two is older?"

In Amdo and Khams, questions to be decided often use particle *a*, e.g. in Guide sentences
hwetɕha ndə gana-htina a thək kə "Is this book thicker than that?"
hwetɕha ndə ńiγa kaŋ thək kə "Which of these two books is thicker?"

In Batang sentences
ɛ̄-dè é-dè-da thò ā tɕhè do "Which is taller, this or that?"
ɛ̄-dè thò do tā̃: / é-dè thò do "Is this taller or is that taller?"
ɛ̄-dè da é-dɛ̄ ńī ká-ndè thò tɕhè do "Which of the two is taller, this or that?"

*

As we have seen, Tibetan comparative sentences have many forms. Those mentioned above are sentences in which two entities are compared. One may compare not only things, objects or beings, but also movements or feelings and their strength or intensity. Besides, there are progressive, distinctive, contrastive, etc. comparative sentences. However, a detailed study of these demands more space.*

* Translated from Chinese by G. Kara.

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PAPERMAKING IN BHUTAN[1]

YOSHIRO IMAEDA (Paris—Thimpu)

In Bhutan papermaking is a living tradition which is still practised in almost every valley in the Central Himalayan zone which runs across the country from east to west at altitudes between 1.200 and 3.000 meters.

Papermakers do not belong to any particular ethnic or social group, but the art of papermaking is usually transmitted from father to son. They have no particular deity of papermaking craftsmanship. Bhutanese tradition mentions nobody as inventor or introducer of the papermaking in the country.

LOCATION OF WORKSHOP

Papermakers do not have fixed workshop and they shift from one place to another. They establish the workshop in a place where a clean mountain stream is running and trees which provide fibers for paper are growing in the proximity. The workshop usually consists of two or three huts.[2]

[1] Dard Hunter, *Papermaking. The History and Technique of an Ancient Craft.* Second edition, revised and enlarged, New York, 1947 (first edition 1943) still remains to be the best authority on papermaking in general. For more recent studies, see Masatoshi A. Konishi, "A Bibliography for the Study of Indian and Nepalese Handmade Paper," in *Bull. Faculty of Liberal Arts, Hosei Univ.*, n° 43, 1982, pp. 26—39. We can add: Sasuke Nakao, "Himaraya ni okeru zairai washi no seizō genryō shokubutsu ni tsuite" (On plants which are used for papermaking in the Himalayas), in *Seikatsu bunka*, n° 13, 1965, pp. 412—419; Anonymous, "Paper making in Bumthang — Lamapumpa village," in *Druk Losel*, vol. 3, n° 4, 1982, pp. 13—14; Yoshiro Imaeda, "Būtan no tesukishi," in *Hyakumantō*, n° 56, 1983, pp. 41—51 (of which this article is a revised and enlarged version in English).

[2] The main papermaking units in Bhutan today are found in Nobding (2700 m, near Pelala Pass, Wangdiphodrang side), Kungarabten (2000 m, 30 km to the south of Tongsa), Lamegonpa (2800 m, Choekor, Bumthang), Kaling (2100 m, 55 km to the south of Tashigang) and Tashiyangtse (1700 m, 50 km to the north of Tashigang). I visited all of them except that of Tashiyangtse in the course of this study. The size of the workshop varies from one place to another; while at Lamegonpa there is only one papermaker who does everything himself, the workshop at Kaling is a small-scale industry employing 10 to 15 people.

FIBERS FOR PAPER

The papermakers in Bhutan use exclusively the white inner bark, the bast, of two closely related shrubs of the same family. One is Daphne called in Dzongkha *deshing nap* or "black *de* tree"[3] and the other is Edgeworthia called *deshing kap* or "white *de* tree". Paper made of Edgeworthia bast is whiter and softer than paper made from Daphne bast, on the other hand, with less satisfactory properties for writing purposes. Therefore papermakers mix these two fibers on different ratios according to the use for which the paper is destined. The paper made solely from Daphne bast is generally considered to be the best.

COLLECTING AND CLEANING OF BAST

The papermakers usually do not themselves collect the bast in the forest. They hire people who collect it from the nearby mountain and bring it to the workshop. First the bark is torn off from the branch. Subsequently the dark green outer layer is separated from the white inner layer which is used for papermaking. The bast is finally cleansed of impurities with a short knife, chiefly the dark circular spots left from lateral branches. The bast is then cut into strips of even size. It is easiest to do this work while the bast is still fresh, as it gets very hard once it is dried.

The branches from which the bast is stripped off are later used for cooking the bast and their ashes are also collected to prepare the cooking lye.

SOAKING AND RINSING

Before being cooked, the bast is put in the mountain stream running near the workshop. The bast strips are then rinsed to remove sand and earth particles and other impurities. This process is also important in order to reduce the pectine which is contained in the bark and whose presence deteriorates the quality of the finished paper.

[3] According to Lopon Pemala, Director of the National Library of Bhutan, *de* is a purely Bhutanese word which has no equivalent in Tibetan. Apparently Daphne is not known in Tibet and there is no word for it. In Tibet, the paper is made traditionally from the root of Stella Chamaejasme (in Tibetan: *ra lug ris brgyag*. Cf. Claudius C. Müller & Walter Raunig, *Der Weg zum Dach der Welt*, Innsbruck, 1982, p. 223 and Han Kissei *Chūgoku seishi gijutsu shi* (History of Papermaking Technique in China), Tokyo, 1980, p. 242). The paper made of Daphne is known by the Tibetan as *dug-shog* "poisonous paper" because the bark of Daphne contains a kind of poison. It is the reason why the paper made of this material is almost free from insect bites.

COOKING (DIGESTING) LYE

The liquid to disintegrate the lignin substances which bind the fiber bundles together is prepared in the following way.

A bunch of fern leaves are placed in a cone-shaped bamboo basket of rough mesh. The basket is then filled with ashes and placed on a wooden trough. The lye is then made by pouring water into the basket at intervals all day long; it oozes through the ashes dissolving their alkalies. The lye of ashes passes through the fern leaves, drips from the bottom of the basket and collects in the wooden trough. If the lye is not alkaline enough, it is poured into the basket once more.

Some papermakers do not go through this process. They add ashes directly into the water in which the bast is cooked.

COOKING (DIGESTING)

A big iron cauldron is set over a fire, and the lye of ashes and the bast strips are put into it. The bast strips are turned from time to time with a forked stick during the cooking and if necessary more lye is added. The cooking lasts 30 to 40 hours until the bast strips become soft enough to be easily torn with fingers.

RINSING

When the cooking is over, the bast strips are removed from the cauldron with a forked stick and put into a bamboo basket of rough mesh. The stream water is poured on the bast strips in order to rinse away the lye of ashes. The papermaker then removes by hand the remaining impurities from the bast strips.

BEATING

The beating of the bast strips takes place on a flat stone. Wooden clubs or mallets are used for this process which lasts about an hour. The beaten bast is mixed with water simply by stirring with a wooden stick. Thus the pulp is produced.

FORMING AND DRYING OF THE SHEET OF PAPER

As D. Hunter says, there are two methods of forming sheets of paper: "paper was formed either *dipping* the mould *into* the fibrous water or *pouring* the macerated fibres *upon* the mould's surface".[4] Each method requires a

[4] Dard Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

different type of mould and the way of drying the sheet varies accordingly. In Bhutan, both methods are practised side by side.

In the first method which can be called "pouring method", the pulp is prepared in high concentration and is put in a small wooden trough alongside an artificial pool of water in the bend of a stream. The mould used is a simple "wove" type of mould with a piece of cotton cloth extended and attached with wooden springs.

The papermaker pours the necessary quantity of pulp upon the cloth covering the mould as it floats on the surface of the stream. With his hands held like two rakes, he spreads the pulp by making fast circular movements of the hands. The finger tips are thrust only just a little below the surface of the water and under no circumstances they touch the cloth. Thus the plant fibers are stired up, distributed evenly over the whole mould-cover, and settle in a fairly uniform layer on it. Then the papermaker slightly raises the mould and tosses it in order to send waves from side to side then from front to back across the mould. By these means, the papermaker further distributes the fibers in a even layer. Finally the wet mould is lifted off the pool. The distribution of the pulp and the lifting of the mould are the most difficult parts of the whole process of papermaking and they require years of training.

The mould with a newly formed wet sheet of paper is leaned against a stick standing nearby. The mould is kept in this position until the sheet of paper is dried by sun and wind. The fire is not used for the drying. The drying takes roughly half a day and the papermaker makes with a mould two sheets of paper a day: early in the morning and around noon.

The paper prepared by this method is called *resho* which literally means "cotton paper". The warp and woof of the mould leave impressions in the paper, in the same way as watermarks are found in handmade paper today. The impressions left in this method are distinctively different from those left in the second method. One can therefore tell from the type of impressions in which method the paper is made.

This "pouring method" is widely practised in other parts of the Himalayas including Tibet and Nepal.[5]

In the second method which can be called "dipping method", an entirely different process takes place.

The beaten bast is put in a wooden vat filled with water and lightly stired up. The mould used is the "laid" type. A mould-cover is made by placing thin strips of rounded bamboo side by side and lacing them together at regular intervals with cotton thread. The laced bamboo mould-cover resembles thus

[5] The papermaking in Nepal has been throughly studied by Jasper Trier, *Ancient Paper of Nepal*, Jutland Archaeological Society Publications Volume X, Copenhagen, 1972.

a piece of matting. The bamboo strips, as well as the stitches, leave impressions in every sheet of paper made upon the mould. The marks made by the pieces of bamboo are known as "laid-lines", while the less noticeable impressions of the stitches are termed "chain-lines", as the thread lacing consisted of chain stitching over and under the strips of bamboo.[6]

When a sheet of paper is to be made, the mould-cover is placed loosely on the shallow wooden framework, which supports it firmly; the entire mould, both frame and cover, is then dipped into the vat of macerated pulp and brought to the surface loaded with the wet, fibrous material. The thin paper stock is prevented from flowing beyond the top and bottom edges of the matting by bamboo or wood rods laced to the mat at its extremities, parallel to the "laid" bamboo strips. The flow of pulp on the right and left sides is kept within boundaries by the workman, who dips the mould, holding two wooden deckle sticks, one in each hand, along the outer edges of the matting parallel to the "chain" stitches. Thus the four outside edges are fenced in such a manner that the wet paper stock or pulp is kept within bounds, forming a sheet of paper almost the size of the matting of the mould-cover. Holding the mould parallel to the water's surface, the papermaker dexterously shakes the mould just enough to send waves to and fro across the mould-cover. As he does this, all drainable solution passes through the mould-cover leaving the fibers in an even layer. As in the first method, this is the most difficult part of papermaking and it requires a great deal of skill.

After a sheet of paper is formed on the mould-cover, he puts the mould on two parallel sticks which are laid on the vat. Then, carefully picking up the flexible mould-cover with the newly formed sheet adhering to it, he turns to a wooden slab to the left of the vat. Aligning the nearer edge of the mould-cover with a post of previously couched sheets, the papermaker lowers the mould-cover until it lies flat and even on top. Then, picking up the nearer edge of the mould-cover, he carefully draws it away, leaving the newly formed sheet of paper on the top of the post. He accumulates around 150 sheets by the end of the day. He allows the post to stand and drain overnight.

The following day he peels the fresh, damp sheets off the post one at a time and brushes them onto the surface of mud wall indoors of the hut constructed for the purpose of drying. The sheets are dry at the end of the day if the weather is fine.

The paper manufactured in this method is called *tsasho* whose literal meaning is "bamboo paper". As far as I know, this method is not reported to be practised in other parts of Tibetan culture.

It is interesting to note that these two different methods are both practised in Bhutan. One papermaker in Bumthang, Central Bhutan, told

[6] Dard Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 78—84.

us that he practises both methods himself: the "pouring method" during winter and the "dipping method" in summer. As is the case with Nepal, the "pouring method" was introduced into Bhutan most probably from Tibet where it has been the traditional method, and is still practised. As for the practice of "dipping method", Bhutan is a solitary exemple in this part of the Himalayas. How this method was introduced to Bhutan is an interesting and important problem to be solved but it is beyond the scope of the present study. An investigation on the methods practised in the areas between Bhutan and Yunnan in China would certainly provide a key to the solution of this problem.[7]

In any way, already two centuries ago, Turner, the British envoy who visited Bhutan in 1783, left a brief description of the papermaking method which he witnessed at Thimphu. It is the "dipping method" and the only difference is that at that time the mould-cover was made of reeds instead of rounded bamboo. The Bhutanese paper was of excellent quality and Turner says:

> "The paper thus prepared is of a much stronger texture, than that of any country with which I am acquainted."[8]

This remark of two centuries ago remains valid even today because Bhutanese papermakers still uphold these centuries old traditional methods.

[7] Masatoshi A. Konishi notices the peculiar position of the papermaking method practised in Assam to the south of Bhutan and says "Can there be any reflections of the Thai-Burmese paper-making methods?" ("Paper-making Tradition in South Asia. With a Short Reference to the Assamese Technology", in *Eastern Himalayas, A Study of Anthropology and Tribalism*, New Delhi, 1981, p. 199)

[8] Samuel Turner, *An Account of Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet: Containing a Narrative of a Journey through Bootan, and Part of Tibet*, London, 1800, p. 100.

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ŚAṄKARA'S POLEMICS WITH *SARVĀSTIVĀDA*

N. V. ISAYEVA (Moscow)

The whole of Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa (*BS*)[1] is composed as a sort of a continuous dialogue where the objections of an imaginary opponent alternate with the answers of the *Advaitist* himself. The polemics attain their peak in the second *adhyāya* of the commentary which is almost exclusively given up to Śaṅkara's dispute with the numerous opponents of *Advaita*. The objections of his adversaries are not uniform in character. As long as Śaṅkara argues with the followers of the orthodox systems, it is often quite enough for him to demonstrate that his opponents' views differ from the *śruti* revelation. However, Śaṅkara's most irreconcilable adversaries were undoubtedly the *Lokāyatikas* as well as the adherents of two 'heretical' schools — the Buddhists and the Jainas — whose teaching was not based on Vedic texts. It is well known that the latter two considered the authority *pramāṇa* to be inferior to and depending upon the data of inference and perception. This attitude naturally calls for an alteration in the methods of the polemics and Śaṅkara's immediate criticism of heterodox systems is almost exclusively reduced to the domain of logic and everyday experience; he is, so to speak, trying to beat them at their own game.

While allowing for all this, it has to be borne in mind that in spite of his perfect skill in reasoning, Śaṅkara attributed to this method only relative value. The limits of logical argumentation, together with those of common ritual practice and ordinary experience are set within the framework of *aparavidyā*, or phenomenal knowledge. This aspect of Śaṅkara's dispute is intended for any common layman — unlearned and unprejudiced — a kind of a hypothetical first-comer. But the real point of Śaṅkara's criticism will remain unrevealed if one does not consider his own solution of the questions raised in the course of the controversy. An argument offered on the level of *aparavidyā* may contain insignificant cavils and quibbles; many similar objections, on closer examination, prove to be valid against Śaṅkara's *Advaita*. These arguments are to be taken for what they are worth, while judging their

[1] The abbreviation *BS* stands henceforth for "*Brahmasūtra*".

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value it is indispensable to make amends in regard to the context of the polemics. The higher level of knowledge (*paravidyā*) reflects the essential divergences of the rival systems; it also presupposes a constant appeal to *śruti*. This controversy between *Advaita* and its heterodox opponents is implicitly presumed in various passages of Śaṅkara's commentary ad *BS*, even when his adversaries are not mentioned overtly. A two-level structure of philosophical polemics correlates with Śaṅkara's notion of the two groups of *śruti* sayings, that is, *vyāvahārika* ones — from the point of view of phenomenal practice — and *pāramārthika* ones — from the point of view of ultimate truth. Both groups, each in its own way, constitute a mediation between a specific, personal consciousness and the ultimate spiritual reality (*ātman*), and contribute to the gradual approach to this new level of reality.

In the second *adhyāya* of his commentary ad *BS* Śaṅkara mentions the followers of the three Buddhist schools of thought (*Sarvāstivāda, Vijñānavāda* and *Śūnyavāda*), that is, those who maintain that 'everything exists' (*sarvaasti*), those who allow for the existence of consciousness alone (*vijñāna*) and those again who claim everything to be void (*śūnya*).[2] Arranging the Buddhist schools in this sequence, Śaṅkara deliberately avoids the problem of the historical evolution of Buddhism; he is obviously interested neither in chronology nor in fixing the names and specific arguments of his opponents. The *Advaitist* presents the three systems as three equally possible interpretations of the initial Buddha's teaching and he is always on the look-out for any advantages which could be derived for his own system from their mutual controversies. Indeed, the discrepancy in the notions of the main Buddhist schools is explained by him on a purely psychological basis: as evidence of the Buddha's enmity towards all living beings, finding expression in his wish to lead them astray,[3] — or as a result of a insufficient comprehension of the *Tathāgata*'s teaching even by his closest disciples, some of whom professed an undue attachment to external objects.[4] A metric compendium, ascribed to Śaṅkara (*SDSS*),[5] gives a short summary of the Buddhist teaching, starting with *Śūnyavāda* and somewhat arbitrarily dividing *Sarvāstivāda* into *Vaibhāṣika* and *Sautrāntika* schools.

[2] *BSBh* (the abbreviation stands henceforth for Śaṅkara's "*Brahma-sūtra-bhāṣya*"), II. II. 18: *tatraite trayo vādino bhavanti — kecit sarvāstivādinaḥ, kecidvijñānavādinaḥ anye punaḥ sarvaśūnyatvavādina iti* |

[3] *BSBh*, II. II. 32: ... *bāhyārthavijñānaśūnyavādatrayaṃ itaretaraviruddhamupadiśatā sugatena spaṣṭīkṛtamātmano 'saṃbaddhapralapitvaṃ, pradveśo vā prajāsu viruddhārthapratipattyā vimuhyeyur imāḥ prajā iti* |

[4] *BSBh*, II. II. 28: *keṣāṃcitkila vineyānāṃ bāhye vastunyabhiniveśamālakṣya tadanurodhena bāhyārthavādaprakriyeyaṃ viracitā nāsau sugatābhiprāyaḥ* |

[5] The abbreviation *SDSS* stands henceforth for "*Sarva-darśanasiddhānta-saṃgraha*" (Ed. with an English translation by M. Raṅgācārya. Madras, 1909).

The general description applied by Śaṅkara to all Buddhist schools is derived from the term *'vināśa'* — 'destruction', 'annihilation'; it points out the core of the teaching, namely, the idea of absence of *ātman* as a separate ontological reality. Therefore, Buddhism is determined by him as *'vaināśika-matā'*, usually roughly rendered as 'a teaching about absence, annihilation', or even 'a nihilistic teaching'. The attitude of the *Advaitist* is further confirmed by the data of *SDSS*, according to which "in all four Buddhist (schools) there is an agreement about inner consciousness, they disagree with each other owing to differences concerning phenomenal existence".[6]

While going over Śaṅkara's arguments against the Buddhists, D.H.H. Ingalls compared his commentary ad *BS* with that of Bhāskara,[7] arriving at the conclusion that in all the passages where Bhāskara differs from Śaṅkara the latter must have deviatad from the general *Vedānta* tradition. It is worth noting that the main lines of dispute with *Sarvāstivāda* teaching pursued by Śaṅkara (see *BSBh*, II.II. 18—27) practically coincide with those touched upon by Bhāskara and therefore must have been derived from the same source. Śaṅkara's attention is concentrated on the doctrine of 'dependent origination' (*pratītya-samutpāda*), that of 'momentariness' (*kṣaṇika-vāda*), as well as on the notion of 'uncomposite elements' (*asaṃskṛta-dharma*). Some of Śaṅkara's arguments against *Saṛvāstivāda*, in particular, those concerning the notion of causality, apply to all other Buddhist schools.

As was already mentioned, 'everything exists' from *Sarvāstivāda* point of view. The empirical world is regarded in it as an aggregate (*samudāya*, *saṃghiti*) of elements. According to the *Sarvāstivāda* notion presented by Śaṅkara, these elements may be divided into two main classes: that of 'gross' elements and their derivatives (*bhūta-bhautika*) and that of elementary mental states and their derivatives (*citta-caitta*). The *Sarvāstivāda* teaching, though, is far from that of opposing them to each other: the phenomenal world, open to perception, is homogenous in the sense that all its constituents belong to one and the same plane of existence. Even when the Buddhists make use of the well-known notion of ultimate atoms (*paramāṇu*) joining together to form 'gross' elements (*bhūta*), they resort to it not for the sake of any naturalistic allusions but, rather, in order to find an opportunity to identify these minute particles with corresponding qualities. In this way, for example, the atom of earth is regarded not as a substrate of the quality of solidity, smell, etc. but rather as a source of the sensation which arose from its contact with the organs

[6] *SDSS*, IV. IV. 5:
caturṇāmapi bauddhānāmaikyamadhyātmanirṇaye |
vyāvahārikabhedena vivadante parasparam ||

[7] D. H. H. Ingalls. Śaṅkara's Arguments against the Buddhists. — "Philosophy East and Welt." III. N° 4, Jan. 1954, pp. 291—306.

of perception (*indriya*); in the ultimate sense it tends to be identified with this sensation (and with the quality itself). The Buddhists made it their point to deny the existence of any permanent substance forming the substrate (*āśraya*) of transient qualities. The admission of ultimate atoms, the existence of which is surmised by inference based on sensual perception, was more likely made on moral grounds: by getting into the habit of regarding nature (including his own body) as an aggregate of atoms, a person gradually acquired an indifferent and alienated attitude towards natural phenomena.

According to the Buddhist teaching, all simple phenomena are momentary (*kṣaṇika*) and so, on the other hand, the empirical world is to be regarded as infinitely heterogenous. Having existed for a single instant, discontinous momentary objects give rise to corresponding perceptions; in the words of a *Sautrāntika* follower, cited in Śankara's compendium, "objectivity is verily an ability to be a cause".[8] Just like a forest is seen as a whole only from a distance but on approaching proves to be a conglomerate of different trees, any unity which at first seems undeniable — whether it is the wholeness of an external object or the unity of a conscious self — is in fact no more than a conglomerate of momentary elements and mental states. According to *Sarvāstivāda*, they are causally conditioned and attributed to five groups (*skandha*).[9] It should be borne in mind that the latter do not have any separate ideal existence along with or over empirical phenomena; they are essentially just conventional signs for the convenient classification of elements. In his commentary ad *BS* Śaṅkara writes from a *Sarvāstivāda* point of view: "Having joined together, these (*skandhas*) form an inner consciousness which is a source of all phenomenal practice".[10]

A Buddhist notion concerning the emergence of combinations (*samudāya*) of elements is a starting point for Śaṅkara's polemics with *Sarvāstivāda*. In the *Advaitist*'s opinion, such a combination cannot be achieved without a purposeful activity of a conscious agent. Śaṅkara argues that any spontaneous activity of unconscious elements, joining together on their own accord irrespective of the intentions of an agent, should be considered endless because such an activity would in this case be an indispensable quality of the elements themselves.[11] However, this assumption would contradict basic religious

[8] *SDSS*, IV. III. 7: *viṣayatvaṃ hi hetutvaṃ . . .* |

[9] The five *skandhas* are *rūpa*, that is, 'form', 'shape', *vedanā* — sensation (of something pleasant, unpleasant or indifferent), *saṃjnā* — 'image', 'idea', *saṃskāra* — an ability and readiness to accept the empirical world within the framework of definite mental constructions, and *vijñāna* — 'self-consciousness'. — Cf. *SDSS*, IV. IV. 10—12.

[10] *BSBh*, II. II. 18: *te 'pyādhyātmaṃ sarvavyavahārāspadabhāvena saṃhanyanta iti manyante* |

[11] *BSBh*, II. II. 18: "And because the assumption of independent activity would lead to the conclusion about uninterrupted activity" — . . . *nirapekṣapravṛttyabhyupagame ca pravṛttyanuparamaprasaṇgāt* |

tenets of Indian tradition where liberation is regarded as a complete cessation of activity.[12]

In this passage, as well as in many others of the same kind, it literally leaps to the eye that Śaṅkara in his polemics with the Buddhists tries to shift the centre of discussion from the plane of psychology and epistemology to that of ontological problems. Indeed, from the Buddhists' point of view any combination of elements was only an imaginary entity resulting from a mental construction (*kalpanā*). In the words of a *Vaibhāṣika* adherent cited in *SDSS*, "a fivefold division in the form of action, substance, quality, kind and name is a mental construction, that is, an illusory vision; it is the nature of a bodily (phenomenon)".[13]

In the Buddhists' opinion, discontinuous elements are ever alternately flashing into existence, stamping their impressions on corresponding *indriyas* and evoking various visual, oral, etc. sensations. According to *Sarvāstivāda*, the essence of these elements which form 'external objects' (*bāhyārtha*) lies in their effectivity, that is, in their ability to arouse corresponding perceptions; in a sense all empirical phenomena are to be regarded as causes (*hetu*). The Buddhist term for perception (*grahaṇa*, lit. — 'grasping') is traditional enough, though the meaning implied here is rather that of a superimposition or contact between the percepted entity (*grāhya*), that is, the' object', the percepting organ or 'instrument' (*grāhaka*) and the resulting sensation or mental state.

According to Śaṅkara, the greatest fault of the Buddhists' doctrine lies in their persistent denial of any permanent subject: "And even if the whole were possible as an object of enjoyment (or perception), all the same, on your assumption there would not be any soul as a permanent enjoyer".[14] Indeed, a distinctive feature of Buddhism is its denial of the traditionally accepted division of consciousness between the eternal *ātman* and the so-called 'inner organ' (*antaḥkaraṇa*) which plays the part of a natural, 'bodily' instrument of perception. In the *Vaibhāṣikas'* opinion, consciousness is concentrated in *manas* which is regarded simply as a sixth organ of sense coordinating the functioning of the other five *indriyas*. *Manas* is assumed to be a kind of perpetual flux (*saṃtāna*) composed of momentary and causally conditioned states of consciousness (*citta*, *vijñāna*), in relation to which all other phenomena (both of physical and mental nature) are objects (*viṣaya*). It perceives external objects through the mediation of unconscious instruments (*indriyas*); in a

[12] A similar argument was used in the *Vedānta* tradition against the notions of *Sāṃkhya* and early *Vaiśeṣika*.

[13] *SDSS*, IV. IV. 17:
nāmajātiguṇadravyakriyarūpeṇa pañcadhā /
kalpitaṃ bhrāntadṛṣṭyaiva śarīrabhuvanātmakaṃ ||

[14] *BSBh*, II. II. 19: *api ca yadbhogārthaḥ saṃghātaḥ syāt sa jīvo nāsti sthiro bhokteti tavābhyupagamaḥ |*

sense it animates perceptive operations, accompanying them as a kind of dim self-consciousness (*sva-saṃvedanā*). Besides, it has its own specific object — mental states and operations themselves (*buddhi, saṃjñā*). In the words of *SDSS*, "*buddhi* is a composite consciousness and *manas* is an (elementary) instrument (of perception)".[15]

So, in the *Vaibhāṣika* system discontinuous and momentary *manas* assumes some of the functions of traditional *ātman*.[16] Besides that, it is used to bridge sensual perception with the faculty of mental construction (*kalpanā*). According to the notion of momentariness (*kṣaṇika-vāda*), *manas* inevitably becomes different in each subsequent moment, being alternately identified with different mental states. That is why Śaṅkara draws attention to the fact that in *Sarvāstivāda* "enjoyment is only for the sake of enjoyment itself, without anyone striving for it. But then liberation must be also only for the sake of liberation itself and there will not be anyone aspiring for it".[17] This argument may be essentially interpreted in the following way: according to Buddhist teaching, liberation is impossible as an ontological entity, indeed, as the only real entity above others; there are only subsequent mental states, equally real and differing from each other owing only to their specific features. Then *along with* 'enjoyment' one can also speak of 'liberation' which conforms to certain conditions. A popular Buddhist metaphor, comparing a person with a necklace devoid of any string running through it — that is, devoid of a permanent self (*ātman*) — is vulnerable because with the loss of such a binding string one inevitably loses an awareness of *transition* as crossing the border between a lower and a higher plane. An empirical *manas* — an element on a level with all the other elements — may be identified with its subsequent states, therefore, in Śaṅkara's mind, it cannot assume the part of a real self, *for the sake of which* these mental states are primarily evoked.

