

ENACTING WORDS
A DIPLOMATIC ANALYSIS OF THE IMPERIAL DECREES
(*BKAS BCAD*) AND THEIR APPLICATION IN THE
SGRA SBYOR BAM PO GÑIS PA TRADITION ¹

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Dedicated to the memory of a very dear friend, Graham E. Clarke

1. Chancery. Phraseology and practice

The manifold aspects of the transmission of Indian Buddhism to Tibet during the VIIth-IXth century are some of the most interesting cultural phenomena in the study of the Indo-Tibetan tradition. The fact that several secular documents and religious manuscripts of the same period have been found in hiding places or in sacred deposits of Central Asia, in particular Dunhuang, reveals (and at once complicates) the picture of the interwoven relations occurring at this time between Indian, Tibetan and Chinese societies, to speak of them only. If, as we said on another occasion, the quest for pristine sources may be seen as a *vérito-machie*², the

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² That is, the result of a prolonged and tortuous effort to authenticate the “original” (text, document, etc.). Indeed, as we have had occasion to say earlier (Harvard Manuscripts Workshop 1999), in the study of a manuscript, be it a philosophical text written on birch-bark or paper, or an ostrakon transmitting a “decodifiable” fragmentary text — something which makes sense —, one of the motivations if not *the* motivation is a kind of “*vérito-machie*” [“*truth-o-machy*”], as we are overtly engaging in a search of “authenticity” and attempting, consciously or not, to establish a **hierarchy of truths**, if not **facts of truth**. Take for instance the case of constructing stemmae to establish the genesis of a document (diplomatic analysis) or to study text-stratigraphy (philology).

Notwithstanding the fact that diplomatic (Lat. *diplomatica* see *infra* n. 28) and philology are essential instruments for a rigorous approach to texts and documents, the search

study of textual genesis and stratigraphy is a plunge into the field of interpretation. The *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*, partially surviving in four old incomplete manuscripts (the fourth discovered only recently³) and in a canonical version, attests to the fact that the Buddhist institution, as an integral part of the Tibetan Empire, “emerges in this period as a textualized artifact”⁴. Indeed, the first epigraphical records, such as the inscriptions of bSam yas or *Žwa’i lha khañ*, and some of their contemporary extant documents, bear witness to the existence of chancery and archival practices where originals or copies of the public acts, which were also kept on stone were stored. It is clear that the *vérito-machie*, besides its obvious authoritative value, aimed to prevent forgeries and hand public acts down to future generations, as expressed by the well-known formula inherited from ancient Indian epigraphy and appended to public acts “... and may this *order/edict/decree/grant/charter* endure as long as sun and moon [endure]...”⁵.

A genuine example of chancery phraseology and practice is embedded in the last paragraphs of the inscription at *Žwa’i lha khañ*⁶. Two pillars

for pristine sources should never obscure the search of meaning, nor end in a striving for “truth” ... For the unconscious historical motives behind the search of “truth”, see Paul Veyne (1983: 17-27) “Quand la vérité historique était tradition et vulgate”, ib. 23: “Le grand mot est lâché: l’habitude de citer ses autorités, l’annotation savante, n’a pas été une invention des historiens, mais vient des controverses théologiques et de la pratique juridique, où l’on alléguait l’Écriture, les Pandectes ou les pièces du procès: dans la *Summa contra Gentiles*, saint Thomas ne renvoie pas aux passages d’Aristote, car il prend la responsabilité de les réinterpréter et il les tient pour la vérité même, qui est anonyme; en revanche il cite l’Écriture, qui est Révélation et non pas vérité de l’anonyme raison. ... Bref, l’annotation savante a une origine chicanière et polémique: on s’est envoyé les preuves à la tête, avant de les donner à partager aux autres membres de la “communauté scientifique”. La grande raison en est la montée de l’Université, avec son monopole de plus en plus exclusif sur l’activité intellectuelle”.

³ The fourth, is a short passage so far unidentified and preserved in the India Office manuscript collection of the British Library (IO Tib J 76) and may now be added to the three extant incomplete manuscripts, see Appendix II.

⁴ Borrowed from James J. O’Donnell “The pragmatics of the new: Trithemius, McLuhan, Cassiodorus”, in: Geoffrey Nunberg 1996.

⁵ See for instance Pelliot tib. 134 (Scherrer-Schaub 1999-2000: 226 and 237) and compare with the formulae “*ā-candrāditya kāliya*” attested in a Vākātaka’s copper plate, dated ca. Vth c. (Burgess 1975: 118, 120-121 and 123-124), and “*ā-candrārka-ṣṣiti samakālam*” (Sircar 1996: 140 and nn. 1-2, 392 and 397). Alternative formulae, such as *nam du* or *g-yuñ druñ du*, are used in Old Tibetan to express perpetuity.

⁶ Richardson 1985: 43-61.

flanking the entrance of the *lha khañ* record the privileges granted by Khri lde sroñ btsan (r. 800-815)⁷ to Ban de⁸ Myañ Tiñ ñe 'dzin to whom the King owed affection, respect and probably also his sovereignty⁹. Without entering into a detailed analysis of the charter, we will mention some interesting elements of chancery procedure.

First of all, if we compare the inscriptions from the time of Khri lde sroñ btsan with those of the preceding reign of Khri sroñ lde btsan (755-794?), we note (without surprise) that with time the chancery becomes more complicated (in phraseology) and bureaucratized (in praxis). For instance, the text appearing on the Western pillar at *Žwa'i lha khañ* distinguishes between the original document or *exemplar* and copies, lists the officials in charge of the chancery court, and attests to the existence of a deposit¹⁰, constructed (*brtsigs*) to contain and preserve the *exemplar* of the document. The text carved on the pillar (*rdo riñ*) by the lapicide, following a common and universal procedure, recapitulates the act in order to ensure its publicity, that is, “to make the text known by everybody” (*kun gyis šes par bya ba'i phyr*)¹¹. Moreover, the procedure of consulting (reading, readjusting, renewing or reconfirming?) the charter is precisely established and phrased, including the gesture of taking in hand the

⁷ Dates according to Richardson 1985. Cf. Uebach 1987: 30.

⁸ It may be worth noting that if we admit that the Tabo document genuinely dates to 783/795, that is, the date of the second and middle *bkas bcad*, then the title “Ban de” (equivalent of “Bhadanta”) as designation for a high ecclesiastic office must have been already in use at the time of Khri sroñ lde btsan. The title, apparently, appears in “public” for the first time in the inscription of *Žwa'i lha khañ*.

⁹ Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 1999-2000: 229-230; 2001: 696, n. 13.

¹⁰ *gtsigs kyi mkhar bu*, lit. a small fortress, that is a deposit having the form of a casket or a coffer for storing a public act. See Li and Coblin 1987: 265, ll. 26-27 and Richardson 1985: 48, ll.26-27. In fact, the act was probably deposited in the socle of the stone pillar or the “coffered recess” bearing a seal: see Richardson 1985: 45 and Plate 6.

¹¹ *Žwa'i lha khañ*, West Inscription, ll. 25-26, Richardson 1985: 48-49. Compare the injunctive clause of the 814 Edict of Khri lde sroñ btsan or the “third and last authoritative decision concerning the *chos kyi skad*” appearing in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*, *infra*, p. 317.

There is no doubt that the chancery has, as other disciplines, some underlying universal principles. Public acts were and are read on special occasions, although the evidence in rather scarce. In this respect the Dhauli edict of King Aśoka is remarkable in that it attests that the edict had to be read or listened to at a precise time: *ekatho iyaṃ ca lipi tissanak-khattena sotaviyā aṃtalā pi ca tissenā ...* See Bloch 1950: 139-140.

document¹² (*lag sbrel la dgyuñ žiñ | phyir yañ 'di bžin phyag rgya dañ | riñ lugs kyi rgyas btab ste | gžag par gnañ ño ll*), as are the officials appointed to that office (*gtsigs gyi mkhar bu 'di ll nam žig dbye dgos na yañ | sras dpon chab srid kyi mna' gañ mdzad pas riñ lugs thugs ches pa gtsigs bdag 'drañ ba gsum yan cad bsko ste l*)¹³. The text announces the validation sign (*gtsigs kyi mdo | rdo la mñon bar bris te mtha' phyag rgyas btab nas*)¹⁴, here the seal, which appears at the end of the public act carved on stone. It is worth noting that in this particular case, the affixed seal (rare in epigraphical records) appears on stone probably because, as seen, a copy of the edict was kept in the socle of the pillar itself.

In fact, ever since the discovery of the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*¹⁵ and other important administrative documents, kept in the collection of Dunhuang, certain aspects of chancery terminology and practice of the Old Tibetan period became partially known. Marcelle Lalou's "Revendications des fonctionnaires du Grand Tibet au VIII^e siècle" remains a fine and inspiring piece of scholarship, as are the current researches of Helga Uebach and Tsuguhito Takeuchi¹⁶.

In analysing the traditions preserved in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* of dPa'bo gtsug lag 'phreñ ba (1504-1566)¹⁷ and "concerning Sroñ brcan sgam po as first legislator and organizer of Tibet", Géza Uray reached the conclusion that "there was no codification and deliberate administrative organization

¹² Gesture, exchange of objects, as well as formal declaration and oath, the use of which is confirmed from the time of the first epigraphical records, for instance the inscription of Žol, r. of Khri sroñ lde btsan, where the charter is granted by oath, Richardson 1985: 16-17, and 16, ll. 5-7: *ll btsan po Khri sroñ lde brtsan gyi ža sña nas dbu sñuñ gnañ ste ll*, corroborate the written act. As said on another occasion, there is much to learn in waste paper, in spite of its being less attractive than art or living/contemporary societies. Texts are not inert matter: they are memories of past societies which are alive as soon as we handle them. See Scherrer-Schaub forthcoming^c.

¹³ Richardson 1985: 52, ll. 58-62.

¹⁴ See Richardson 1985: 48, ll. 27-28. Properly speaking this is the announcement of the corroboration or the legal confirmation of the edict.

¹⁵ The documents have been studied by several scholars beginning with Bacot, Thomas and Toussaint (1940-46) and Macdonald-Spanien (1971). Géza Uray, in one of the last *mise au point* concerning these historical texts to appear so far, adopted the appellation "Old Tibetan Chronicle", and further distinguished between "Chronicle manuscripts" and "Genealogy manuscripts": see Uray 1992.

¹⁶ See for instance, Lalou 1956, 1965; Uebach 1992, 1999; Uray and Uebach 1994, Takeuchi 1995.

¹⁷ Dates according to the masterpiece of an unconventional scholar: see Martin 1997 s.v.

under *Sroñ-btsan sgam-po*, alias *Khri Sroñ-btsan*”; rather “this took place only under *Khri Mañ-slon Mañ-rtzan* in 654-655”. However “in spite of the deliberate forgeries and errors, the traditions are not far off the historical truth, as the administrative organization and codification executed shortly after *Sroñ-btsan sgam-po*’s death and later attributed to him, are but the last stages on the development during his reign”¹⁸.

The Tibetan scholar dGe ’dun Chos’phel, and other scholars after him¹⁹ noted that epigraphical records and probably some old documents were known to later historiographers, in particular dPa’bo gtsug lag’phren ba who reproduces the edict (*bka’ gtsigs*)²⁰ of Khri sroñ lde btsan, which, as Tucci says “can be considered as the foundation-chart of the Tibetan Buddhism”. It appears that when Buddhism became the official religion of the Empire, the administrative machinery permeated the ecclesiastic state²¹. In this respect, the “*sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*” is one of the oldest documents of ecclesiastic chancery. There is no doubt that, in spite of the fact that it is functionally a manual of translation techniques, this complex document is, at the same time, a charter, a public act, corroborated

¹⁸ Uray 1972: 68, Stein 1986: 185.

¹⁹ dGe ’dun Chos’phel (1905-1951), *Deb ther dkar po*, Tucci 1950, Stein 1963, Macdonald-Spanien 1971 and Uray 1972.

²⁰ Karmay 1988: 1, dates the *bka’ gtsigs* to 779 and the *bka’ mchid* to ca. 761, when at the age of twenty the Sovereign “began to contemplate the idea of taking up again the religion which had been subjected to a ban since the assassination of his father Khri lDe-gtsug-btsan in 755 A. D.”. Richardson (1985: 27) argues convincingly a precise dating of the bSam yas inscription, which, as it is known succinctly recapitulates the *bka’ gtsigs* in question: “It is largely due to the brief inscription at Bsam-yas that we can accept as authentic the valuable light thrown on the history of Buddhism in Tibet by these two documents [that is the *bka’ gtsigs* and the *bka’ mchid*] in PT [i.e. dPa’o gTsug]. The first of them, moreover, makes it possible to date the inscription to within a few years. The principal witness to the detailed edict was the Chief Minister Zhang Rgyal-zigs shu-theng who, according to the T’ang Annals, demitted office in 782 A. D. Accepting that the great temple at Bsam-yas was completed in the sheep year 779 A. D. *the inscription and the other documents* [our emphasis] can be placed between those two years and therefore earlier than the culmination of rivalry between the Indian teaching of gradual and the Chinese of immediate enlightenment in a great debate, probably in 792 A. D.” Sørensen (1994: 383, n. 1171) dates these documents of 780, thus agreeing with Richardson.

This dating sheds light on the genesis of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* tradition. The “Tabo version” might well have been issued in the wake of these documents, which would speak in favour of 783 for the second and middle *bkas bcad*, see *infra* p. 290, n. 84.

²¹ Cf. Uray 1972, Stein 1986: 185-188.

by validation and presumably circulated in several copies throughout the Empire, as the use was in vogue at the time and precisely attested in the *bka' gtsigs* of Khri sroñ lde btsan, statuting that

Also, the text of an authoritative account [*bka' mchid*] of how the religion of the Buddha came to Tibet both in earlier and later times has been deposited together with the edict [*bka' gtsigs*]. Such an original was made in thirteen copies. One has been placed in the archives. Two have been sealed and one each deposited with the religious communities of the 'Phrul snañ temple in Ra-sa and the Bsam-yas Lhun-gyis-'grub temple of Brag dmar. Ten copies have been sealed at the end and one each has been given to the 'Phrul snañ temple of Ra-sa, the temple of Bsam-yas Lhun-gyis-'grub, the temple of Bkra-shis-lha-yul of Khra-'brug, the religious community of the palace, to the Rgya-btags Ra-mo-che of Ra-sa, Khams-sum Myi-ldog-sgrol of Brag-dmar, to the country of Bru-za, the country of Zhang-zhung, to Mdo-smad and to the jurisdiction of sde-blon [*sde blon ris*], to be held by the religious community of their temples²².

(*sañs rgyas kyi chos bod yul du | sna phyir ji ltar byuñ ba'i bka' mchid kyi yi ge gcig kyañ zla la bžag go || dpe 'di 'dra ba bcu gsum bris te | gcig ni phyag sbal na bžag go || gñis ni phyag rgyas btab ste | ra sa'i 'phrul snañ gtsug lag khañ dañ brag dmar gyi bsam yas lhun gyis grub kyi dge 'dun la re re bžag go || bcu ni mthar phyag rgyas btab ste | ra sa'i 'phrul snañ gtsug lag khañ dañ | * bsam yas lhun gyis 'grub kyi gtsug lag khañ dañ* *²³ *khra 'brug gi bkra śis lha yul gtsug lag khañ dañ\ pho brañ 'khor gyi dge 'dun dañ | ra sa'i rgya btags ra mo che dañ | brag dmar gyi kham gsum mi ldog sgrol dañ | bru za yul dañ | zañ zuñ yul dañ | mdo smad dañ | sde blon ris dañ | 'di rnams kyi gtsug lag khañ gyi dge 'dun pa dpe re re 'chañ du stsald to ||*)²⁴

We may note that the itemized copies assigned to various religious sites are treated differently. The first of the thirteen copies was placed in the

²² Richardson 1980, reprinted with funny interpretation of Richardson abbreviations, in Richardson 1998: 92-93, tib. 96. See also Tucci 1950: 45-46, 97.11 1-12.

On these temples and their location, see Richardson 1985: 26-27 and Uebach 1990.

²³ The Peking edition erroneously omits this passage.

²⁴ dPa' bo gTsuṅ lag phreñ ba (fl. 1504-1566), *mKhas pa'i dga'ston*: 372.5-15.

²⁵ Lit. "In the palm of the hand": a metaphor for a place where things are hidden or concealed? The expression is attested in inscriptions, Richardson (1985: 170 s.v.); Li & Coblin (1987: 94). "*dkor kyi phyag sbal*", attested in the west inscription of the Sino-Tibetan treatise at IHasa.

David Seyfort Ruegg (1989: 68, n. 136) cites a passage of the *sBa bžed* (cf. Stein 1961: 62, l. 15, 65, ll. 13-15) referring to the *bka' gtsigs* issued after the Debate of bSam yas,

repository (*phyag sbal*)²⁵. The remaining twelve are authenticated: two of them bear a seal and are assigned to the main sites, while the others bear a “seal at the end” (*mthar phyag rgya*). The expression is attested in the inscription at *Žwa’i lha khañ* (Richardson 1985: 48, l. 28), where indeed at the end of the east inscription one may see “a coffered recess which once held the king’s seal” (ib., Plate 6, see *supra* n. 10). Other examples could be the so called “sceaux carrés tibétains” affixed to the end of some Dunhuang manuscripts²⁶. It might be that the seal [a great seal?] stamped on the two copies assigned to the main sites, bore evidence to the ratification and authenticity or attestation of authority by the *btsan po*. The seal stamped at the end attests to the authenticity of the ratified document, and seems to have also functioned as the document’s closure, granting security and avoiding alteration. This is confirmed by the Dunhuang documents alluded to above (another example is Pelliot tib. 1089), in which the seal is affixed to the right part of the bottom page, preceded by hatching lines. Moreover, the different degrees of validation, so to speak, seem to reflect the hierarchy of importance of the places where the *vidimus* copies of the edict were placed.

The Study of public acts

To reconstruct and interpret textual history, that is, the history of a text’s formation or “stratification”²⁷, in particular when dealing with public acts emanating from a political, social or religious institution, the well-established discipline, known as “diplomatic”²⁸ may and, as we will see, has been advantageously applied. As this word has sometimes been used in a rather metaphorical or metonymic acceptance, it is useful to recall

according to which of three copies “One is said to have been deposited in the Tibetan King’s own hand (*rje’i phyag [sbal]*); another is said to have been in lHa sa; and a third is said to have been taken to Khams”.

²⁶ Pelliot tib. 1083, 1085, Spanien & Imaeda 1979: 16-17; Macdonald-Spanien 1971: 324-325.

²⁷ Cf. Ueyama Daishun à propos Ch’an texts of Dunhuang – “*Tonkō ni okeru zen no shosō*”, Ryūkyoku Daigaku Ronshū 421, 1982, pp. 114-115.

²⁸ Although its use is rare the term is consecrated by the *New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v. “*Sing. & plur. The paleographic and critical study of old documents*”. The term is coined on Lat. *diplomatica*, cf. French *diplomatique*.

its basic meaning. Although the expression “diplomatic edition” of antique manuscripts has been consecrated as a term for a specific editorial procedure, the discipline known as “diplomatic” refers more specifically to the study of written documents, be they the result of a juridical or institutional act or the record of a juridical or institutional fact, having been redacted according to a specific form and formulary and provided with a criterion of validation, for instance a seal, the names of the persons involved in the act or a formula, functioning respectively as *validator* (the person) and *validation* (the formula).

Diplomatic, the art and features of which were well-known in classical India, was born in the European Middle Ages, with the intent to discriminate between authentic documents and forgeries. It can count illustrious representatives, such as Lorenzo Valla or Nicolas Cusanus, the famous Humanist who collected ancient Latin manuscripts. Successfully applied, as early as 1950, to the collection of charters and records of the Kamakura period by the French scholar Joüion des Longrais²⁹, diplomatic was applied to the study of Old Tibetan documents by the late Géza Uray and his followers. One of the most important contributors to the field is Jampa L. Panglung (1994), who collated the extant canonical version of the introductory part of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* (Fig. A§1) together with the corresponding manuscript fragments from Tabo, which were identified by Panglung Rinpoche himself in 1991 among the confused mass of folii of the Tabo collection. His conclusions may be summarized as follows:

1. The edict opening the canonical version of the *sGra sbyor* and dated, according to annalistic style, to 814 “must be taken as a confirmation by Khri lDe sron btsan of the earlier edict of his father as transmitted in the Tabo version”³⁰.

²⁹ A. Joüion des Longrais. *Âge de Kamakura. Sources (1150-1330): archives, chartes japonaises (Monjo)*. Tokyo-Paris, 1950.

³⁰ Panglung 1994: 171-172. A consequence noted by Panglung is that the “annalistic entry including the names of the great councillors of the earlier edict had to be replaced by an actual one. However, the names of the great monks Yon tan and Tiñ ñe ’dzin who were still in office had been kept” and “it is noteworthy that the canonical version shows a promotion in rank of the great monk Yon tan whose name is preceded by the honorific dPal”.

2. The earlier edict attested by the Tabo fragment may be dated to 795 or 783, although “the reference to the residence Zuñ-kar which in historiographical literature traditionally is the place where Khri-sroñ lde-bcan lived in his old days (or had retired to) and where he died would be in favour of the year 795” (1994: 167)³¹.
3. The *narrative* and the *dispositive* (1994: 168-171), as transmitted in the two versions, differ. In particular, the canonical version is “more elaborate than the Ta pho version” (ib.: 171) and contains an “enlargement of the guidelines” for the translators which “doubtless are a consequence of increasing experience in translating” (*loc. cit.*).

It is noteworthy that the Tabo version almost certainly descends from a copy transmitted to Western Tibet at the end of the VIIIth century following the procedure for public acts at that epoch alluded to above. If this is the case, given that the Tabo version begins with the edict of Khri sroñ lde btsan³² dated, according to annalistic style, to 783 or 795, one can surmise that a copy of the “bkas bcad” edict of Khri sroñ lde btsan reached the Western regions of *Žañ žuñ* in the period between the end of the VIIIth century and the first decade of the IXth. This raises the vexing question of Buddhism in Western Tibet during the first propagation (*śāṅ dar*) of Buddhism in Tibet. According to the account of Huichao, in the regions situated to the north-east of Kashmir, visited by the Chinese pilgrim on his way back from India to his homeland in 727³³, lie “the kingdoms of P’o-lü, Yang-t’ung (= *Žañ-žuñ*?) and So-po-tz’u (?). Those three kingdoms are under suzerainty of the Tibetans. The clothing, language and customs are completely different ... The country is narrow and small, and the mountains and valleys very rugged. There are monasteries and monks and the people venerate faithfully the Three Jewels. As to the kingdom of Tibet to the East, there are no monasteries at all and Buddha’s teaching

³¹ Compare however *infra* pp. 290-291 and 314.

³² The Tabo manuscript begins on the recto side of the first folio, which according to the old system of pagination making use of letter-numerals, is indicated with the letter “ka”. For the pagination of Old Tibetan manuscripts see Scherrer-Schaub 1999: 20-22.

³³ For the date of Huichao journey, see Kuwayama 1994.

³⁴ Petech 1977: 10 and n. 2; cf. Demiéville 1952: 185 and n. 3. Following Pulleyblank, Petech (ibidem) thinks that “Hu” “for Hui-ch’ao (...) it applied to the Iranian populations, which would fit perfectly well with the Dards of Ladakh (but not with the people

is unknown; but in the [three above mentioned] countries the population consists of Hu, therefore they are believers”³⁴. Petech, astonishingly enough ignored by Jettmar (1993), clearly and rigourously summarizes the political situation of these regions where already in 727 “Ladakh, if and as far as included in Great P’o-lü [Baltistan], was under Tibetan suzerainty”, from where “the Tibetans in 737 launched an attack against the King of Bru-ža (Gilgit, Little P’o-lü)”³⁵.

The Royal Annals of Tibet witness the fact that “in the summer of 721 many envoys from the Upper Region paid their respect “to the Tibetan King””. And “In 737/738 (a military expedition) was led by the councillors Skyes-bzañ to the Bru-ža land; in the winter the residence (of the

of Žañ žuñ)”. Beckwith (1987: 97) translates “Hu” by “Westerners”. Beckwith’s affirmation is doubtful, to say the least, in light of Des Rotours (?), that “Hu” did not mean just “Serindian” during the T’ang period, but any one of *Indo-European race* (our emphasis) no matter where they were born...” (ib. 142 and n. 212). Boucher, whose recent terminological *mise au point* is particularly relevant, renders “Hu” as “Western” and notes (2000: 21, n. 37) in addition that “In more generic application, *hu* could refer to Indians or Central Asians (esp. Iranians), and by Tang times, also the Arabs and others from the Mediterranean world” (*nuance...*).

As far as the geographical areas are concerned one should stress that we are dealing with approximations. We do not in fact know precisely what “Kashmir” () referred to at this precise epoch, nor what Huichao meant by “East Tibet”. On Kashmir in Chinese sources, see Petech 1950: 63-80, especially 72-73: “I must, however stress a point which is often lost sight of. Modern scholars are sometimes apt to think unconsciously of Kashmir state as it appears on our maps. Modern Jammu and Kashmir state is a creation of the British, and its birth date is the treaty of Amritsar in 1846. Historical Kashmir has always included only and alone the valley of Kashmir and the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it; we except of course the campaigns of conquest of Kashmiri kings towards the plains. The whole of the Indus valley, and mainly the commercially important Gilgit area, although occasionally invaded by the kings of Kashmir and although always open to the cultural influence of the valley, was never an integral part of the kingdom. Moreover, if Kashmir lies on one of the easiest routes from Central Asia to eastern Panjab and the Ganges valley, it emphatically does not represent a convenient or logical passage from Central Asia to the centres of Gandhāra culture in Eastern Afghanistan and the North-Western Frontier Province. The normal route in this case was not that through Kashmir, nor even the direct but terribly difficult track along the Indus, but the once very frequented trails through Gilgit and then Chitral (to Kāpiśi) or Swat (for Gandhāra). This simple geographical fact must be kept present if one is to avoid drawing wrong conclusions from historical data.” On Kashmir in Chinese sources see now Enomoto 1994.

³⁵ Uray 1979: 282-283. Cf. also Petech 1967: 252-253, 1977: 9-12; Beckwith 1987: 116.

Tibetan King) was in Brag-mar, and the Bru-ža king, defeated, paid (there) his respect”³⁵. The same year “The Chinese envoy Wañ ’Do śi having paid homage, the Chinese abolished [their administration] [of Little Balūr?]...”³⁶ These facts are well-known. Tibet started to raid these regions quite early and royal alliances with Žaň žuň, Bru ža (Gilgit), Gog/Kog (Wakhan) and Baltistan eventually assured the victory of the Tibetan army³⁷. It is difficult to identify the name of the defeated [petty?] king (*rgyal po*) of Bru ža, mentioned in the Tibetan Annals who “paid (his) respect” to the Tibetan *btsan po* in 737/738, although Christopher Beckwith (1987: 123) identifies him with the Bru ža rJe³⁸, that is the “Lord of Little Balūr” [Gilgit], to whom “in the fall of 740” the Tibetan princess Khri ma lod — possibly “to her deep sorrow... as the literary cliché in vogue had it”³⁹ — was given “as bride”.

The fact that Khri sroň lde btsan, some decades later, stipulated by authoritative decision in his edict (*bka’ gtsigs*) proclaiming Buddhism the state religion⁴⁰, that copies of his edificatory discourse (*bka’ mchid*), nar-

³⁶ Beckwith 1987: 116, n. 45.

³⁷ See Macdonald-Spanien 1971, Bogoslovskij 1972, Petech 1977, Uray 1979, Beckwith 1987, Jettmar 1993. The Old Tibetan Chronicles mention the conquest of Žaň-žuň and of the borderlands at the time of King ’Dus sroň (676-704) when “also many kings from the Upper Region [sTod], viz. from [Bru-ža and] Kog, etc. and from the Southern Region (Himalayan countries) were included among the subjects” (Uray 1979: 286). Cf. Macdonald-Spanien 1971: 253 and 255 and Beckwith 1987: 30. Later accounts, such as the Royal Genealogy of Ladakh and Ngari, confirm these facts. We read in the *mŃa’ ris rgyal rabs* and the *La dwags rgyal rabs* that ’Dus sroň maň po rje “conquered the regions of Glo bo gad riñ and sBal yul naň gon / sBal ti sraň gi naň gon”. Some decades later, according to the *mŃa’ ris rgyal rabs*, Khri sroň lde btsan “took over sBal ti and ’Bru sha”, that is Baltistan and Gilgit. See Vitali 1996: 104-105. However, Géza Uray (1968: 292-297) analysed the historical tradition of the annexation and concluded “that the quarrel between Lig Myi-rhya and the Tibetan King and the annexation of Žaň-žuň must be put to the time of Khri Sroň-brcan, that is, Sroň-brcan sgam-po” This is also the opinion of Beckwith, following Satō: see op. cit. 25 and n. 67.

The (re-)writing of history in Tibet is particularly rich. Furthermore, a later Bon po tradition “attribue à partir du XIV^e s. environ la conquête du Žaň žuň et l’assassinat de Lig-mi rgya à l’époque de Khri sroň lde btsan”: see Macdonald-Spanien 1971: 260-261.

³⁸ That is, Sushilizhi according to the Chinese transcription: see Beckwith 1987: 123 and n. 94, 132-133, following Chavannes. Cf. Jettmar 1993: 84; v. Hinüber forthcoming.

³⁹ On this literary cliché, see Macdonald-Spanien 1971: 265. Cf. also Uebach 1997: 62.

⁴⁰ On the date, see *supra* n. 20.

rating the spread of Buddhism in Tibet and written along with the *bka' gtsigs*, should be transmitted also to the countries of Gilgit (Bru ʒa) and Western Tibet (Žaṅ žuṅ), *de facto* demonstrates not only that Buddhism was practised and present in these regions, which in fact does not need to be demonstrated⁴¹, but above all that the King wanted *to impose* Tibetan Buddhism on these regions, thus impelling them *to adhere* to the royal (*rgyal khrims*) and ecclesiastic laws (*chos khrims*). The question is delicate and fascinating, although far beyond the scope of this article. If we admit that the edict of Khri sroṅ lde btsan, pertaining to the codification of the rules of translation, was transmitted to the Western regions somewhere between 783/795 and 814, we may surmise that at that epoch

⁴¹ It seems plausible that given the proximity of Western Tibet to Kashmir and Northern India, Buddhism could well have been present there, even if sporadically, before the annexation of these regions to Tibet. This has been suggested with reference to Gilgit by Richardson 1985: 27: “Bru-zha, the Gilgit area, had been raided by the Tibetans as early as 719 A. D. and was dominated by them from 737 until the early part of the 9th century. Buddhism had been established there **long before the Tibetan connection**” [our emphasis].