Śaṅkara's argumentation here evidently attains its goal. The attempt to combine an empirical and a phenomenological approach with basic religious tenets of *karma* and liberation was doomed to inner contradictions. However, *Sarvāstivāda* has already outlined the direction of further development of Buddhist notions, assigning to the *skandha* of *vijñāna* an exceptional place

[15] *SDSS*, IV. IV. 16:
sāmudāyikacaitanyaṃ buddhiḥ syāt karaṇaṃ manaḥ |

[16] One is reminded here of the *Sāṃkhya* notion, according to which *manas* (which experiences pleasant or unpleasant sensations) together with *buddhi* (faculty of discernment and volition) and *ahaṃkara* (ego-consciousness) form an 'internal organ' (*antaḥkaraṇa*). The five *indriyas* and *antaḥkaraṇa* are essentially inanimate and gain consciousness, only being illuminated by *ātman*, — so that even introspection is explained by analogy with sensual perception.

[17] *BSBh*, II. II. 19: *tataśca bhogo bhogārtha eva sa nānyena prārthanīyaḥ* | *tathā mokṣo mokṣārtha eveti mumukṣunā nānyena bhavitavyam* |

among other *skandhas*. The latter are regarded as dependent on consciousness, in other words, while *vijñāna* is synonymious with *citta*, three remaining *skandhas* are referred to as derivative mental phenomena (*caitta*). Even *rūpa* is to some extent conditioned by *vijñāna* because it is the latter which ensures the recognition of sensual data in the form of external objects. The *Vijñānavāda* system which dispensed with the notion of the sixth organ of sense (its place in the table of elements became occupied by empirical self, namely, a 'stained' (*kliṣṭa*) *manas*) and incorporated the category of 'pure consciousness' (*citta-mātra*), as a matter of fact made concessions to the traditional notion of *ātman*.

An attempt to overcome a contradiction between empirical postulates and traditional tenets within the framework of *Sarvāstivāda* ideas, manifested itself in the dividing of all elements into 'composite' (*saṃskṛta*) and 'uncomposite' (*asaṃskṛta*) ones. The former ones (the majority of all elements) were considered to be conditioned and impermanent, while the latter (*pratisaṃkhyānirodha*, or 'cessation by consciousness', *apratisaṃkhyānirodha*, or 'extinguishing', and *ākāśa*, that is, space or ether) were essentially unconditioned (*ahetuja*, lit. — 'not born from a cause') and eternal; A modification brought into the notion of *asaṃskṛta-dharmas* by the *Sautrāntikas* is connected with their conception of derivability of the existence of elements from mental operations (*anumeyatatva*); In the *Sautrāntika* section of *SDSS* one finds a definition, according to which "element of *ākāśa* ... is an ultimate atom/(therefore) it should be only an idea and is not to be considered as something other than that";[18] the same holds true as regards to the two kinds of cessation. Arguing with the Buddhists in this connection, Śaṅkara raises objections to the *Sautrāntika* version: "They consider these three (entities) to be unreal, a pure absence and indefinable".[19] According to the interpretation by T. Stcherbatsky, "a cessation (*nirodha*) defines two kinds of eternal void which come after all powers of the universe are exhausted".[20] In his opinion, cessation here is equal to counter-balance and the rest of all *dharmas*, — that is why it may be defined neither as identical with *skandhas*, nor as different from them.

Śaṅkara points out inner inconsistencies in the Buddhist notion of the two kinds of *nirodha*. Indeed, no cessation may take place inside the causal

[18] *SDSS*, IV. III. 5:
ākāśadhātur asmabhiḥ paramāṇuritīritaḥ |
sa ca prajñaptimātraṃ syād naca vastvantaraṃ matam ||

[19] *BSBh*, II. II. 22: *trayamapi caitadavastvabhāvamātraṃ nirupākhyamiti manyante* |

[20] T. Stcherbatsky. Buddhist Logic. Vol. II. Leningrad, 1930, p. 92. *Pratisaṃkhyānirodha* is, identified with *nirvāṇa*, while *apratisaṃkhyānirodha* is, essentially speaking, incapability to perceive elements due to the absence of appropriate conditions (*pratyaya*) and not owing to the higher knowledge which removes ignorance (*avidyā*).

chain of phenomena, as its distinctive feature lies in the fact that it is unconditioned by any natural cause. No cessation is possible inside a separate element, because one can always trace a continuous uninterrupted connection of phenomena running through all the states, as there is no utter destruction of any entity beyond recognition (*pratyabhijñāna*).[21] Even a limited meaning of the term peculiar to the Buddhists, still, as Śaṅkara points out, ought to imply some change occurring in a kind of being (*bhāva*), radically opposed to any total destruction or non-being (*abhāva*).

A 'cessation by consciousness', or *nirvāṇa*, is the supreme goal of the Buddhists' teaching. It equals the destruction of the fundamental ignorance (*mulājñāna*, *avidyā*). The higher knowledge of *Advaita*, identical with *ātman*, is also related to the end of *avidyā* but in Śaṅkara's system the latter is regarded as a universal potency (*śakti*), dependent on *Brahman* and giving birth to the individualization of different souls (*jīva*). According to *Advaita*, the liberation occurs not only *through* the higher knowledge, — it *is* nothing else but this very knowledge which existed before the creation of the universe; roughly speaking, it is not only the purpose and goal but also the cause itself. Meanwhile, in *Sarvāstivāda*, liberation is one of the elements of existence — not its initial foundation but only a prospective and desirable end. It should be noted that Śaṅkara is not satisfied by drawing attention to minute inconsistencies in the Buddhists' doctrine, — the gulf between the systems is far deeper. In *Advaita*, as well as in *Sarvāstivāda*, the liberation is placed beyond the causal chain of phenomena but such a situation becomes possible only owing to Śaṅkara's notion of its identity with eternal Brahman, — so that liberation, which is regarded as the higher knowledge (or pure consciousness), precedes this chain and presupposes it. Hence Śaṅkara's argument which points out that if, according to *Sarvāstivāda*, the liberation were to take place through higher knowledge, it could not be regarded as 'not born from a cause' (*ahetuja*), while if it were a conditioned entity, emerging as a spontaneous product of the elements, this assumption would lead to the "conclusion that the instruction about the Path (of liberation) is meaningless".[22]

Both *Advaita* and Buddhism emphasize a deep inner affinity of the notions of *ākāśa* and liberation. The Buddhist practice of meditation encour-

[21] *BSBh*, II. II. 22: *nahi bhāvānāṃ niranvayo nirupākhyo vināśaḥ saṃbhavati, sarvāsvapyavasthāsu pratyabhijñānabalenānvayyavicchedadarśanāt* | While in *Advaita* the possibility of 'recognition' is based on the self-evident self-luminiousness (*svayaṃ prakāśa*) of *ātman* (because everyone is aware of his own self where various perceptions are brought into a focus), the Buddhists are for ever divorcing the act of perception and 'recognition' of the object as such. In the *BSBh* passage cited above 'recognition' implies simply a possibility of inference concerning the alleged connection of phenomena in spite of all their perpetual changes.

[22] *BSBh*, II. II. 23: . . . *mārgopadeśānarthakyaprasaṅgaḥ* |

aged a mental identification of space and *nirvāṇa* as one of the secondary means leading to the attainment of liberation. Just like *nirvāṇa*, *ākāśa* was considered to be eternal and, simultaneously, indefinable (*nirupākhya*). The *Sautrāntikas*, however, modified this approach, regarding *ākāśa* as a pure non-being (*abhāva*) and a mere absence of any obstacle (*niravaraṇa*).

Śaṅkara's commentary ad *BS* often presents *ākāśa* as a proper metaphor of the highest Brahman which is devoid of any attributes (*nirguṇa*); just as space seems to be divided and limited due to earthern jars which contain it, but once again becomes united after their removal, *Brahman*, essentially devoid of qualities, seems to be divided into separate selves owing to the limiting adjuncts of *avidyā*.[23] It is easy to understand why the pathos of Śaṅkara's argumentation is directed against the notion of *ākāśa* as pure non-being. Though this entity is considered to be essentially indefinable, it is, nevertheless, undeniably real. In Śaṅkara's opinion, this tenet can be proved by the notion of *ākāśa* as the substrate of the quality of sound (*śabda*), or, to be more exact, the condition of its spreading, while "the usual practice of (the relation between) substance and its quality is based on (their mutual) reality".[24] In his vigorous attempts to find ground for the notion of *ākāśa* as a real, positive entity (*bhāvarūpa*), the *Advaitist* is even ready to resort to the writings of his opponents, where *ākāśa* is sometimes regarded as a "foundation of the wind".[25]

Unlike the above-mentioned three 'unconditioned' elements, all the other phenomena in Buddhism are included in the general causal chain of events. The wheel of *saṃsāra*, responsible for subsequent reincarnations, is composed of twelve main causal links (*nidāna*). They are enumerated by Śaṅkara in the passage of *BSBh* given up to his dispute with *Sarvāstivāda* concerning the problem of combinations.[26] *Avidyā*, being the first link in the

[23] See *BSBh*, I. I. 5; II. I. 13 etc.

[24] *BSBh*, II. II. 24: *vastvāśrayatvāt dharmadharmivyavahārasya* |

[25] *BSBh*, II. II. 24: *saugate hi samaye . . . ityasminprativacanapravāhe pṛthivyādīnāmante "vāyuḥ kiṃ saṃniśrayaḥ" ityasya praśnasya prativacanaṃ bhavati "vāyurākāśasaṃniśrayaḥ" iti* |

[26] *BSBh*, II. II. 19. The first one is *avidyā*, after it comes *saṃskāra* (lit. 'preparation'), or 'predisposition' entailing the appearence of the first moment of consciousness in the new embodiment; the latter starts with the emergence of *vijñāna* as the third link. It is followed by *nāmarūpa* (that is, *rūpa*, or 'shape' as a physical body together with *nāma* which is composed of three mental skandhas). The fifth moment brings about the emergence of six 'fields' (*ṣaḍāyatana*), or organs of sense; the sixth one is *sparśa*, or 'touching', namely, the contact between an *indriya*, its object and perception itself. It is subsequently followed by *vedanā* (sensation), *tṛṣṇa* ('thirst', yearning), *upādāna* (attachment), *bhāva* (existence on a specific plane of empirical universe), *jāti* (birth) and *jarāmaraṇa* (decaying-death). *Saṃskāra* belongs to the previous embodiment, the last two moments — to the future one, while the middle *nidānas* — to the present existence.

chain, to some extent determines all the others. Nevertheless, one should be careful in order not to ascribe to the Buddhists' interpretation of *avidyā* any ontological significance. In the words of S. Bhikshu, "though ignorance is the first to be named, it should not be interpreted as the only source or absolute origin of an individual. Nor does it have any cosmological meaning".[27] *Avidyā* does not play the part of the ultimate cause or any uniting principle for the mosaic of events. The Buddhists are interested only in its epistemological aspect manifesting itself in its ability to conceal the true nature of the world; and the truth implies the acceptance of the futility of any attempts to find the ontological principle underlying a mere linking of phenomena in the wheel of *saṃsāra*. Both in *Advaita* and in Buddhism the notion of *avidyā* is immediately related to the problem of causality, though the latter finds in them exactly opposed solutions.

"When this sequence (of moments), starting with ignorance, — argues Śaṅkara from a *Sarvāstivāda* point of view, — perpetually revolves like a water-wheel, so that (its components) mutually determine each other, the whole emerges by force of circumstances".[28] However, Śaṅkara at once draws attention to the fact that even in this case a preceding (*pūrva*) moment will cause a succeeding (*uttara*) one but the source of the united whole will still remain without explanation. To follow Śaṅkara's own line of argumentation, when one speaks about the emergence of a pot, one assumes some other agent of this activity, namely, a potter, though is often happens that one does not see a potter at all, merely judging his activity by looking at the object produced.[29]

For Śaṅkara the problem of the emergence of *avidyā*, responsible for setting into motion the wheel of phenomenal existence, was equivalent to the notion of the creation of the world by God. The task facing the *Advaitist* was a difficult one: he had to reconcile the *śruti* sayings about *Brahman* as the cause of the world with the orthodox notion of *Brahman*'s immutability. A solution presented itself in the form of *Vivartavāda* — the doctrine, according to which *Brahman* is regarded as a foundation of the illusory manifestation of universe. So, from the point of view of the ultimate truth, the effects created by *Brahman* are nothing more than new definitions of the eternal reality which does not undergo any changes. That is why Śaṅkara interprets the passage of *Chāndogya Up.* (IV. I. 4) concerning metal objects — the modifications (*vikāra*) of metal

[27] S. Bhikshu. A Survey of Buddhism. Bangalore, 1976, p. 101.

[28] *BSBh*, II. II. 19: *tadevamavidyādikalāpe parasparanimittanaimittikabhāvena ghatiyantravadanisamāvartamāne 'rthakṣipta upapannaḥ saṃghāta iti cet* |

[29] *BSBh*, II. I. 18: *ghaṭasya cotpattirucyamānā ghaṭakartṛkā, kiṃ tarhyanyakartṛkā iti kalpyā syāt* | *tathā kapālādīnām apyutpattirucyamānānyakartṛkaiva kalpyeta* | *tathāca sati ghaṭa utpadyate ityukte kulālādīni kàraṇānyutpadyante ityuktaṃ syāt* | *naca loke ghaṭotpattirityukte kulālādīnāmapyutpadyamānatā pratīyate* | *utpannatāpratīteḥ* |

— as *vācārambhana* ('starting from speech'), implying that they are real not as separate and specific objects but only to the extent of their participation in the nature of metal. In the words of *BSBh*, "the modification starts from speech, it is merely a kind of name".[30]

According to *Advaita*, the world is manifested owing to the superimposition of attributes on some immutable entity which is indefinable but essentially real. In this way a transparent glass is obscured and coloured by the object which is seen through it; and, one must add, it is only this colouring and obscuration which makes the glass perceptible to the human eye for the first time. In Śaṅkara's words, "this superimposition, so defined, is called *avidyā* by the sages, while the affirmation of the true nature of something that is real by distinguishing (it from the superimposed things) they call knowledge".[31] In this sense, the source of the world and of the differentiation of souls, the substrate which, unlike *Brahman*, is ever changing and evolving, is *avidyā*, or *māyā*. It would not be correct to assume that in *Advaita māyā* is completely unreal; indeed, in Śaṅkara's words, "something perceived cannot be mere non-being".[32] Beginningless (*anādi*) — because time acquires meaning only with the emergence of phenomenal universe — definable neither as real nor as unreal (*sadasadanirvacanīya*), *avidyā* continues to be the substrate of the world and the only means of our experience up to the sudden rise of the higher knowledge.

The notion of *māyā* in *Advaita* is one of the most interesting and original ideas of Śaṅkara. It should be noted that in Bādarāyaṇa's text this term occurs only once (*BS*, III. II. 3) and the meaning implied is that of sorcery, illusion. Śaṅkara's interpretation of *māyā* became a pretext for violent attacks by many theistically-minded thinkers, including those of the *Vedānta* school.[33] However, the complaints of the later *Vedāntists* concerning the incomprehensibility of *māyā-avidyā* and its inaccessibility to the *pramāṇas* are hardly valid. In *Advaita* this entity is essentially indefinable and one can approach it only through opposing it to *ātman* (which is often called *vidyā*, or knowledge). According to the popular metaphor, a person wishing to know *avidyā* would be like someone trying to see darkness with the help of a burning torch.

Another aspect of the problem may be mentioned in this connection. The *Advaitists* after Śaṅkara usually distinguished between *māyā* — a creative

[30] *BSBh*, II. I. 14: . . . *vācārambhanaṃ vikāro nāmadheyam* |

[31] *BSBh*, I. I. I: *tametamevaṃlakṣaṇamadhyāsaṃ paṇḍitā avidyeti manyante* | *tadvivekena ca vastusvarūpāvadhāraṇaṃ vidyām āhuḥ* |

[32] *BSBh*, II. II. 28: *nacopalabhyamānasyaivābhāvo bhavitumarhati* |

[33] For example, Rāmānuja considered Śaṅkara's *māyāvāda* to be a direct compromise with the Buddhist teaching. His famous seven arguments against *Advaita* notion of *māyā* mostly deal with the problem of its receptacle (*āśraya*) and source (*Śrībhāṣya*, I. I. I).

power of *iśvara* — and *avidyā* — an ignorance characteristic of an individual consciousness. It is not by chance that these two terms are completely interchangeable for Śaṅkara. By insisting on the initial identity of *Brahman* and the living soul, Śaṅkara easily shifts the angle of the polemics from the gnoseological sphere to the ontological one.

Śaṅkara's interpretation of causality as an inalterable preservation of the substrate, which is regarded as immutable from the point of view of the ultimate truth, is directed straight against the Buddhists. The main principle of causality common to all Buddhist schools was the notion of *pratītya-samutpāda*, or 'dependent origination'. According to Śaṅkara, it can be summed up in the following words: "With the emergence of the succeeding moment the preceding one is obliterated".[34] Usually *pratītya-samutpāda* is described in terms of functional dependence: the effect here is not originated by the cause — there is nothing between them to suggest an interfusion of essence and, therefore, no real connection between two successive moments of existence.

As for Śaṅkara himself, it is impossible for him even to imagine "the emergence of the effect which would not be coloured by the essence of its cause".[35] In the first part of the second *adhyāya* of *BSBh* where the relation of the cause and the effect is investigated in connection with the main notions of *Advaita* Śaṅkara writes as follows: "Though (everything) is devoid of differences and does not exist prior to (its emergence), there is some inclination (lit. 'preference' — *atiśaya*) for curds in milk and not in a clump of clay . . . But then, owing to the existence of such an inclination, *Asatkāryavāda* doctrine is destroyed and *Satkāryavāda* doctrine is established (beyond doubt)".[36] Formally, this argumentation is directed against the *Vaiśeṣikas* but its main points are to some extent applicable to the Buddhist teaching as well. Of course, a Buddhist could always argue that *atiśaya* may be interpreted as a certain combination of conditions which makes possible the emergence of the effect. However, it should be borne in mind that the core of Śaṅkara's argumentation does not come here merely for the voicing of views similar to the *Sāṃkhya* notion of evolution (*pariṇāmavāda*).

T. Stcherbatsky drew attention to the fact that the notions of causality in *Sāṃkhya* and Buddhism are exactly opposed to each other and because of that may be regarded as mutually complementary: the former system ignores the qualities, so that the development is presented as a kind of perpetual change inside the substrate, namely, *prakṛti*, while in the latter the qualities

[34] *BSBh*, II. II. 20: . . . *uttarasmin kṣaṇe utpadyamāne pūrvaḥ kṣaṇo nirudhyata iti* |

[35] *BSBh*, II. II. 20: *hetusvabhāvānuparaktasya phalasyotpattyasaṃbhavāt* |

[36] *BSBh*, II. I. 18: *atha viśiṣṭe 'pi prāgasattve kṣīra eva dadhnaḥ kaścidatiśayo na mṛttikāyām, . . . atastarhyatiśayavattvāt prāgavasthāyā asatkāryavādahāniḥ satkāryavādasiddhiśca* |

devoid of any foundation are moving in springs, or, to be more exact, for ever flashing into existence. Śaṅkara's concept of causality may be placed above this duality: evolution (*pariṇāma*) continues in the domain of *avidyā*, while the real (*sat*) foundation of the world is the immutable *Brahman*, transferring its own reality to *avidyā* which represents its own reverse side and thus participates in its being and therefore is, in a sense, identical with it.[37]

Śaṅkara draws attention to the inner core of the Buddhists' statements which unavoidably imply that existence is rooted in non-being (*abhāva*) intermittingly swelled up into being by successive moments (*kṣaṇa*); he is certainly right when he maintains that "a non-existence of the permanent cause leads to the assumption of something emerging out of nothing".[38] Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that Śaṅkara's specific arguments brought up against this notion are valid only on the empirical level of knowledge. For example, he says: "If existence were to arise out of nonexistence, the assumption of different causes would become meaningless, because non-being is beyond any attribute".[39] or, in other words, any effect could arise anywhere, which contradicts ordinary experience.[40]

It is evident that an objection of this kind is a double-edged weapon which could easily be turned against Śaṅkara's own *Advaita*; indeed, Śaṅkara himself is far from ignoring this circumstance. "If an effect were to emerge from immutable cause, anything could arise anywhere — because of the identity (of the cause)", — argues the *Advaitist* from the viewpoint of *Sarvāstivāda* adherents.[41] An entity indeterminable in its essence and devoid of any attributes can be called either *bhāva* or *abhāva*, its reality is only arbitrarily postulated by the *Advaitist owing to his reference to śruti texts*. This is probably the reason why the problem of causality is considered by Śaṅkara in the part of his commentary given up to the investigation of *Brahman* as the material cause (*upādāna*) of the world. So, when Śaṅkara maintains that the terms 'origination' (*utpāda*) and 'annihilation' (*nirodha*) determine two states called 'beginning' and 'end' of an entity which is intermediate between them,[42] — this statement should be considered not only as an argument directed against the

[37] Cf. *BSBh*, II. I. 16: *yathāca kāraṇaṃ brahma triṣu kāleṣu sattvaṃ na vyabhicaratyevaṃ kāryamapi jagattriṣu kāleṣu sattvaṃ na vyabhicarati ekaṃ ca punaḥ sattvam ato 'pyananyatvaṃ kāraṇātkāryasya* |

[38] *BSBh*, II. II. 26: *. . . yataḥ sthiramanuyāyikāraṇamanabhyupagacchatām abhāvādbhāvotpattiriti . . .* |

[39] *BSBh*, II. II. 26: *yadyabhāvādbhāva utpadyeta abhāvatvāviśeṣāt kāraṇaviśeṣābhyupagamo 'narthakaḥ syāt* |

[40] *BSBh*, II. II. 20—21.

[41] *BSBh*, II. II. 26: *kūtasthāccetkāraṇātkāryam utpadyeta aviśeṣāt sarvaṃ sarvata utpadyeta* |

[42] *BSBh*, II. II. 20: *. . .utpādanirodhaśabdābhyāṃ madhyavartino vastuna ādyantākhye avasthe abhilapyete iti . . .* |

Buddhist doctrine of momentariness (*kṣaṇikavāda*), but also in a more general aspect, i.e. as Śaṅkara's testimony to the grade (or level) of the reality of phenomenal world which, according to *Advaita*, is indefinable in terms of 'real' or 'unreal' (*sadasadanirvacanīya*). In Śaṅkara's words, "the state of the manifested names and forms differs from that of the unmanifested ones. Therefore, though the effect remains identical with the cause even before the creation, from the viewpoint of the difference in the states, the effect is regarded as being non-existent before (the act of) creation". And further on: "Because it is considered in the world that something exists when it is manifested through names and forms, so, conceding to ordinary views, we say that the world did not exist before its manifestation through names and forms".[43]

The notion of causality is closely connected to the relation between substance and quality (*dharma-dharmi-bhāva*). The Buddhists deny the reality of such a relation, in their opinion, the substance is identical with its attributes and may be reduced to them, so that the only reality is a primary element-quality (*svalakṣaṇa*) which appears from the non-being in order to return to it a moment later. In *Advaita dharma-dharmi-bhāva* permeates all the phenomena of the empirical world. In the words of Śaṅkara which seem to be directed specially against the Buddhists (though, in fact, they were said in a totally different context), "the quality which leaves its substance will lose its essence of being the quality".[44] The relation of substance and attribute in *Advaita* is regarded as a more limited application of the relation of origination (that of the cause and the effect). In this way the relation is once again connected to the creation of the world by *Brahman* which is interpreted here not as a *temporal* event (such an interpretation, in Śaṅkara's opinion, is, after all, nothing more than a concession to common sense) but rather as a *temporary* qualitative determination of *Brahman* through phenomenal characteristics. In other words, all the limitations, ascribed to *Brahman*, are conditioned by *avidyā* which is understood not only as personal ignorance but as universal evolution.[45] That is why, for example, the definitions of a living soul (*jīva*), which is considered to be atomic in size, active, etc., are valid only on the profane level of discussion.[46]

Jīva is radically different from the rest of the world; its reality is absolute and without reserve. In Śaṅkara's words, "the eternity of this (*jīva*) is known from *śruti* through the absence of modifications and the absence of origin of

[43] *BSBh*, II. I. 17: *vyākṛtanāmarūdatvād dhi rmād avyākṛtanāmarūpatvaṃ dharmāntaraṃ, tena dharmāntareṇāyamasadvyapadeśaḥ pragutpatteḥ sata eva kāryasya kāraṇarūpenānyasya | . . . nāmarūpavyākṛtaṃ hi vastu sacchabdārthaṃ loke prasiddham | ataḥ prāṇnāmarūpavyākaraṇādasadivāsīdityupacaryate |*

[44] *BSBh*, II. III. 29: *guṇatvam eva hi guṇinamanāśritya guṇasya hīyeta |*

[45] Cf. *BSBh*, II. III. 18.

[46] Cf. *BSBh*, II. III. 29; II. III. 40.

immutable *Brahman* which (may exist) as *Brahman* and as individual soul''.[47] *Jīva*, falsely identifying itself with the qualities of intellect (*buddhi*) and so on, has in Śaṅkara's system an ontological status similar to that of *īśvara*; the ascribing of attributes to an individual soul or to a personified God starts along with the mythological history of the *avidyā* evolution. From the viewpoint of its real essence, however, *ātman* cannot be regarded as a kind of substance. In Śaṅkara's words, "consciousness is its exclusive nature";[48] further on the *Advaitist* continues: "And this *ātman* of the nature of consciousness is devoid of attributes and is not grasped by speech and intellect".[49] So, even consciousness is interpreted here not as a function or attribute of soul but as its own nature (because the difference between substance and quality is not applicable in the case of *ātman*).[50] It is not by accident that one of the Bādarāyaṇa *sūtras* (II. III. 18) — *"jño 'ta eva"* is interpreted by Śaṅkara as *"jñānam eva"*, that is, "only knowledge", or "only consciousness", though, according to Pāṇini (III, I. 135), *'jñaḥ'* is synonymous with *'jñatṛ'*, or 'subject of consciousness or knowledge'.[51]

The immutable foundation of transient attributes is *Brahman* itself; its constant presence, according to Śaṅkara, explains the identity of the agent of perception and memory. A *Sarvāstivādin*, recognizing only the reality of momentary qualities, resorts to the notion of 'conformity' or 'similarity' (*sārūpya*) which is understood as a sort of coordination between successive mental states. For Śaṅkara the possibility of establishing one and the same subject of the preceding moment and the succeeding one is ensured by the single and unified nature of *ātman*: "Perhaps, sometimes a doubt may arise as regards to the external object . . . — whether it is the same (thing) or merely similar to it. But there is never any doubt as regards to the perceiving (subject) — whether it is I or merely someone similar to me, because one feels a certain identity (represented in the words) 'I, who saw it yesterday, remember it today'. Therefore the teaching of the nihilists (who deny *ātman*) is inconsistent".[52]

[47] *BSBh*, II. III. 17: *nityatvaṃ hyasya śrutibhyo 'vagamyate tathājatvamavikāritvam avikṛtasyaiva brahmaṇo jīvātmanāvasthānaṃ brahmātmanā ceti* |

[48] *BSBh*, III. II. 16: *caitanyam eva tu nirantaramasya svarūpaṃ* |

[49] *BSBh*, III. II. 18: *cāyamātmā caitanyarūpo nirviśeṣo vāṇmanasātītaḥ* |

[50] Cf. *BSBh*, II. III. 29: *caitanyam sva hyasya svarūpam agnerivauṣṇyaprakāśau* | *nātra guṇaguṇivibhāgo vidyata iti* |

[51] The latter case is exactly the way the *sūtra* is interpreted by Rāmanuja, for whom the faculty of consciousness or perception is an essential *attribute* of the soul.

[52] *BSBh*, II. II. 25: *bhavedapi kadācidbahyavastuni . . . tadevaṃ syāttatsadṛśaṃ veti saṃdehaḥ* | *upalabdhari tu saṃdeho 'pi na kadācidbhavati sa evāhaṃ syām tatsadṛśo veti* | *ya evāhaṃ pūrvedyuradrākṣaṃ sa evāhamadya smarāmiti niścitatadbhāvopalambhāt* | *tasmād apyanupapanno vaināśikasamayaḥ* | This concept, according to which there is no need to resort to any other consciousness in order to verify the existence of one's own

To sum up briefly the most important points of Śaṅkara's dispute with *Sarvāstivāda*, one should first of all mention his objections against the Buddhist notion of causality, as well as his criticism of the denial of *ātman*. In both cases the main line of the polemics is strengthened by the *Advaitist* conception of a permanent foundation which is immutable but simultaneously capable of bringing about illusory modifications. One is greatly tempted to present Śaṅkara as a kind of objective idealist philosopher. Indeed, after S. Radhakrishnan, it became almost universally accepted to interpret in this light Śaṅkara's arguments against the Buddhists.[53] However, the essence of Śaṅkara's dispute is not exhausted by the arguments valid on a common sense level of reasoning; otherwise one would be forced to admit that the *Advaitist* did not bother himself with considering seriously the Buddhist notion of causality and the controversy lost its meaning because of the replacement of the initial postulates. In fact, Śaṅkara's chief object was the use of critical argumentation for a gradual approach to the ontological concepts of *Advaita* where causality is directly linked to the notion of Brahman as the foundation of the phenomenal world and the idea of creation.

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conscious self, was integrated into *Advaita* from Kumārila's *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*. However, in the latter it was emphasized that every act of cognition leads to the specific knowledge (e.g. the perception of colour) which does not need a corroboration by the data of other *pramāṇas*, having their own functions and their own objects. Śaṅkara points out that one should not take recourse to a new act of cognition in order to grasp the perception 'I am', which is quite familiar to everyone. An endless regression of reflection and perception is brought to an end because its foundation is the immutable and eternal *ātman*.

[53] One is especially prone to regard Śaṅkara in this way in view of such passages as, for example, the often-cited instance of a seed which is dying but still partly preserved in a sprout — *BSBh*, II. II. 26: *anupamṛdyamānānāmevanuyāyināṃ bīj̄ādyavayavānāmaṇkurādikāraṇabhāvaḥ . . .*

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LE BOUDDHISME, SON EXPRESSION TIBETAINE DANS LA VALLEE DE KATHMANDU, NEPAL

ASPECTS SOCIOLOGIQUES ET ECONOMIQUES D'UNE EXPANSION HORS DU TIBET, 1959—1984

C. JEST (C. N. R. S., Meudon)

Introduction

La vallée de Kathmandu, située dans la partie centrale de la chaîne himalayenne a été, depuis plus d' un millénaire, un centre culturel important: les activités religieuses, tant hindouistes que bouddhistes, s'y sont développées, trouvant dans ce site relativement protégé par sa situation géographique un havre de paix. Ce fut aussi un refuge pour de nombreux religieux indiens persécutés par les Musulmans qui envahirent le Nord de l'Inde à partir du XII ème siècle.

La population autochtone, les Newar, a été elle-même soumise aux deux grands courants de pensée religieuse, l'Hindouisme, le Bouddhisme, et l'expression de cette pensée se reflète à la fois dans la tradition et dans les manifestations de la vie contemporaine[1].

Le Bouddhisme de la vallée de Kathmandu, identique au Bouddhisme tibétain jusqu'à la fin du XIII ème siècle commença à se particulariser sous l'influence de l'Hindouisme, mutation encouragée par les dynasties règnantes. Les moines disparurent, incorporés dans les strates les plus élevées d'un système rigide de castes reproduisant le modèle hindou. A la fin du XVIII ème siècle, l'Hindouisme militant des rois de Gorkha accentua cette pression sur le Bouddhisme Newar et son culte. Cependant un lien ténu continuait à exister entre la société Newar et le Tibet et sa religion par l'intermédiaire des marchands qui maintenaient des contacts étroits avec les centres du Tibet. La plupart de ces marchands épousèrent des tibétaines et ils restèrent imprégnés par le Bouddhisme tibétain. Ce sont eux qui à la suite des événements politiques en 1950, puis en 1959, sont revenus s'établir à Kathmandu, et ont multiplié des lieux de culte; ils ont été les premiers

[1] Pour le Bouddhisme au Népal cf. D. S. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 91—120.

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à accueillir et à aider les réfugiés tibétains et leurs maîtres religieux. Il faut ajouter aussi que dans les hautes vallées proches du Tibet, des populations d'origine tibétaine pratiquaient depuis longtemps un bouddhisme de style tibétain.

La vallée de Kathmandu lieu saint du Bouddhisme tibétain, avant 1959

La vallée de Kathmandu a été depuis fort longtemps un lieu de pèlerinage pour les Bouddhistes du Tibet. Ce pèlerinage est d'ailleurs considéré comme l'un des quatre grands et doit se faire l'année de l'Oiseau, *bya-lo*.[2]

Selon un itinéraire précis, on entrait dans la vallée par le Nord-Est (Sankhu) ou par le Nord-Ouest (Kakani) et on se rendait tout d'abord à Bodhnāth (*bya-rong-bkha-shor*) pour y trouver un gite avant de faire le tour des sanctuaires.

Le pèlerinage se pratiquait surtout en hiver, dans la période de nouvel-An (en général en Janvier-Février) considérée plus opportune pour des raisons climatiques (avant toute autre la chaleur forte du temps de mousson) et en l'absence de travaux agricoles.

Un pèlerin d'il y a trente ans, revenant dans la vallée, serait surpris non seulement des changements de toutes sortes, mais aussi de la transformation des sanctuaires bouddhiques et du développement des constructions religieuses. C'est ce point que nous voudrions exposer en essayant d'analyser les raisons de cette évolution.

Les événements politiques qui se sont déroulés au Tibet au début de 1959 et le départ du Dalai Lama pour l'Inde en Mars de la même année ont provoqué tout d'abord un exode massif de l'élite religieuse et sociale puis est venue l'interdiction de pratiquer la religion sur l'ensemble du territoire tibétain.

Les Tibétains se sont donc réfugiés au Népal, pays plus proche du leur, et tout particulièrement à Kathmandu.

Si la vallée était déjà un lieu saint il n'y avait à l'époque que peu de sanctuaires du bouddhisme dans sa forme tibétaine; — à Bodnāth au Nord du stupa s'élevait un temple dont le propriétaire était originaire de Yol-mo (Helambu), les religieux, résidants, tous de l'ethnie Tamang, appartenaient à l'ordre *rnying-ma-pa*, à l'Est du stupa se trouvait un petit monastère construit par un lama originaire de Mongolie (connu sous le nom de *Sog-po Rin-po-che*), édifié sur le plan traditionnel tibétain à deux niveaux; — à Swayambhū, un monastère était construit à l'angle Nord-Est du stupa principal;

[2] Pour les bouddhistse de la région himalayenne les quatre grands pèlerinages sont: le Mont Kailas (année du Cheval), Lapchi Chubar (année du Mouton), Tsari (année du Singe) et Kathmandu (année de l'Oiseau).

— existaient aussi trois petit sanctuaires, l'un sur les pentes de Sheopuri au Nord de la vallée, le second au Sud à Parphing, le troisième hors de la vallée à Namo-Buddha.

Temples et monastères construits depuis 1959

Depuis vingt-cinq ans on assiste à une véritable explosion des activités bouddhiques provoquée à l'origine par les événements politiques qui se sont produits au Tibet en 1959, mais aussi par l'esprit d'initiative et le dynamisme des religieux tibétains établis le long de l'Himalaya, à proximité de centres religieux déjà existants ou de communautés bouddhistes reconnues.

La vallée de Kathmandu n'as pas échappé à ce renouveau facilité par la proximité du pays d'origine, les possibilités d'accès vers l'Inde, un climat relativement clément, l'existence de sites bouddhiques déjà implantés et l'attitude très bienveillante des autorités népalaises.

Nous avons donc assisté ces vingt-cinq dernières années à l'édification de très nombreux temples, sanctuaires, lieux de méditation dont nous nous proposons de faire un rapide inventaire avant d'analyser les conséquences religieuses et aussi économiques qui découlent de cette activité considérable.

Nous évoquerons aussi les changements survenus dans l'ordre des constructions, l'utilisation de matériaux modernes, en un mot l'adaptation à un mode de vie totalement différent de celui de l'aire culturelle tibétaine d'origine.

Nous donnons dans le tableau ci-joint un relevé des monastères et temples érigés ou en cours de construction en 1984.

Les nouveaux édifices ont été réalisés essentiellement à Bōdhnāth et à Swayambhū.

Nous donnons ci-après des informations complémantaires concernant ces réalisations par localités.

Bōdhnāth

Le site de Bōdhnāth était, il y a trente ans, un modeste ensemble de maisons disposées en cercle autour du stupa monumental. Ces maisons à un ou deux étages et à toit de chaume, servaient de logement ou de retraite à des religieux de l'ethnie Tamang. Le rez-de-chaussée était occupé en hiver par des orfèvres Newar de Patan qui y fabriquaient des objets d'argent pour les pèlerins: objets de culte, lampes à beurre, vases à eau lustrale, reliquaires et quelques bijoux pour les Tamang. Une grande porte construite au Sud du stupa donnait accès au parcours de circumambulation.

Lorsqu'on approche du site aujourd'hui, on est frappé par l'urbanisation de cette zone jusqu'ici rurale. La route d'accès a été élargie considérablement

1. Monastères et temples

Nom du temple	*Chef de la communauté*	*Ordre religieux*	Année de *construction*
BŌDHNĀTH *(Bya-rung kha-shor)* et environs			
Rgya bla-ma dgon-pa	*Rgya Bla-ma* (Chine Lama)	*rnying-ma-pa (gter-gsar)*	
dga-ldan chos-'phel gling (bsam-ldan gling)	*Sog-po Rin-po-che* (Lama originaire de Mongolie)	*dge-lugs-pa*	1953 (site)
phrin-las chos-'khor gling	*Zla-bzang rin-po-che*	*Karma bka-rgyud*	1964
brtse-tsan sgrub-gling	*Dpal-ldan blo-gros (Khra-'khrugs Rinpoche)*	*Sa-skya*/Ngor	1969 (ext. 1979/82)
bka-rnying bshad-sgrub gling	*U-rgyan sprul-ku Chos-skyid Nyi-ma)*	*rnying-ma-pa* et *bka-rgyud-pa*	1976
	bdus-'jum Rin-po-che (Mkhas-btsun bzang-po)	*rnying-ma-pa*	1976
bkra-shis chos-'khor gling	*'Phreng-'khor Rin-po-che*	*'brug-pa bka-rgyud*	1980
byams-pa dgon	*Bco-brgyad Kari-chen Rinpoche*	*sa-skya-pa*	début 1981 (don. Newar)
	Bde-zhung Rin-po-che	*sa-skya-pa*	début 1983
zhe-chen-bshad sgrub-mdo sngags chos-gling	*Mkhyen-rtse Rin-po-che*	*rnying-ma-pa*	début 1982
	Nga-dbang tshe-ring	*rnying-ma-pa*	début 1983
	Zla-bzang Rin-po-che	*Karma bka-rgyud*	début 1983
SWAYAMBHŪ			
bsnad-sgrub chos-skor Dar-rgyas gling (Sri Karma Raj Maha Vihar).	*Sa-bchu Rin-po-che* (mort en 1978) *Zhva-dmar Rin-po-che)*	*Karma bka-rgyud-pa*	1953 ext. 1970
Mdo-sngags chos-gling-gyi tsug lag khang	*sku-shog che-chu*	*bka-rgyud-pa*	ext. 1984
Sngags-dan byams-mgon gling	*ser-kong Rdo-rje* (+)	*dge-lugs-pa*	1951 ext. 1972
Shug-khri dgon	*Grub-thob rin-po-che*	*dge-lugs-pa*	1946
Thugs-rje chos-gling (Smyung-gnas lha-khang)	*Grub-thob rin-po-che*	*dge-lugs-pa*	1976—77
'hel-rgyas gling	*mlchen-zhabs rin-po-che*	*dge-lugs-pa*	1975
Bya-rgod phung-po	*(Kusho Che-bchu)*	*zha-dmar bka-rgyud*	1954
Nyi-shang lha-khang		*rnying-ma-pa*	1982
Thugs-dzi chos-gling	*A-ne Yon-tan*	*dge-lugs-pa*	1984

Type (1)	Nombre de religieux (*origine*)	*Bienfaiteurs*	*Observations*
mi-'dzom-sa	Yol-mo (Népal)	Tamang	temple
'dus-pa	70 religieux du monastère de Kyirong *Bsam-ldan-gling*	Tibétains de Kyirong et Newar	
'dus-pa	38 religieux Tibet, Manang		On y pratique la divination par les dés et le chapelet
'dus-pa	85 religieux Tibet, Lo, Manthang	Tibétains	Importante bibliothèque
gzhad-grva	70 religieux Tibet, Manang, Sherpa	Tibétains et Occidentaux	
bzhad-grva	30 religieux	Tibétains	
bhad-grva	38 religieux		
bzhad-grva	3 religieux	Lo Manthang	Un monastère prévu
'dus-pa	3 religieux	Tibétains et Occidentaux	
bshad-sgrub	4 religieux	Tibétains Bhoutanais	
mi-'dzom-sa		Sherpa et Gouvernement du Népal	Sert de lieu de réunion pour la communauté Sherpa.
'dus-pa	20 religieux Tibet, Manang	Tibétains	(extansion de *phrin-las chos 'khor gling*).
bshad/sgrub	40 religieux, Tibet.	Tibétains, Népalais Gouvernement du Népal	Centre d'enseignement
'dus-pa	10 religieux		
bshad/sgrub	57 religieux, Tibet, Newar	Newar, Tibétains	
'dus-pa	40 religieux, Tibet, Tamang, Sherpa.	Tibétains, Sherpa	Cérémonies de jeûne collectif
'dus-pa	36 religieux du Tibet	Tibétains de Nyanang	Ecole pour jeunes religieux
'dus-pa	5 religieuses, Tamang		(Divination par les dés)
mi-'dzom-sa		Manangui	Lieu d'assemblée et de culte
'dus-pa	13 religieuses, Tibet.	Tibétains	

2. Centres de retraite et de méditation

Nom du temple	*Chef de la communauté*	*Ordre religieux*	Année de construction
PHARPING/YANG-LA SHEL (dans le Sud-Ouest de la vallée de Kathmandu)			
Yang-la-shel	*Bya-grags rin-po-che*	*bka-rgyud-pa*	1970
A-su-ra'i dgon	*U-rgyan sprul-sku*	*rnying-ma-pa*	1978
A-su-ra'i dgon	*Khra-khrug Rin-po-che*	*sa-skya-pa*	1978
A-su-ra og'	*Grub-thob Rin-po-che*	*dge-lugs-pa*	1984
SHEOPOURI (au Nord de la vallée de Kathmandu)			
Nagi dgon-pa	*U-rgyan sprul-sku*	*rnying-ma-pa*	1968
NA-MO BUDDHA (à 30 km au Sud-Est de Kathmandu)			
	'Phreng-'khor rin-po-che	*'brug-pa bka-rgyud*	1976
CHU-MIG BYANG-CHUB (à 40 km au Sud-Ouest de Kathmandu district de Palung)			
		rnying-ma-pa	ext. 1980
KOPAN (dans la vallée au Nord de Bōdnath)			
	Bsod-pa Rin-po-che	*dge-lugs-pa*	1972

(1) Dans la langue courante les termes suivants sont utilisés pour désigner la communauté religieuse:
gzhad-grva: monastère où un maître donne un enseignement didactique.
sgrub-grva: monastère où les religieux se livrent à une réflexion personnelle.

et goudronnée; de chaque côté sur plus de trois kilomètres s'étire une ligne continue de maisons, de magasins et de fabriques de tapis. La présence de drapeaux à prières sur la plupart des bâtiments montre l'importance de l'implantation tibétaine.

Dès l'arrivée massive des Tibétains réfugiés en 1959, l'environnement s'est modifié: un certain nombre de demeures ont été transformées, surélevées, avant que l'on assiste à une complète modification de la structure de l'agglomération devenue ville.

Les échoppes des orfèvres Newar ont pratiquement disparu (il en reste deux); elles ont été remplacées par des antiquaires qui vendent des « objets

Type (?)	*Nombre de religieux*	*Bienfaiteurs*	*Observations*
	8 religieux	Tibétains, Bhoutanais	
	6 religieux	Tibétains	
	8 religieux	Tibétains	
	3 religieux	Tibétains	
sgrub-grva	60 à 80 religieux et religieuses	Tibétains	20 ermitages lieux de retraite
	8 religieux		méditation (3 ans)
	4 religieuses	Tibétains Tamang	méditation (3 ans)
	30 religieux	Occidentaux	

'dus-pa, lit.: «lieu d'assemblée»: monastère où les religieux vivent en communauté et suivent une règle (en l'absence d'un chef spirituel reconnu).
mi-'dzom-sa: local de réunions et de culte.

d'art », des objets d'usage courant, des tissus, des tapis et des articles pour touristes . . .

On compte maintenant à Bōdnāth 12 monastères et temples (en y incluant les deux qui existaient en 1959 et ceux qui sont en cours de construction).

— Le temple de Gya Lama (ordre *rnying-ma-pa*), religieux népalais de l'ethnie Tamang;

— Le monastère de *Sog-po Rin-po-che* (ordre *dge-lugs-pa*) qui a donné l'hospitalité à un groupe de moines tibétains, du monatère de *dga-ldan Chos-dpel-gling*, originaires de Kyirong (Tibet du Sud).

— Le monastère *sa-skya-pa* de *Brtse-tsan bshad sgrub-gling*, construit en 1969 par Lama *Dpal-ldan blo-gros*, puis agrandi en 1970; en 1982 une grande bibliothèque y a été ajoutée; 42 religieux y résident.
— Le monastère de *Phrin-las chos-skor*, de l'ordre *bka-rgyud-pa*, construit en 1964 par *Zla-bzang Rin-po-che*, il abrite 25 religieux.
— Le monastère *Bka-rnying bshad-sgrub gling*, édifié en 1971 par trois religieux influents: *U-rgyan sprul-sku*, *Jog-lung*, et *Chos-skyid nyi-ma*; 55 religieux y séjournent en permanence.
— Le temple élevé par *Bdus-jom Rin-po-che* de l'ordre *rnying-ma-pa*.
— Le monastère de *Bkra-shis chos-dpal gling*, de l'ordre *'brug-pa bka-rgyud-pa*, dirigé par *Grang-sku Rin-po-che*.

De plus, cinq monastères sont en construction: deux appartenant à l'ordre *sa-skya-pa*, deux à l'ordre *rnying-ma-pa*, le plus important étant celui que construit *Mkhyen-brtse Rin-po-che* avec l'aide de bienfaiteurs tibétains et bhoutanais, et un de l'ordre *Karma bka-rgyud-pa*.

Enfin un complexe religieux est édifié à l'Ouest du village de Bōdhnāth par le supérieur du monastère de Tengboche (*sten-bo-che*) en pays Sherpa, *Bla-ma Nga-dbang bstan-rzin*, avec l'aide de la communauté Sherpa et du Gouvernement du Népal.[3]

Ce projet mérite d'être présenté avec quelques détails. Le bâtiment est à la fois un temple et un lieu de réunion, il n'a pas de maison mère comme d'autres monastères. Il peut servir de lieu de réunion au moment des élections, pour les cérémonies de fin de deuil ou de mariage. Un local peut être utilisé pur y faire séjourner un mourant, en effet dans le cas d'une location dans une maison d'une caste népalaise ou Newar, on évite toute pollution provoquée par un décès dans la maison. Le plan adopté est celui de modèle du palais *Bsang-ldog dpal-ri* (le «Paradis de Padmasambhava»). Le coût de la construction est de 3.000.000 roupies; un tiers a déjà été réuni, une partie de la somme provient d'une prélèvement sur les gains au jeu, jeu organisé pour la circonstance et portant en tibétain le nom de *rtags-'dus* (un groupe de joueurs, une cinquantaine au moins, se réunit; on joue au majong, dés, cartes, dominos; 10% des gains sont prélevés pour l'oeuvre de charité). (Ce moyen est aussi utilisé pour aider un commerçant en difficulté).

Un nouveau projet est à l'étude en ce moment. Il s'agit de construire un centre religieux et culturel pour les bouddhistes du Népal; il comprendrait à la fois un temple, un lieu de réunion, une bibliothèque, un musée, un centre de médecine traditionnelle et un collège d'enseignement de la philosophie. La construction de ce centre appelé *Rastrya kendrya gompa* sera financée par l'Etat Népalais.

[3] Lama *Nga-dbang bstan-'dzin* a été reconnu comme incarnation d'un religieux tibétain en 1934 et depuis 35 ans il est chef d'une communauté de 40 religieux à Tengboche, dans le district de Solu-Khumbu.

Swayambhū et environs

La colline de Swayambhū est située à trois kilomètres à l'Ouest de la ville de Kathmandu. Elle était séparée de la ville par une succession de rizières Seul le sommet de la colline était couronné de monuments et de constructions votives.

Au Nord du stupa monumental de Swayambhū il y avait un petit monastère élevé au siècle dernier et appartenant à l'ordre *bka- rgyud-pa*; il a été construit en 1953. Il est connu sous le nom de Sri Karma Raj Maha Vihar, en tibétain *bshad-sgrub chos-'khor dar-rgyas-gling gtsug lag-khang*. Il a été considérablement agrandi en 1970. De 1955 à 1966 il a été occupé par des religieux de l'ordre *dge-lugs-pa* puis confié au *Karma-pa* en 1967. Il abrite à présent 40 religieux tous d'origine tibétaine de l'ordre *bka-rgyud-pa*. C'est un centre important d'enseignement.

Directement à l'Ouest du stupa le temple de *mdo-snags chos-gling gyi tsug lag-khang*, plus connu sous le nom de *bka-'gyur lha-khang*, appartient à l'ordre *bka-rgyud-pa* et vient de subir des transformations.

A l'Ouest du stupa, légèrement en contre-bas, un commerçant Newar du nom de Mutig qui avait longtemps résidé à Lhasa fit construire un monastère en 1955. Ce bâtiment a été donné à *Ser-khung Rin-po-che* (ancien moine de Galden) de l'ordre *dge-lugs-pa*. Il fut agrandi en 1972. Une trentaine de religieux tibétains y résident, ainsi que trois religieux Newar. Ce monastère porte le nom de *Byams-pa gling*. D'importants travaux de tranformation ont été entrepris en 1984 et se poursuivent jusqu'en 1985.

Sur la colline appelée *'Jam-dbyangs shug-khri*, à l'Ouest de celle de Swayambhū, il y avait un petit temple édifié par un lama originaire de Shabru dans la haute Trisuli (*bka-rgyud-pa*). Ce dernier offrit le terrain à un religieux tibétain, *grub-thob Rin-po-che*, de l'ordre *dge-lugs-pa*. Un nouveau monastère fut construit en 1976. Dans le temple se déroulent de nombreux jeûnes collectifs (*smyung gnas*) tout particulièrement le jour anniversaire de la naissance du Bouddha et pendant la fête hindoue du Dasaĩ.[4] Il porte le nom de *smyung-gnas lha-khang* ou encore *od-chen thugs-rje chos-gling*.

— Au Nord-Est de la colline de Swayambhū, se trouve le monastère de *'Phel-rgyas-gling*, de l'ordre *dge-lugs-pa* avec 36 religieux; certains d'entre eux sont originaires du monastère tibétain du même nom situé à Nyanang près de la frontière népalaise, au Nord-Est de Kathmandu.

— Dans le voisinage de la colline de Swayambhū au Sud-Ouest sur une hauteur appelée *Bya-rgod phung-pa*, est situé un monastère de religieuses de l'ordre *zhva-dmar bka-rgyud-pa*; la responsable de la communauté est Tamang; elle est

[4] Au cours de la fête religieuse hindouiste du Dasaî de nombreaux animaux sont sacrifiés, ceci constitue pour les Bouddhistes une faute grave.

souvent consultée car elle pratique la divination avec les dés;[5] les bienfaiteurs sont Newar.

Un nouveau monastère de religieuses est en cours de construction à l'Ouest de Swayambhū; les donateurs sont des tibétains de Kyirong. L'abbesse, *A-ni Yon-tan*, est originaire de Dzongka au Tibet. Ce groupe de vingt religieuses s'était réfugié à Yol-mo, vallée située au Nord-Est de Kathmandu mais les bâtiments ont été emportés par une innondation il y a trois ans.

Les membres de la communauté de Manang (Nyi-shang), originaires d'une haute vallée du Népal central, ont décidé de construire une maison de communauté *mi-'dzom-sa*, et un sanctuaire à proximité de Swayambhū. Ces Manangui, de langue et de culture tibétaines, sont des commerçants dynamiques qui n'hésitent pas à se déplacer vers la Thaïlande, Hong-kong, Singapour et l' Inde du Nord pour y pratiquer de fructueuses affaires. Bouddhistes, ils ont un sentiment religieux développé qui s'exprime par les offrandes régulières aux temples, la construction et l'entretien des sanctuaires dans la vallée et, tout récemment, la décision d'édifier un centre religieux dans la vallée de Kathmandu. Le terrain a été acquis en 1982 par un groupe de bienfaiteurs. La construction a été terminée en Octobre 1984.

Patan

A Patan, il y a un petit temple de l'ordre *rnying-ma-pa* construit par Gyachunga, un marchand Newar de Lhasa, à proximité du temple de Matsyendranāth, dans la partie Sud de la ville. Une quinzaine de religieux Newar en sont les desservants.

Cette liste ne serait pas complètè si on ne signalait pas le projet du religieux *zhva-dmar Rin-po-che* (originaire de Dergue-khams). Ce dernier va construire un monastère et collège d'enseignement près de Machegaon dans le Sud-Ouest de la vallée de Kathmandu. Les terrains ont été acquis et les travaux doivent commencer en 1985. Ce monastère abritera un centre d'enseignement et permettra la méditation pour des périodes de longue durée. Deux cents à trois cents personnes y séjourneront en permanence.

Centres de méditation

La vallée de Kathmandu a été, dès l'introduction du Bouddhisme en Himalaya et au Tibet, un lieu privilégié de réflexion et de méditation. La tradition rapporte que des sages comme Naropa, Dārika, Ratnarakshita y séjournèrent.

[5] *Zhva-dmar Rin-po-che* dirige un réseau de centres de méditation en Occident, en Europe aussi bien qu'en Amérique. En France le centre le plus important se trouve en Dordogne près de Montignac.

L 'extension de la religion bouddhisque et le nombre croissant de Tibétains qui participaient aux pèlerinage expliquent le développement des centres de méditation qui se situent dans quatre localités: à Pharping, dans le Sud de la vallée, à Nagi sur les flancs du Sheopuri, montagne qui se dresse au Nord, à Namo Buddha[6] situé à une trentaine de kilomètres au Sud-Est de la ville de Kathmandu, à proximité de la petite ville de Panauti, enfin près de Palung sur la route qui relie au Sud Kathmandu au Terai et à l'Inde.

Pharping (tibétain classique: *Yang-la-shel*) est un lieu de pèlerinage très important pour les Bouddhistes, situé dans la partie Sud de la vallée de Kathmandu, au pied de la montagne.

Trois maisons de méditation ont été construites par les responsables de communauté *sa-skya-pa*, *rnying-ma-pa* et *bka-rgyud-pa* près du lieu Asura *brag-phug*.

Un petit monastère a été construit en 1971 à proximité d'un ermitage où réside un religieux originaire du Khams, *Bya-grags Rin-po-che*, protégé de la reine du Bhoutan, entouré de dix religieux tibétains.