On the kings of Gilgit in the VIIth-VIIIth centuries, v. Hinüber 1985, 1987 and forthcoming. G. Fussman (1993: 16-17) refers to the Paṭola kings and notes: “les noms et les titres n’ont rien de bouddhique, mais rien de spécifiquement hindou non plus. Ils dénotent un désir de lier la dynastie au souvenir de Vikramāditya (...) donc aux Guptas. De la même façon ces rois Paṭola, malgré leur nom non-indien, prétendent se rattacher à la lignée *kṣatriya* de Bhagadatta, fils de Naraka, donc petit-fils de Viṣṇu et de la Terre (...) Il s’agit donc d’une dynastie locale, mais tout à fait indianisée, comme la dynastie contemporaine d’Assam, qui se proclamait également descendante de Bhagadatta. Que la dynastie des Paṭola Śāhi fût bouddhiste ne l’empêchait pas d’employer un personnel, vraisemblablement brahmane, capable de lui fournir des horoscopes, une généalogie prestigieuse, des noms et des titres hindous, et de rédiger des inscriptions qui, malgré quelques fautes de langue (...) sont aussi indiennes et sanskrites que celle de la vallée du Gange”. The Buddhist bronzes bearing inscriptions describing themselves as “religious gift” of the Paṭola sovereigns (Fussman 1993), attest abundantly to the presence of Buddhism, in these regions prior to the Tibetan invasion.

In this respect it would be interesting to investigate the epoch and circumstances under which the “Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandi of the Indianized Buddhist [Paṭola Śāhi Dynasty]...” bronze reached the Jokhang of IHasa. Equally interesting is to note the coincidence, that the Paṭola Śāhi “controlled the area of Baltistan [Great Bālor] and Gilgit [Little Bālor] in present-day northeastern Pakistan and whose territory was even occupied for a certain time around 722 by the Tibetans” O. v. Hinüber in Henss 1996: 61. Cf. *infra* p. 313.

⁴² On the political side, after 783, the Tibetans were active in the Western regions and in Central Asia “involved in a protracted war with the Arabs”, and “had been able to expand unassisted into the area of the Hindu Kush via the Pamirs”. See Beckwith 1987:

the work of translation into Tibetan was, to some extent, flourishing there⁴².

Leaving aside the early and uncertain mission of Thon mi sam bhoṭa, who went to the Western regions, Kāśmīr or Magadhā as the case may be, in search of models for the Tibetan script, the fact that bilingual Buddhist scholars were present in these regions at this epoch might be inferred from the historiographical tradition that the Kashmiri scholar, translator, and brahmin, Ananta, functioned as personal translator of the great Bengali Ācārya Śāntarakṣita, on his first trip to Tibet, about 763⁴³. On the other hand, if we relate this tradition to the equally well-known one that at precisely this epoch translations were made from the language of Ḍāṅ ḷuṅ, Uḍḍiyāna (or according to some sources, Khotan) and Bengal (Za hor)⁴⁴, we may legitimately assume that at least some of the translated texts were brought to Tibet by scholars from regions bordering Western Tibet⁴⁵ (e.g. the brahmin, Ananta, just mentioned) and those from Eastern regions (e.g. Śāntarakṣita, the learned *Maestro* from Bengal). The result is that the picture of the transmission of Buddhism to Tibet takes, so to speak, a some-

157, cf. 149-163. Concerning Buddhism, Vitali (1996: 166, n. 223) notes that isolated facts attest to the presence of [rDzogs chen] masters in Purañ-Guge, at the end of the VIIIth c. according to a passage from ṅaṅ ral (p. 313.14-18): *de nas sNubs Nam mkha'i sñiñ po slob dpon Hūṃ ka ras | yañ dag sgrub pa rtsa rgyud lta bu la 'grel chen sgron me lta bu mdzad nas bśad | yañ dag lus kyi khog pa dañ 'dra ba la de'i sñiñ dañ 'dra ba'i me gcig ma gnañ nas | lo gcig gser gyi brag bya (skyibs) can du bsgrubs pas ...* “sNubs Nam mkha'i sñiñ po received the teaching of the *Yañ dag sgrub pa rtsa rgyud (lta bu la 'grel chen sgron me lta bu mdzad nas bśad)* composed by Hūṃ kā ra [himself] and further was meditating during one year at gSer gyi brag bya skyibs can”, on the northern shore of Ma pham gyi mtsho, cf. Vitali op. cit. n. 646. On gNubs Nam mkha'i sñiñ po, cf. Karmay 1988: 98.

“A” Bal po pañḍita Hūmkāra is credited with having been chaplain of Khri lde sroñ btsan, Sad na legs, according to Śrībhūtibhadra's *Yig mkhan Śā kya'i dge bsñen*, see Sørensen 1994: 408 and n. 1407.

⁴³ On the life of Śāntarakṣita see Seyfort Ruegg 1981 and 1989.

⁴⁴ The narrative varies: see for instance Bu ston, *Chos 'byuñ* fol. 891.3-5: *sñon lha sras Yab kyi riñ la mkhan po Bo dhi sa tva dañ | Ye śes dvañ po dañ | Ḍāṅ rgyal ñen ña (4) bzañ dañ | Blon Khri bzer Sañ śi dañ | lo tsā ba Dzñā na de wa ko ṣa dañ | lCe khyi 'brug dañ | Bram ze A na nta la sogs pa chos kyi skad Bod la ma grags pa'i mañ dag gcig byuñ žiñ | rGya dañ Li dañ Za hor la sogs pa sna tshogs nas (5) bsgyur bas brda mi 'dra ba mañ pos chos bslab dka' bar gzigs nas ||* Sheer coincidence or not, these were the regions under Tibetan suzerainty in the VIIIth century: cf. *infra* n. 47.

⁴⁵ On the history of Western Tibet see Petech 1997. On the meaning of the expression *stod phyogs* “western regions” in Old Tibetan sources, see Beckwith 1987: 203-208.

how more solid shape. Buddhism entered Tibet in successive stages, from different regions, each of which, in one way or another, laid claim to Indian Buddhism⁴⁶. Buddhist scholars, monks and thaumaturges coming from regions as distant as the Pamir and the Bay of Bengal (regions where during its *Secolo d'oro* Tibet exercised degrees of power, if not sovereignty⁴⁷), were entering a country to which Buddhism was nothing new, not only because translations from Chinese were possibly already in use, but also because the Tibetan ruling class had had occasion to meet Buddhism in China, where some of their scions had been educated⁴⁸.

The suggestion that to impose Buddhism as state religion was a natural consequence of the “internationalisation” of the Tibetan Empire seems quite plausible and that valiant, if not cruel, generals were in prominent positions in state affairs closely related to the ecclesiastical institution, as we will see with Stag sgra and rGyal zigs, is perfectly in the nature of things. As Samten G. Karmay noted, “The adoption of [Buddhism] as state religion took place in a period when the Tibetan Empire was at its

⁴⁶ Including China of course. One cannot but quote, once again, the fine and pioneering work of Jean Naudou, who mentions the “Annals of Ladakh” according to which, the Kashmiri Ananta preceded the Bengali Master in Tibet, working there as translator and teaching scholastic philosophy. Naudou (1968: 84) adds: “Il semble donc se confirmer que les relations entre le Tibet et l’Inde s’établissaient, comme il est normal, par l’intermédiaire des provinces himalayennes, Kāśmīr et Népal, et que le Kāśmīr a joué un rôle dans l’évangélisation du Tibet à ses débuts, en raison de sa situation géographique, mais aussi du cosmopolitisme qui obligeait les commerçants à comprendre le vernaculaire utilisé au marché de Śrīnagar et dans les caravansérails de la Vallée et permettait sans doute à qui le désirait de s’initier au tibétain”. On aspects of Buddhism claiming an Indian pedigree in the regions of Kaśmīr, Gilgit and Khotan, as illustrated in the narrative of the *Vimala-prabhāpariprcchā*, see Scherrer-Schaub [1998] forthcoming^a.

⁴⁷ See Hoffman 1990: 383 “The Tibeto-Chinese peace treaty of 783 confirmed Tibetan dominion over east Turkestan, Kansu, and a large part of Szechwan. During this period Tibetan influence also extended to the south and the Buddhist king of Magadha and Bengal, Dharmapāla (circa 760-815) acknowledged Tibetan overlordship - the reason why the Muslim writers refer to the Bay of Bengal as the “Tibetan Sea”.” An interesting and beautiful literary record of the extension of the Tibetan Empire is preserved in a letter from Dunhuang [Pelliot Ch. 2555, *sub finem*] dated 763, where in few lines the author paints a political picture of the military and economic power of Tibet at this epoch: see Demiéville 1952: 297-299.

⁴⁸ Demiéville 1952: 188 (footnote) “Entre 705 et 710 un décret impérial prescrivait encore d’“agréger à l’École des fils de l’État (kouo tseu hiue), pour y faire leurs études, les fils et petits-fils des Rois du Tibet ou des qaghan, désireux d’étudier les Classiques (confucianistes...””

apogee. Its political and military power reached the four corners of Asia: in the east, Ch'ang-an (now Xi'an), the capital of the T'ang Dynasty was captured in 762 and the Chinese who had previously discontinued paying tributes to the Tibetans were again obliged to give 50'000 silk rolls each year; in the west, Gilgit was made a vassal state; in the north, Turkestan became virtually a part of the empire; in the south, the Pāla kings of Bengal were made to pay tributes"⁴⁹.

On the other hand, we have already alluded to the fact that when commenting upon the period we are dealing with and up on the narrative of the motives which inspired the Imperial authoritative decision (*bkas bcad*) regarding the "Dharma-language" (*chos kyi skad*), later historiographers speak of former translations into Tibetan made from Chinese, Khotanese and the languages of U rgyan (Uḍḍiyāṇa) and Za hor (Bengale)⁵⁰. It turns

⁴⁹ Karmay 1988: 1. Demiéville 1952: 189, cites a passage from the Tibetan Chronicles where it is stated that Khri lde gtsug btsan (r. 712-755) "a confédéré tous les princes par la grande couronne de la bonne loi" (*chos bzañ ni gtsug che bas ll rgyal pran ni kun kyañ 'dum ll*): see Bacot, Thomas et Toussaint 1940-1946: 113. The same passage, summarised by Macdonald-Spanien (1971: 343), apparently refers to the renewed *allégeance* of the petty king of Nanzhao to the Tibetan bTsan po. As Ariane Macdonald-Spanien has correctly observed, in the song adressed to the Ambassador of Nanzhao, Khri lde gtsug btsan "se définit à travers le premier ancêtre, et pose les principes qui rendaient en quelque sorte inéluctable la relation de vassal à suzerain qui s'est établie entre le roi du Nan-tchao et lui..." Stein (1986: 177) refers to the same passage and translates "... il a soumis les roitelets par sa "bonne religion". Stein (against Macdonald-Spanien), basing his argument on contemporary evidence, thinks that the narrative alludes here to Buddhism. Whether this is so, or open to discussion, the fact remains that Khri lde gtsug btsan, credited with having instituted religious sites, might well have appropriated the maxim *religione obstrictos habere multitudinis animos...* cf. *supra* p. 274.

⁵⁰ mÑa' bdag Ñañ ral Ñi ma 'od zer. *Chos 'byuñ me tog sñiñ po sbrañ rtsi'i bcud*. Lhassa 1988, p. 420.

⁵¹ Baron Schilling von Constadt, in the first part of the XIXth century, collected Mongolian and Tibetan texts with great acumen probably, as surmised by Jacques Bacot, following the advice of Buddhist scholars. The collection was given by Schilling von Constadt to the Library of the "Institut" in 1836. Jacques Bacot attempts to retrace the figure of S. v. C., the history of the Tibetan collection and its content: "Pour le tibétain seul, sans parler du mongol, la collection comprend 79 numéros ou volumes pour 48 ouvrages. Sur ces 48 ouvrages, 25 sont purement canoniques et traduits du sanscrit, formant un lot de 54 volumes. 18 ouvrages, également religieux, n'ont pas de titres sanscrits. Quelques-uns parmi eux sont des œuvres originales tibétaines, comme le *Mani kam boum*, œuvre historique et religieuse attribuée à *Srong tsan gam po*, premier roi bouddhiste au Tibet, qui régnait au VII^e siècle. Restent 5 ouvrages profanes, dont un sur l'astrologie, un sur la

out that this fact seems indeed to be reflected in practice. Among the *mdo mañ* kept in the Collection of Schilling von Constandt⁵¹, some texts — whether authentic or forgeries — bear unusual *incipits*, mentioning titles in *Žaň žuň*, *Sum pa*, and other languages; although written in Tibetan script, some languages are unknown⁵². Similar *incipits*, attested in the Gondhla (Lahul, HP, India) collection, have been brought to my knowledge by my colleague Helmut Tauscher. As far as the Schilling von Constandt collection is concerned, one item strongly inclines us to suspect forgeries or later remakes of history. The *dPañ skon phyag (b)rgya pa[’i mdo]*⁵³ bears a colophon, that reflects later narrative (*Bod du dam pa’i chos ’byuň ba’i sna ltas su lHa tho tho ri sñan śal gyi sku riň la pho braň Yum bu bla mkhar du nam mkha’ las babs mi rab sna nas ’di’i don śes pa ’oň źes rmi lam du luň bstan te chos kyi dbu brñes so ||*) and, moreover, it is kept together with a copy of *Chos skyoň ba’i rgyal po Sroň btsan sGam po’i bka’i ’bum*, better known as *Mañi bka’ ’bum*. The legend relating the introduction (*dbu brñes*) of Buddhism to Tibet and the motive of the “rain of books” or “*dar ma* fallen down from heaven”, is attested relatively early (Richardson 1977, Stein 1986). But, in the words of Per Sørensen, it “either was formulated in the late dynastic period (...) and then went unaltered through the hands of Atiśa, dÑos grub and Ñaň ral, the Indian master and the *gter-ston-s* independently responsible for the Vita-compilation of Srong-btsan sgam-po and its initial dissemination. Or are we to assume that the latter here introduced the element with this fabulous king in order to tinge their own rDzogs-chen tradition with the luster of authenticity and importance?”⁵⁴.

médecine et deux dictionnaires. Sur ces 79 volumes, il y a 67 xylographes et 12 manuscrits. Ces derniers sont écrits en lettres d’or ou argent sur papier glacé noir ou bleu foncé. Ce sont les moins bien conservés...” Bacot 1924: 323-324. Cf. Lalou 1931.

⁵² See Francke 1927: 129.

⁵³ Same title as in Tōhoku N° 267, sDe dge vol. Ya, fol. 1a1-5b2 and I.O. 211. Cf. Stein 1986: 191 and n. 54.

⁵⁴ Sørensen 1994: 535, n. 23.

2. Reading the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* as being a public act

The *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*, this complex text being at once a *vademecum* destined for translators, a public act, and a richly argued lexicographical commentary, displays a strong normative character as it deals at once with “language” which, by definition, is a code and with “authoritative prescriptions” regulating the procedure of translating and ratifying the usages of a term, and thus stating functions of legislation.

It might be unusual, although not incorrect, to say, as stated above, that the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*, handed down through the canonical version, may be seen as a complex *charter*. When analysed the document may be seen as consisting of three main parts (Fig. A).

1. The first part (Fig. A §1), usually referred to as the “Introductory part of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*”, may also be considered as the **protocol of the act**. It mentions three “authoritative decisions” issued by Imperial command⁵⁵, related to the procedure of translating Buddhist texts, as well as principles and rules for the art of translating and coining new words.

2. The main part (Fig. A §2), the *text* of the *sGra sbyor* properly speaking, may be seen as the **main body of the act**. It consists of a detailed commentary on some difficult or hitherto unsettled lexical items. This part is introduced by the last sentence of the introductory part or **protocol** (Fig. A §2, I)⁵⁶, which states

⁵⁵ It is worth noting that the term “*bkas bcad*” appears in the second or middle decree of 783/795 and, again, immediately after the reconfirmation of the first and early authoritative decision, promulgated at the occasion of the translation of the *Ratnamegha* and *Lañkāvatārasūtra*. The reconfirmation occurred at the occasion of the second and third decrees. In these passages the expression [skad kyi lugs ’di ltar] *bkas bcad pa* applies to the three (or two) previous events. See *infra* p. 322.

⁵⁶ Omitted in the Dunhuang version.

⁵⁷ The version of Tabo has “*bam po dañ po*”, but the canonical version seems preferable. Unless, as evidenced by some Tibetan canonical texts (the *Ratnamegha* for instance), “*bam po dañ po*” is announced at the beginning and not at the end of the corresponding portion of text. Cf. *infra* n. 131.

⁵⁸ The main body ends with a colophon giving the title of the three “*vyutpatti*” treatises that is preserved in the canonical version only. It is difficult to decide whether or not it was added later, as suggested for instance by Yamaguchi 1979: 15-16.

Given that previously [some] lexical entries (*skad kyi miñ*) have not been [formally] decided (*gtan la ma phab pa*) nor fixed as terms (*miñ du ma thogs pa*), [our text gives] at first ... (*dañ po'o*)⁵⁷ ... an explanation [of these lexical entries] in conformity with [the meaning and derivation] elicited from the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna treatises and from the grammatical treatises [of the Indian tradition]⁵⁸.

3. The final part of the “virtual” document or **eschatocol** (Fig. A §3), extant only in the canonical version and closing the *sGra sbyor*, **restates** the authoritative decision of 814 (Fig. A §3, I) issued at the 'Ōn can rdo Imperial Court⁵⁹. It **confirms** the validation of the authoritative decision (*bkas bcad*) on the part of Emperor Khri lDe sroñ btsan (Fig. A §3, II) and **authenticates** the document (Fig. A §3, III).

Recurrent terminology confirming the normative character of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* occurs throughout the whole text. Principles and rules expressed in the **protocol** (Fig. A §1) are echoed and applied in the **main body** of the act (Fig. A §2). Again, validation formulae found in the **eschatocol** (Fig. A §3) reflect the former authoritative decisions, mentioned in the **protocol** (Fig. A §1). Moreover, in reading the **protocol** (Fig. A §1) we may note that the chancery formulary and procedure related to the third and last authoritative decision, issued in 814, must be read together with the **eschatocol** (Fig. A §3), thus consistently showing that the entire text of the *sGra sbyor*, as transmitted in the canonical version, presents itself as a coherent public act. Whether or not a similar and complex document existed at the time of the last redaction of this public act, that is in 814, the canonical version of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* shows that, at the time of its collation, it was still considered a *formally and duly authenticated document*.

The year 814 is generally assumed to be the date of the edict concerning the codification (*bkas bcad*) of the rules and principles of trans-

⁵⁹ However it is worth noting that apart from the mention of the Imperial Residence where the event took place, the phraseology corresponds word-to-word with the phraseology of the authoritative decision of 783/795, as we have it in the Tabo version, and could well represent the vestige of at least part of the act of the second or middle *bkas bcad*. Cf. *infra* p. 324.

⁶⁰ That is, the three repertoires of words, namely the *Alpa°, Madhya° and Mahā-vyutpatti. See Simonsson 1957: 226-233, Hadano 1983: 304-336, Uray 1989, Scherrer-Schaub 1992 and Seyfort Ruegg 1998: 116 and n. 2.

lating buddhist texts, issued by Khri lDe sroñ btsan (r. 800-815), *alias* Sad na legs and, as it is known, Géza Uray (1979) has retraced the “deviating” tradition, according to which the edict was wrongly attributed to Khri gTsug lde btsan (r. 815-836), *alias* Ral pa can. The horse year 814 is also commonly assumed to be the “date” of the so called “*vyutpatti*” treatises⁶⁰, often associated with the “*skad gsar bcad*”, literally “the new lexical entries/new language (*skad gsar*) [sanctioned by Imperial (*bkas*)] decision (*bcad*)”, sometimes referred to as the “revision of the former translations” and variously interpreted in the light of later accounts. Indeed, later historiographers mention the authoritative decision(s) (*bkas bcad*) or Imperial decree(s). Some of them speak of “three” *bkas bcad*, again with various attributions and significance, the result of recastings of the tradition. With time, the *bkas bcad gsum* have even been assimilated to the three *vyutpatti* treatises. How far is that correct? In other words, what does our document really say?

3. Focussing upon the three authoritative decisions

As said before, the *protocol* (Fig. A§1 ⇒ Fig. B and Appendix I) mentions three events or circumstances which occasioned a specific authoritative decision related to the procedure of translating Buddhist texts. Two of them are now dated quite precisely, but the first and earliest event can only be dated relatively.

1. The third and last event occurred “*In the horse year [that is 814, when] the bTsan po was staying at the ‘Oñ can rdo Imperial Court’*”⁶¹.

2. The second and middle event, now openly revealed thanks to the collation of the Tabo fragment, took place “*In the pig-year [that is 795 or rather 783⁶², when the bTsan po] was staying at the Zuñ kar Imperial Court*”.

3. The first and earliest event is more opaque. It occurred, according to the canonical version, “*at the time of the Father (Yab)*” or, according

⁶¹ As noted by Uray and Panglung, the date follows the formulary used in the Old Tibetan Annals in various degrees of complexity.

⁶² Cf. *infra* p. 313.

to the Tabo version, “*at the time of father and forefathers (Yab myes)*”. In this case, the formulary is minimal.

These three events may in turn be analysed according to

1. the *narrative* of the motives which occasioned the authoritative decision,
2. the *dispositive/content/text* of the authoritative decision, stipulating the prescriptions and conditions of application, and
3. the *authors* (and *actors*) who issued the authoritative decision and the persons intervening in the complex procedure of deliberating, ratifying and enacting the decision.

Focussing on Fig. B and Appendix I, the three events will now be delineated according to the preceding headings.

1. The edict (*bkas bcad*)⁶³ of 814 (Fig. B III and Appendix I p. 317-318), in the reign of Khri lDe sroñ btsan (800-815), *alias* Sad na legs.

1.1. *Narrative or the motives which occasioned the present authoritative decision.* Part of the **terminology** [formerly] **established** (*miñ du btags pa*), at the time of the Father (Yab) by Bodhisattva [i.e. Śāntarakṣita], Ye śes dbañ po and others, having not been established according to the rules expressed in the present decree and being the result of **former translations**, made at the time when the Dharma-language (*chos kyi skad*) was not yet widely known in Tibet (*Bod la ma grags pa las*)⁶⁴, shall be [now, correctly] “**formed**” (*bcos*).

⁶³ The expression is attested in the *eschatocol*, see Fig. A §3.

⁶⁴ See *supra* p. 275.

⁶⁵ Śāntarakṣita “went from Nepal to Tibet for the first time in about 763, and (...) he again resided there from about 775 to the time of his death in about 788”: Seyfort Ruegg 1981, p. 88-89 and 89, n. 284. Apparently then he is no more of this world at the epoch of the second and middle *bkas bcad*, recorded in the Tabo manuscript, dated of 783/795. Hence, the event referring to him in the narrative of the 814 *bkas bcad* must be prior to the 795/783 *bkas bcad*. Unless we accept, with Samten G. Karmay, that the Great Teacher passed away in 783 and, at the same time, the date 783 for the second *bkas bcad*. If we follow Sørensen (1994: 400, n. 1362), the Bengali Ācārya passed away in 797! See *infra* p. 313-314.

The alleged motives deserve closer examination. We gather not only that the process of translating existed before 814, a well known fact, but also that ever since the beginning of the more or less organized, although seemingly not yet institutionalized, process of translating Buddhist texts, that is ever since the first translations, performed by the team of Śāntarakṣita⁶⁵ and Ye śes dbaṅ po, some sort of procedure for establishing a terminology was already in force, notwithstanding the fact that over time, it had showed its weaknesses and limits. Interestingly enough, the narrative here must refer to a period **prior to the middle authoritative decision** of Khri sroṅ lde btsan (Fig. B II)⁶⁶, a period when although methods for translating were settled, the procedure of approving and eventually registering a term with a deliberative body was not yet in use. This seems to confirm the existence of a previous, less formal, authoritative decision, attested in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* itself but passed over unnoticed so far.

1.2. **Dispositive**: the text of the authoritative decision (*bka' stsal*) of 814 states that

The expressions translated from the Indian language as they are found in the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna [treatises], once established as terms (*miñ du btags pa rnam*), must be entered in the register of words (*dkar chag*).

The *dispositive* is followed by two clauses⁶⁷,

1.2.1. *a prohibitive clause* stipulating

Never must [the translators] deviate from the established text (*g'zuñ lugs*)!
(*nam du yañ gzuñ lugs de las mi bsgyur žiñ*)

1.2.2. *and an injunctive clause* stating

The [disposition] must be learnt by everybody! (*kun gyis bslab tu ruñ bar gyis śig*)

⁶⁶ Cf. *infra* p. 313.

⁶⁷ These two clauses are contemplated by Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* where we find a concise chancery manual, together with an epitome on edicts (*śāsana*). See Scherrer-Schaub forthcoming^c.

⁶⁸ See Simonsson 1957, Panglung 1994, Scherrer-Schaub 1992, 1999^b.

The ordinance of 814 adds complementary principles and rules for translating, attesting to, as noted before, a highly refined knowledge of both Tibetan and Sanskrit⁶⁸.

1.3. If we turn now to the *authors* [or “*actors*”] involved in this event and functioning as **deliberative body** of the act, we find first of all Emperor Khri lDe sroñ btsan who, as stated in the concluding part of the canonical version (Fig. A§3), **issued** the authoritative decision, along with the councillors and the Western and Tibetan *mkhan po* and *lo tsā ba* who translated and **fixed the terms**. Moreover, a detailed chancery procedure appears where we gather that

1.3.1. The Indian and Tibetan *mkhan po* all together **established and ratified** the [rules and prescriptions of the] Dharma language and **after deliberation by the Ruler and Councillor** (*rje blon mol nas*), a **minute** [of the document] has been redacted (*reg zeg du mdzad pa*) and **in the presence of a convention of the learned** (*mkhas pa rnams 'tshogs te*), the **new terms** (*skad gsar miñ*), not previously established and ratified/fixed (*ñon ma thogs pa dañ gtan la ma phab pa*) were **established as terms and ratified/fixed** (*miñ du btags śiñ gtan la phab ste*).”

1.3.2. The text indicates twice (Fig. A§1,3) **the place** where the Buddhist terminology was ratified, that is the **'On cañ rdo** Imperial Court.

1.3.3. Finally the **validator** and **validation formula** confirm formally the authenticity of the public act (Fig. A§3).

1.3.3.1. The Divine Emperor Khri lDe sroñ btsan confirmed by order (*btsan gyis bskul nas*) and **authenticated** the authoritative decision (*bkas bcad*) [lit. and [the bTsan po] established the *bkas bcad* as not falsified (*bkas bcad de mi bcos par bžag pa*)].

1.3.3.2. [This] has been written in conformity with the *exemplar* [that is the original act] of the *bkas bcad* and shall not be corrupted/not be deviating (*zur ma bcos so*) [from the original] by other (*gžan gyis*) [redactions/redactors].

Then, following a procedure known also in other public acts kept in epigraphical records (in the rKoñ po Inscription for instance), a procedure well attested in Indian epigraphy, the dispositive of the edict of 814 ends with a clause (Appendix I, p. 317, l. 24-318, l. 1) **(re)confirming** and thereby **introducing** the **authoritative decision** and **prescriptions** issued previously.

2. The **second** or **middle** edict (*bkas bcad*) of 783 or 795 (Fig. B§2, Appendix p. 321), in the reign of Khri sroñ lde btsan.

The textual stratum related to this decision is, at least partially, common to the three extant versions of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*, the canonical (“*bstan ’gyur*”), the manuscript of Tabo and the manuscripts of Dunhuang (see *infra* Annex I, p. 319).

Jampa L. Panglung (1994) has shown quite clearly that “the *bsTan-’gyur* version of the first *bam-po* must be taken as a confirmation by Khri lDe-sroñ-bcan of the earlier edict of his father as transmitted in the Ta pho version. (...) As a consequence [of the fact that the canonical version records the events in 814, and not in 783/795 as the Tabo version, apparently, does] also the annalistic entry including the names of the Great Councillors of the earlier edict has to be replaced by an actual one. However, the names of the Great monks Yon-tan and Tiñ-ñe-’jin who were still in office had been kept. But it is noteworthy that the *bsTan-’gyur* version shows a promotion in rank of the Great monk Yon-tan whose name is preceded by the honorific *dPal*. It is worth pointing out, that the Ta pho version does not include the title *žu-chen* but simply reads *lochaba*.”

The collation of the extant versions may even lead a step further. Indeed, if one carefully confronts the canonical, the Tabo *and* the Dunhuang versions (see herewith §2.2.4 and 2.2.5.) which unfortunately have, so to speak, disappeared in the critical apparatus of Ishikawa’s edition (1990), the collation of chancery formulae of similar pattern, as we will see, shows small, although significant, differences.

2.1. Narrative or the *motives* having occasioned the **second** or **middle** authoritative decision

The motives behind the authoritative decision (*bkas bcad*) are not explicitly expressed. One may surmise, however, after consideration of the dispositions stipulated in the present decision, that a certain anarchy prevailed among the translators and, as the last paragraph explicitly admits (see hereafter), one cause of the situation was *personal initiative* on the part of the colleges of translation and teaching⁶⁹, both with regard to the content and the form.

⁶⁹ See *infra* Appendix I, p. 323: *bsgyur ba dañ ’chad pa’i grwa*. This may refer to the colleges installed in bSam yas, where “Im mKhyen-rab ’jam-dpal gliñ wurde der Dharma gelehrt [*chos ’chad*]. (...) Im sGra-bsgyur rgya-gar gliñ wurde übersetzt [*sgra bsgyur*]” (Uebach 1987: 98-99). On the twelve colleges of which the foundation is traditionally attributed to Khri lDe sroñ btsan, see Uebach op. cit. 106-107 and Uebach 1990.

Moreover, the narrative related to the second or middle *authoritative decision* shows genuine concern for the spirit of language (*le génie de la langue*) in the light of which the motives alleged in the *bkas bcad* of 814, claiming that the *authoritative decision* is a response to the problems of improper translations, made “at the time when the Dharma-language (*chos kyi skad*) was not yet widely known in Tibet (*Bod la ma grags pa las*)” (Appendix I, p. 318), may be seen as complementing and clarifying the implicit motives alluded to here. In fact the present *authoritative decision* seems to take for granted that the translations into Tibetan must be done from the Indian language (*rgya gar gyi skad la bod kyi skad du*); it attests to the existence of “normative principles for translating the Saddharma (*dam pa’i chos bsgyur lugs*)”, clearly implies the existence of colleges of translation and exegesis *before* the date of issue of the present *authoritative decision*, that is before 795/783, and thereby agrees with the evidence given above for an earlier, albeit less standardized institutionalized procedure for translating Buddhist texts and terminology.