Sur les flancs Sud de la crête de Sheopuri, il y avait un petit temple *rnying-ma-pa* construit par un bienfaiteur Newar de Patan. Le lieu-dit porte le nom de *Nagi dgon-pa*. Ce lieu était la propriété de *Bkar-bzang Rin-po-che* qui l'offrit au Dalai Lama en 1960, lequel le donna au Karmapa. *O-rgyan sprul-sku* construisit un temple en 1967. En 1983 une quinzaine de maisons de méditation ont été édifiées sur les flancs de cette montagne. Soixante cinq religieuses originaires de Yol-mo, Manang et des Newar y sont présentes.

A Namo buddha (tibétain classique: *Stag-mo lus-sbyin*) *Grang-sku Rin-po-che* de l'ordre *'brug-pa bka-rgyud*, a construit un petit monastère sur la crête dominant le site historique. Le bâtiment, de forme très allongée, datant de 1977, comprend un temple et une douzaine de cellules. A proximité viennent d'être terminés un bâtiment abritant un moulin à prières et le premier d'une série de huit stupa.

A l'extérieur de la vallée de Kathmandu, à proximité de la route reliant la vallée à l'Inde du Nord, près du col de Palung-Daman, se trouve le lieu de pèlerinage de *Chu-mig byang-chub bdud-rtsi*; le saint Padmasambhava au cours de son voyage qui devait le conduire au Tibet pour y éliminer tous les démons s'y arrêta.

D'après la tradition, une délégation de tibétains vint à sa rencontre pour lui offrir de l'or en échange de ses pouvoirs de magicien. Jetant l'or en l'air, il dit: « Qu'ai-je à faire de votre or alors que je possède les pouvoirs magiques de transformer la terre en or? ». Il passa la nuit dans ce lieu et n'ayant pas d'eau, il frappa la roche avec son poignard; une source jaillit; de cette source coule

[6] C'est à Namo Buddha que Bouddha, dans une de ses vies antérieures, a offert son corps à une tigresse affamée qui n'arrivait plus à allaiter ses petits.

désormais du lait dans la nuit du 14ème au 15ème jour du ler mois lunaire tibétain. Plusieures cellules de méditation pour religieux sont en cours de construction près de ce sanctuaire.

Situé à l'écart des agglomérations urbaines de la vallée, au Nord de Bōdhnāth, Kopan est devenu un centre de réflexion et d'enseignement de la doctrine bouddhique, il est fréquenté essentiellement par des Occidentaux.[7]

Conclusion

«La civilisation tibétaine est, cela est certain, encore vivante dans l'aire himalayenne (Ladakh, Népal, Sikkim, Bhutan) mais comme elle a été systématiquement détruite au Tibet proprement dit, on peut se poser la question de savoir pendant combien de temps elle va survivre sous sa forme originelle dans des territoires qui sont, à tout prendre, marginaux. Parmi les Tibétains réfugiés en Inde, au Népal et ailleurs, des efforts ont été faits pour préserver et maintenir la vie religieuse traditionnelle sous ses diverses formes; mais çes efforts sont bien évidemment limités à cause des environnements sociaux et matériels, souvent radicalement différents . . . Ainsi une étude de la religion tibétaine sera-t-elle obligatoirement une étude du changement . . .» Le texte ci-dessus est extrait d'un article de Per Kvaerne, «Continuity and change in Tibetan monasticism» consacré à l'étude de la continuité et du changement dans la vie monastique tibétaine. Celle-ci a trouvé au Népal un terrain d'expansion privilégié de par l'affluence de réfugiés nombreux et l'existence en divers lieux de sanctuaires anciennement vénérés et fréquentés; les Népalais non bouddhistes sont, par ailleurs, très tolérants à l'égard des progrès d'une religion implantée dans leur pays. Sous une forme concrète, c'est la construction récente de temples et de monastères, qui, dans la vallée de Kathmandu, frappe l'observateur le moins averti.

Elle implique d'une part une communauté religieuse importante et fervente, d'autre part une participation financière, hors du commun, des possédants. Elle est une démonstration durable (les ruines ont aussi, éventuellement comme au Tibet, leur langage . . .) de la vitalité d'une croyance qui est aussi un mode d'existence. Toutes les conditions semblent réunies au Népal pour cette maintenance et pour les adaptations qu'elle entraîne fatalement. Malgré le nombre important de temples édifiés ou en cours de construction, les bienfaiteurs sont relativement peu nombreux: on les estime à environ six mille en associant les Tibétains réfugiés des années soixante, les Sherpa et les Manangi résidant à Kathmandu. Ces trois groupes sont tous extrêmement actifs et entreprenants. Les Tibétains, originaires essentiellement du Tibet Central et de la province orientale du Khams, ont créé une excellente source de bénéfices en fabriquant des tapis et des tissages, les Manangi font fortune

[7] Des centres de ce type sont nombreaux en Europe et aux Etats Unis.

dans l'importation de produits manufacturés de Hong-Kong et du Sud Est asiatique,[8] les Sherpa tirent de substantiels revenus du tourisme de moyenne et haute montagne.

Si le premier groupe n'a pas encore accès à la propriété à cause de son statut d'apatride, les deux autres, avec des profits importants, réalisent depuis une dizaine d'années d'importantes opérations immobilières (construction de maisons à Kathmandu et à Patan) et font des donations aux oeuvres religieuses au titre d'accumulation d'actes méritoires assurant une meilleure vie future; ils n'oublient pas non plus de confier l'un de leurs fils à un monastère pour qu'il devienne religieux. Une telle pratique s'est maintenue non seulement dans les ethnies de langue tibéto-birmane (Tamang), mais chez celles de langue tibétaine (Sherpa, Manang, Nub-ri, Tsum et Lo-Manthang).

Les Tibétains ne sont pas vraiment intégrés dans la société népalaise, ils restent étrangers dans la vallée de Kathmandu; non seulement ils parlent une langue différente mais ils conservent toutes leurs traditions. Ils forment un groupe social qui n'a pas la contrainte du régime des castes et ne manifeste pas de ressentiment s'il est inscrit assez bas dans l'échelle sociale ou catégorielle.

Le Tibétain vit librement, donnant à croire qu'il se sent plus à l'aise dans sa condition d'apatride que le Newar dans ses avantages d'autochtone. La religion lui est un puissant facteur de cohésion sociale et d'ouverture sur l'universel. Elle assure son identité culturelle.

Les communautés monastiques sont à la fois des foyers de spiritualité et des centre d'étude largement accessibles à tous. Une librairie qui vend exclusivement des ouvrages en langue tibétaine imprimés à Kalimpong, Delhi, Dharamsala et Lhasa a été inaugurée en 1983 à Bōdhnāth. Deux monastères dispensent en enseignement calqué sur celui des écoles népalaises, mais les langues utilisées sont le tibétain et l'anglais. Sur le plan religieux, les grands courants monastiques *sa-skya-pa*, *rnying-ma-pa*, *bka-rgyud-pa* et *dge-lugs-pa* sont représentés avec leurs caractères, leur enseignement et leurs rituels propres. Ces monastères reçoivent des visites de lettrés et sont animés par des lamas extrêmement dynamiques. L'un d'eux, *U-rgyan sprul-sku*, a pris l'initiative de réunir des religieux *rnying-ma-pa* et *bka-rgyud-pa* en vue de fonder un seul monastère à Bodhnāth. La vitalité et la cohésion de la population tibétaine réfugiée au Népal a stimulé les activités du pays d'accueil. Ainsi les ethnies Tamang ou Sherpa, les habitants des districts frontaliers de Wallung, Nub-ri, Tsum, Manang (Nyi-shang), Lo-Manthang, Dolpo et Humla tous proches des émigrés par leurs croyances, ont-ils largement bénéficié de cet effet d'entraînement.

En terminant cette présentation de la vallée de Kathmandu, de ses jeunes monastères témoins d'une foi vive et d'une religion vécue, nous voud-

[8] Les habitants de Manang ont aussi construit un temple en Malaisie et ont invité un lama tibétain pour effectuer les rites de consécration.

rions la définir comme la « vitrine » du Bouddhisme tibétain sous sa forme active et communautaire. C'est ailleurs, hors du Népal, en Inde du Nord ou au Sikkim qu'on peut espérer rencontrer les grands penseurs, les maîtres éminents qui enseignent et perpétuent le Bouddhisme de l'ascèse, de la méditation hors du temps et de l'illumination.

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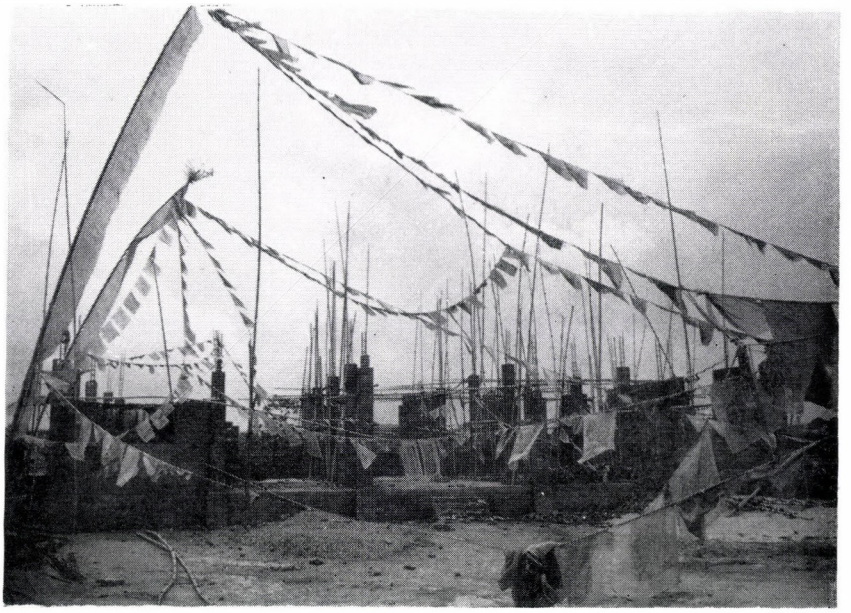
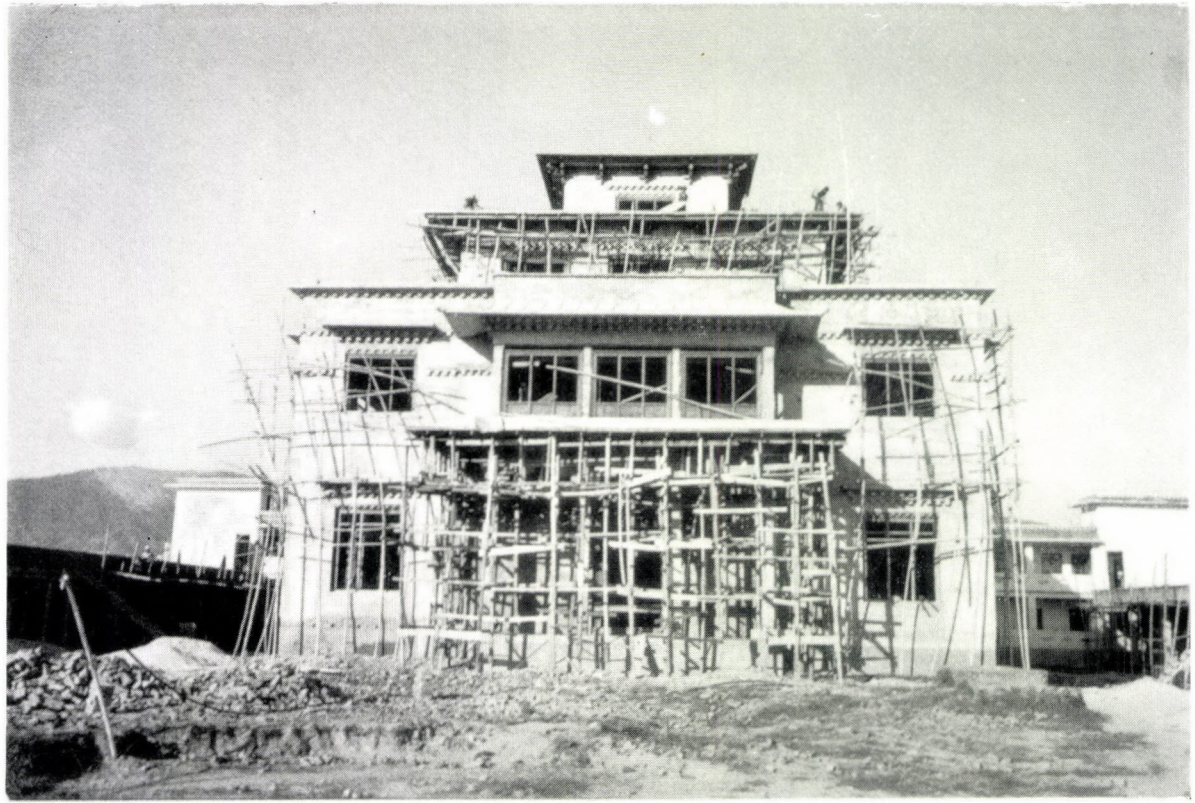
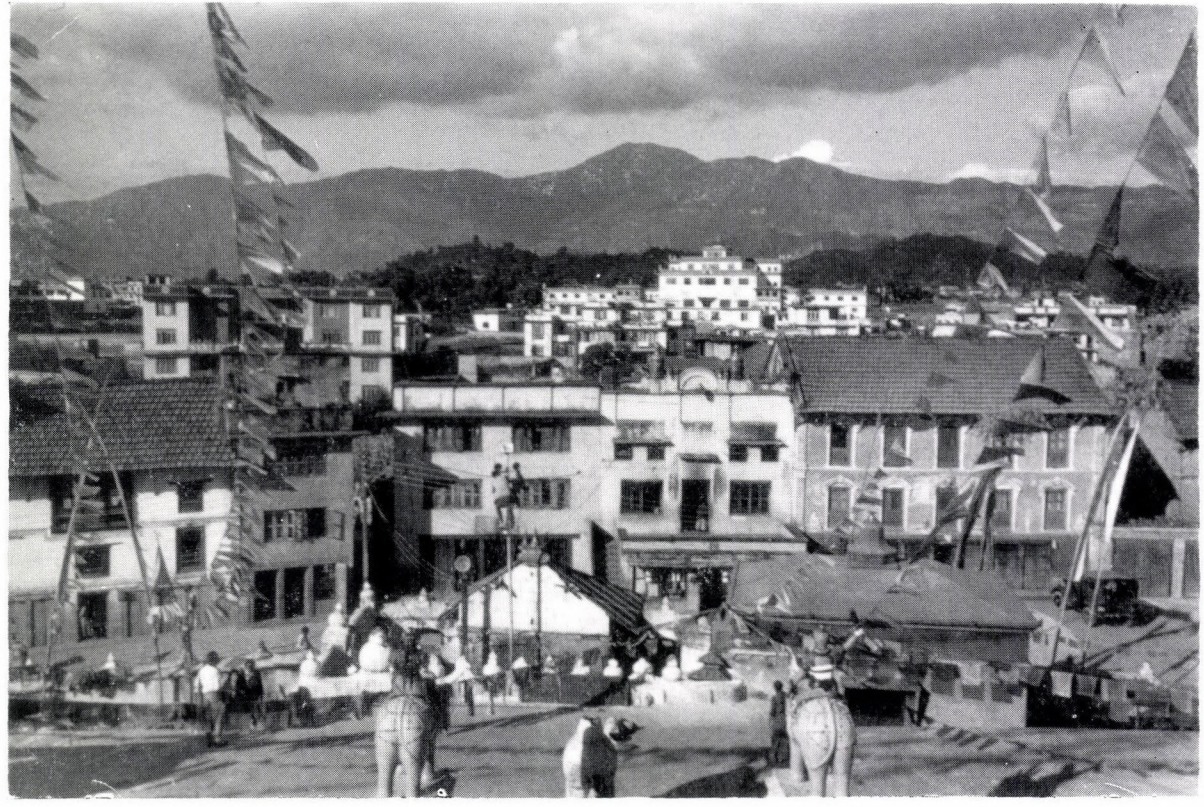


1. Bōdhnāth
   Fondations du monastère et Centre Sherpa. (Etat à la fin de 1983) au Sud Ouest du stupa)



2. Bōdhnāth

Temple du monastère en cours de construction (état en Novembre 1983) par *Mkhyen-brtse Rin-po-che*. L'architecte est Kunzang, un Tibétain du Nyanang, assisté de deux architectes anglais, l'entrepreneur Newar, la main d'oeuvre vient du Bihar et de Inde. Le coût total dépassera sans doute 7.000.000 de Roupies népalaises



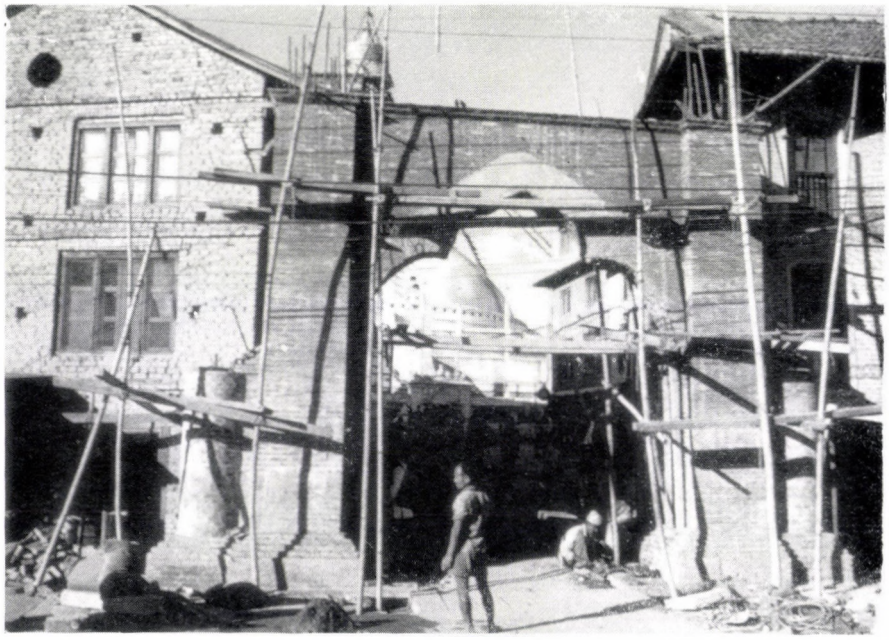
3. Bōdhnāth (Novembre 1983)
Vue prise du stupa en direction du Nord. Au premier plan le temple du *Gya-lama, rnying-ma-pa*. Au second plan le monastère de *bka-rnying bshad sgrub gling*

4. *Nagi dgon-pa* (Novembre 1983)
Temple élevé par *U-rgyan sprul-sku*. Ce temple est entouré d'une vingtaine d'ermitages

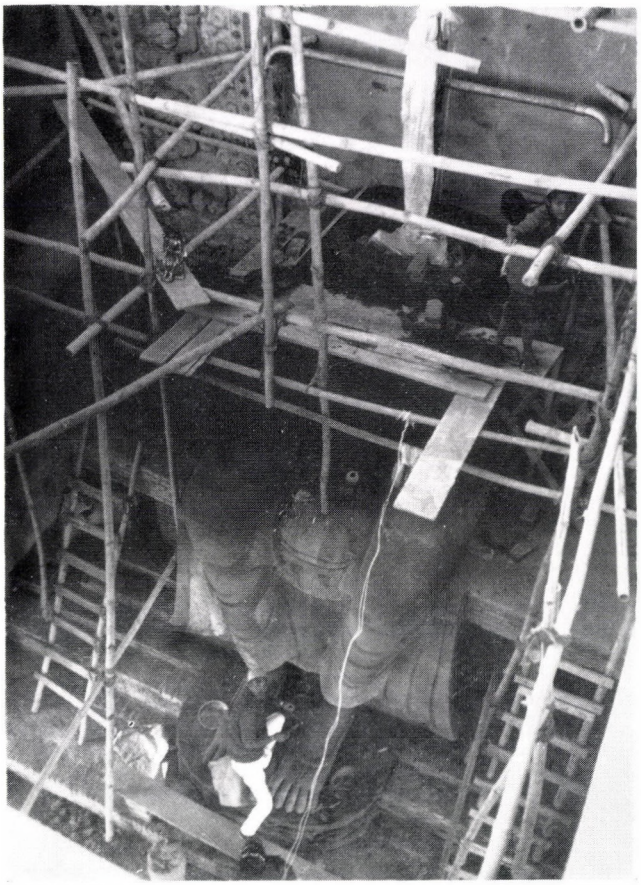
5. Swayambhū (Octobre 1984)
Temple *mdo sngags chos gling*, situé à l'ouest du stupa, aggrandi en 1984

6. Swayambhū (Octobre 1984)
Complexe temple/lieu de réunion construit par les Manangui au pied de la colline de Swayambhū au sud-ouest

7. Swayambhū (Octobre 1984)
Monastère de *Ngags-dan byams dgon* en cours d'aggrandissement



8. Bōdhnāth: construction de la porte monumentale donnant accès au stupa (Octobre 1984)



9. Bōdhnāth (Octobre 1984)
Monastère de *Byams-pa dgon*, en construction.
Edification de la statue de *Byams-pa* dans le corps de laquelle on dépose des objets rituels, ouvrages branches de genevrier, encens et offrandes diverses

Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hung. Tomus XLIII (2—3), 445—466 (1989)

A BAR-DO TREATISE AMONG CSOMA'S TIBETAN MSS

G. KARA (Budapest)

Since the edition of Dawa Samdup's English translation of the Tibetan "Book of the Dead" by Evans-Wentz, great attention has been paid in the Western world to Tibetan works dealing with the "intermediate state". A number of new translations and studies appeared[1], and descriptions of Tibetan sources acquired by libraries throughout the world give information on more and more Tibetan writings in question, but no original text has been published in transcription.

In Alexander Csoma de Kőrös's small collection of Tibetan MSS and blockprints presented by Salamon C. Malan to the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Science there is a Bar-do treatise written on long pustaka leaves of Tibetan paper in dbu-med characters.[2] It is perhaps not useless to publish here an account of the content and a transcription of the text of this short treatise entitled *Bar-do'i gdams-pa sku gsum thar-pa'i ñe-lam*, compiled by Bya-btaṅ Phyag-rdor nor-bu in Stag-sog gaṅs-kyi ra-ba.

[1] See **e.g.** D. M. Back, Eine buddhistische Jenseitsreise. Das sogenannte „Totenbuch der Tibeter" aus philologischer Sicht. Wiesbaden 1979.

[2] A short description is published by J. Terjék, Collection of Tibetan MSS and Xylographs of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös. Budapest 1976, p. 20, no. 2: ". . . The short way liberating the three bodies. Instruction to be followed in the intermediate existence." Pothi, Tib. paper (10,5 cm × 60,5 cm), MS (dbu-med), ff. 1—11, 9 lines. . . . These instructions were compiled by Bya-btaṅ Phyag-rdor nor-bu in the park of Stag-sogs-gaṅs from the teachings of several scholars, with his own corrections. The treatise consists of three parts dealing with the intermediate state of birth and death, with that of the dream and that of existence. — One may add to this that the pagination is given on the right margin of the recto pages in Tibetan, the title is written on the cover in a double frame, the text on ff. 1a—2a is framed, on the other leaves only the right and left margins are bordered by a double line; the number of lines changes from 3 to 10: 6 ll. on f. 1a; 7 ll. on f. 2a; 8 ll. on f. 2b; 9 ll. on ff. 3—6a, 7—10; 10 ll. on f. 6b; the last written page, f. 11a, only bears 3 ll., the final blessing formula is written in small characters, otherwise so are done some inserted words and additions. — Most of the proper names or titles of the authors or authorities cited and most of the titles of works quoted are written in red. — S. Malan's hand on the cover: "No. 15. On Emancipation. (Regulations, advice etc.)"

Acta Orient. Hung. XLIII, 1989
Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

ADVICE ABOUT THE INTERMEDIATE STATE

The short way of liberation through the Three Bodies

(1a) Invocation to the Tathāgata Vajrākṣobhya
Citation of Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe; the aim of the work
The three intermediate states: birth and death, dream, existence
1. between birth and death
2. between falling asleep and awakening
3. between death and birth
Allusion to the Sūtras and Tantras, to Buddha's Word, and to the great teachers
The six conditions (*gnas*, in which the intermediate state
(2a) of existence exists, and [2a] those in which it does not):
from kāmaloka to kāmaloka
from kāmaloka to rūpaloka
from rūpaloka to rūpaloka
[from rūpaloka to kāmaloka]
from arūpaloka to kāmaloka
from arūpaloka to rūpaloka: there is antarabhava,
from kāmaloka to arūpaloka
from rūpaloka to arūpaloka
from arūpaloka to arūpaloka
penetration (*zaṅ-thal*) upwards
penetration downwards: no antarabhava
Need and needlessness of the advice
Quotation from rǰe-bcun Bžad-pa rdo-rǰe on the three kinds of connection between personality and advice:
1) having advice and skill
2) having advice but no skill
3) lacking both advice and skill
The essence (*gnas-bya*) of advice: mahāmudrā as basis, the inner heat (*gtum-mo*), the illusory body, the dream, the light, etc. as the different ways
Advice is needless for the transference (*'pho-ba*) (-2b1)

(2b1) I. *The order of the dissolution of the personality*
The signs of the intermediate state (II)
The method of its recognition being in it (III)
The method of meditation (IV)
The signs of the dissolution of the elements (-2b6)
(2b6) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe
(3a2) Quotation from Rgyal-ba'i dbaṅ-po
(3a8) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe

(3a9) The inner and outer signs of the dissolution of the consciousness (*rnam-šes*) into the mind of phenomena (*snaṅ*), prevention against the 33 conceptions born of anger (-3b1)

(3b1) The cakras (*'khor-lo*) and the dissolution of the mind of phenomena (*snaṅ*), of the diffuse state of mind (*mčhed*), and of the acquiring states of mind (*thob-pa* and *ñer thob-pa*); the way of the white and red drops of semen; prevention against the 40 conceptions born of desire and against the 7 conceptions of nescience, as well as against the three minds (*snaṅ-ba*); the bright voidness (-3b8)

(3b8) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe (-4b2)

(4b2—3) Reaching enlightenment in the dharmakāya

(4a3) Quotation from the *Sñan-brgyud rdo-rǰe* and other works (—4a7)

(4a7) Quotations from Mi-la (*rǰe Mi-la'i gsuṅ*) and the importance of the practice of the mahāmudrā (—4b1)

(4b1) Quotation from rgyal-ba Rgod-chaṅ-pa about the different orders of dissolution, the white way and the red way, rebirth possibilities according to the departure of consciousness through one of the nine openings, and the transference (—4b5)

(4b5) Quotation from the tantra of *Bde-mčhog sdom-'byuṅ* on the same (—4b7)

(4b7) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe on the same (—5a1)

(5a1) Citations of kun-mkhyen Padma dkar-po's *Sre-'pho* and *Sñan-brgyud-kyi yig-čha*, as well as of rǰe Raṅ-byuṅ rdo-rǰe's *Zab-mo naṅ-don* as keeping with Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe, while some tantras, due to scribal errors, show discrepancies (—5a4)

(5a4) **II.** *The signs of the intermediate state*
The fate of the mind-body if transference failed, the influence of the 80 conceptions born from nescience, desire, and anger, (5a6) the fainting or drunken-like state which lasts three and a half days; ignorance of own death and hence suffering of being not heard by relatives and having no portion of food and beverage at the common meals (—5a8)

(5a8) Quotation from Rgyal-ba'i dbaṅ-po on the ignorance of own death and on the passions

(5a9) Quotations from the *Abhidharmakośa* (*Čhos mṅon-pa*) on the significance of the colour, realm, name and duration (—5b4)

(5b4) Quotation from the Sūtras about some cases when rebirth came after a long time because of the suffering caused to the relatives by the death; the story of a brahman family and Kātyāyana (—5b7)

(5b7) Quotation from the *Abhidharmakośa* (*Mṅon-pa*) on the means of liberation from the intermediate state: recalling the tutelar deity and the teacher, sevenfold ritual of chanting spells and of reading the Sūtras (—5b9)

(6a) The case of the proud arhat falling from the fourth samadhi (—6a2)