2.2. Dispositive.

As just said, the middle or second *authoritative decision* provides normative principles (*lugs*) regulating the translation of Saddharma. In particular the dispositive provides the restrictions regarding literal and non-literal translation, as the case may be, and the rule applying to the use of honorific / respectful expressions according to the rank⁷⁰ of “sanctity” of the persons appearing in Buddhist narrative⁷¹ closely connected (*te I, g’zān ni Tabo*) to the *early and first authoritative decision* which both versions reconfirm.

Then follow two clauses restricting the executive power of the colleges appointed to the office of translating, here the *bstan ’gyur* and Dunhuang version (Appendix I, p. 322-323a; cf. Tabo, p. 323b and *infra* p. 288).

⁷⁰ I sañs rgyas dañ byañ chub sems dpa’ dañ ñān thos la sogs pa *že sa dañ sko loñ gi tshig gi rim pa ni sañs rgyas la že sa’i tshig tu bsgyur* l, Tabo sañs rgyas dañ byañ chub sems dpa’ dañ l ñān thos rñams la *rje... dañ... rk (o) dañ rim pa ni rje sa’i tshig tu bsgyur ro* || On the verb *sko*, see Uray 1972: 19.

⁷¹ An example being the *prastāvanā* of the *Ratnamegha*. This disposition, despite its location in the text, could refer to the previous authoritative decision which is immediately introduced.

2.2.1. *Prohibitive clause*

In consequence of the fact that (*las*) the normative principles (*lugs*) of the [*dharmā*] language have been stipulated (*bcad pa*) by [imperial] decree (*bkas*), it is not allowed for any one, on their own initiative (*so so nas*), to create/invent (*'chos*) and, after that (*'og tu*), to fix a **new term** (*miñ gсар du 'dogs su*).

2.2.2. *Restrictive clause*, related to the revision and formation of a new term

However, when a college of translation and exegesis (*bsgyur ba dañ 'chad pa'i grva*), on its own part (*so so nas*) is compelled to fix a term in the new language / a new lexical entry, one must examine (*dpyad de*) [the term] as it is designated / known or understood (*ji skad du gdags pa*) in the Dharma and, [the term in case, will be explained through] the arguments as they come out of / emerge from / appear in (*ji skad du 'byuñ ba*) the *dharmā* treatises and from the grammatical method, and one must not definitively fix the term (*miñ chad par ma gdags par*) at [the initiative of] a particular college.

2.2.3. The dispositive then records the procedure of approval of a new term, to be eventually entered in the register, which again bears testimony to changes in chancery, in the interval between the issue of the second and third *authoritative decisions*, since the canonical and Dunhuang versions show a more complex hierarchy in chancery practice and titulature (see hereafter §2.3) than the version attested by the Tabo fragment.

⁷² The Tabo version does not include this ordinance (*infra* Appendix I). Instead of the prohibitive clause of the canonical version, somewhat looser and more “positive” disposition provides that “permission must be requested; after it has been granted by order...” (*sñand tu źus te l bka's gnañ nas...*); see the following note.

⁷³ This is even more explicit if we read the Tabo version: “As to the Tantras, the texts themselves state that they are to be kept secret. Therefore it is not allowed to teach and explain them to unfit people, because it causes harm if encoded terms are misunderstood. Therefore permission must be requested and after it has been granted by order, the translation of the Tantras must be done by an excellent scholar not falsifying the meaning and not falsifying the text **but just as the tantra had been known formerly!** Concerning the translation of Tantra... codified... not allowed.”. See Panglung 1994: 165 and *infra* Appendix I, p. 323.

⁷⁴ See Panglung 1994: 166.

2.2.4. Finally, the text presents a special ordinance promulgated (*Bla nas bka' stsal (d) IDh*)⁷² in order to restrict the translation of the tantras to the texts currently under translation (IDh) and adding

2.2.5. a *prohibitive clause* related to *tantra* and *mantra* terminology, attesting that translations of this class of Buddhist texts had been made before 783/795⁷³.

2.3. The *authors* or *actors* who issued the authoritative decision and were appointed as a legislative and executive body comprise the bTsan po (*rJe*, that is Khri sroñ lde btsan⁷⁴) and the Council of Ministers (*blon mol*) who issued the decree or ordinance (*bkas bcad*) relative to the terminology and the normative principles.

Without entering into a detailed analysis of this section, this having been thoroughly undertaken by Jampa L. Panglung, it may be useful to focus upon the procedure of approval of a new term, which as we have seen could be, in case of necessity, coined by the college of translation and explanation of Buddhist texts (see *supra* 2.2.2). Again, the two *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* traditions differ. The canonical version states:

2.3.1. [After that, the new term] must be submitted to the convention/committee (*mdun sa*)⁷⁵ of the Bhagavat's representative (*riñ lugs*) and to the college for proposal for great revision of Buddhist treatises (*dha rmma źu chen 'tshal ba'i grvar phul la*) at the Imperial palace (*pho brañ*). Then [once the petition has been accepted and] sanctioned by authoritative decision (*bkas bcad*) [i. e. officially homologated/approved], the term must be entered in the register of words (*skad kyi dkar chag*).

The Tabo version, translated by J. Panglung⁷⁶, has:

2.3.2. [However, though such terms of translation had been created (*'di dag bsgyur ba'i myiñ smrañ yañ*)] they must be submitted to the Commissioners of Bhagavat (*bcom ldan 'das riñ lugs*) in the residence and the Board of

⁷⁵ The term *'dun sa*, according to Helga Uebach, designates a “holy place” in the *sGra 'grel* of Dran pa nam mkha', and “strongly reminds of an institution of the Tibetan empire, the “assembly of the state”, *'dun ma*”: Uebach 1999: 271 and 265.

⁷⁶ See Panglung 1994: 165 and *infra* Appendix I.

⁷⁷ On the meaning of the Tibetan term “*dar maldhar mma*”, see Stein 1983: 177 and n. 54.

Lochabas who translate the Dharma (*dar ma bsgyur ba'i lo tsha ba'i grar*) and permission [of the *bcan-po*] must be asked for. After [the assent] is given by order, include the term into the general register.

This interesting passage shows that in 783/795 the ecclesiastic chancery already followed an established hierarchical procedure: the colleges of translating and explaining Buddhist texts⁷⁷ had to refer proposed terminology for approval to the high ecclesiastic representative and the college of translators attached to the palace; a repertory of homologated terms already existed. The canonical and Dunhuang versions, possibly reflecting the 814 situation, bear evidence to a flourishing ecclesiastic bureaucracy. The Bhagavat's representative is flanked by a convention/committee (*mdun sa*) and the college of translators, [in charge of] translating Buddhist texts (*dar ma bsgyur ba'i lo tsā ba'i grar*), is replaced by and/or hierarchically submitted to the college for proposals of great revision of Buddhist treatises (*dha rmma źu chen 'tshal ba'i grvar phul la*)⁷⁸.

Dating the second or middle bkas bcad

As we have seen, the Tabo document begins with the edict of Khri sroñ lde btsan and represents an independent act; it bears a date and gives the names of the persons acting as deliberative body. We gather thus that besides the great monks (*ban de chen po*) Yon tan and Tin'ne 'dzin, the great councillors (*blon chen po*) rGyal gzigs and Stag ra appear at the head of the deliberative body (*blon chen po rGyal gzigs dañ | blon chen po sTag ra la stsogs pa*). We have also seen that with good reason Jampa L. Panglung favours 795, noting that “the reference to the residence Zuñ-kar which in historiographical literature traditionally is the place where Khri-sroñ lde-bcan lived in his old days (or had retired to) and where he died would be in favour of the year 795”. However and interestingly enough, Blon chen po Žañ rGyal gzigs Śu theñ and Blon sTag sgra Klu goñ are listed in first place, following the Lord of 'A źa (!) (*dPon 'A źa rJe*), among the civil and military offi-

⁷⁸ Cf. Panglung 1994: 179. See *infra* p. 315 § 3.5.

⁷⁹ See Tucci 1950: 97.13-14 and 46; Richardson 1985: 2; Karmay 1988: 1; Panglung 1994: 167.

cial having sworn to (*bro stsal pa*) the *bka' gtsigs*, the charter proclaiming Buddhism as state religion⁷⁹ which, as have seen, was distributed by Imperial command to the borderland regions of Tibet (*supra* p. 268).

If sTag sgra Klu goñ, known as a valiant general, is the recipient of the privileges granted by Khri sroñ lde btsan, as recorded in the Žol inscription, and promoting him great inner minister (*nañ blon chen po*) and “great conciliator”(?) (*Yo gal 'chos pa chen po*), and if he was possibly the diplomat who in 781 took part in the pourparlers for the Sino-Tibetan treaty of 783 (Richardson 1985: 2), on his part, rGyal gzigs Śu then is known for his cruelty and his hostility towards the Chinese which probably resulted in his dismissal in 782/3 when he was replaced by rGyal mtshan lHa snañ as chief minister in the aforementioned pourparlers⁸⁰. sTag sgra Klu goñ and rGyal gzigs Śu then are mentioned in the Žol inscription (of 763), which relates their military exploits against Emperor Tai Tsung who, unlike his father, “did not deem it proper to pay tribute to Tibet. When the *btsan-po* was aggrieved at that, Klu-khong took the lead in advising that an army should be sent against the palace of the Chinese king at Keng-shi, the very centre of China. Zhang Mchims-rgyal Rgyal-zigs shu-theng and the minister Stag-sgra klu-khong were appointed chief generals for the

⁸⁰ Demiéville 1952: 184 (footnote) “Le grand ministre tibétain (...), qui était violement anti-chinois, fut remplacé par son second (...) Chang Kie-tsan (Žañ rGyal bcan?) politique avisé, partisan d’une attitude modérée et pacifique aux frontières chinoises (...) et en 783 un traité de paix fut juré à Ts’ing-chouei”. Cf. Demiéville op. cit. p. 291 (footnote). On mChims Žañ rGyal zigs and Nan lam sTag sgra klu goñ, see Panglung 1994: 166-167 and notes.

Richardson loc. cit. dates the Žol inscription of “around 764 A. D. or only a little later”.

⁸¹ Žol South Inscription, ll. 50-59, Richardson 1985: 12-13. Cf. Bacot & Toussaint 1940-1946: 114, ll.25-31. On the Tibetan capture of Ch’ang-an, see Beckwith 1987: 146 and 148, n. 23, Imaeda 2000: 92-93.

⁸² Richardson 1985: 2. Cf. Sørensen 1994: nn. 1181, 1184.

⁸³ Per Sørensen (1994: n. 1181) in commenting upon the fact that Stag sgra is “recorded as active during the erection of the black *stūpa* in bSam-yas and (more surprisingly) recorded as sworn-in minister in the Buddhist *bKa'-gtsigs* of Khri-sroñ lde-btsan (issued ca. 780 A. D.)” notes that this facts “*may* indicate that he turned Buddhist towards the end of his life”.

⁸⁴ In 783 several important events took place: the Sino-Tibetan Treaty of Ch’ing Shui (Beckwith 1987: 149; Imaeda 2000: 93), the Bon-Buddhist dispute (according to S.G. Kar-may 1972: 88-94) and possibly the “middle” *bkas bcad* of Khri sroñ lde btsan.

campaign against Keng-shi. They attacked Keng-shi and a great battle was fought with the Chinese on the banks of the ford at Ci'u-cir"⁸¹.

Richardson, commenting upon sTag sgra, notes the difficulty of reconciling the reports of later historiographers to the effect that sTag sgra was considered "as a leading opponent of Buddhism at the time of the death of Khri Lde-gtsug-brtsan. In one version he was banished before the building of Bsam-yas (...) but another part of tradition names him as the builder of the black *mchod-rten* there" (...) "In view of his survival in power until about 783 A.D. the story needs further examination"⁸². The fact that Stag sgra is mentioned in the *bkas bcad* of 795/783, preserved

⁸⁵ The complex figure of sTag sgra, a leading protagonist of the anti-Buddhist faction, who might, as we have seen before (n. 83) "turned Buddhist towards the end of his life", is credited with having been banished, at an unsettled date, to the northern regions (*Byañ thañ*), the vital centre of Žañ žuñ. In the *dBa bžed* he is clearly listed among the Bon po adherents who participated in the Bon/Buddhist controversy (Wangdu & Diemberger 2000: 61 and n. 194), a controversy which Sørensen (against Karmay, *supra* n. 84) places in the year 759, op. cit. 605 and 366-367.

⁸⁶ I.O. S 8212, l. 17 *spre'u lo la bab ste | dbyar bTsan pho Zuñ kar na bžugs | bTsan po'i mshan Khri sroñ lDe brtsan du bond | cab srid phyag du bžes | Macdonald-Spanien 1971: 319.*

⁸⁷ The dates of the treatises do indeed almost in all cases coincide with remarkable religious events such as the De ga g-yu tshal prayers (Pelliot tib 16 and I. O. 751) for the foundation of the vihāra of dByar mo thañ, on the occasion of the 821/822 treaty. Rolf Stein (1983: 215-216) has a short albeit rich note, which seems to have passed unnoticed and may deserve to be quoted: "Le lieu est De-ga g.yu-chal, situé dans le dByar-mo thang qualifiée de "plaine du traité" (*mjal-dum thañ*). On y mentionne des hauts fonctionnaires du Tibet, du mDo-gams, du Kam-bcu (Kan-tcheou), de Go-cu, et les militaires de mKhar-can, de Kva-cu (*Koua-tcheou*), de Phyug-cams, de 'Brom-khoñ. Selon l'étude de Yamaguchi, le mKhar-chan de l'époque se situe dans la région de Ling-tcheou, *alias* Ling-wou [93], c.-à-d. loin à l'Est, dans l'Ordos. C'est là que fut fixée la frontière entre Chine et Tibet (Alasan), selon le Traité de 821-2. Il y avait là une sous-préfecture de Mingcha [94], nom qu'on retrouve à Touen-houang (Cha-tcheou). Un autre nom de lieu est propre aux deux régions. C'est Yu-lin [95] (**iu liam*) "forêt des ormes": 1) nom des célèbres grottes de Wan-fo hia [96] (ca. 30 km à l'Est de Touen-houang), et 2) deux fois dans l'Ordos, a) =Souei-yuan, rive nord du Fl. jaune; b) =Hia-tcheou (plus tard occupé par le Si-hia). Un 3e Yu-lin, poste militaire, a existé entre Ngan-si (Turfan) et Yen-k'i (Karasar) au VIII^e siècle. Un temple de Yu-lim (= Yu-lin) est mentionné ensemble avec Kva-cu et Phyug-mchams dans le ms. P. tib. 997 et, avec des vœux pour le roi tibétain (Iha-sras kyi sku-yon), dans P. 2122. Dans ces conditions on peut se demander si le nom de g.Yu-chal "forêt de turquoise" n'est pas moitié traduction ("forêt"), moitié transcription (g. *yu* = *yu*?) de Yu-lin." Surprisingly enough, this passage escaped the attention of Kapstein, see IDP News N° 17 2000/2001, p. 3. Helga Uebach (1991) provides a detailed and careful study of the location of dByar mo thañ in the light of the Tibetan historiography.

in the Tabo version, might confirm that he was then, in a way or another, active in the political scene if not the Buddhist milieu⁸³. But at the same time it argues for rejecting 795 in favour of 783⁸⁴, since sTag sgra and rGyal gzigs had supposedly been dismissed by the latter date and disappear from the public records after 783⁸⁵. We must still face the problem of where the bTsan po was staying when the edict was issued. Zuñ khar residence must have been particularly dear to Khri sroñ lde btsan, since it was there that he received his regnal name and his sovereign power in 756⁸⁶. After all, the edict of Khri sroñ lde btsan, dated in a pig-year, might (like religious foundations or public and solemn prayers) have complemented the “*Te Deum* practices” usually performed in the wake of the Sino-Tibetan treaties⁸⁷, in this case the treaty of 783. This is, of course, highly speculative since we may wonder why Śāntarakṣita supposedly alive in Tibet and active in translating, is not mentioned in the text of the *bkas bcad*, preserved in the Tabo version, a fact that induces us to prefer 795...