(6a2) Quotation from the *Abhidharmakośa* (*Mṅon-pa mjod*) on seeing by the divine eye (—6a4)
(6a4) Explanation of the meaning of the Tib. term *sṅon* ~ Skt. *puru*
(6a6) Quotation from 'Ba'-ra-ba on the first and second halves of the intermediate state of existence: the first half determined by the existence preceded, the second half determined by the existence coming (—6a7)
(6a7) Quotation from the *Abhidharmakośa* (*Mṅon-pa mjod*) on the perfection of the organs of senses, its explanation (—6b1)
(6b1) Quotation from the *Bhadrapāla-paripṛcchā* (*Bzaṅ-skyoṅ-gis žus-pa'i mdo*) on the "inner eye" and the "fleshy eye", further explanation of the passage quoted above from the *Abhidharmakośa* (—6b4)
(6b4) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rje on the same (—6b5)

(6b6) **III.** *The method of the recognition of the intermediate state being in it*
The two "channels" (*rca*) and the two "realms" (*khams*) of the bodily body
The outer shapes and lights (sun and moon): these disappeared, neither shadow of the body, nor footprint exist in the intermediate state (—6b8)
(6b8) Allusion to the *Abhidharmakośa* (*Mṅon-pa*) The power of the Deed: the mind-body is carried as swift as a feather by the wind (—6b9)
(6b9) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rje on the same (—6b10)
(6b10) Other signs (words of the dead not heard by the living, etc.)
(6b10) Quotation from 'Ba'-ra-ba (lack of shadow, foot-print, sun- and moon-light, —7a2)
(7a2) Lack of bodily sensation
(7a3) Recognition of being dead in the intermediate state after three and a half days, fear and restlessness (—7a4)
(7a5) Quotation from the *Madhyamaka* (*Rgyud dbu-ma*) on the dharmakāya
Quotation from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (*Brgyad-stoṅ-pa*) and the *Mahāparinirvāna* (*Mya-ṅan 'das čhen-po*) on the same (—7a7)
(7a7) Quotation from Rgyal-ba'i dbaṅ-po on fear and hesitation (—7a8)
(7a9) The self as refuge

(7a9) **IV.** *The method of meditation*
The generative method (*bskyed-rim*, —7b2)
(7b2) Quotation from Rgod chaṅ-pa on the method: its result depends on the will of the meditator (—7b4)
(7b4) The perfective method (*rjogs-rim*, —7b7)
(7b7) Quotation from the Tantra of *Šin-tu rmad-du byuṅ-ba* on obtaining the sambhogakāya by the illusory body
Quotation from Bžad-pa rdo-rje on the same, more detailed (—8a1)

(8a1) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe on phenomena accompanying the generative method (—8a5)
(8a5) The lights of five colours
Quotation from the *Bar-do thos-grol* on the parallel lights and the deceiving force of fear (—8a7)
(8a7) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe on the same (—8a8)
(8a8) The three precipices (—8a9)
(8a9/8b) Quotation from Rgyal-ba'i dbaṅ-po on these (—8b1)
(8b1) Delusion caused by fear (—8b3)
(8b3) The colours of the ways of rebirth (—8b4)
(8b4) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe on these (—8b5)
(8b5) The signs of the continents (—8b7)
(8b7) Male or female birth
(8b7) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe on the signs of the places of rebirth (—8b8)
(8a8) The signs of the places of rebirth (—9a1)
(9a1) Quotation from the *Vajraḍāka-tantra* (*Rdo-rǰe mkha'-'gro'i rgyud*) on the same (—9a4)
(9a4) Quotation from the *Nanda-garbhāvakrānti-sūtra* (*Dga'-bo mṅal-'ǰug-gi mdo*) on the signs of ascending or descending (—9a5)
(9a5) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe on the places of rebirth and on the four forms of birth depending on the passions (—9a8)

(9a8) *Instructions for hindering rebirth*
(9a9) Recalling the teacher in maithuna
Recalling the tutelar deities in maithuna (—9b1)
(9b1) Turning away the passions and recalling the dharmakāya (—9b2)
(9b2) Recognizing all dharmas as unreal and all phenomena as illusory (—9b3)
(9b3) Recalling the light: recognizing the dharmas as mind and the mind as not made of anything and charging the mind with the mind like pouring water into water (—9b4)
(9b4) Any of these five instructions is to be followed a week long
(9b4) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe on closing the door of the womb (— 9b7)
(9b7) Quotation from Padma dkar-po on Akṣobhya as refuge (—9b8)
(9b9) based on a quotation from the *Ratnakūṭa* (*Dkon-mčhog brcegs-pa*) with four possibilities (—10a3)
(10a3) Quotation from Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe on choosing a better rebirth (—10a4)
(10a4) Quotation from Bžad-pa rdo-rǰe summing up the possibilities of the intermediate state of existence, with comments (—10b1)
(10b1) Quotation from Rgyal-ba'i dbaṅ-po on choosing a better rebirth (—10b2)

(10b2) Allusion to Mi-la and the like who are told to be born in Akṣobhya's Pure Land (Mṅon-par dga'-ba'i žiṅ) by the method of charms (*sṅags-lam*), Mi-la's prayer for the benefit of his followers (—10b5)
(10b5) Allusion to J̌o-bo rǰe's example (—10b6)
(10b6) Quotation from the verses of *'Brom-gyi bstod-pa* promising rebirth in Tuṣita for followers (—10b7)
(10b7) Warning not to alter the verses of Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe's prayer entitled *Bar-do gsol-'debs*, adhortation to its proper use (—10b9)
(10b9) The eight benefits of being acquainted with the instruction for the intermediate state (—11a1)
(11a2) *Colophon and blessing*

Transcription of the text[3]

Bar-do'i gdams-pa sku gsum thar-pa'i ñe-lam žes bya-ba bžugs-so: [1a] bla-ma daṅ bčom-ldan-'das Rdo-rǰe mi 'khrugs-pa'i žabs-kyi padmo-la gus-pas phyag['chal]lo: 'dir mchuṅs-med R[g]yal-dbaṅ rǰe'i gsuṅ-r[g]yun-las 'phros-[2]-pa'i bar-do'i rnaṃ-bžag ǰi-ltar 'os-pa žig bri-bar bya'o:

de-la yaṅ skye-ši bar-do rmi-laṃ bar-do srid-pa bar-do-daṅ gsum-las: daṅ-po ni skyes-nas ma ši'i bar daṅ 2-pa ni rmi-[3]-laṃ ñid 'khrul-gyi skabs-te gñid-du soṅ-nas ma sad-kyi bar daṅ: 3-pa ni ši-nas ma skyes-kyi bar-la'o:

gnaskabs gsuṃ-po 'dir 'byed-pa gsuṅ-rab mdo r[g]yud ⟨'d⟩ rin[p]o-[če']i spyi-khyab-[4]-nas gsuṅste: sa[ṅs]r[g]yas-kyi bka'-rnaṃsu bar-do žes 'byuṅ-ba thaṃ[sča]d ši-nas ma skyes-kyi bar srid-pa bar-dor ṅos-'jin-pa 'di-ka byed-pa-las skye-ši bar-do rmi-laṃ bar-do že[s]sog̃s-kyi [5] dbye-ba mi 'byuṅ-gi gnaskabs kyaṅ yod-de žes mkhas-pa čhen-po-dag-gi gsuṅ-las thos-la: 'on-kyaṅ 'khrid-kyi rca-chig 'dra-las 'byuṅ-ba bžin: bla-ma goṅ-[6]-ma'i gsuṅ-r[g]yun-la ni grag̃s če-bar snaṅ-ṅo:

[3] The text is full of abbreviations usual in dbu-med MSS. In the transcription the abbreviations are explained by putting the omitted part(s) in square brackets (the *'jar-thig* only left of the omitted letters of *c*, *ch*, and *j* is not marked in the transcription). Ligature *ṭ* for *gs* is rendered by *g̃s*, more complex ligatures are explained in brackets, e.g. *lya* = *lugs*. Abbreviations by simple haplography like *yode* for *yod-de* or *snaṅo* for *snaṅ-ṅo*, are usually left without explanation. Colon represents a double *cheg* in the MS, + mark corresponds to a cross in the original. — Bold square brackets are used for reconstructed letters of damaged or illegible passages in the original. Insertions of the scribe are given in parentheses, deleted words (marked by a triangle of three points put above the error in the MS) as well as dittographies are closed in angle brackets. Tibetan numerals in the text used for numbers or making part of a logogramm like *2 pa* for *gñis-pa* or 4n for *bžin*, are represented by Arabic numerals. Tibetan numerals used as indices in the text are marked here by elevated Roman numerals.

de-la yaṅ srid-pa bar-do 'byuṅ mi 'byuṅ-gi gnas-skabs kyaṅ yo[d]de 'dod-khaṃs-nas ši-nas 'dod-khaṃsu skye-ba daṅ: 'dod-khaṃs-nas gzya-[= gzugs-] [2a]-khaṃs daṅ gzugs-khaṃs-nas gzugs-khaṃs daṅ: gzug͡s--med-nas 'dod-khaṃs daṅ gzug͡s-med khaṃs-nas gzugs-khaṃsu skye-ba-daṅ drug-la bar-do yod-la: 'dod-khaṃs-nas ši-[2]-nas gzug͡s-med khaṃsu skye-ba daṅ gzug͡s-khaṃs-nas gzug͡s-med khaṃs daṅ: gzya-[= gzugs]-med khaṃs--nas gzug͡s-med khaṃsu skye-ba-daṅ gsuṃ-la bar-do med-par bšad-do; yaṅ yar-gyi zaṅ-thal daṅ: mar-gyi zaṅ-[3]-thal-la bar-do med čes kyaṅ zero: bar--do'i gdaṃs-ṅag mi dgos-pa daṅ dgos-pa'i khyad-par gsuṅs-pa'aṅ yode rǰe-bcun Bžad-pa rdo-rǰes: gdaṃs-ṅag kyaṅ yod-la ñaṃsu blaṅs-pa'i gaṅ[z]ag daṅ: [4] gdaṃs-ṅag yod-la ñaṃsu ma blaṅs-pa'i gaṅ[z]ag daṅ: gdaṃs-ṅag med-la ñaṃsu ma blaṅs-pa'i gaṅ[z]ag-go: že[s]sog͡s gsuṅs[pa]'i daṅ-po ni

gnas-lug͡s phya[g-r]gya čhen[p]o'i daṅ-po ni: gnas-lya[= lugs] phya[g]r[g]ya čhen[p]o'i ñaṃs [5] myoṅ-gis gži gzuṅs: gtum[m]o sgyu-lus: rmi-laṃ 'od-gsal sog͡s-kyi laṃ-gyi myoṅ byuṅ-te che l-gaṃ 'čhi-ba 'od-gsal ṅo ma šes-nas grol-ba'aṃ: 'pho-ba mkha'-spyod (')grub-na;[6] bar-do'i gdaṃs-pa mi dgos-šiṅ phyi-ma ni gdaṃs-ṅag med-la ñaṃsu ma blaṅs-pa'i gaṅ[z]ag phal-po-rnaṃste de-la gdaṃs-pa mi dgos žes-pa'aṅ goṃs-šug͡s med-pas grol-bar dka'-ba-la dgoṅs:-[7]-kyi: čuṅ-zad phan-pa ni srid-do;

bar-pa gdaṃs-ṅag yod-la ñamsu ma blaṅs-pa žes-pa gdaṃ[sṅ]ag leg͡s[pa]r thob kyaṅ: gži-laṃ-gyi ñaṃs[l]en chul mthun byed loṅ ma byuṅ-bar g-yeṅ [2b] ma laṃ-daṅ 'dres-pa-rnaṃs-la bar-do'i gdaṃs-pa ñamsu blaṅs-na bar-do ṅo-šes-kyi thog-tu bskyed-sjogs[k]yi laṃ bsgoṃs-par lo[ṅsp]yod-rjogs-sku thob-pa'aṃ ma thob kyaṅ dag-pa'i žiṅ-du skye-ba 'jin-par 'gyur-bas gal-če žes-pa'o:

de-la yaṅ thiṃ-riṃ-gyi [2] chul bšad-pa bar-do'i rtag͡s daṅ m[j]ad[pa n]i bar-do-la bar-dor ṅo-šes[pa]'i thabs ṅo-šes-nas gdaṃs-pa ǰi[l]tar bsgoṃ[pa]'i chul-daṅ 4-las daṅ[p]o[n]i 'čhi-ba'i skabs[k]yi che phyi-rol[g]yi snaṅ-ba 'gag͡s-pas gzug͡s-phuṅ 'od[gsa]l-du 'ǰug[pa]'i rtag͡s lus[k]yi ñaṃs čhuṅ--žiṅ nus-pa [3] med-par 'gyur: seṃs mi gsal-ba rab-rib-tu 'gyur[ba]'i sa'i yo[n]tan thiṃs-pas ša rus sog͡s skeṃ-pa daṅ: mig-gis gzug͡s mi[m]thoṅ-žiṅ mig 'gyur-la zuṃ-par 'gyur-ba daṅ yul gzugs-la thiṃ-pas lus[k]yi mdaṅs med-par 'gyuro; chor[ba]'i phuṅ[p]o [4] thiṃ-pas rluṅ mkhris bad-kan 'dus-pa-la sog͡s[pa]'i chor-ba ñaṃsu mi myoṅ čhu'i yo[n]tan thiṃs-pas rṅul daṅ khrag gčin khu-ba sog͡s skeṃ yul sgra thiṃ-pas rna-bas sgra mi thos-pa'o; 'du-šes[k]yi phuṅ[p]o thiṃ-pas rkaṅ 2-l[a]sog͡s[pa]'i seṃ[sca]n mi dran: pha ma [5] bu sriṅ-l[a]sogs[pa]'i miṅ brǰed; me'i yo[n]tan brǰod--pas zas mi 'ǰu rna-ba'i dbaṅ-po 'gag͡s-pas steṅ rluṅ dal-gyis 'gro: yul dri thiṃ-pas snas dri mi chor-ba 'byuṅ: 'du[by]ed-kyi phuṅ[p]o thiṃs-pas lus[k]yi bya-ba kun-la mi 'ǰug 'ǰi[gr]ten[pa]'i [6] bya-ba daṅ dgos-pa dran[pa]r

mi 'gyur rluṅ-gi yo[n]tan thim-pas rluṅ bču raṅ-gi gnas-nas 'čhor lče dbaṅ 'gag̃s-pas lče sboṃ thuṅ rca-ba sṅon[p]or 'gro yul ro thim-pas ro drug ñaṃsu mi myoṅ-te de-ltar yaṅ R[g]yal-dbaṅ rǰes 'čhi [7] che phyi-yi snaṅ-ba 'gag̃s-pa-na: mig sog̃s dbaṅ-po lṅa ni rim-pas 'gags: gzug̃s sogs yul lṅa 1-la 1 thiṃ che: thim-riṃ raṅ ṅo-šes[pa]r byin[gy]i[sr]lobs žesya [= žes gsuṅs]: de-nas raṅ-la 'byuṅ 4 thim-pa žes bya[s]te; sa čhu-la thiṃ-pas lus[k]yi zuṅs [8] mi thub-čiṅ sgul bskyod mi[n]us so grag 'čhag̃s: lus sa-la byiṅ-ba sñam byed čhu me-la thiṃ-pas kha sna bskaṃ-žiṅ lče rkan-phugs-su 'gros: lus cha-ba daṅ ṅal-ba 'byuṅ: me rluṅ-la thiṃ-pas ša'i mdaṅs 'čhor sna'i bya [=bug]-gšog 'čhag: [3a] lus-kyi drod sdud-pa-te de'aṅ mtho-ris-su 'gro-na drod yar bsdud-čiṅ ṅan--soṅ-du 'gro-na lus-drod mar sdudo rluṅ rnam-par šes-pa-la thim-pas sgra ṅar-ṅar-po 'byin dbug̃s thuṅ-la rcub-par brcigo 'di dus sdig-čan-[2]-la gšed-mas 'che-ba sog̃s gnad-gčod-kyi sdu[gbsṅa]l 'byuṅ dge-ba-čan-la bla-ma lha daṅ ḍā-ki'i sun-ma 'byuṅ-'dig snaṅ 'čhar-ro de'aṅ R[g]yal-ba'i dbaṅ-pos sa čhu me rluṅ rnaṃ-šes-la thim-pas lus[k]yi gzuṅs šor skoṃ--žiṅ kha sna [3] bskam: drod yal thuṅ-la rcub[pa]'i dbugs sṅod che: gnad--gčod laṃ-du loṅs-par byin[gy]i[sr]lobs žesya [= žes gsuṅs] de-la sa čhu-la thim-pa žes-pa ni lus[k]yi sa'i gnasu sa med-par 'gyur-ba'aṃ gnas 'phos-nas čhu'i naṅ-du sa rag̃s-pa 'ǰug[pa]'i [4] don ma yin[g]yi dbu-ma'i ye[š]es[k]yi rluṅ stobsu gyur-nas sa'i las rluṅ bčoṃste rten-med-na brten--pa med-pas bsṅa[l-bar ?] snaṅ[ba]'i rnaṃ[š]es kyaṅ raṅ-gi bag-čhags dbu-ma-la bžag-te 'gags-nas rus-pa-l[a]sog̃s[pa]'i sra-ba šas-če-ba'i khaṃs-rnaṃs-[5]-rten rluṅ daṅ rnaṃ[š]es bral[ba]r byaste sa'i dvaṅs-ma de[ñ]id čhu'i dvaṅs--ma-la thims-par gyur-pa'o:

de 4nu [=bžin-du] čhu me daṅ me rluṅ-la thiṃ-pa'aṅ chul 'dra--la rluṅ rnaṃ[š]es-la thiṃ[pa]'i don yaṅ lus[k]yi rluṅ-gi gnasu rluṅ med[pa]r gyur-pa'aṃ sdod-sa 'phos-[6]-nas rluṅ ñid rnaṃ[š]es-kyi rnaṅ-du 'ǰug[pa]'i don ma yin-žiṅ rnaṃ[š]es-la rluṅ dvaṅs-ma'i bag-čhag̃s bžag-nas rluṅ 'gags[pa]'i don yaṅ ma yin[g]yi: rluṅ dvaṅs-mas srog-rca drags[pa]'i bar--gyi lus thaṃ[sča]d dor-nas srog-rca'i naṅ-gi 'o[dz]er-[7]-gyi sbu-gu-čan[g]yi rca lṅa-la žug̃s-nas yid-kyi snaṅ-ba daṅ ro 1-pa'o žes mkhas-pa-dag-gis m[ja]d[pa]'i yig-čha-las 'byuṅo; phra-ba rnaṃ[š]es thiṃ-chul ni de-nas phyi-dbugs čhad naṅ-dbugs gnas[pa]'i skad-1-ma 4-la snaṅ mčhed [8] thob 3 riṃ-gyis thiṃs-nas 'od[gsa]l 'čhar-te R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes rnaṃ[š]es 'od[gsa]l-la thim phyi-dbugs čhad; naṅ-dbugs gnas[pa]'i skad-1 gži-la ni; snaṅ-mčhed thob-pa 'od[gsa]l čhen[p]o 4: rim-par raṅ ṅo-šes[pa]r byin[gy]i[s--r]lobs; žes-pa'o; [9] de skabs rtag̃s ǰi lt[ab]u 'byuṅ sñam-na rnaṃ--[pa]r[š]es-pa snaṅ-ba-la thim[pa]'i che naṅ-rtag̃s du-ba lt[ab]u: phyi-rtag̃s zla-ba šar-ba lt[ab]u 'byuṅ: že-sdaṅ-las gyur[pa]'i rtog-pa 3-ču rca 3 'gag zuṅs-'jin-gyi rnaṃ-rtog rag̃s-pa'i stoṅs-pas-[3b]-na stoṅ-pa'aṃ šes[pa]'i raṅ⟨4n⟩ mdaṅs gsal-bar snaṅ-bas-na snaṅ-ba žes-bya-ba'i ñaṃs

'čhar phyi bzuṅ-bya-la ⟨b⟩rtag͡s zla-ba šar-ba ltar skya-laṃ-pa 'byuṅ; naṅ 'jin čha-la rtya-[= rtags]-čan du-ba lta-bu 'byuṅ

de'i dus spyi[b]o bde[čh]en-gyi²'khor[l]o daṅ mgrin-pa lo[ṅs-sp]yod-kyi 'khor-lo ral-nas spyi[b]o-nas pha-las thob[pa]'i ma ǰaṃ dkar-po mgo 'thur-du bstan-pa de-las dkar-čha 'thur-du babs-ste srog daṅ lhan-1 sñiṅ-[ga]r 'du snaṅ-ba mčhed-pa-la mčhed-pa-la thiṃ-pas naṅ-rtags me-³-khyer lta-bu phyi-rtag͡s ñi-ma šar-ba 'dra-ba: 'dod[čha]gs-las gyur[ba]'i rtog-pa 4-bču 'gag seṃs šin[t]u gsal[ba]r snaṅ-bas snaṅ-ba mčhed-pa'aṃ bzuṅ['j]in rtog-pas čher stoṅ-bas-na šin[t]u stoṅ-pa žes-bya bzuṅ-bya-la rtag͡s ñi-ma šar-ba lta-⁴-bu dmar-laṃ-pa 'byuṅ; 'jin-čha-la rtag͡s-čan me-khyer lta-bu de dus lte-ba daṅ gsaṅ-gnas-kyi rca-mdud ral-nas ma-las thob[pa]'i dvaṅs-ma thob[pa]'i dvaṅs-ma-la šar-kyi chul de-las dmar-čha yar 'oṅ-te srog daṅ lhan-1 sñiṅ[ga]r ⁵ 'du: mčhed-pa thob-pa-la thob-pa-la thiṃ--pas naṅ-rtag͡s mar-me lta-bu phyi-rtag͡s nag-laṃ sgra-čan lta-bu 'byuṅ gti[m]ug-las gyur[pa]'i rtog-pa bdun 'gag seṃs 'gag-pa-las phyog͡s-pas snaṅ-ba ñer-thob[a]ṃ: bzuṅ-'jin[g]yi ⁶ rtog-pas čhes čher stoṅ-bas-na stoṅ-pa čhen[p]o žes-bya bzuṅ-bya-la rtag͡s mun-nag lta-bu mthiṅ-ba daṅ 'jin-čha-la rtag͡s-čan buṃ naṅ-gi dmar-me lta-bu 'byuṅ sñiṅ-gar dkar dmar 'du-'phrod mun-čan-gyi rluṅ-gis bčiṅs[pa]'i ⁷ duso thob-pa 'od[sga]l-la thiṃ-pas naṅ-rtya [= rtags] sprin med[pa]-'i naṃkha' dvaṅs--pa lt[ab]u; phyi-rtag͡s skya-reṅ šar-ba lt[ab]u 'byuṅ ma-rig-pa 'od[gsa]l--la thim-pas 'od[gsa]l-gyi ñaṃs šar[ba]'i dusu snaṅ-ba 3 'gag: thaṃ[sča]d stoṅ-pa 'od[gsa]l šar bzuṅ-ba'aṃ yul[g]yi čha-⁸-nas rtag͡s skya-reṅ lta-bur gsal-ba 'jin-čha'i yul-čan-gyi stoṅ-nas rtag͡s-čan sprin-med-pa'i na[ṃ]kha' ñi 'od-[k]yis khyab-pa lta-bu 'byuṅo de-ltar yaṅ R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes snaṅ[ba]'i naṅ-rtag͡s du-ba phyi-yi rtag͡s phyi-rtag͡s nag laṃ sgra-⁹-čan lta-bu-te; gti[m]ug-las gyur rtog-pa bdun 'gag͡s che; y[a]ṅdag dran-pas zin[pa]r byin + ži-ba 'od[gsa]l čhen[p]or šar-ba'i che; naṅ-rtag͡s spran-bral--na'aṃ lta-bu-la: phyi-rtags skya-reṅ šar-ba lt[ab]u'i dus: 'od[gsa]l ma bu [4a] 'dres-par byin + žesya [= žes gsuṅs] gdaṃs-ṅag med-pa-rnaṃs-la rnaṃ-rtog ba[gčha]gs-kyi sgrib-pa 'od[gsa]l ṅo mi šes-šiṅ 'ǰig͡s-skrag skye-la gdaṃ[sṅa]g yod-pa-rnaṃs-la sṅar bsgoṃs-pas r[g]yu byas-pa de-la 'od[gsa]l ma bu: 'čhi-ba 'od[gsa]l-laṃ: mthu[n-'ǰ]ugi 'od-²-gsal[la]ṃ 'brus[='bras-bu]'i 'od[gsa]l de-la 'od[gsa]l ma žes-bya-[s]te ma ṅo-šes-nas de'i steṅ-du 'ǰog-pa de-la 'od[gsa]l ma bu 'dres-pa žes-bya'o || de-la zan-khaṃ 1-la za-yun caṃ gnas-kyaṅ sṅar sgrub-pa lo 3 byas-pa-las kyaṅ laṃ-čhod čhe-bas 'od[gsa]l-gyi ³ čhos[k]yi skur saṅs-r[g]ya'o

Sñan-(b)rgyud rdo[rǰ]e'i chig-rkaṅ-las kyaṅ; sa čhu me rluṅ 'byuṅ-ba rim-gyis thiṃ brgyad-čcu 'gag͡s-nas snaṅ-ba 3 'das-te; dkar seṃs 3 čhu-skyes naṅ-du 'joṃ; 'od[gsa]l ṅos-zin ma bu dbyer-med 'dres; čhos--skur ⁴ 'chaṅ-rgya dbaṅ[p]o yaṅ rab-po žes dkar dmar seṃs 3 sñiṅ[ga]r joṃ-dus 'od[gsa]l ma 'čhar-ba bšad-la y[a]ṅ gžan-las dkar-čha mar 'oṅ

dmar-čha mar 'oṅ seṃs gsal stoṅ daṅ lhan-1 sñiṅ[ga]'i thad-kyi rca dbuṃ[a]'i naṅ-du 'joṃ[pa]'i che [5] rgyal thabsu 'joṃ[pa]'i 'gyur-la dkar (dmar) de 2 so[s]or gyes[pa]'i che 'od[gsa]l 'čhar-ba yin-čiṅ skye-rnaṃs-la dkar-čha spyi-bo-nas sñiṅ[ga]r babs-pa de yar log-te spyi[b]o-nas byeṅsaṃ 'phyur-ba daṅ phyi naṅ-gi rte[n'b]relas; gcaṅ-po dar 1 gyen-[6]-du log--pa sogs daṃ-pa 'ga'-žigi rnaṃ-thar-las 'byuṅ-ba dmar-čha yar 'oṅ-ba de sñiṅ-ga-nas 'thur-du 'gro-la lus-čan phal-čher-rnaṃs-la dkar-čha sñiṅ-ga--nas mar 'gro-žiṅ dmar-čha sñiṅ-ga-nas yar 'gro žes [7] bšad-pa snaṅo

'čhi-ba 'od[gsa]l čhosku'i skabs 'dir Rǰe Mi-la'i gsuṅ-las: laṃ 'čhi-ba'i rim-pa srid-pa-la 'gyu-ba gnad-gčod-kyi 'phraṅ phyi naṅ 'byuṅ[ba] 'i skye-mčhed-kyi rim-gyis thiṃ[pa]'i rǰes-la ño[nm]oṅs[pa]'i 'čhiṅ-ba [8] mtha'--dag-las rnaṃ[pa]r grol-ba naṃ[kha]' sprin-med-pa-la ñi[z]la šar-ba lta-bu

čhos[k]yi dbyiṅs spros-pa thaṃ[sča]d ñer ži-ba ṅo[b]o stoṅ-pa ñid-kyi gnas-lya[= lugs] ma bčos-pa ǰi-lta-ba dus der 'čhor-la de-ka 'čhi-ba 'od[gsa]l čhosku yin[t]e de yin-[9]-la yin[pa]r ṅo-šes dgos de ṅo-šes[pa]r byed-pa-la da-lta blaṃ[a] daṃ-pas ṅo-sprad[pa]'i gnas-lya[= lugs] lta--ba'i don go-ba daṅ mch[]on-byed laṃ-gyi 'od[gsa]l sbyaṅ-'chal žesya [= žes gsuṅs]-pas laṃ phya[g]r[g]ya čhen[p]o'i ñaṃs-len-la da-lta-nas goṃs-'dris 'ǰug-[4b]-pa daṅ gñid gti[m]ugi 'od[gsa]l sbyaṅ-ba šin[t]u gal-čhe'o