Coming back to our document, the end of the present paragraph (Appendix I, p. 321), as in the case of the 814 Edict (Appendix I, p. 319a), records, thereby re-**confirming** and introducing, a **previous** authoritative decision.

3. The [**earliest**] and **first** authoritative decision

Although the formulary is here reduced to its essentials, this passage undoubtedly implies the existence of a *previous authoritative decision* promulgated, according to the canonical version, “at the time of the preceding Divine Son, the Father” (*sñon lha sras Yab*), that is Khri lde sroñ btsan, or according to the Tabo version “at the time of the forefathers (*Yab Myes kyi sku riñ la*)”⁸⁸.

3.1. The alleged *motive* or *occasion* is the translation of the *Ratnamegha*⁸⁹ and the *Lañkāvatāra* (*dha rmma/ dar ma dkon mchog sprin dañ lañ kar gśeḡs pa bsgyur te*).

⁸⁸ Cf. IO 370.5, Stein 1986: 173-174.

⁸⁹ A Sanskrit fragment of the *Ratnameghasūtra* is attested in SHT III 945, see *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, E. Waldschmidt, Wiesbaden, 1971, Teil 3, Verz. der orient. Handschrift. in Deutschland Bd X,3, p. 206-207 [= T. 659.246a28 f., T 600, 660.288a14 f.].

3.2. As to the *dispositive* the text, reduced to a minimum, speaks of “normative principles” (*lugs*) of [translating] and fixing [terms] (*gtan la phab pa'i lugs*).

3.3. Besides the supreme authority who issued the act, this earliest *bkas bcad* mentions anonymous *author(s)* or *actor(s)*. Here again, the canonical and the Tabo versions differ. The canonical version, like the **second** *bkas bcad* (see *supra* §2), actualizes the titulature: where the Tabo version has only “*lo tsā bas*”, the canonical version supplies “*lo tsā ba mkhas pa [’tshogs pa]s*”, consistently following the titulature of the **third** or 814-*bkas bcad* (see *infra* Annex I, pp. 317a *lo tsā ba mkhas pa*, I 1.22-23 and *mkhas pa rnams ’tshogs* I 127.16) which, as we will see in the following paragraph, attests to a change in the chancery practice.

3.3.1. The chancery procedure, according to the canonical version, is relatively precise. The present *authoritative decision* has been issued

In **the presence** (*spyan snar*) of the Divine Son Yab, when the preceptors and translators **had assembled** (*’tshogs pas*), the normative principles... were **ratified/fixe**d (*gtan la phab pa*).

3.3.2. Once again, the Tabo chancery is, briefer, stating:

At the time of the Ancestors, the Teacher (*mkhan po*) and the Translator⁹⁰ **having translated** (*bsgyur te*) the *Ratamegha* and the *Laṅkāvatāra [sūtra]*, **normative principles** [were] **fixed** (*gtan la phab pa'i lugs*)⁹¹.

⁹⁰ Although “mkhan po” is a common religious title, “mKhan po” may designate Śāntarakṣita, see for instance, *dBa bzed* fol. 5b et passim, Wangdu & Diemberger 2000: 40 and n. 83. And Ananta is described as “lo tsā ba” and sometimes “learned lo tsā ba” (*lo tsā ba mkhas pa*), Sørensen 1994: 366 and n. 1186, 398 and n. 1352; Wangdu & Diemberger op. cit. 45 and n. 103. On the other hand Demiéville (1952) notes that the expression “Hwa śaṅ” (Chinese Heshang) is a “transcription (à travers une déformation sérienne) du skr. *upādhyāya*, devenu en chinois vulgaire la désignation la plus usuelle des moines bouddhistes” (op. cit. p. 10, n. 1).

⁹¹ Our translation takes some liberty with the syntax, lit. “according to the normative principles that have been fixed...”

⁹² From now on the text is also preserved in three fragmentary Dunhuang manuscripts Pelliot tib. 845 and 843, I. O. Tib. J. 76, see Appendix I, pp. 323 et sq., Appendix II, p. 325.

At this point, what follows (in all versions), shows that these unspecified “**normative principles**” (*lugs*), were eventually considered as having been promulgated by the supreme power and hence were authoritative, which confirms the official character of this vague **first authoritative decision**.

Indeed, the passage introduces here a *restrictive clause* (3.3.3) based on the [three] previous authoritative decisions:

In consequence of the fact that (*las*) the normative principles of the [dharma] language (*skad kyi lugs*) have been stipulated by [imperial] decree (*bkas bcad pa*),

3.3.3. the following *restrictive clause* related to the revision and formation of a new term, states⁹²

It is not permitted for anybody, on their own initiative to create (*'chos*) and, after that (*'og tu*), to fix a new term (*miñ gsar du 'dogs su*).

In his detailed analysis of the paragraph Nils Simonsson noted that it was difficult to decide which version of the translation of the two *sūtras* was being alluded to by the *sGra sbyor*⁹³. However, the Tabo version of this paragraph was not available to Simonsson and his analysis was mainly restricted to textual history. The study of the history of the translation of the *Ratnamegha* and the *Lañkāvatārasūtra* leads, as we shall see, to interesting and hitherto unnoted data; the fact that the extant versions of the *sGra sbyor* attribute the translation to two different periods of Tibetan imperial history confirms the ideological nature of historical and epigraphical sources, already at a relatively early epoch in Tibet. This complex situation has been studied with different approaches by several scholars;

⁹³ Simonsson 1957: 257-259 and 258 where Simonsson mentions that both the *Ratnamegha* and the *Lañkāvatāra* are listed in the IHan dkar ma as having been translated from the Indian language, when it is common knowledge that the canonical translation of the *Lañkāvatāra* made by Chos grub, the learned bilingual scholar who worked mainly in Dunhuang during the first part of the IXth century, is based on the Chinese version of the *sūtra*. However, as noted by Jikido Takasaki (1978), a Dunhuang version translated “from the Indian language” is kept in the Paris Pelliot collection.

⁹⁴ Richardson 1985: 74: || *'phrul gyi lha btsan po | myes | Khri sroñ brtsan gyi riñ la* || *sañs rgyas gyi chos mdzad de | ra sa'i gtsug lag khañ las stsogs pa brisigs śiñ || dkon mchog gsum gyi rten btsugs pa dañ ...* Stein 1986: 169. Similar context in the *bKa' mchid* of Khri sroñ lde btsan.

particularly relevant here are the studies of Géza Uray (1972), Rolf A. Stein (1986) and Jampa L. Panglung (1994). In his *Tibetica Antiqua IV. La tradition relative au début du bouddhisme au Tibet*, Stein quotes the testimony of the sKar chuñ inscription, dating to the reign of Khri lde sroñ btsan, which as he says is “un édit à la gloire du bouddhisme. On y lit au début “À l’époque de (mon) ancêtre Khri Sroñ-bcan (*alias* Sroñ-bcan sgam-po), roi saint et divin, (il) a pratiqué la religion du Bouddha et il a construit les temples de Ra-sa (Lhasa) et autres. Il a (ainsi) fondé les supports des Trois Joyaux”⁹⁴. A parallel case is mentioned by Géza Uray in *The Narrative of Legislation and Organization of the Mkhas-pa’i dga’s-ton. The Origin of the Traditions concerning Sroñ-brcan Sgam-po as First Legislator and Organizer of Tibet*. Uray (1972: 46) stresses the political motive for recasting history and quotes Bogoslovskij “While concentrating all his attention on the reign of the ‘strong’ *bcan-pos*, at the same time the author of the chronicle conceals the activity of other ‘weak’ *bcan-pos*, as e.g., *Mañ-sroñ Mañ-bcan* during whose reign all the power in the country was held by the aristocratic *Mgar* clan.” To this he adds, “The same tendency can be observed in *Khri Lde-sroñ-brcan*’s inscription made on the occasion of the foundation of *Skar-cuñ* chapel at the beginning of the 9th century.”

Since Sroñ btsan sgam po is credited with having instituted religious sites and state administration, it is only normal that the tradition adds to the sovereign’s edificatory tale the fact that translation of Buddhist texts was initiated in his reign⁹⁵. Following the *Deb ther*⁹⁶ the translator of the *Ratnameghasūtra* was Thon mi samḥboṭa, the Tibetan *lettré* reputed to have introduced writing to Tibet. Commenting upon the passage in point, Jampa L. Panglung (1994: 165, n. 13), says “Concerning the date of the translation of both texts, the *bsTan*-’gyur version of the *sGra-sbyor* instead of *yab-myes* reads *lha-sras-yab* = Khri-sroñ lde-

⁹⁵ On Sroñ btsan sgam po’s Vitae as Dharmarāja, see the narrative of the *rGyal rabs*, translated and annotated by Per Sørensen 1994: 159-186. On the *sūtras* translated in his reign, op. cit. 173 and notes.

⁹⁶ *Deb ther sñon po*, English translation, p. 40. The *dBa b’zed*, Wangdui & Diemberger 2000: 27, says that on his return to Tibet, Thon mi “took with him some [texts of the doctrine] such as *Chos dkon mchog sprin* (*Ratnameghasūtra*), *Pad ma dkar po*, *Rin po che tog*, *gZugs grwa lnga* and *dGe ba bcu*”.

bcan. However it is worth noting that traditionally Tibetan historiographers like mKhas-pa lDe'-u, Bu-ston and others mention that the translation of the *Ratnameghasūtra* had been made during the reign of Sroñ-bcan sgam po.”

Géza Uray (1972: 48-49) assumed that the “elaboration of an all-embracing picture of Tibetan history in the Buddhist principles was begun only by lDan-ma-rce-mañ and his fellow-monks during Khri Lde-sroñ-brcan’s reign, **at the beginning of the 9th century** (our emphasis), and their work accomplished by the historiographers of the Buddhist restoration, after 1000 A. D.” In the case in point here, since the Tabo version attributes the *second authoritative decision* to the reign of Khri sroñ lde btsan and the previous *authoritative decision* to the epoch of the Ancestors (*yab myes*), we must decide whether this statement has any factual basis or has been interpolated in the wake of later tradition, if not an ideological rewrite of history.

In the *rdo rin* inscription “near the bridge” of 'Phyoñ rgyas, dating to the reign of Khri sroñ lde btsan (755-794?), the expression *yab myes* refers to ruling sovereigns, namely the first bTsan po “who came [on earth] to rule over gods and men” (*lha btsan po yab myes lha dañ myi'i rjer gśegs te* ||) and the *Ancestors* of Khri Sroñ lde btsan, that is his predecessors, who continued to govern according to inherited custom. A similar use of the expression *yab myes* is attested in the sKar chuñ inscription dated to the reign of Khri lde sroñ btsan (ca. 800-815): 'di ltar || **yab myes** | **gduñ rabs rgyud kyis** || *dkon mchog gsum gyi rten btsugs śiñ* || *sañs rgyas kyi chos mdzad pa 'di* ||... “And so ... this practice of the religion of the Buddha by establishing shrines of the Three Jewels **by the father and ancestors in successive generation** (our emphasis)...”⁹⁷ Again, in his *bka'mchid* Khri sroñ lde btsan says “When my father went

⁹⁷ Richardson 1985: 38-39 and 76-77. The title *lha sras Yab* is applied to Khri sroñ lde btsan in the rKoñ po inscription, the latter being dated to the reign of Khri lde sroñ btsan (ca. 800-815).

⁹⁸ Our emphasis. See Tucci 1950: 47 and 98. This passage may be confronted with IO 370.5, ll. 14-16 *rgyal po yab noñs sras chuñs pas* || **chos bzañ gtsug lag rñiñ nub mod** || *bden pa'i lam mchog dge ba'i chos* || 'dul ba bcu sruñ ba dañ || *myi mgon rgyal po'i rgyal khrins dañ* || **pha myes** 'jañs pa'i stan ñag gzuñ || Cf. Stein 1986: 174.

⁹⁹ Karmay 1981: 207 and 209:...*lha sras Khri sroñ lde btsan gyis* || *dam chos slob*s dpon **rgya gar yul nas sryan drañs te** ||... Stein 1986: 172 dates Pelliot tib. 840 to the mid-ninth century.

to heaven, some ministers became hostile and the Buddhist Law **practised from the time of grandfather and father**⁹⁸ was destroyed.” (*btsan po yab dguñ du gśegs kyi ’og tu Žañ bloñ kha cig gyis ’ur ’dums kyi blo žig byuñ ste | yab mes kyi riñ tshund chad | sañs rgyas gyi chos mdzad mdzad pa yañ gśig go* ||) Since the inscription from the time of Khri sroñ lde btsan attests to the existence (legendary or not) of the Buddhist religion in the age of the Ancestors, one can reasonably assume that a text close to the Tabo version was circulating in Tibet at the turn of the century, i.e. the approximate period to which we assign the transmission of the *sGra sbyor* to the Western regions (see *supra* p. 271). The canonical version of the *sGra sbyor* which emphasizes Khri sroñ lde btsan, seems to be in line with later tradition, as attested for instance in the story of King Tsa (Ptib 840) studied by Samten G. Karmay (1981), where we find an eulogy which states: “... The Divine Son, Khri-sroñ lde-btsan, He introduced holy Buddhism and invited masters from India,...”⁹⁹

¹⁰⁰ See Demiéville 1952; Tucci 1958; Macdonald-Spanien 1971: 379-385; Demiéville 1979; Stein 1985: 115-118, 1986: 171, n. 6.

¹⁰¹ Demiéville *op. cit.* p. 185 and n. 1, where he sum up a very long passage of Bu ston, cf. *Chos ’byuñ* fol. 881.8-890.6.

¹⁰² *Ratnamegha*, sTog 157: *Žu chen gyi lo tsa ba ban de Vairocanarakṣita dañ Dharmataśīlas žus te gtan la phab pa | skad gsar bcad kyis kyañ bcos lags so* || Tōhoku N° 231, sDe dge vol. Lwa, fol. 112b7: *Lo tsā ba Ban de Rin chen ’tsho* [Ratnarakṣita] *dañ | Chos űid tshul khrims* [Dharmataśīla] *kyis bsgyur ciñ žus te gtan la phab pa* ||. Otani 897, *idem*. Phug brag 162, 285 (ø). lHan dkar 89 (8 *bam po*). Pelliot tib. 77, cf. also IO 161-163, 161 icpl., fol. 1 beginning and fol. 4, verso, end of *bam po* 7. *Lañkāvatāra* sTog 245 (8 *bam po* and 7 chapters, no colophon). Otani 775 anonymous, (776 transl. by Chos grub). Tōhoku N° 107, *idem*. Phug brag 86, 87 (= ø). lHan dkar 252 translated from Chinese (8 *bam po*); 84, unspecified translation (11 *bam po*). Pelliot tib. 608, supposedly translated from Sanskrit, 9 *bam po*; *’Jañ sa thañ*, Imaeda N° 52 (9 *bam po*).