R[g]yal-ba Rgod-chaṅ-pas: thim-riṃ rnaṃ-la so bya ña sgur-ba lta-bur sgriṃ-pa lt[ab]u'aṃ dkar-laṃ 'byuṅo de'i rǰesu dmar-laṃ 'byuṅo: sñam-du ra bgraṅ-ba ltar byas-pas ṅos mi zin-la šes-pa 'khyar [2] stabsu ma soṅ-bar 'čhi-kha-ma'i rnaṃ-rtog ṅos-zin[pa]'i thog-tu lhod-glod-nas bzo--med-du bžag-pas 'od[gsa]l ma ṅo šes[pa]r 'gyuro žesya[= žes gsuṅs]-pas

thiṃ-riṃs-rnaṃs riṃ-gyis ṅos-zin-na legs-kyi ma zin-na 'od[gsa]l ma ṅo-šes-na des ma čhog-pa [3] mi gda'-bas thiṃ-riṃ gžan-rnaṃs ṅos ma zin kyaṅ ya-'ud čher ma snaṅ-ṅo galte 'od[gsa]l ma ṅo ma šes-šiṅ gnas[pa]r ma nus-na sgo dgu druṅ-nas rnaṃ[š]es 'pho-bar 'gyur-te de'aṅ lte-ba-nas rnaṃ[š]es 'phos-nas 'dod-khaṃsu skye-ba daṅ smin-[4]-mchaṃs-las gzya[= gzugs]-khaṃsu skye: chogs-ma-las gzya[= gzugs]-med khaṃsu skye sna-nas thon-na gnod-sbyin-du skye: rna-ba-nas mi'aṃ-čir skye mig--nas 'phos-na mir skye čhu-lam-nas thon-na dud-'gro-ru skye: gšaṅ--laṃ-nas thon-[5]-na dmyal[ba]r skye: kha-nas thon-na yi-dvags-su skye-bar 'gyur-te Bde[mčh]og sdoṃ-'byuṅ-gi rgyud-las lte-ba 'dod-khaṃs bde 'gro-[s]te thig[l]e-las ni gzugs-čan lus steṅ-nas gzya[= gzugs]-[m]ed khaṃsu-te de ni bde-bar 'gro byedo; sna-nas [6] gnod[sby]in--rnaṃsu 'gyur: rna-ba-nas ni mi'aṃ-či: lha-mo gal-te mig-las ni; mi-yi r[g]yal[p]or 'gyur-ba yin kha-yi sgo-las yi-dvags-su: lče-las deni dud--'gro'o: gšaṅ-laṃ-nas ni dmyal[ba]r 'gro: žesyaṅi[= žes gsuṅs-šiṅ] mig [7] daṅ rna-ba daṅ sna 3 daṅ bu-ga g-yonas thon-na de daṅ de'i r[g]yal-po daṅ g-yas-la phal-par skye-bar bšad-do||

R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes de-la mi-gnas rnaṃ[š]es 'pho-ba-na: lte-ba smin-mchaṃs chogs-ma sna rna-ba: [8] mig daṅ čhu-laṃ gšaṅ-laṃ kha-daṅ dgu: bkag-nas sgo 1 dbye-bar byin[gy]i[s-r]lobs || 'dod gzya[= gzugs] gzya-med gnod[sby]in mi'aṃ-či: mi daṅ dud-'gro dmyal-ba yi-dvags-su: skye-ba'i skye-sgo bkag-nas mkha'-spyod-du: [9]dpa'[b]o mkha'gros bsu-bar+ žes chigčad sṅa-ma daṅ phyi-ma goṅ 'og sgrig dgos-pa rim-pa brǰod[pa]'i r[g]yan lta-bur gsya [= gsuṅ]-la de-lta-na 'don-čha-la mig daṅ gšaṅ-laṃ čhu-laṃ kha-daṅ dgu: žes[pa]'i dbaṅ-du byas-na [5a] mi daṅ dud-'gro dmyal-ba yi-dags-su: žes gaṅ 'og sgrigs[pa]'i che gšaṅ--laṃ-las dud-'gro daṅ čhu-laṃ-las dmyal[ba]r 'gro žes[pa]r 'čhad dgos--pas r[g]yud-chig-daṅ ma mthun-la ku[nmkhy]en Padma dkar-pos m[j]ad [pa]'i Sre-'pho daṅ [2] Sñanbr[g]yud-kyi yig-čha Raṅ-byuṅ rdo[rǰ]e'i Zab-mo naṅ-don sogs maṅ-po-daṅ mthun phyir m[ch]uṅs-med R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰe ni mkhas-pa-la dṅo[sg]rub-kyis mjes[·pa]'i skye[sb]u čhen[p]o yin-pas de'i gsya[= gsuṅ]-la nor-'khrul 'byuṅ-ba či srid 'di caṃ [3] yi-ge-pas goṅ 'og nor--bar šes-pas mig daṅ čhu-laṃ gšaṅ-laṃ kha daṅ dgu: žesya[= žes gsuṅs]-bar žu 'chalo bkag-nas sgo 1 dbye-bar: žes-pa daṅ mkhy-od-[= mkha'-spyod]-du: dpa'[b]o mkha'gros bsu-bar: žes-pa ni 'od[gsa]l-la [4] ma gnas-na: 'pho-ba'i gdaṃ[sṅa]g (b)caṃs-pas spyi[b]o chaṅs[pa]'i bu-ga-nas mkh[a'sp]yod-du 'gro-bar bstano

2-pa bar-do'i rtags daṅ m[ja]d[pa']i bšad-pa-la: mkh[a'sp]yod-du 'pho-bar ma nus-na seṃ[sča]n kun-gži'i ma-rig-pas bčiṅs-pa de-[5]las rluṅ--gis bskyod-nas sgo dgu gaṅ druṅ-gi laṃ-nas 'thonas bar-dor 'khyaṃs-[pa]r 'gyur-la yid lus des bar-do'i lus blaṅste ma-rig-pa-la thob[pa]'i čha skye-bas gti[m]ugi rtog-pa bdun laṅs de-las mčhed-pa skye-bas 'dod[čha]-gs-[6]-las gyur[ba]'i rtog-pa bži-bču laṅs de-las snaṅ-ba skye-bas že-sdaṅ-gi rtog-pa sa 3 laṅs-nas sṅa-ma ltar sor chud-pa'o:

de yaṅ rnaṃ[š]es phyi[r]ol-du thonas žag phyedaṅ 4 br[g]yal-ba'aṃ čhaṅ-(gis) myos-pa ltar čhags sdaṅ rags rtogs [7] čhas čhuṅ mod 'on-kyaṅ raṅ-ñid ši-bar ṅo ma šes-pas bza'-btuṅ-gi dus-chod-rnaṃs-la sṅar-gyi bags-kyi dbaṅ-gis gñen-daṅ mñaṃ[pa]r 'chog-čiṅ phar gtaṃ smras-pa-sogs-la gñen[g]yis lan ma btab-pa daṅ zas-[8]-skal daṅ btuṅ-skal sogs bčad-pas sdu [gbsṅa]l[g]yi snaṅ-ba daṅ seṃs šin[t]u phaṃ-pa'i snaṅ-ba yaṅ yaṅ 'čharo

de yaṅ dpal R[g]yal[ba]'i dbaṅ-pos galte rnaṃ[š]es bar-dor 'khyaṃs-pa-na: raṅ-ñid ši-bar ma šes gñengrogs-kyis: 'grogs-[9]-par seṃs kyaṅ lan-med yid čhad che: čhags sdaṅ 'khri-ba čhod-par byin+ žesya: [= žes gsuṅs]

Čhos mṅon-pa-las: kha-dog khaṃs miṅ che-chad-las: mthoṅ-dbyibs bsgrod-pa'i khyad[pa]r br[g]yad: česya[= čes gsuṅs-]-pas kha-dogi khyad[pa]r ni mtho-[5b]-ris-su skye-na lus-la ras dkar sogs gos dkar-po dri-ma med[pa]'i gyon-pa'i snaṅ-ba šas-čhe-ba daṅ: ṅan-soṅ-du skye-ba bar-do yin-la phyar-ba nag-po sogs nag-nog dri-ma-čan gyon-pa'i snaṅ-ba šas-čhe-ba 'byuṅ:

khaṃs[k]yi khyad[pa]r ni mtho-risu [2] skye-na zla-ba'i 'od-snaṅ caṃ-la 'jug[pa]'i snaṅ-ba daṅ ṅan[s]oṅ-du skye-na raṅ-gi lag-pa brkyaṅs-pa'aṃ mi mthoṅ-ba lta-bu'i mun-pa 'jug[pa]'i snaṅ-ba 'char-ba 'oṅ: miṅ-gi khyad-[pa]r ni srid-pa bar-do žes-pa-te skye-srid chol[b]a' daṅ [3] chul-čan yin-pas srid-pa ši-ba daṅ skye-ba'i bar-na gnas-pas bar-ma-do žes bya'o

che-chad žag bdun-te že-bču že-dgur gnas kyaṅ: žag-bdun⟨s⟩ bdunas 'čhi čhuṅ re byed-paso de'i phyir bdun phrag re-nas [4] čhos bšad--daṅ bdun chigs-kyi dge-ba byas-na phan-pa šin[t]u če'o:

mdo kha 1-las gñen-gyi mya-ṅan čheno byas-pas lo maṅ-por skye-ba mi yoṅ-bar bšad-pa'aṅ yode braṃ-ze bza' mi 2-la bu yid-du oṅ-ba 1 [5] yod--pa ši-nas pha mas mya-ṅan čheno byas-pas lo kha 1 lus ma loṅ-pa 'phag͡s-pa Ka-tya-ya-nas mṅon[še]s-kyis gzig͡s-nas khye'u de-la khyod da-duṅ lus mi len-pa či yin gsuṅs-pas pha mas mya-ṅan čhes-[6]-pas ⟨loṅs⟩ lus ma loṅs-pa-te 'phags-pas bdagi 'phrin 'di pha-la gsuṅs-čig lus[k]yi skra yag mun-ltar 'thibs: 'čhi-ma rnag khrag čhar-ltar 'bab: ṅus-pa'i skad ni mi sñan sgrog: gson-gyi lya[= lugs]-[7]-ṅan ši-la gnad: čes smra-ba 'phags-pas de'i pha ma-la gsuṅs-pas mya-naṅ btaṅ-nas khrus-daṅ gos gsar-pa daṅ m[g]oregi r[g]yan byas-pas de ma thag lus blaṅs-par bšad-do:

las[k]yi khyad[pa]r ni: Mṅon-pa-[8]-las de-na gnas-pa'aṅ-lvog͡s [= la-sogs] go žesya[= žes gsuṅs]-pas bar-dor lha daṅ bla-ma dran-pa bdun chigs-lvog͡s'i [= la sogs-pa'i] čho-ga daṅ gzuṅs sṅag͡s zab-mo daṅ mdo[sd]e klog-pa-lvog͡s'i [= la sogs-pa'i] dge-ba'i las[k]yi mthus ṅan-soṅ--du skye-r[g]yu'i bar-do yaṅ mtho-risu skye-bar nus-[9]-la že-sdaṅ daṅ blaṃ[a] dko[nmčh]og-la log-lta skyes-pa daṅ: nor-sjas-la ser-sna skyes-pa sog͡s mi dge-ba'i las-kyis mtho-risu skye-r[g]yu yaṅ ṅan-soṅ-du 'gyur-ba-te mṅon-pa goṅ-mar či-te-na ldogo: žes-pa'aṅ 'di-la dgoṅso

de'aṅ [6a] sṅon bsaṃ[g]tan 4-pa'i seṃs thob[pa]'i gleṅ[m]o 1-gis khoṅ raṅ dgroṃ[= dgra-bčom]-pa thob[pa]r rloṃs-pa-las ši 'phos-nas bsaṃ[g]tan 4-pa'i lha'i skye srid grub[pa]'i che 'ji[gr]ten-na dgroṃ[= dgra-bčom]-pa med--pa 'dug: ṅa y[a]ṅ dgroṃ[= dgra-bčom]-pa thob[pa]r seṃs-pa-las bsaṃ[g]tan 4-pa'i lhar skye-ba'i srid-[2]-pa grub-byuṅ sñaṃ[pa]'i log-ltas de 'gyur-nas ṅan-'gro'i skye-srid-du grub[pa]r bšad-do

mthoṅ-chul[g]yi khyad[pa]r ni: Mṅon-pa m[j]od[la]s rig͡s-mthun lha-mig dag-pas mthoṅ žes-pa-te mi-nas ši-ba'i bar-dos mi(')i (bar)--srid mthoṅ-la: 'gro [3]rig͡s gžan[g]yi bar-do mi m⟨i⟩thoṅ de 4nu [= bžin-du] lha-las ši-bas lha'i bar-do mthoṅ dud-'gro daṅ yi-dvag͡s daṅ dmyal-ba sog͡s-nas ši-ba'i bar-do yin-pas kyaṅ rig͡s-mthun naṅ phan-chun mthoṅ-la rigs mi[m]thun-pa-rnaṃs mi[m]thoṅ mod [4] lha-mig rnaṃ[pa]r[d]ag--pa'i mṅon[še]s thob-na rig͡s drugi bar-do thaṃ[sča]d mthoṅ žes-pa'o

dbyibs[k]yi khyad[pa]r ni Mṅon-pa-las sṅon-'byuṅ srid-pa'i ša--chug͡s-čan žes[pa]'i mṅon 'di sṅar-byuṅ zin[pa]'i sṅon ma yin-gyi:

r[g]ya skad-du pu-ru žes-pa sṅon [5] daṅ šar daṅ mdun 3-la 'ǰug-pa-las 'dir loccha-bas sṅon žes[pa]r bsgyur yaṅ: don-la mdun yin-pas da phyinaṅ yoṅ r[g]yu-la zer-la: gnaskabs gžan[g]yis bar ma čhod-par 'phral--du 'byuṅ-r[g]yu'i go-ba yino; de yaṅ [6] gaṅ-du skye-bar 'gyur[ba]'i byad--gzug͡s 'jin-pa-te mir skye-na mi'i gsugsu snaṅ-ba sog͡s rig͡s 'gre'o skabs 'dir 'Ba'-ra-ba'i gsya [=gsuṅs]-las srid-pa bar-do'i phyed sṅa-ma yan-čhad che rabs sṅa-ma'i bag͡s šas-čhe-bar 'byuṅ-la: [7] phyed phyi-ma man-čhad gaṅ-du skye-'gyur-gyi gzya [=gzugs] 'jin[pa]r gsalo žesyao [=žes gsuṅs-so]

bgrod[pa]'i khya[dpa]r ni Mṅon-pa m[j]od[la]s: dbaṅ[p]o kun-chaṅ thog͡s-med r[g]yu: žesya-te [=žes gsuṅs-te] dbaṅ-po kun-chaṅ žes-pa ni las-daṅ mthun[pa]'i gzya[=gzugs] sgra dri ro reg-bya mtha'-dag [8] gsal[ba]r mthoṅ thos dri dro [!] reg[b]ya mthāg [=mtha'-dag] gsal[ba]r mthoṅ thos rig chor nus-pas dbaṅ-po kun-chaṅ[ba]r nus-pa yin-la gaṅ-du skye-'gyur-gyi lus de dbaṅ-po ma chaṅ-ba byuṅ-ba čig yod kyaṅ bar-dor ni dbaṅ[p]o drug chaṅ-ba yod-čiṅ de'aṅ [9] mig phra 'bur-ba daṅ rna-ba kroṅ-por med kyaṅ gzugs mthoṅ-ba daṅ sgra thos-pa-lvog͡s[=la sogs-pa]'i dbaṅ[p]o 'byuṅ-lya[=lugs] yod-pas de-kha sna mig daṅ rna-ba'i dbaṅ[p]o yin[pa]r[gy]i dbaṅ[p]o kun-chaṅ žes gsuṅs-pa'o dper-na rmi-laṃ-gyi skabsu gzya [=gzugs] [6b] mthoṅ-ba sog͡s daṅ mchuṅste Bzaṅ-skyoṅ-gis žus[pa]'i mdos bka['sca]l-pa Bzaṅ-skyoṅ de-bas-na naṅ-gi migi šes-pa-daṅ ldan-pas rmi[la]ṃ-du gzya[=gzugs]-rnams mthoṅ-gis ša'i migis ni ma yino ǰi[l]tar mi gñid log[pa]'i rmi[la]ṃ-du yud-caṃ [2] žig dran[pa]r 'byuṅ-ba de 4nu [=bžin-du] ši-ba'i dran-pa'aṅ de-daṅ 'dra-te naṅ-gi gzya [=gzugs] de'aṅ de 4nu lta-bar bya'o žesya[=žes gsuṅs]-pa ltaro thogs-med rgyu žes-pa do-stobs-kyis phye-ba'i Ri-r[g]yal lhun-[p]o daṅ: byin[r]labs-kyis phye-ba'i rdo[rǰ]e-gdan daṅ; las-kyis [3] phye--ba'i ma'i mṅal-rnaṃs-la 'thogi gžan ri rva-ba khaṅ-khyim rcig-pa sog͡s gaṅ-la yaṅ mi 'thog-pa'o ma'i mṅal žes-pa'aṅ sṅar 'das[pa]'i ma'i mṅal ma yin[g]yi: gaṅ-du skye-'gyur-gyi ma'i mṅal-la bya'o: [4] de'aṅ skye-srid '[j]in-dus 'thog-pa smos ma dgos kyaṅ bar-dor yod[pa]'i skabs--la yaṅ yaṅ[ya]ṅ 'thog žes-pa'o

R[g]yal-dbaṅ rǰes dbaṅ[p]o kun-chaṅ-las dbaṅ s[ju'ph]rul-ldan: Ri-rab rdo[rǰ]e-gdan daṅ ma-yi mṅal: ma gtog͡s [5] kun-la thog͡s-med rgyu bgrod che: thaṃ[sča]d sgyu-mar šes[pa]r byin+ česyo [=čes gsuṅs--so] gnaṅ: ma ṅes[pa]'i rtag͡s drug čes-pa gnas ma ṅes-pa: zas m[a]ṅes-pa: gos m[a]ṅes-pa grog͡s m[a]ṅes-pa spyod-laṃ m[a]ṅes-pa chor-ba bde sdug m[a]ṅes-pa-[6]-rnaṃso

3-pa bar-do-la bar-dor ṅo-šes[pa]'i thabs-la lus[k]yi sgos sṅar š[akh]rag rdos bčas[k]yi lus yod-pas rca ro rkyaṅ 2 yod; de'i rt[en'b]rel--gyi khaṃs dkar dmar 2 yod-pas phyi[r]ol-du ñi-ma daṅ zla-ba'i gzya [=gzugs] daṅ 'o[dz]er mthoṅ: lus-[7]-la grib-ma 'byuṅ: phyin-pa-la

rkaṅ-rǰes 'byuṅ-ba daṅ bdos-bčas-rnaṃs-la thog-pa-la bar-do'i che š[akh]ragi lus med-pas rca ro rkyaṅ khaṃs dkar dmar 2 med de med-pas ñi[z]la'i snaṅ-ba mi 'byuṅ lus-la grib-ma med: rkaṅ-[8]-rǰes mi 'byuṅ goṅ-du bšad-pa 3 btogs gaṅ-la y[a]ṅ mithog-te las[k]yi sj[u'ph]-rul šugs-daṅ ldan: žes-pa Mṅon-pa-nas bšad-pa ltar čho['ph]rul sna[ch]ogs ston[pa]'i sj[u'ph]rul med kyaṅ: las[k]yi dbaṅ-gis yid 'gyogs--daṅ 'dra-bar gaṅ bsaṃs[pa]'i gnas: [9] der skad-1-gis phyin[p]ar nus-la de'aṅ raṅ-dbaṅ 'dus-nas ma yin-gyi bya-sgro rluṅ-gis khyer-ba lt[ab]ur cho ma zin-pa 'byuṅ-te: R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes ñi[z]la mi snaṅ lus-la grib--ma med bsaṃ-pa ⟨b⟩ caṃ-gyis stoṅ 3 bskor-bar nus: [10] dbaṅ-med bya--sgro rluṅ khyer lt[ab]u'i dus raṅ-seṃs raṅ-dbaṅ thob[pa]r+ žesya: [= žes gsuṅs] gžan-yaṅ phar gtam labs-pa gžan[g]yis mi thos-pa daṅ gžan[g]yi bsaṃ-pa šes[pa]'i mṅon[š]es phra-mo 'čhar-ba yod-la de-dag sbyoṅ-ba-la 'Ba'-ra-bas: [7a] da-lta-nas sṅa-gro gñid sad ma-thag bar-do yin sñaṃ-pa daṅ lus-la grib-ma daṅ rkaṅ-rǰes 'byuṅ mi 'byuṅ blta-ba daṅ ñi[z]la'i snaṅ-ba yod med brtag-dpyad byed-pa sogs r[g]yun[d]u byas-pas bar-dor yaṅ dran bla-žiṅ ṅo-šes-pa myur-ba'i [2] dgos-pa yode žesyo [= žes gsuṅs-so]

za-du dri za žiṅ de'aṅ ma bsṅos-na chim-par mi myoṅ-ba daṅ yu-[lm]ed-ba čho[m]ed-ba: 'ǰigs-skrag ñaṃs ṅa-ba'i 'khrul-snaṅ sna[ch]-ogs-kyi dus 'da-žiṅ res šes-pa gsal res mi gsal-ba daṅ: žag phye daṅ [3] 4-nas gñen-'dun ṅu-ba-lvogs[= la-sogs-pa]'i rnaṃ-'gyur-las da ṅa ši-nas bar-dor 'khyaṃs yin 'dug sñaṃ[pa]'i dṅaṅs-skrag skye-la de'i che rig-pa-la gtad-med-pas gar yaṅ sdod mi chugs-šiṅ gar phyin yaṅ ṅo-šes-pa daṅ gtaṃ lan [4] 'ǰal-ba med-pas skyo-žiṅ yid 'byuṅ-ba daṅ 'ǰigs-nas gžan-la skyabs 'chol[ba]-'i snaṅ-ba 'čhar-la de'aṅ skyabsuṃ-gyi gco[b]o ni sa[ṅs]r-[g]yas yin de-la sku 3-du yod[pa]'i sa[ṅs]r[g]yas čhos[k]yi sku ñid skyabs-[k]yi mth[a'-d]rug yine: [5] Rgyud dbu-ma-las daṃ[pa]'i don[d]u 'gro-ba-yi: skyabs ni sa[ṅs]r[g]yas ñag 1 yin: thub-pa čhos[k]yi sku--čan phyir: chogs kyaṅ de-yi mth[a'd]rug ñid: žes daṅ: Br[g]yad stoṅ-par: ṅa ni čhos[k]yi sku yin[g]yi: gzya-[= gzugs]-kyi skur lta ma byed-1 [6] žes daṅ mod Myaṅ[an]-'das čheno-las Šā-ri'i bu de-la seṃ[sca]n[g]-yi khaṃs žes bya-ba ni de[bž]in[gš]egs[pa]'i chig-bla dvags-so de[bž]in-[gš]egs[pa]'i sñiṅ[p]o žes-bya-ba ni čhos[k]yi sku'i chig-bla dvags-so de-[bž]in-[gš]egs[pa]'i sñiṅ[p]o ñid kyaṅ čhos[k]yi sku ñid-las gžan [7] ma yino čhos[k]yi sku ⟨s⟩ñid kyaṅ de[bž]in[gš]egs[pa]'i sñiṅ[p]o ñid-las gžan ma yino: žesya [=žes gsuṅs]-pas raṅ-rig čhos[k]yi sku ñid skyabsu šes-[pa]r bya'o;

R[g]yal[ba]'i dbaṅ-pos: zasu dri za ya-yud ča ma čho: 'khrul-[pa]'i snaṅ-ba du-mar šar-ba si[b] [8] 'ǰigs-šiṅ skyo-ba'i sñiṅ-rluṅ laṅs[pa]'i che:

'khrul-snaṅ raṅ ṅo-šes[pa]r+ res 'ga' dran-pa šin[t]u gsal-'gyur-la:

de ma thag-tu brǰed[pa]r gyur-nas ni: ši gson the[ch]om skyes[pa]r gyur[ba]'i che: ṅes[pa]r ši-bar šes[pa]r byin+

[9]phyedaṅ 4-yi phyi-ma phan čhad-nas: raṅ-ñid ši-ba yin[pa]r ṅo--šes-te; yi-mug ga-čhad skyabs-gnas 'chol[ba]'i che: raṅ-ñid skyabsu šes-[pa]r+ žes-pa'o:

4-pa ṅo-šes-nas gdaṃs-pa bsgoṃ-chul-la: de-ltar [7b] bar-do-la bar-do yin[pa]r ṅo-šes-nas raṅ gžan snod-bčud thaṃ[sča]d sgyu-ma lt[ab]ur ṅo-šes[pa]r byas-la daṅ[p]or raṅ-lus lhag[pa]'i lhar bsgoṃ[pa]'i bskyed-riṃ gsal dvaṅs rñog-pa med 'ǰa-chon lt[ab]u daṅ: gzya [= gzugs]-su snaṅ chad yi-daṃ-gyi skur sgrar [2] grag͡s chad gsaṅ-sṅag͡s-kyi sgra: dran-rig rnaṃ[t]og sgyu-ma lt[ab]ur šes[pa]'i rcal-sbyoṅ bya-žiṅ: dag-pa'i žiṅ-du skyer-'dod-na bskyed-rim de-ka'i thog-nas gaṅ 'dod-kyi ž[i]ṅ-du 'gro-na-te Rgod chaṅ-pas: che 'di'i bskyed-rim ni [3]lan 1 gsal yaṅ mi brtan: rnaṃ-rtog bag͡s sna[ch]og͡s-kyi steṅ-du ldog-pa-te lčag͡s bsreg͡s--pa lčagsu ldog-pa-daṅ 'dra'o: bar-do'i bskyed-rim ni gsal so žag bsgoṃs-pas brten-te: šiṅ bsreg͡s-pa šiṅ-du mi[l]dog-pa-daṅ m[ch]uṅso: [4] žes[bš]ad-pa-la brtenas de'i thog-nas gaṅ 'dod-du phyin-pas dag-pa'i žiṅ--du skye-bar nuso galte skye-ba mi len-par zuṅ[gzu]g lo[ṅsp]yod sku thob-[pa]r 'dod-na bskyed-rim de'i rǰesu rǰes bšig ⟨bsgoṃ⟩ goṃ rig['j]in lt[ab]u'i sjog͡s-rim bya-te [5] rǰes žigi sjogs-rim ni khaṃsuṃ snod bču thaṃ[sča]d 'od-du žu-nas raṅ-lus lhar gsal-ba de-la thim raṅ-lus lha'i rnaṃ-sa de yaṅ sñiṅ[ga]'i sa-bon-la thiṃ sa-bon hūṃ lt[ab]u yin-na žabs-kyu khog-pa-la thim [6] khog-pa mgo[b]o-la mgo[b]o zla-ches-la zla-ches thig[l]e-la thig-le n[a]ṅ-du thiṃ: de'aṅ 'ǰa' yal-ba ltar mi dmyi[= dmigs-pa]'i ṅaṅ mñaṃ[pa]r bžag-pa ni zuṅ[gzu]gi laṃ-te lo[ṅsp]yod sjog͡s[pa]'i skur 'chaṅ-r[g]ya-bar 'gyuro;

Šin[t]u rmad-du [7] byuṅ[ba]'i rgyud-las de-las srid-pa'i bar-ma-dor sgyu-lus zuṅ[gzu]g skur gyur-te lo[ṅsp]yod sjog͡s[pa]'i sku 'thobo žesya [= žes gsuṅs]-šiṅ: rǰe[bc]un Bžad-pa rdo[rǰ]es kyaṅ laṃ srid-pa bar-do-la sṅon-'byuṅ yid-kyi gzug͡s-čan las[k]yi gšed-mas 'che-[8]-'phraṅ naṅ me 'od-kyi bar-do-ru dbaṅ[p]o kun-chaṅ thog͡s-pa med-čiṅ las[k]yi sj[u'ph]rul 'od-daṅ ldan[pa]'i lus šig yod-pa de-ka bar-do lo[ṅsp]yod sjogs[pa]'i sku yin-te zuṅ[gzu]g lha'i snaṅ-ba sgyu-ma lt[ab]ur bžeṅs-nas bag͡s sṅa-ma'i lhag-ma lus [9] sa sbyoṅ-ba yin-pas de yin-pa-la yin[pa]r ṅo-šes dgos de ṅo-šes[pa]r byed-pa-la da-lta bskyed[pa]'i riṃ-pa lha'i sku-la dmyi-[= dmigs]-pa gsal-ba daṅ m[ch]on-byed laṃ-gyi 'od[gsal]l rmi[la]ṃ sbyaṅ 'chal: žesya [= žes gsuṅs]-pas da-lta-nas bskyed-sjogs-kyi [8a] ñaṃs[l]en-la goṃs-'dris 'ǰug-pa gal-če'o

R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes bar-dor bar-do yin-par šes[pa]'i che raṅ-lus lhar bsgoṃ de-las 'od[gsa]l bsgoṃs slar y[a]ṅ zuṅ[gzu]g ñid-du bsgoṃs--pa-yis: dag-pa'i sgyu-lus 'čhar-bar byin+ [2] žesyo [= žes gsuṅs-so]: galte zuṅ[gzu]g ma šes-pas sgyu-ma lt[ab]u'[i] tiṅe['j]in-la brtan-pa ma thob-

-na raṅ-gi rnaṃ[pa]r rtog-pa-las byuṅ-ba-las mi dge-bas bskrun[pa]r gyur[ba]'i snaṅ-ba sa-rluṅ-gi ri ñil[ba]'i sgra (raṅ sa 'og-tu 'čhor[ba]'i sgra 'byuṅ:) čhu-rluṅ-gi r[g]ya-ma cho-rlabs 'chol[ba]'i sgra (čhus khyer-[ba]'i 'ǰigs-pa) [3] me-rluṅ-las nag͡s-chal mes bsreg-pa lt[ab]u'i sgra: (mes chig-pa lt[ab]u'i 'ǰig͡s-pa:) rluṅ-gi rluṅ-las yul thaṃ[sča]d g-yo-ba 'brug stoṅ dus-1-tu ldir-ba lt[ab]u'i sgra (raṅ-ñid rluṅ-gis khyer[ba]'i 'ǰig͡s-pa:) 'byuṅ-bas 'ǰigs[pa]'i sgra 4 žes-pa-te R[g]yal-dbaṅ-[4]rǰes: ri ñil r[g]ya--mcho 'chol daṅ nag͡s-chal bsreg: dus mtha'i rluṅ čhen laṅs-pa lt[ab]u'i sgra: 'brug stoṅ dus 1 ldir-ba-la 'ǰigs che: čhos-ñid raṅ sgrar šes[pa]r [5]byin+ žeso:

kha-dog lṅa-ldan-gyi 'od 'byuṅ[ba]r bšad-pa 4n: Bar-do thos-grolas kyaṅ: 'od dkar-po blta-ru mizod-pa 1 daṅ: 'od dkar-po skrag-med re-ba čig dus mñaṃ-du 'byuṅ-la: laṃ-la ma goṃs-pa-rnaṃs ni šin[t]u [6]'bar-ba de-la 'ǰigs-šiṅ 'od skrag-med de-la čhag͡s-šiṅ žen[pa]r 'gyur-bas 'khor[ba]'i laṃ-du 'ǰug[pa]r 'gyur-žiṅ 'od rab-tu 'ǰig͡s-pa de-la ma 'ǰig͡s[pa]r skyabs žus-šiṅ tiṅe['j]in bsgoṃs-na grol[ba]r bšad: de 4n[d]u sṅo dmar ser lǰaṅ [7]kun-la rig͡s 'gre-bar gsya[=gsuṅs]-la: khro[b]o khro-mos rgyob gsod-kyi sgra sgrog-pa daṅ raṅ gaṅ-la 'ǰigs-pa des: bdas-pa'i snaṅ-ba sog͡s 'khrul-snaṅ sn[ach]og͡s 'byuṅ-bar 'gyur-te R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes kha--dog lṅa-ldan 'od[z]er 'khyug-čiṅ 'bar: [8]'odaṅ thig[l]e thig phran lt[ab]u--las: 'ǰig͡s[pa]'i khro-chog͡s rgyob gsod sgra sgrog che: raṅ-snaṅ lha-ru šes[pa]r byin[gy]i[sr]lobs: žesya [=žes gsuṅs] ya-ṅa-ba'i g-yaṅs gsuṃ žes-pa 'dod[čha]gs-kyi snaṅ-ba 'čhar-bas g-yaṅs-sa dkar-po-la čhod-kyis lhuṅ--ba'i ñaṃs [9]'čhar: že-sdaṅ-gi snaṅ-ba šar-nas g-yaṅs-sa dmar-po-la čhod--kyis šor-ba'[i] ñaṃs 'čhar gti[m]ugi snaṅ-ba šar-nas g-yaṅs-sa nag-po-la čhod-kyis lhuṅ[ba]'i ñaṃs 'čhar-bas kyaṅ šin[t]u 'ǰigs-šiṅ skrag-te:

R[g]yal[ba]'i dbaṅ[p]os: [8b]'dod[čha]g͡s že[s]daṅ gti[m]ug-las [g]-yur[ba]'i: dkar daṅ dmar daṅ nag-po'i gčod g-yaṅs-la: raṅ[ñ]id lhuṅs sñaṃ rab-tu 'ǰig͡s[pa]'i che: raṅ-snaṅ dag-tu šes[pa]r byin+ žesya [=žes gsuṅs] 'ǰig͡s[pa]'i sgra 4 daṅ las[k]yi gšed-ma daṅ g-yaṅs-sa sog͡s-kyi 'ǰig͡s-skrag byuṅ dus [2] ga-re bdag rnaṃ-smin š[akh]ragi lus yod-na me čhu sog͡s-la skrag-pa yin-pa-la yid-lus-la me čhu g-yaṅs-sa gšed-ma-rnaṃs-kyis či bya[ba]r yod snaṅ-ba 'di raṅ-snaṅ 'khrul[ba]'i bag͡s-kyi snaṅ-ba yin sñaṃ[pa]r šes-pa caṃ-gyi bden-pa šes[pa]'i [3]sjun-pa 'ǰig[pa]r 'gyur-bas de-ltar yaṅ yaṅ dran[pa]r byabo: gaṅ-du skye-bar 'gyur[pa]'i byad-gzya-[=gzugs] 'jin[pa]'i chul mṅon[pa]'i sṅon 'byuṅ srid[pa]'i ša chugs-čan:

žes-pa-las khros-nas brǰod-zin-la lhar skye-na 'od dkar-po'i laṃ-[4]-la phyin-pa daṅ mir skye-na 'od dmar-po'i laṃ 'byuṅ: de[bž]in[d]u: dud-'gro-la ser-po daṅ: yi-dvags-la sṅon[p]o daṅ: dmyal[ba]r skye-na 'od nag-po'i laṃ-la phyin[pa]'i snaṅ-ba 'byuṅ-te: R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes gaṅ-du skye-ba'i lus[k]yi gzya [=gzugs] grub-čiṅ: dkar [5] dmar ser daṅ sṅo-ba nag-po'i 'od: lha mi dud-'gro yi-dvag͡s dmyal-ba-yi: laṃ sṅa

rim 4n šes[pa]r byin+ žesya [=žes gsuńs]-pa ltar skye-ba len-pa-la ñe-bar phyogs-pa yin-la de'aṅ lhar skye-na gžal-med-khaṅ-du lha pho mo 'dod--pa spyod-pa[6] mthoṅ-žiṅ lha-min-du skye-na nag͡s-chal-du 'ǰug-pa daṅ Šar-lus 'phag͡s-gliṅ-du skye-na ṅaṅ-pas br[g]yan[pa]'i mchor 'ǰug[pa]'i snaṅ-ba 'čhar de[bž]in[d]u: Ba-laṅ spyod-du skye-na khyu-mčhogis br[g]yan-par 'ǰug-pa daṅ: Sgra mi-sñan-du skye-na rtas[7] br[g]yan[pa]r 'ǰug-pa daṅ: 'Jaṃ-gliṅ-du skye-na khaṅ bzaṅ ñams-dga'-bar pho mo 'dod--pa spyod-par mthoṅ-la: gal-te raṅ phor skye-na (ma-la) čhags-šiṅ pha-la sdaṅ: mor skye pha-la chag͡s-šiṅ ma-la sdaṅ-ba 'oṅ-te R[g]yal-dbaṅ rǰes: gžal-[8]-med-khaṅ-du lha-bu 'dod-spyodaṅ: ṅaṅ-pa khyu-mčhog rta-yis br[g]yan[pa]'i mcho: khaṅ bzaṅ pha-ma'i 'du-'phror mthoṅ gyur-na:

čhag͡s sdaṅ mig-ser dag-par byin+ žesya[=žes gsuńs]-pas rluṅ dmar drag-pos bdas-pa'aṃ kha čhar-gyis bdas-[9]-nas dro-sa chol[ba]'i snaṅ--ba 'byuṅ-bas phug-pa daṅ grog-por yib-pa dud-'gror skye-la: yi-dvags--su skye-na stoṅ-duṃ-gyi rca-bar skyab[pa]'i snaṅ-ba 'byuṅ: srogčod-[pa]'i gšed-mas čhag͡s-su ruṅ[ba]'i bu-mor bsdus-nas 'bod-par mthoṅ-ba daṅ:

[9a] lčags[k]yi khaṅ-pa bzaṅ-po ñaṃs-dga'-ba ltar mthoṅ-na dmyal[ba]r 'gro'o

de-dag kyaṅ Rdo[rǰ]e mkha'gro'i r[g]yud-las ba-laṅ-mcho daṅ ṅaṅ--pa daṅ: rta-yi rnaṃ[pa]r snaṅ-ba daṅ: der 'ǰug 'dod-pa Sgra mi[s]ñan:

šar daṅ nub-tu rim-pa[2] 4n: snol-mar čhag͡s sdaṅ phrog 'byuṅ: 'Jaṃ-gliṅ khaṅ-bzaṅ ñaṃs-dga'-ba: lha-min nag͡s-chal stug[s]-po-te lha-la ri[nčh]en gžalasaṅ [=gžal-las-saṅ]: dud-'gro sa-phug spyil-po mthoṅ: yi-dvag͡s raṅ-gi lus[k]yi čha: stoṅ-duṃ phyar-ba lt[ab]u yin:

[3]dmyal[b]ar 'gro-na spyi-gcug-te: mtho-ris-la ni gyen lta sñaṃ: dud-'gro 'khrid-kyi rnaṃ-pa-te žesya-pas [=žes gsuńs-pas] lha-la gyen--du bltas-na 'gro: mi daṅ yi-dvag͡s daṅ dud-'gro-rnaṃs thad-kar 'gro dmyal[b]ar skye-na mgo[b]o mthur-du [4]bltas-nas 'gro-bar bšade

Dga'-bo mṅal-'ǰugi mdos lha'i bar-ma-do'i srid-pa gaṅ yin-pa de ni mgo gyen-la blta'o žes daṅ mi daṅ yi-dvag͡s daṅ dud-'gro-rnaṃs[k]yi bar-do'i srid-pa gaṅ yin-pa de ni thad-kar blta-žiṅ [5]'gro'o: seṃ[sča]n dmyal-ba-pa-rnaṃs ni bar-ma-do'i srid-pa ni mgo mthur-du blta'o žesya-paso

R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes rluṅ dmar čhar sprin cha graṅ-gis bdas-pas phug--pa grog-po stoṅ-duṃ-lvog͡s [=-la sogs] rcar skyabs phyir 'ǰug-[6]-pa'i snaṅ-ba byuṅ gyur-na: skye-gnas ṅan[pa]r šes[pa]r byin+ srogčod-mo daṅ lčag͡s-kyi khaṅ-bzaṅ mthoṅ: dga'-ba'i yid-kyis gnas der 'ǰug seṃs-na: raṅ ṅo-šes-šiṅ 'ǰigs-pa med-pa-yis: gnas ṅan de-las ldog-par+ [7]žesya [=žes gsuńs]: skye-gnas 4-las pha-ma-la srid[pa]'i mig-ser daṅ phrogi ñer-len-gyis mṅal-skyes daṅ sgoṅ-skyes 'byuṅ: dri daṅ ro-la čhag͡s-na drod[gš]er-las skye: gnas khaṅ-la čhag͡s-na sjuskyes 'byuṅ-ba-te R[g]yal[db]aṅ rǰes mṅal daṅ [8] sgoṅ-skyes mig-ser phrog daṅ: drod-

-gšer-las skyes dri daṅ ro-la čhag͡s: sjus-skyes gnas-la čhag͡s-pa skyes[pa]'i cha: čhag͡s sdaṅ sred-pa med[pa]r byin+ žeso: skabs 'di-dag-tu mṅal sgoṅ dgag-pa'i gdaṃs-pa gal-če-te [9]blaṃ[a] yab[y]uṃ-du (mchan-no) šes-pa dgag-pa ni yul pha ma 2 blaṃ[a] yab[y]uṃ-du bsgoṃs-la mos-gus byas-nas dbaṅ-čhos žu sñaṃ-pa[I] daṅ yi-daṃ yab[y]uṃ-du ('de'aṅ mchan) šes-pa dgag-pa ni yi-daṃ yab[y]uṃ-du šes[pa]r byaste mos-gus-kyis dbaṅ žu-ba'i 'dun-pa bya: [9b] de'aṅ či'i ṅo[b]or yaṅ ma grub[pa]r bsgoṃ--pa[II] daṅ čhag͡s sdaṅ ldog-pa dgag-pa ni čhag͡s sdaṅ 2-po'i rkyen-gyis 'khod-[pa]r 'khyaṃs de-las ldog-na 'khor-ba'aṅ ldog-pas čhag͡s sdaṅ ni raṅ seṃs-kyi čho['ph]rul rnaṃ-rtog bag͡s-kyis gzya[=gzugs]-brñan [2]raṅ-snaṅ 'khrul[ba]'i ri-mo yin seṃs-ñid brǰod-bral čhos[k]yi sku yin sñaṃ-du bsaṃ-pa[III] daṅ sgyu-mar šes-pas dgag-pa ni: čhos thaṃ[sča]d med 4nu [=bžin-du] snaṅ-ba sgyu-ma lt[ab]u yin-pas raṅ[g]i-seṃs-snaṅ seṃs kyaṅ bden-min sjun-min sgyu-ma lt[ab]u yin [3]sñaṃ-pas-so[IV] 'od-[gsa]l-du šes-pas dgag-pa ni čhos [tha]ṃ[sča]d raṅi seṃs raṅi seṃs ni čir yaṅ m[a-g]rub-pas daṅ[p]or skye-ba bar-du gnas-pa tha--mar 'gag-pa či-žig yod čes čhu-la čhu bžag-pa 4n seṃs-la seṃs-ñid bžag-pa [4]daṅ lṅa gaṅ ruṅ-gis khreg͡s-so de-rnaṃs[k]yi bdun-phrag doṅ-la khreg͡s--na phyi-ma-rnaṃs-la cheg͡s-medo:

de-ltar yaṅ R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes pha-ma-lvog͡s [= -la sogs] skye-gnas mthoṅ[ba]'i che: čhag͡s sdaṅ med-čiṅ sgyu-mar šes-pa daṅ gnas-lya [=lugs] raṅ-ṅo-šes[pa]'i [5]dran-pa-yis: žen-med mṅal-sgo mṅal-sgo kheg͡s-[pa]r+ žes mṅal-sgo dgag[pa]'i gdaṃs-pa 3 bšad-la de'i thog-tu bla-ma daṅ yi-daṃ-du šes-pas dgag-pa 2 zab khrid-las 'byuṅ: gal-te ma kheg͡s[pa]r skye-ba len-na [6]dag-pa'i žiṅ-khaṃs Bde-ba-čan daṅ Dga'-ldan daṅ Mṅon[pa]r dga'-ba'i žiṅ-lvog͡s [= -la sogs]-pa gaṅ-mas sa der da-lta-nas 'dun--pa btaṅ dgos-te: ṅa ši ma thag[pa]'i dag-pa'i žiṅ gaṅ yin-pa der 'gro sñaṃ-du yaṅ[ya]ṅ bsaṃs-šiṅ sa-phyogs duṅ [7]bkod-pa yid-la bya-ba daṅ žiṅ de'i ston-pa-la mos-gus duṅ duṅ byas-pas ši-ba'i bar-srid der yaṅ dran--žiṅ dran-pa caṃ-gyis žiṅ der skye'o žes 'Ba'-ra-ba'i gsuṅo:

ku[nmkhy]en Padma dkar-pos kyaṅ Mṅon[pa]r dga['ba]'i žiṅ--khams-[8]na: sjog͡s[pa]'i s[aṅs]r[g]yas Mikhrug͡s-pa: by[aṅčh]ub[s]eṃ-[sdpa]'i 'khoraṅs: žesog͡s[pa]'i rǰesu su žig de-yi mchan 'jin-čiṅ: dmyi [=dmigs]-pa med-pa'i seṃs-kyis-su: by[aṅčh]ub mčhog-tu seṃskyed--na: žiṅ-mčhog de-ru skye-bar gsuṅs žesya[=žes gsuṅs]-la gaṅ-du [9]gsuṅs-na Mṅon[pa]r dga'-ba'i žiṅ-du skye-bar 'gyur[lu]g͡ste 'phags-pa Dko[nmčh]og brceg͡s-pa-las gsuṅs-te sbyin-sog͡s phar[phy]in drugi dge-ba'i leg͡s-byas-la 'bad-čiṅ de[da]g Mṅon-dga'i žiṅ-du skye-ba'i rgyur bsṅos-na der skye-ba daṅ[I] [10a] skyabsu 'gro-ba-daṅ bčas[pa]'i by[aṅčh]ub-kyi mčhog-tu seṃskyed-pa'i dge-ba ni der sky[e]ba'i r[g]yur bsṅo-ba daṅ[II] yaṅ bčoṃ[ldan']das Rdo[rǰ]e Mikhrug͡s-pa ñid-la mos-gus-kyis m[ch]an yid-la zuṅs-šiṅ šar-phyog͡s Mṅon[pa]r dga'-ba'i žiṅ-rten daṅ brten-pa [2]yid-la byas-

-nas phy[ag'cha]l-ba daṅ[III] sa[ṅs]r[g]yas Mi-'khrug͡s-pa glaṅ-po'i khri-la bžug͡s[pa]'i sku-brñan ris-mo'aṃ 'bur-sku'aṃ par-btab kyaṅ ruṅ-te stoṅ phrag 1-tu bsgrub-pa daṅ[IV] bži-po gaṅ ruṅ-gis-so de-ltar dag-pa'i žiṅ-du skye-ba'aṃ yaṅ-[3]na 'khor[l]o sgyur[ba]'i r[g]yal-po'aṃ bram-ze-te rig͡s--kyi mčhog lta-bu daṅ čhos-bsgrub[pa]'i rig͡s-su skye-ba'i 'dun-pa btaṅo

R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes gal-te ma khreg͡s skye-ba len-pa-na: Bde-ba-čan daṅ Dga'-ldan Mṅon-dga'aṃ: 'khor[l]o sgyur r[g]yal braṃ[z]e'i [4] rig͡s-dag-tu: bsaṃs-4n skye-ba len[pa]r byin+ česya [= čes gsuṅs]

rǰe Bžad-pa rdo[rǰ]e'i gsuṅ-las: laṃ srid-pa tha-ma rig-pa las[k]yi rluṅ-gis raṅ-dbaṅ med[pa]r bskyod[pa]'i 'phraṅ dri-za mṅal-gyi skye-gnas 'chol[ba]'i dus der pho-mo sbyor-ba byed-pa-la [5]čhag͡s sdaṅ skye-bas sṅar-gyi gdaṃs-ṅag dran[pa]'i gnad-kyis raṅ-ñid bde[st]oṅ-gi ñaṃs-daṅ mi 'bral[ba]r gñen-po'i rcal mthar[phy]in-pas las[k]yi snaṅ-ba mi 'čhar-žiṅ dus phyin[čha]d bsaṃs-nas skye-ba len-pa de-ka skye-ba sna[ch]og͡s sprul[pa]'i sku yine: [6]de yin-pa-la yin[pa]r ṅo-šes dgos de ṅo-šes[pa]r byed-pa-la da-lta grolaṃ gtumo me-drod-kyi ye[š]es skyed-pa daṅ: čhags-laṃ las[k]yi phya[g]r[g]ya-la brtenas dbaṅ 3-pa sjog͡s[pa]'i don ñaṃsu myoṅ-bas phrog daṅ mig-ser sbyaṅ 'chal: mdor hril-gyis hril-[7]ba-la 'bras-bu sku 3 mṅon-du gyur-lug͡s: dus daṅ sa-'chaṃs de-ltar šes[pa]r bgyid 'chal žesya [= žes gsuṅs]-pas 'čhi-ba 'od-[gsa]l čhos[k]yi sku daṅ bar-do lyaud [= loṅs--spyod] sjog͡s[pa]'i sku daṅ skye-ba 'jin-pa sprul[ba]'i sku-te sku 3-gyi ṅo--sprod gsuṅs-pa'o [8]de-la kha 1; dag-pa'i žiṅ-du skye-ba ni laṃ bsgoṃ--pa sog͡s čhos ñaṃsu blaṅs[pa]'i 'brus[='bras-bu]'i mth[a]r[th]ug yinaṃ sñaṃ-du seṃs mod sṅag͡s-laṃ ñaṃsu[l]en-pa-⟨la⟩-dagis 'brus[='bras-bu]'i rce-mo ni bskyed-sjogs zuṅgi laṃ-la brtenas 'čhi-ba 'od[gsa]l sog͡s-[9]la ma ltos[pa]r che 'dir 'chaṅ-r[g]ya-ba ñid yin-la de 'og-nas 'čhi-ba 'od[gsa]l čhos[k]yi skur grol-ba de 'og-nas 'pho-ba mkhyod 'grub-pa de 'og--nas bar-do lyaud [= loṅs-spyod] sjogsku 'grub-pa de 'og-nas dag-pa'i žiṅ-[10b]-du skyes-pa bzaṅ-ba'o

de-la dgoṅs-nas R[g]yal[ba]'i dbaṅ-pos kyaṅ: 'od[gsa]l ma bu 'gre-bar byin[gy]i[sr]lobs: de-la mi-gnas rnaṃ[š]es 'pho-ba-na: žes-pa daṅ galte rnaṃ[š]es bar-dor 'khyaṃs-pa-na žesog͡s daṅ gal-te ma-khreg͡s skye-ba len-pa-na: [2]Bde-ba-čan daṅ Dga'-ldan Mṅon-dga'aṃ: žesog͡s rim-pa 4nu [= bžin-du] bsaṃ[mch]uṅs-pa'o 'o-na rǰe[bc]un Mi-la lta-bu sṅag͡s-laṃ mthar[phy]in[pa]'i gaṅ[za]g-gi⟨s⟩ mčhog yin-pa-la sku gšeg͡s[pa]'i che Mṅon-[pa]r dga'-ba'i ž[i]ṅ-du 'khruṅs[pa]r grag͡s 'dug-pas: sku che [3] de[ñ]-id-la sṅag͡s-laṃ bsgoṃs[pa]'i 'brus [='bras-bu] mthar[phy]in-pa ma yinaṃ že-na sku-che de[ñ]id-la sṅags-laṃ bsgoṃ-pa mthar[phy]in-nas sa[ṅs]-r[g]yas zin-pa šin[t]u yaṅ yine Mṅon[pa]r dga'-ba'i žiṅ-du ga-ba der by-[aṅch]ub[s]eṃ[sdpa]'i chul bzuṅste ba-laṅ spos-kyi glaṅ-po če [4] žes[pa]'i m[ch]an-daṅ ldan[pa]r bžug͡s-nas rǰe[bc]un-la dad-pas mchan daṅ rnaṃ-[tha]r yid-la dran-pa sogs Mṅon-dga'-žiṅ-du 'dren[pa]r bžede rje[bc]un

ñid-kyi gsuṅ-las bdagi žal mthoṅ gsuṅ thos daṅ rnaṃ-thar yid-la dran-pa daṅ: [5] mchan daṅ rnam-thar thos chad kun: Mṅon-dga'i žiṅ-du mǰal[ba]r šog česya [= čes gsuṅs]-paso

de[bž]in[d]u ǰo-bo rǰe yaṅ sku-che 'di[ñ]id-du s[aṅs]r[g]yas zin yaṅ Dga'-ldan-gyi žiṅ-du by[aṅč]ub[s]eṃ[sdpa]' Naṃkha' dri-ma med-pa žes[pa]r zol zuṅs mjad-nas [6] ǰo[b]o-la mos-pa-rnaṃs žiṅ-khaṃs der 'dren-[pa]r žal-gyis bžes-pa yine 'Broṃ-gyi bstod-par kho-bo 'di-nas Dga'--ldan gnasu 'gro; ṅa-la dad-čiṅ gus-par byed-pa-rnams: Dga'-ldan gnasu mǰal-bar 'gyur žes gsya [=gsuṅs]: [7]ma-'oṅs mṅon-⟨g⟩suṃ gzigs-la gsol-ba 'debs žesogs maṅ-du yod-pas gžan-la yaṅ šes[pa]r bya'o

mchuṅs-med R[g]yal-dbaṅ-rǰes mjad-pa'i Bar-do gsol-'debsu grags-pa 'di'i dbu-rcoṃ-gyi chigčad čhos kun sgyu-ma [8]lta-bur sogs daṅ sgyu--ma'i lus-čan sogs daṅ mi-rtag sgyu-ma'i sogs gsuṃ daṅ 'ǰug-rcom-gyi chigčad skyes ma-thag-tu sogs daṅ r[g]yal-ba sras-daṅ bčas-pa sogs daṅ 'di-la gžan-gyis sogs gsuṃ ni go sla-bas 'bru-snon [9]ma byas-la 'čhi-kha'i thim-rim-nas skye-ba 'jin-pa yan-čhad gsal-bar smos-pa'o

Bar-do'i gdaṃs-ṅag ñaṃsu blaṅs[pa]'i phan-yon ni; bar-do ṅo-šes-[pa]r 'gyur-ba-daṅ gčig bar-do'i 'ǰigs-skrag med-pa-daṅ gñis [11a] ye[š]es-kyi sku mṅon-du byed-pa-daṅ gsuṃ: mṅal-gyi sgo khegs-pa-daṅ bži; tiṅe['j]in khyad-par-čan skye-ba-daṅ lṅa: laṃ ma sjogs-par ⟨sja⟩ 'gyur-ba-daṅ drug mṅon[pa]r sjogs-pa 'chaṅ-r[g]ya-ba-daṅ bdun: raṅ-dbaṅ yod-pas skye-ba len-pa'o: [2]de-ltar bar-do'i gdaṃs-pa sku gsum thar-pa'i ñe-laṃ žes bya-ba ni; rcod-bral-gyi dam-pa maṅ-po'i gsuṅ-la brtenas Bya-btaṅ Phyag-rdor nor-bu žes bya-bas Stag-sog gaṅs-kyi ra-bar bris-pa ñid-do žus-dag rcom-pa-pos [3] bgyis-pa'o

bdag-gis 'di bris dge-ba'i bsod-naṃs-kyis
mar-gyur mkha'-mñam 'gro-ba ma-lus-pa:
dṅaṅs-skrag bar-do'i 'ǰigs-pa med-pa daṅ
dag-pa'i žiṅ mčhog-rnaṃs-su skye-bar šog
bkr[aš]is