According to Takasaki (1978) the Tibetan translation of the *Lañkāvatārasūtra* of Chos grub was made from the Chinese so-called “Sung” version of 443. One may wonder why Chos grub didn’t translate the text from the version made by Śikṣānanda, the khotanese monk working in Lo yang et Tch’ang ngan from 695 to 704 and in Tch’ang ngan at his return from Khotan in 707/708, where he resided until his death in 710. See Hōbōgirin *Fascicule Annexe* 141a s.v. Jisshananda. On Śikṣānanda and the nine Bhadanta, see Forte 1976. The question is interesting, all the more when one knows that apparently the version used in the “Chinese records” in the Debate of bSam yas was the translation of Śikṣānanda. The *Liñ ka’i mkhan po dañ slob ma’i mdo*, mentions Guṇabhadra as the first [abusive, according to some] Patriarch of the “Lañkāvatāra” school and Faure (1989: 75) quotes Ueyama who thinks that “le *Mémoire* [i. e. the *Liñ ka’i mkhan po...*] original avait pour principal but de relier la tradition du *Lañkāvatāra* et celle de l’école du Tung-shan”.

Another parallel may be found in an equally well-known alternative tradition, according to which Buddhism was first introduced to Tibet from China at the time of the Ancestors or during the infancy of Khri sroñ lde btsan. While this is not the place to go into the question in detail¹⁰⁰, it is useful to recall the testimony of Bu ston, as noted by Paul Demiéville (1951: 195 and n. 1) “... , dans le récit que donne Bu-ston de l’introduction du bouddhisme à l’époque de Khri-sroñ-lde-bcañ, c’est l’arrivée de maîtres *chinois* qui est mentionnée en premier lieu, avant celle des maîtres indiens”¹⁰¹. Rolf Stein, for his part, concludes a long analysis of this question by saying that “le rôle éminent de la Chine vers 730-750 réside dans la transmission du bouddhisme chinois (en partie par l’intermédiaire du Tch’an), parallèlement et concurremment avec le bouddhisme indien”.

As seen before, the central or pivotal assumed fact which occasioned the earliest authoritative decision is the translation of the *Ratnamegha* and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*¹⁰². That the earliest *authoritative decision* stresses this point has not received the attention it merits. These *sūtras* appear to have been instrumental in transmitting a political *ideology* and were especially influential at the time of the Zhou Empress Wu Zetian (685-704)¹⁰³. Their presence is attested during the VIIth and VIIIth century in China and as far as Turfan, Khotan and North West India¹⁰⁴; the idea

Despite a seemingly consistent bulk of evidence suggesting underlying “*querelles d’École*” one may wonder if we are not faced here, at least to some extended, with a kind of “*querelle des Anciens et des Modernes*” where partisans of textual critique were facing partisans of a faithful and (too) loyal respect for Tradition.

¹⁰³ On the ideology of the “Cakravartin-king” purportedly used for the advent of Empress Wu Zetian as the first and only Chinese Empress and the role played by the Bhadanta, see Forte 1976.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Scherrer-Schaub forthcoming^a.

¹⁰⁵ This text belongs to the “Cycle de Khotan”. The textual stratification of this group of texts is quite complex: see Scherrer-Schaub forthcoming^a.

¹⁰⁶ On Khri ma lod, Demiéville 1952: 27; Beckwith 1987: 69; Richardson 1988: 1226; Sørensen 1994, n. 1092 and Appendix n. 1137; Uebach 1997: 55-56. If we follow Demiéville (1952: 1-9, n. 1) Kim šeñ would have been the grand-daughter of Empress Wu Zetian and niece of the future emperor, Xuanzong. One may wonder if the ideology promulgated by the *Ratnamegha* [and/or its “revised” version, see Forte] would not have been useful in the complicated intrigues involved in the alliance between China and Tibet. The question deserves further investigation.

¹⁰⁷ Pelliot chin. N° 4646 (Touen wou ta tch’eng tcheng li kiue) Demiéville 1952. Note that the Tibetan translation of the *Liñ ka’i mkhan po dañ slob ma’i mdo* (IO 710), the Genealogy of Teacher and pupils of the Laṅkāvatāra [i. e. Chan] school, might have been

they might have been translated into Tibetan at an early date should not be hastily rejected. The “Prophecy of the Arhat Saṃghavardhana”¹⁰⁵ demonstrates that by the IXth century the “idéologème” of the Bodhisattva-king/queen was accepted as, so to speak, performative during the reign of Khri lde gtsug btsan (712-755) and the Chinese Koñ jo Kim šeñ. One may surmise that some decades earlier the Dowager Empress Khri ma lod (regency? 705-712), mother of Khri ’Dus sroñ (r. 677-704), renowned to have been influential if not formally in power, could also have had the same wish to see her power consolidated by the *Ratnameghasūtra* pretense¹⁰⁶.

There are further arguments to support the idea that these *sūtras*, already widely disseminated in the far-flung Buddhist milieu of the epoch, could have been translated into Tibetan at an early date and that the same texts played an important role in the Debate of bSam yas. Reference to both works is found in the Chinese records of Dunhuang¹⁰⁷ and in the first *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla, sometimes referred to as “Indian records”. As far as the *Lañkāvatārasūtra* is concerned, the most commonly transmitted version is the translation of ’Gos (Chinese “Wu” according to Ueyama and Imaeda) Chos grub, the famous Chinese *Bhadanta* who worked in Dunhuang during the second period of the Tibetan occupation¹⁰⁸. Although to our knowledge there is no precise date for this translation, thanks to the detailed study of Ueyama Daishun¹⁰⁹ we know

influential in Tibet at the occasion of the Debate: see Ueyama 1968, 1981 and cf. Faure 1989: 74-75.

¹⁰⁸ Pelliot tib 609 is a bilingual commentary to the *Lañkāvatāra*, see *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang VI* 45-46, with some emendations, see Scherrer-Schaub forthcoming^b.

¹⁰⁹ “DaiBan-koku daitoku sanzō hōshi shamon Hōjō no kenkyū”, see Demiéville 1970: 47-62.

¹¹⁰ Pelliot tib 608 possibly belongs to the first type of Dunhuang Tibetan manuscript, making use of ancient system of pagination (Scherrer-Schaub 1999^a: 20-22) to which a new system of pagination has been subsequently added, see Lalou 1939, N° 608. It might be interesting to note that the persons having corrected and copied this manuscript bear patronyms well attested in the region of Khotan. Moreover, fragments of Tibetan version of the *Lañkāvatāra* have been found in Mirān, see Takeuchi 1998, vol. II: N° 609-611.

¹¹¹ Whether there were one or two dPal dbyaṅs, see Karmay 1988: 66-69. sBa dPal dbyaṅs (and sBa Sañ śi) took an active part in the Debate of bSam yas, see Seyfort Ruegg 1989: 60, 69-70, 1992: 239. Stein 1983: 219 “Yamaguchi (1975) a pensé qu’il pouvait s’agir du célèbre Sañ-çi qui a joué un grand rôle vers 750 A. D. dans la quête de livres chinois. Mais il y a eu d’autres dPal-dbyaṅs. Celui du colophon n’était peut-être pas l’auteur de la liste mais un simple copiste”.

that Facheng / Chos grub was active at the time of Emperor Khri gtsug lde btsan (r. 817-838?), Ral pa can. The first *authoritative decision* of the *sGra sbyor* is therefore assumed to refer to a putative previous translation from the Indian or some other neighbouring language. Indeed, a second translation is transmitted in the *bKa 'gyur* and a manuscript of Dunhuang (Pelliot tib. 608) seems to attest to a translation from the Sanskrit, although as far as we know no systematic philological analysis has been carried out so far¹¹⁰.

Focussing on the Ratnamegha and the Laṅkāvatāra as terminological sources

An interesting bilingual inventory of texts and terms was drawn up by a certain dPal dbyaṅs¹¹¹, supposedly at one of the Dayun Monasteries (established throughout the Empire in the wake of the edict of 690 issued by the Empress Wu Zetian¹¹²). The Sino-Tibetan terminology¹¹³ uses Indian transcription mixed with vernacular translation; for the “Ratnamegha” it gives the Chinese title Baoyun jing and the correct Tibetan translation “dKon mchog sprin” (Ptib 1257, l. 6-7)¹¹⁴, the same title as that recorded in the lHan dkar catalogue (Lalou 1953 n° 89). If we compare the Tibetan titles of works translated from the Chinese (or the reverse?), as recorded in

¹¹² See Forte 1976: 6-7, 8-11. At the same occasion the nine Bhadantas (ib. 6-7) were “granted with the investiture as dukes of a subprefecture and were given the purple *kaṣāya* and a “silver bag for the tortoise”. On the role assumed by the nine Bhadanta in making Buddhism the religion of the Empire, see op. cit. 111-115. This prefigures an analogous case when, a century later, Buddhism became the state religion in Tibet and ecclesiastics of high rank were at the same time ministers (*blon po*).

¹¹³ Stein ‘s “Tibetica Antiqua I. Les deux vocabulaires des traductions Indo-tibétaine et Sino-tibétaine dans les manuscrits de Touen-houang” a work of reference in this matter has not seen the fruit of its legacy. Underlining the difficulties inherent to the study of the “mixed” terminology used by Tibetan translators, Stein says “Les données relatives aux traductions tibétaines de textes chinois sont en vérité très complexes. Pour le moment on doit se garder de conclusions hâtives et de raisonnements simplistes”, Stein 1983: 154.

¹¹⁴ On Ptib 1257 see Lalou 1950, N° 1257, Fujieda 1961 cited in Spanien & Imaeda 1979: 20, *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang* T. 1, N° 2046, pp. 34-35. The page setting of Ptib 1257 shows how careful and precise the redaction of bilingual terminological lists was.

¹¹⁵ Tucci provides important material that has not received the attention it deserves. For an example of “mapping” Buddhist texts, see Scherrer-Schaub [1998] forthcoming^a.

Ptib 1257, we may note that the unusual rendering of some of them might be the result of the fact that these texts were so far unknown to the redactor, who at the same time shows himself to be quite familiar with some other texts. This is the case, for instance, with the *Aṅgulimāliya* that he lists both in its Sanskrit transcription (*Aṅ. gu. la. ma. la*) and contracted Tibetan translation (*'phags pa Sor 'phreñ*). In this complex scenario it is not impossible that, although the IHan dkar catalogue records only one translation of the *Ratnamegha*, presumably made from the Indian language, a translation from the Chinese existed in Dunhuang or surrounding regions. Particularly fascinating, but far exceeding the scope of the scope of the present article, is the collation of extant Chinese and Tibetan Dunhuang texts, and of lists given in catalogues or embedded in later ecclesiastic histories; one sees that the same texts, or groups of texts, or parts of them, reappear in different geographical areas and different contexts mapping the religious and contextual motives underlying the diffusion of Buddhist texts¹¹⁵.

The *Ratnamegha* and the *Laṅkāvatāra* appear in the anthology of sKa ba dPal brtsegs¹¹⁶, the renowned Tibetan scholar, translator and revisor, who played an important role during the relatively short period in which Buddhism penetrated Tibetan society. In his “gSuñ rab rin po che gnam rgyud dañ sã kya'i rabs rgyud”, dPal brtsegs quotes large passages from an interesting collection of *sūtra*, among them the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the *Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Ratnamegha*¹¹⁷. Again, the *Ratnamegha* and the *Laṅkāvatāra* figure close together in the list of the “Names of *saddharma*” in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*¹¹⁸. Moreover the compilers of the IHan dkar catalogue, supposedly dPal brtsegs and Nam mkha'i sñiñ po, list both *sūtras* close together, without violating the two main criteria followed by the catalogue, i.e. *genre* and *size*. Indeed, the *Laṅkāvatāra* is placed last in the section of

Analogous case with iconographical programs, a paradigmatic illustration being the Temple of bSam yas. On the rich ideological program of bSam yas, see Seyfort Ruegg 1989: 134-135. As recorded by Tibetan historiographers, various and specific texts were illustrated in the temples of bSam yas, among them the *Ratnamegha*, see sBa bzed, ed. Stein 1961: 36.1.

¹¹⁶ sKa ba dPal brtsegs, Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan and Vairocana are considered by rÑog lo tsā ba Blo ldan śes rab (1059-1109) the Great Translators, *par excellence*, of the *śā dar*, see Karmay 1988: 17.

¹¹⁷ See Tucci 1978^{repr.}: 139.

¹¹⁸ See MvyS §§1337, 1338.

¹¹⁹ See Lalou 1953: 321, n^{oo} 84 and 85.

miscellaneous *mahāyānasūtras* (*theg pa chen po'i mdo sna tshogs*) from 26 to 11 *bam po* in length (*bam po ñi śu rtsa drug man chad nas | bam po bcu gcig pa yan chad*), while the *Ratnamegha* follows shortly in the next section (starting with *Mahāmeghasūtra*), which comprises *mahāyānasūtras* of 10 *bam po* and less in length (*bam po bcu man chad*)¹¹⁹.

The Ratnamegha and the Mahāvyutpatti

Other considerations aside, the descriptions of the impressive assembly gathered to listen to the exposition of the *Ratnameghasūtra* furnish an ideal repository of terminology; in fact there is evidence that these descriptions have actually been used for this purpose. In an interesting article published in 1997, Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber drew attention to parallels between the arrangement of the chapter titles of the *Vinayavastu* preserved in the *Vinayasūtravṛtti* of Guṇaprabha and the entries in the section “*gzi bcu bdun la | bzi bcu bdun la*” of the *Mahāvyutpatti*. Following her approach and collating the list of the *Ratnamegha* together with parallel lists of the *Mahāvyutpatti*, it appears quite clearly (Fig. D) that the *Ratnamegha* has served as a model in the complex distribution of terms into lexical and semantic fields¹²⁰.

The colophon of the sDe dge version of the *Ratnamegha* names Venerable Rin chen 'tsho (Ratnarakṣita) and Chos ñid tshul khirms (Dharmatāśīla) as the scholars who translated, revised and established the definitive text (*lo tsā ba Ban de Rin chen 'tsho dañ | Chos ñid tshul khirms kyis bsgyur ciñ źus te gtan la phab pa*, Tōh. N° 231, vol. Lwa, fol. 112b7)¹²¹. Both appear with the title “Bod kyī mkhan po” and reconstructed Indian names (Ratnarakṣita and Dharmatāśīla) as having been

¹²⁰ Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 1992.

¹²¹ An alternative Western Kanjur tradition attests change in the title of Dharmatāśīla and possibly represents the revision of the text kept in the sDe dge collection. See the colophon of sTog, Skorupski 1985, N° 157. *Žu chen gyi lo tsa ba Ban de Vairocanarakṣita dañ Dharmatāśīlas źus te gtan la phab pa | skad gsar bcad kyis kyañ bcos lags so* || Parallel with the change in titlature attested in the 795/783 *bkas bcad*, see *supra* §2, preliminary note, p. 284-285.

¹²² On the way “that Tibetan and Buddhists received and reacted to two important and distinct traditions within Buddhism and to the Chinese and Indian Masters who were the transmitters of these traditions”, see Seyfort Ruegg 1989: 59 et sq.

prominent in the redaction of the *Mahāvīyutpatti* at the time of the **third** *bkaś bcad* of 814 (Appendix I, p. 317). If it is this translation of the *Ratnamegha* which occasioned the earliest and **first** *authoritative decision* in the *sGra sbyor* (Appendix I, p. 321), why are the names of the translators not expressly mentioned in the canonical version of the earliest authoritative decision, since, as we saw, this version consistently updates the preceding acts and titles? Our opinion, which is admittedly speculative, is that the earliest *authoritative decision* refers to translations made from the Chinese or from Indian texts (brought from China or borderlands¹²²) that might have been used, emended and absorbed into successive stages of translations. And there is more. These translations, despite the fact that they needed to be heavily revised, were not completely discarded. It is also by no means clear how the revision was actually performed. Most probably the text was not translated anew, from scratch; and probably the revision was the result of learned discussion among translators and teachers who consulted and collated all available extant translations. This could explain why some texts have a “blending” of Indo-Tibetan and Sino-Tibetan terminology. In short, the situation is more complicated than imagined and many problems remain unsolved. The extraordinary philological skilfulness showed by Tibetan and Indian scholars of the time paid due tribute to textual tradition and could not and would not *a priori* discard sources¹²³.