Authors, works and places mentioned in the Advice

Dkon-mčhog brcegs-pa (Ratnakūṭa): Derge Kanjur no. 45, Peking K. no. 760 (9b)

Dga'-bo mṅal-'ǰug-gi mdo (Dga'-bo mṅal-du 'ǰug-pa, Nanda-garbhāvakrānti): Derge K no. 58, Peking K no. 760/13 (9a)

Rgod-chaṅ-pa, rgyal-ba: Mgon-po rdo-rǰe of the Čhu-bčal clan, 1189—1258, see G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, p. 158 (4b, 7b, 8ab)

Rgyal-ba'i dbaṅ-po: title of the Dalai Lamas as that of the 7th, Blo-bzaṅ skal-bzaṅ rgya--mcho (3a, 5a dpal ~, 71, 10b)

Rgyal-dbaṅ-rǰe: here also mentioned as the author of *Bar-do gsol-'debs*, hence identifiable

with Padma byuń-gnas (Padmasambhava) (1a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 5a, 6b, 6b, 8a, 8a, 8b, 8b, 9a, 9a, 9b, 10a, 10b)

Rgyud dbu-ma (Madhyamaka-tantra): it must be Nāgārjuna's Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā, Dbu-ma rca-ba'i chig-le'ur bčas-pa šes-rab, Derge Tanjur no. 3824, Peking T no. 5224 (7a)

Brgyad-stoń-pa (Aṣṭasāhasrikā): Derge K no. 734, Peking K. no 12 (7a)

Mńon-pa (5b, 6a, 6b), ~ *mjod*, *Čhos* ~ (Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa): Derge T nos. 4080—4090, Peking T. 5590—5591 (5a, 5b, 6a, 6a, 6b, 6b)

Čhos mńon-pa (5a): Mńon-pa

Jo-bo rje: Atiśa (10b)

Sñan-brgyud-kyi yig-čha: Padma dkar-po's work, cf. M. Tachikawa et al., *A Catalogue of the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche* (Tokyo 1983), nos. 1917, 1926 (Sñan-rgyud yid-bžin norbu etc.) (4a)

Sñan-brgyud rdo-rje'i chig-rkań (Karṇatantravajra pāda): Nāropa's work, Derge T no. 2338, Peking T no. 4632 (4a)

Stag-sog gaṅs-kyi ra-ba: the Snowy Yard of Stag-sog, the place where the Advice was written down; cf. Stag-so gaṅs-ra, *Sbas-yul* according to the 5th Dalai Lama's *Ṅo-mchar bkod-pa rgya-mcho*, see D. Schuh, P. Schwieger, *Tibetische Handschriften, Blockdrucke*, Teil 9 (Stuttgart 1985), p. XXXVI (11a)

Bde-mčhog sdom-'byuń: cf. Cakraśaṃvara-tantra, Bde-mčhog 'byuń-ba, Derge K no. 373, Peking K no. (4b)

Rdo-rje mkha'-'gro'i rgyud (Vajraḍāka-tantra): cf. Derge K nos. 370—371, Peking K no. 18 (9a)

Padma dkar-po, kun-mkhyen: 'Brug-pa ~, 1526—1592, see Tucci, TPS, pp. 71, 127, 162, etc. (5a, 9b)

Phyag-rdor nor-bu of Bya-btań, the compiler of the Advice (11a)

Bar-do thos-grol ascribed to Padmasambhava and found by the gter-ston Karma gliń-pa (8a)

Bar-do gsol-'debs: Rgyal-dbań-rje's prayer, cf. F. Wilhelm, J. L. Panglung, THB, Teil 7, no. 186; cf. another prayer of the kind, *Bar-do 'phrań-sgrol-gyi gsol-'debs 'jigs-sgrol-gyi dpa'-bo* written by Blo-bzań čhos-kyi rgyal-mchan (1569—1662) of 'Bras-spuńs, see M. Taube, THB no. 1221 (10b)

Bya-btań: epithet (clan-name) of Phyag-rdor nor-bu, cf. also Bya-btań dka'-bču'i miń-čan Dhva-ja in Taube's THB, no. 2582, Bya-btań ras-pa, Bya-btań Čhos-dar, Bya-btań gro-lod Spa-gro gter-ston in Tachikawa's Catalogue, nos. 0560, 0558, 0559 (11a)

'Ba'-ra-ba: rje-bcun 'Ba'-ra-ba Rgyal-mchan dpal-bzań-po, 1250—1331, see Tucci, TPS, p. 91; Schuh, THB, Teil 6, p. 166, no. 149; Khetsun Sangpo's Biogr. Dict., VIII:2. (Dharamsala 1981), pp. 67—68. (6a)

'Brom-gyi bstod-pa: Eulogy of 'Brom, cf. *'Brom-ston-pa'i bstod-mgur* by Blo-bzań čhos--kyi rgyal-mchan, see Taube, THB no. 1222, and *'Brom čhos-kyi rgyal-po-la bstod--čiń gsol-ba 'debs-pa'i chul* by Dge-'dun rgya-mcho (1476—1542) of Rva-sgreń, see Taube, THB no. 1221 (10b)

Mi-la, rje or *rje-bcun*: Mi-la ras-pa (4a, 10b)

Mya-ńan 'das čhen-po (Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra): Derge K nos. 120—121, Peking K no. 787 (7a)

Bžad-pa rdo-rje, rje or *rje-bcun*: although the name Mi-la also occurs in the text, the title *rje-bcun* suggests that this authority is Mi-la Bžad-pa rdo-rje, 1042—1123 (2a, 7b, 10a)

Zab-mo naṅ-don: Raṅ-byuń rdo-rje's work, cf. Tachikawa, Catalogue, no. 2061 (5a)

Bzaṅ-skyoṅ-gis žus-pa'i mdo (Bhadrapāla-śreṣṭi-paripṛcchā): 'Phags-pa choṅ-dpon Bzaṅ-skyoṅ-gis žus-pa žes-bya-ba theg-pa čhen-po'i mdo, Derge K no. 83, Peking K no. 760/39 (6b)

Raṅ-byuṅ rdo-rje, rje: the Karma-pa teacher, 1284—1339 (5a)

Šin-tu rmad-du byuṅ-ba'i rgyud: cf. Dpal Zab-mo'i don gsal-ba Rmad-du byuṅ-ba čhen-po, Derge T no. 1200, Peking T no. 2330 (5a, 7b)

Sre-'pho: Padma dkar-po's *Bsre-'pho'i lam-skor-gyi thog-mar lam-dbye bsdus*, see Tucci, TPS, p. 127, Tachikawa, Catalogue, no. 1880 (cf. also nos. 1890—1891) (5a)

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TWO INDIGENOUS TIBETAN COMMENTARIES ON THE *DHARMA-DHARMATĀ-VIBHĀGA**

LESLIE S. KAWAMURA (Calgary)

This paper introduces two indigenous Tibetan commentaries on the *Dharma-dharmatāvibhāga* (hereafter *DDV*) that have become available owing to the publication of many indigenous Tibetan texts that were brought with the migration of the Tibetan people to India.

It is well-known that the *DDV*, counted by the Tibetan Buddhist tradition as one of the *Five Treatises of Maitreya* (*byams chos sde lnga*)[1], appears in the Tibetan Tripitaka in three forms:

1. Maitreya's Prose Text:	*Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa*,[2]
2. Maitreya's *Kārikā* Text:	*Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa*,[3] and
3. Vasubandhu's Commentary Text:	*Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa'i 'grel pa*.[4]

Of these, the only text that can be considered a "Commentary Text" is the third one attributed to Vasubandhu, because Maitreya's "Prose Text" is

* Since the writing of this paper, a third commentary by Rje btsun Blo bzang rta mgrin has come to my attention

[1] According to the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, the *Five Treatises of Maitreya* are: 1. *Abhisamayālaṁkāra*, 2. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*. 3. *Madhyānta-vibhāga*, 4. *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhāga*, and 5. *Ratnagotra-vibhāga Mahāyānottara-tantra-śāstra*. The Chinese tradition lists: 1. *Yü ch'ia-lun* (*Yogācāra-bhūmi*), 2. *Fên-pieh yü-ch'ia-lun* (which corresponds to chapter VIII of the *Saṁdhinirmocana-sūtra*), 3. *Ta chuang-yen lun* (*Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*), 4. *Pien-chung pien-lun* (*Madhyānta vibhāga*), and 5. *Chin-kang pan-jo-lun* (*Vajracchedikāprajñā-pāramitā-sūtra-śāstra*?)

[2] D. T. Suzuki (ed.), *Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition* (Kyoto/Tokyo: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1958), Vol. 108, No. 5224, p. 22—24. See also *Derge Edition* (Tokyo: Faculty of Letters, Tokyo University, 1979), *Sems-tsam*, Vol. 1, No. 4023, p. 25—27.

[3] *Peking Edition*, Vol. 108, No. 5523, p. 21—22. Derge Edition, *Sems-tsam*, Vol, 1, No. 4022, p. 23—25.

[4] *Peking Edition*, Vol. 108, No. 5529, p. 133—138. Derge Edition, *Sems-tsam*, Vol. 2, No. 4028, p. 14—19.

nothing more than a slightly expanded version of the "Kārikā Text" which is made up of seventy-five verses. With the exception of the first one which has four *pādas* consisting of nine syllables, all of the other verses have four *pādas* consisting of seven syllables per *pāda*. Of these seventy-five verses, the original Sanskrit can be found for only the first and last verses.[5]

Previously, it was believed that the *only* commentary on the *DDV* within the Indian Sanskrit tradition was that of Vasubandhu and that if ever a Sanskrit edition of the *DDV* was to be found, then it would in all probability be Maitreya's.[6] This belief was dispelled when V. V. Gohkale introduced Vairocanarakṣita's Sanskrit commentary on the *DDV* to the scholarly world.[7] I have already discussed this matter in a previous paper[8] and therefore, I shall refrain from making any further comments here. When J. Nozawa collated, edited, and published both Maitreya's "Prose Text" and Vasubandhu's "Commentary Text", he was aware of the Sanskrit fragment to Vasubandhu's "Commentary Text".[9]

The publication of many indigenous Tibetan works in recent times has brought to light two indigenous Tibetan commentaries on the *DDV*. One is by the rNying-ma-pa scholar, 'Jam-mgon-'ju Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho (1846—1912) and the other is by the eminent Sa-skya scholar, Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig (1367—1449).

Rong-ston's text called, *Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa'i rnam bshad legs par 'doms pa lha'i rnga bo che*, consists of 12 folia and was published by T. G. Dhongthog Rinpoche.[10] The original blocks were said to have been ". . . prepared under the inspiration of 'Jams-dbyaṅs Mkhyen-brtse'i-dbaṅ-po at Sde-dge Dgon-chen".[11]

[5] Rahula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, "Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet", *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (Patna: Bihar Research Society, 1935), Vol.fXXIV, Part IV, p. 163. Here Sāṅkṛtyāyana calls the text *Dharma-dharmatā-pravibhāga sūtra*.

[6] Rahula Sāṅkrtyāyana's notes on the *Dharma-dharmatā-pravibhāga-sūtra* seems to indicate that the text he saw was the Sanskrit text corresponding to Maitreya's "Prose Text". This conclusion can be reached from the first *kārikā* and the final lines for which Sāṅkṛtyāyana gives the Sanskrit. See ibid., p. 163.

[7] V. V. Gohkale, "Yogācāra Works Annotated by Vairocanarakṣita," *Annuals of the Bhandaker Oriental Research Institute*, Diamond Jubilee Volume, 1977, p. 636—639.

[8] See my paper "The Dharma-Dharmatā-Vibhāga", in *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, March 1984 p. (10)—(17).

[9] The Sanskrit fragment edited by Nozawa is found in G. M. Nagao and N. Nozawa (ed.), *Studies in Indology and Buddhology*, Festschrift S. Yamaguchi (Kyoto): Hozokan, (1955), p. 46—49. For the Sanskrit fragment see S. Lévi, *Mahāyāna-sūtrâlaṁkāra* (Paris: 1907; Shanghai Reprint, 1949), p. 190—191.

[10] Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig, *Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa'i rnam bshad legs par 'doms pa lha'i rnga bo che* (Delhi: Offset Printer, 1979), Poti style. Reproduced from prints from late 19th century blocks.

[11] See ibid., Preface.

Kārikā	*Rong-ston*	*Mi-pham*	*Nozawa*
	1,2	I, II, A B, C	
1	3	1,2	I
2	4	3,4	II
3	5		III
4—5c		5,6	IV.1
5d—6c		7	IV.2
6d—8c		8	V
8d—9c		9	VI
9d—11b	6,7	10,11	VII
	8	12,13	
11c—12a	9,10	14	VII.1—3
	11,12		

Mi-pham's text is called, *Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa ye shes snang ba rnam 'byed* and comes to us in two versions. One was edited by Dar-thang, printed in Varanasi in Poti style, and consists of 20 folia.[12] The other appears in Sonam Topgay Kazi's edition of the *Collected Writings of 'Jam-Mgon-'Ju Mi-pham-rgya-mtsho.*[13] It consists of 25 folia. Although Kazi's edition consists of more folia than Dar-thang's edition, it has in fact less information in it, because it omits a whole one-side of a leaf of Tibetan text.[14] By comparing it to Dar-thang's edition, it is possible to restore the lacuna in Kazi's edition.

A salient feature of these indigenous Tibetan commentaries is their detailed table of contents (*sa-bcad*) which are helpful in understanding the structural organization of the contents of a text. The table of contents also allows us to see how different compilers have interpretated a specific text. One does not expect to find a great discrepancy among the two commentators, yet there are the subtle differences which may give us a basis for a wider understanding of what Maitreya's *Dharma-dharmatā-vibhāga* had in store. For example, the manner in which Rong-ston divides the rather complex discussion on the six topics regarding *dharma* (Rong-ston # 7—24; Mi-pham # 11—25; and Yamaguchi/Nozawa VII—VII.6) makes for a more comprehensible presentation than the division of either Mi-pham or Yamaguchi/Nozawa. The following table represents the relationship between the divisions made by Rong-ston, Mi-pham, and Yamaguchi/Nozawa according to the "Kārikā text".

From this chart, it becomes evident that the ratio of the numbers of *kārikās* to the division of the commentary contents is greater sometimes in

[12] Dar-thang's edition is in Poti style published by Ilm , E. M. Press, n.d.

[13] Sonam Topgay Kazi, *Collected Writings of 'Jam-mgon-'ju Mi-pham rgya-mtsho* (Delhi: M. M. Offset Press, 1976) [Nyagyur Nyingmay Sunrab, Vol. 62] Vol. 3, p. 609—659.

[14] Contents between folio 1, line 4 and folio 2b, line 3 found in Dar-thang's edition is missing in Kazi's edition.

Karika	*Rong-ston*	*Mi-pham*	*Nozawa*
12b—d	13,14	15,16	
		17	VII.4—5
13a—b	15		VII.4
13c—d	16	18	VII.5
14a—15b	17	19	VII.5.a
15c—16c	18	20	VII.5.b
16d—22c	19	21,22	VII.6
	20		
16d—17d	21	23	
18a—20c	22	24	
21a—20d	23	25	
21b—22c	24		
22d—24a	25,26	26,27	
	27	28	VIII.
24b	28	29	VIII.1
24c—d	29	30	VIII.2
25a—d	30	31	VIII.3
26a—d	31	32	VIII.4
27a—d	32	33	VIII.5
28a—29b	33	34	VIII.6
	34	35	VIII.6a
29b—30d	35,36	36,37	IX.
	37	38	
31a—32a	38	39	IX.1
32b—34a	39	40	IX.2
34b—35c	40	41	IX.3
35d—37b	41	42	IX.4
37c—38c	42	43	IX.5
38d—40b	43	44,45	IX.6
40c—41c	44	46,47	IX.6.a
41d—43d	45	48	IX.6.b
44a—45b	46	49	IX.6.c
45c—50a	47	50	IX.6.d
46a—c	48	51	
46a—49a	49	52	
49b—50a	50	53	
50b—51b	51	54	IX.6.e
51c—52d	52	55	IX.6.f
53a—54c	53	58	IX.6.f.1
54d—55d	54	59	IX.6.f.2
56a—57b	55	60	IX.6.f.3
57c—60c	56	61	IX.6.f.4
60d—67d	57	62	IX.7
60d—64a	58		
[illegible]	59		
64b—64d	60		
65a—66a	61		
66b—67d	62		
68a—72a	63	63	IX.8
72b—74b	64	64	IX.9
74c—74d	65	65	IX.10
75a—d	66	66	X.
		D	

When J. Nozawa collated, edited, and published Maitreya's "Prose Text" together with Vasubandhu's "Commentary Text", he did so according to the ten major divisions given to the text by S. Yamaguchi in his Japanese translation[15] as follows:

Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa

SA-BCAD

Yamaguchi/Nozawa

	Karika
I. bstan bcos mdzad pa'i dgos pa	1
II. gnyis bstan pa	2
III. chos dang chos nyid kyi ngo bo nyid	3
IV. chos dang chos nyid kyi mtshan nyid	
1. chos kyi mtshan nyid	4a—5c
2. chos nyid kyi mtshan nyid	5d—6c
V. chos kyi mtshan nyid: med pa snang ba	6d—8c
VI. chos dang chos nyid dag gcig nyid ma yin dang so so ma yin pa nyid	8d—9c
VII. chos la 'jug pa	9d—11b
1—3. drug las dang po gsum	11c—12a
1—3. bzhi dang lnga	12b—12d
4. snod kyi 'jig rten gyi khams	13a—13b
5. sems can gyi khams	13c—13d
a. thung mong pa	14a—15b
b. thung mong ma yin	15c—16c
6. gzung dang 'dzin par snang ba med pa	16d—22c
VIII. chos nyid la 'jug pa	22d—24a
1. mtshan nyid la 'jug pa	24b
2. kun tu gnas pa la 'jug pa	24c—d
3. nges par 'byed pa la 'jug pa	25a—d
4. reg pa la 'jug pa	26a—d
5. rjes su dran pa la 'jug pa	27a—d
6. nye bar son pa la 'jug pa	28a—29b
IX. gnas yongs su gyur pa la 'jug pa	29b—30d
1. ngo bo la 'jug pa	31a—32a
2. dngos po la 'jug pa	32b—34a
3. gang zag la 'jug pa	34b—35c
4. khyad par can la 'jug pa	35d—37b
5. dgos pa rtogs la 'jug pa	37c—38c
6. gnas la 'jug pa	38d—40b
a. dmigs pa la 'jug pa	40c—41c
b. mtshan ma spangs pa la 'jug pa	41d—43d
c. yang dag pa'i sbyor ba la 'jug pa	44a—45b
d. mtshan nyid la 'jug pa	45c—50a
e. phan yon la 'jug pa	50b—51b
f. yongs su shes pa la 'jug pa	51c—52d
1. gnyen po yongs su shes pa	53a—54c
2. mtshan nyid yongs su shes pa	54d—55d
3. khyad par yongs su shes pa	56a—57b
4. las yongs su shes pa	57c—60c
7. yid la byed pa la 'jug pa	60d—67d
8. sbyor ba la 'jug pa	68a—72a
9. nyes dmigs la 'jug pa	72b—74b
10. phan yon la 'jug pa	74c—d
X. chos dang chos nyid dag gyi dpe bjrod pa	75a—d

[15] See *Yamaguchi Susumu Bukkyo gaku Bunshu* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1972), Vol. 1, p. 163—211.

Rong-ston and other times in Mi-pham. For example, in his discussion on *kārikās* (60d—67d) Rong-ston gives more topic headings (# 57—62) than either Mi-pham (# 62) or Yamaguchi/Nozawa (# IX.7), but in regard to *kārikās* 4a—9c, Mi-pham (# 6—9) and Yamaguchi/Nozawa (# IV.1—VI) give more topic headings than Rong-ston (discussed under # 5). For the most part, the two Tibetan commentators explain the text in a similar manner. But what becomes evident from a comparison of the kind above is that Yamaguchi/Nozawa do not clearly indicate that *gnas yongs su gyur pa la 'jug pa* (*āśraya-parivṛtti-praveśa*) is a subheading of the topic *nye bar son ba* (*abhyupagamana*). Generally speaking, both Rong-ston and Mi-pham are in agreement as to how the contents should be divided, but on some topics, one or the other gives a more detailed analysis of the text. The following *sa-bcad* by Mi-pham and Rong-ston will make this clear (see fold-outs after p. 472).

Although the divisions made by Yamaguchi/Nozawa are not as detailed as the two Tibetan commentators, all of the basic points have been covered. The distinction between the two Tibetan commentators is not limited to the manner in which they divided the text. There are differences in the extent to which they go to clarify the text. The following passages will illustrate this point. The passages concerned comment upon *kārikās* 16d—17a. First a translation of the *kārikā*:

> An appearance as a common, external grasped-object
> Is a representation [produced] by a grasping-subject.
> It is not the case that a meaningful-object
> Exists outside of a perceptual-operation,
> Owing to its nature of commonality.[16]

Rong-ston's commentary [# 21] reads:

An appearance, such as a mountain, as an *external grasped-object* does not exist as a meaningful-object outside of a perceptual-operation, *because* [that appearance] is merely an appearance having the *nature of commonality* [produced] by one's own perceptual-operation. Outside of which perceptual-operation does there not exist an another meaningful-object? *There does not exist* another *meaningful-object aside from* the aspect of a *representation* [*produced*] *by a grasping-subject.*[17]

[16] Rahula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, *op. cit.*, p. 163, note 1:
kiñcit parijñāya yataḥ praheyaṃ sākṣāt ca kiñcit karaṇīyam anyat/
atas tayor lakṣaṇato vibhāgaṃ cikīrṣatā śāstram idaṃ praṇītam//

[17] Rong-ston Shes-bya-kun-rig, *op. cit.* from folio 5a, line 6 to folio 5b, line 1 (* indicates line end):
phyi rol gyi* gzung ba ri la sogs par snang ba chos can / rnam par shes pa las phyi rol du gyur pa'i don yod pa min te / rang gi shes pa nyid thun mong ba nyid du snang ba tsam yin pa'i phyir / shes pa gang las don gzhan du med ce na / rang 'dzin pa'i rnam par rig pa'i cha las don [5b] gzhan du med do//

Mi-pham's commentary (# 23) reads:

Those who are attached to [the belief that] a meaningful-object exists external [to a perceptual-operation] think as follows. They think that a thing, such as a mountain, composed of [an accumulation of] atoms is to be accepted as a common [object] because it has a true, substantive existence [in a substantial way as a mountain as such]. But, this is not the case.

Mountains and so on which *appear* [in the mind] *as a common external grasped-object* are not established as entities having a nature of their own outside of a perceptual-operation, because only a *representation* [*produced*] *by a grasping-subject* of those people in whom the potentialities for common-ness have matured appears [in the mind] as the various kinds of this or that external object. This is like images seen in a dream. Therefore, *it is not the case that there exists a meaningful-object* in and of itself *outside of a perceptual-operation*; that very thing which is said to be the object seen as common is established as that very existent thing not different from what is apprehended by the various individual existences, because it is that *very thing* which appears as *common* to all different existences. How so?

If you conclude that that [very thing] which is said to be the object seen as common establishes a meaningful-object outside [of a perceptual operation] and that [that very thing which is said to be the object seen as common] is determined to be "a common external object" merely because of the similarity in the manner in which an appearance occurs in each individual existence, then those appearances would indeed be appearances that occur in each individual existence. But it does not follow from this that [that object] is common. What is referred to as an object external to and other than an appearance could not be logically explained by the statement, "This is common", because although it is reasonable to infer the existence of an object from an appearance [of that object] in one's mind, it would be unreasonable to infer it from a non-appearance insofar as there exists no measure by which [non-appearance] can be accounted. Consequently, when this statement "[object] seen as common" is properly postulated, if one comprehends the reason for understanding what is said to be common by virtue of the similarities of appearances in [the mind of] various individual existences, then even when those appearances are [appearing as] similar, it is not necessary to ascertain the cause [for the similarity of appearances] to a single common object external [to the perceptual-operation]. Just as an appearance is imagined to be common by those who are blinded by the charm of a magician, so too so long as the strength of the potentialities [for commonality] has not become exhausted in those whose potentialities [for commonality] have matured, their place of dwelling and so on will appear as common. However, it does not follow that some object is established as one and the same object that produces the same appearance [in the mind of all those beings], for even a single object like water produces

different images in the six levels of beings according to what appears in each being's mind.[18]

These particular passages illustrate the extensiveness of Mi-pham's commentary, but in other cases Rong-ston's commentary is more extensive. The point to be emphasized is not that one commentator goes to greater extent than the other but that these Tibetan commentators comment upon the text in different ways.

Although the general tendencies of these indigenous Tibetan commentaries on the root texts (*rtsa-ba*) of traditional Indian Yogācāra is to stay fairly close to their Indian counterparts, the expanded explanations found therein do add to our understanding of these texts. Consequently, there is a need to make a serious investigation of these indigenous Tibetan commentaries.

[18] See Dar-thang's edition (note 12 above), folio 6b, line 6 to folio 7b, line 1 (* indicates line end):

phyi don la mngon par zhen pa rnams 'di snyam du blta bya thun mong ba'i ri la sogs pa rdul du grub pa rnams 'di ltar bsnyon med (7a) du yod pa'i phyir phyi don grub bo snyam na de ma yin te / phyi rol gyi gzung ba gang zhig thun mong bar snang ba ri la sogs pa chos can / nang gi shes pa las tha dad pa'i phyi don bem bo'i ngo bor grub pa med de / bag chags mthun par sad pa rnams kyi nang gi 'dzin* pa'i rnam par rig pa nyid phyi rol gyi don de dang de'i rnam par snang ba yin pa'i phyir / dper na rmi lam gyi gzugs lta bu'o // de'i phyir na rnam par shes pa las gzhan pa phyi rol du gyur pa'i don yod pa ma yin te / 'di ltar blta bya thun mong ba'i phyi don zhes bya ba de yang / rgyud mi gcig pa'i* 'gro ba du ma la thun mong du snang ba nyid yin pa'i phyir so so'i rgyud kyi 'dzin pa las tha dad du med pa nyid du grub par 'gyur ro //

de'i rgyu mtshan ji lta bu zhe na phyi don grub pa'i grub byed du bkod pa'i blta bya thun mong ba shes bya ba de ni / rgyud so so'i ngo skal la snang lugs 'dra ba tsam zhig gis thun mong* pa'i phyi don zhes 'jog par zad na snang ba de dag ni rang rang so so'i rgyud kyi snang ba yin gyi thun mong pa nam yang mi srid la / snang ba tsam de las gzhan pa'i phyi don zhes pa thun mong pa zhig ni 'di' o zhes rigs pas nam yang bstan mi nus te sems la snang ba las yul de yod par 'jog dgos kyi / ma snang* bar 'jal byed tshad ma med pas na 'jog ni rigs so // des na blta bya thun mong pa zhes pa 'di la legs par brtags na thun mong pa zhes su 'jog pa'i rgyu mtshan rgyud so so'i snang ba 'dra bas 'jog na / snang ba de ni 'dra ba yin na'ang / de'i rgyu phyi don thun mong pa gcig nges par grub mi dgos te /* sgyu ma'i sngags kyis mig bslad pa'i skye bo rnams la snang ba mthun par 'char ba bzhin / bag chags mthun par sad pa'i skye bo rnams la bag chags de'i nus pa ma zad kyi ring la gnas la sogs pa 'dra bar snang na yang / 'dra bar snang ba'i rgyu gcig phyi rol na don du grub pa med de chu gcig la'ang (7b) las snang tha dad pa'i 'grol ba drug gi mthung snang tha dad du yod pa bzhin rang gi nang gi sems kyi rang snang tsam du shes par bya'o //

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SA-BCAD

Rong-ston Shes bya-kun-rig (1367—1449)

Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa'i rnam bshad legs par 'doms pa lha'i rnga bo che

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SA-BCAD

Mi-pham rgya mtsho (1846—1912)

Chos dang chos nyid rnam par 'byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa ye shes snang ba rnam 'byed

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