When speaking of Chinese Buddhism it is wise not to forge a monolithic entity, but rather to distinguish, as far as possible, between the regions of China in close contact with Tibet and the Buddhist schools flourishing in China at the time or, rather, the Buddhist temples that could transmit a certain kind of religious filiation to Tibet. When our texts speak of translations made from different languages, they indirectly recall the cosmo-

¹²³ Illuminating in this respect are the records of later colophons. In that of the “brGyad stoñ pa” for example, the various stages of textual transmission are faithfully recorded, attesting to the philological process of correcting revising and collating Tibetan translations, further comparing them with Indian commentaries and source documents, and again considering newly discovered *exemplar* of the Tibetan translation, etc. See Lalou 1929. This fact had been noted by Simonsson (1957) in his careful study of various versions of manuscript fragments of Central Asia: see *op. cit.* pp. 212-233, in particular p. 217.

¹²⁴ See Forte *loc. cit.* Note that a fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript of the *Ratnamegha* from Šorčuq is found in the Turfan collection: see *supra* p. 292, n. 89.

politan influences throughout the far-flung Buddhist milieu at the end of the VIIth century and in the first half of the VIIIth, when “on 7th October 693” the *Ratnameghasūtra* was translated into Chinese and, as we gather from the colophon translated by Antonino Forte (1976: 71): “The *śramaṇa* Fan-mo [Dharmaruci], envoy of the king of Central India, also enounced the Sanskrit original: the *śramaṇa* Chan-t’o and the lay Brahman Li Wu-ch’an translated [their] words: the *śramaṇa* Hui-chih checked the translation: the *śramaṇa* Ch’u-i and others received [the translation] in writing: the *śramaṇa* Ssu-hsüan and others bound the composition: the *śramaṇas* Yüan-ts’e, Shen-ying and others checked the meaning Sun [Ch’eng-] p’i, Assistant of the Court of Diplomatic Reception, was the supervisor.” Four decades later more or less, when the Tibetans were in Gilgit, the Chinese translation of the *Ratnamegha* with its colophon was copied in Japan¹²⁴.

Indian texts could well have reached Tibet at this epoch in the wake of the comings and goings of religious figures and diplomats, from China, Khotan, or other regions. Out of these “close and/or mediate transmissions” a certain disorder may have resulted that intellectuals (*mkhas pa*) and ecclesiastics (*mkhan po*) decided to rectify.

4. Enacting rules, enacting words

One may wonder whether the three events or *facts* which occasioned the three *authoritative decisions* are echoed in practice, especially in the main part of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* (Fig. A§2). This part consists of a lexicographic commentary analysing the derivation and formation of Indian words according to the principles and rules of the Indian *vyākaraṇa* tradition (*vyā ka ra ṇa’i lugs*) and relying on the Buddhist hermeneutic tradition¹²⁵. On close examination, it appears that this part must have been compiled (and the *eschatocol* pratically confirms it; see *supra* p. 284) at the two colleges mentioned in the last paragraphs of the *protocol*, where we gather:

However, when a college of translation and exegesis (*bsgyur ba dan’chad pa’i grva*), on its own part (*so so nas*) must / is compelled to fix a term in the new language / a new lexical entry, one must examine (*dpyad de*) [the

¹²⁵ Scherrer-Schaub 1992, 1999; Verhagen 1994, 2001.

term] as it is designated / known or understood (*ji skad du gdags pa*) in the Dharma and, [the term in case, will be explained through] the arguments as they come out of / emerge from / appear in (*ji skad du 'byuñ ba*) the *dharma* treatises and from the grammatical method, and one must not definitively fix the term (*miñ chad par ma gdags par*) at [the initiative of] a particular college.

As we have seen, once settled the term should be submitted to the authorities for approval. In a way the main part of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* can be seen as the text of the official document presented and/or redacted by the team working on translating, correcting and commenting upon Buddhist texts, the document that was eventually submitted to the authorities in charge of ratifying or definitively fixing (*gtan la phab pa*) the term that would subsequently be in the register of words. The text at hand shows quite clearly that the procedure of forming and deriving a term existed before 795/783 and that the authors of the *sGra sbyor* assumed that this particular procedure would continue after 814 (Fig. C).

The formulary appearing in the commentary on lexicographical entries is extremely rigorous and reflects a refined and well-established administrative organisation. Although it is common to regard this text as a lexicographical index, it also records steps relative to the procedure of ratifying a term and, as such, reveals unexpected features pertaining to the translation process. Interesting details may be inferred from the use of a particular technical phraseology or normative formulary.

The pattern samples of lexicographical entries (Fig. C) show quite clearly that each lexicographic entry may be considered as an *application* of the principles and rules stipulated in the *protocol* (Fig. A§1), thereby revealing that the text, as we have it here, representing the texts or *pseudo*-texts of 814 and 783/795, constitutes evidence of a *previous* and *later* stage of the complex translating and revising procedure.

V. Conclusions

Three repertories (vyutpatti) and three authoritative decisions (bkas bcad)

At the end of the analysis one may plausibly argue that the *sGra sbyor* preserves a complex public act, which in turn contains three distinct do-

cuments. The fact of having at hand various versions (Dunhuang, Tabo and the canonical or “*bstan ’gyur*”) shed light on text stratigraphy. It appears that the documents were successively integrated (partially or *in toto*, at this stage we cannot decide) at the occasion of issuing the public act when, following a procedure in common use, the preceding edict or authoritative decision (*bkas bcad*) was reconfirmed.

The three authoritative decisions (*bkas bcad*) relative to the codification of Tibetan language for use of ecclesiastic and religious matters (*chos kyi skad*) were ratifying the terminology (*miñ du btags rnams*) and methodological principles for translating Buddhist texts (*dha rmma bsgyur ba’i thabs/dam pa’i chos bsgyur ba’i lugs*) in successive stages and in various degrees of complexity. Out of this process, three systematic collections were published, known by later tradition as *Mahāvvyutpatti/Bye brag tu rtogs byed chen po*, *Madhyavyutpatti/Bye brag tu rtogs byed ’briñ po* or *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* and *Svalpavyutpatti/ Bye brag tu rtogs byed chuñ ñu* (Appendix I, p. 324). While the first two are well known, the “Small Repertory” (*Svalpavyutpatti*), although mentioned in Tibetan literature, has so far been a subject of conjecture; its long history far exceeds the scope of the present article. Zuihō Yamaguchi (1979) suggested that this “short list” of words could possibly have been merged into the great repertory, the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, and that this could have been the reason that induced later authors to consider this text as lost¹²⁶.

¹²⁶ Simonsson shared this opinion, see 1957: 277 estimating “Was die *Kṣudravvyutpatti enthalten haben mag, wissen wir allerdings nicht”, op. cit. 233, n. 1. On “Kṣudravvyutpatti” see Simonsson, op. cit. 263 and Uray 1989: 3, n. 3. We adopt the reading “svalpa” of Ishikawa 1990: 127 n. 6, based on the equivalent of MvyS.

¹²⁷ It is worth noting that (s)Ka ba dPal brtsegs, the learned lo tsā ba credited with having played a central role “as compiler of the *Mahāvvyutpatti*” (Sørensen 1994: 399 and nn. 1357 and 1360), is not mentioned in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa*. Instead dPal brtsegs appears in the introductory part of the lHan dkar catalogue, see Lalou 1953: 316 “Index des traductions des *āgama* et des *śāstra* du palais de Ldan kar, au Stod-thañ, fait par Dpal-brtsegs et Nam-mkha’i-sñiñ-po...” Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 209, n. 9.

The small/concise repertory (Svalpavyutpatti)

Now, we have seen that the diplomatic analysis of the *sGra sbyor* has revealed the existence of an earlier and first authoritative decision concerning principles fixed at the occasion of the translation of the *Ratnamegha*. Also we have seen that upon close examination (*supra* p. 301 and Fig. D p. 331-332), the *Ratnamegha* (and the *Laṅkāvatāra*) possibly functioned as source of inspiration for the *Mahāvvyutpatti*. From this we can surmise that the list of words excerpted from the *Ratnamegha* together with their Tibetan equivalents might have been the writing/text drawn in application of the first authoritative decision, eventually known as the “small/concise repertory” or “repertory consisting in short sections” (*Svalpavyutpatti*).

It appears evident that the lists of terms and section on terminology were required as preliminary material that was further on collated and merged into larger repertories or manuals. Such lists, some of which are bilingual, are kept in the Dunhuang collection and among the collection of Buddhist manuscripts of Central Asia. This material was primarily used or destined to be used by teachers. Evidence of this fact is attested in the *Chos kyi rnam graṅs kyi brjed byañ* of dPal brtsegs¹²⁷, a commentary on his *Chos kyi rnam graṅs*. dPal brtsegs states that the terms collected are excerpted from different *sūtra* and *śāstra*, such as the *Śatasahasrikāprajñāpāramitā* and the *Yogācāra* [*bhūmi* of Asaṅga?], and explained for the purpose that those persons who have difficulties in the various teachings will be able to understand easily the meaning of [Buddha] Scripture or Word¹²⁸. lCañ skya Rol pa'i rdo rje (1717-1786), in his *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuñ gnas* advocating authoritative principles for translating Buddhist texts from Tibetan into Mongolian, recapitulates the main lines fixed in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* and lists the works having inspired his treatise. Among them he mentions “the large and small *Vyutpattis* (*Bye brag rtogs*

¹²⁸ See Tōhoku N° 4263, Vol. Jo, fol. 289a5-294b6 and Tōhoku 4362, vol. Jo, fol. 231b7-232a1: *de la chos kyi rnam par graṅs kyi brjed byañ źes bya ba ni mdo sde dañ bstan bcos dañ | źes rab 'bum dañ | yo ga cā rya la sogs pa gźuñ tha dad pa mañ po'i nañ nas don 'dus pa'i tshig 'jebś 'jebś mdo tsam btus te | chos mañ po ñan mi nus pa'i gañ zag rnamś kyiś tshegs chuñ ñus gsuñ rab kyi don rtogs par bya ba dañ |rañ gi lus gźig pa'i mtshan ñid la mkhas par bya ba'i phyir bstan pa'o ll*

¹²⁹ See Seyfort Ruegg 1973: 251 and n. 32, 259: *ka cog sogs lo tstsha ba du mas mdo las 'byuñ ba'i miñ gi rnam bźag du ma bśdus pa bye brag rtogs byed che cheñu |*

byed)” attributed to “Ka ba, Cog ro and many other translators”. They are “respectively an extended and a condensed systematic list of words (*miñ gi rnam b’zag*) occurring in the *sūtra*”¹²⁹. Hadano (1983: 317) goes a step further and links the terminological list of dPal brtsegs to the “small” (*chuñ nu*) *vyutpatti*.

The large/great repertory (Mahāvyutpatti)

If the Sanskrit title “*Mahāvyutpatti*” seems to be attested for the first time in the *Chos ’byuñ* of Ņañ Ral Ņi ma ’od zer (1136-1204), the term *bye brag tu rtogs pa*, the Tibetan equivalent of *vyutpatti*, is recorded *ad* MvyS 7496, a passage which however cannot be dated, since we do not know if the lexical entry at hand today represents the text redacted *sine varietur*. There is no doubt that the *sGra sbyor* refers to the *Mahāvyutpatti* and calls it simply a “register” (*dkar chag*, Appendix I, pp. 317a) at the time of the third and last authoritative decision of 814. On the other hand, at the time of the second or middle *bkas bcad* of 795/783, the [*Mahā*]vyutpatti

¹³⁰ The term *dkar chag* may also designate an “inventory” (Latin *inventorium*), especially in case of shrines, temples, but also profane registers and inventories, as recorded in several Dunhuang manuscripts. Interesting enough, the Tabo version has “*dkar gnag*” (MvyS *kṛṣṇa-śukla*, “virtuous and evil [groups]” or “black and white”), possibly metonymic of Yama, register recalling good and evil actions to the dead. Cf. Pelliot tib 126, Macdonald-Spanien 1971: 372 “Lorsque Yama fera comparaitre les morts devant lui, ils auront beau s’excuser et se repentir, Yama lira son registre (*dkar-chag*)...” Yama, the “judge of all souls” in the *Mahābhārata*, is known as such by Vasubandhu: see *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* ed. Pradhan p. 123.12. On the “register of good and evil” in the Chinese context, see KUO 1994: 91-92.

¹³¹ Cf. Panglung 1994: 165 and 171 “This is the first *bam-po* of the so-called *sGra-sbyor* in which the terms for translating the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna texts formerly had been fixed and codified”. When the canonical version reads “Given that previously [some] lexical entries (*skad kyi miñ*) have not been [formally] decided/ratified (*šnon gtan la ma phab pa*) nor fixed as terms (*miñ du ma thog pa*), [the treatise gives here] at first (*dañ po*) the explanation/exegesis (*bśad pa*) [in conformity with the meaning and derivation as] found in the Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna treatises and used/applied in the grammatical treatises (... *las theg pa che chuñ gi gzuñ dañ sgra’i gzuñ las ’byuñ ba dañ sbyar te...*)”. Or with minor changes, as in Simonsson 1957: 262 “[Hier beginnt] das erste [Kapitel des *Sgra sbyor*], in dem die Wörter der Sprache — während sie früher kodifiziert und als Termini festgelegt worden waren — [jetzt] in Übereinstimmung (*sbyar te*) mit dem, was in den Schriften des Mahāyāna und des Hīnayāna und in den Sprachbüchern vorzufinden ist, erklärt werden”. Cf. *supra* p. 279.

is referred to as the “register of words” (*skad kyi dkar chag, bstan ’gyur* and Dh, Appendix I, p. 323a) or “register” (*dkar gnag*, Tabo Appendix I, pp. 323b), where the terminology translated and fixed according to rules and principles prescribed by order was entered. The term *dkar chag* could have been translating the Sanskrit *sūci-pattra*, *’lipti?* meaning “index, table of contents”. In the *sGra sbyor* we translate the term as “register” (Latin *registrum*), a term which connotes the underlying legal procedure¹³⁰.

The middle repertory (Madhyavyutpatti) or “On the use of words” (sGra sbyor)

If we agree with the fact that the Tabo manuscript of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* is a copy of the text dated 795/783, then this copy bears the first evidence of the text’s title as it was subsequently formulated by the compilers of the Tibetan canon. The passage in question presents some variant readings (Appendix I, p. 323)¹³¹. Instead of “*g’zuñ dañ sgra’i g’zuñ las ’byuñ ba dañ sbyar te bśad pa*” (*bstan ’gyur* version, see loc. cit.) the Tabo version has “*g’zuñ gi dañ | sgra sbyord du bśad pa*”. It is difficult at this stage to decide whether or not the *bstan ’gyur* reading represents an enlargement of the reading as attested in the Tabo fragment or if, on the contrary, the Tabo reading represents a contraction of a previous reading as attested in the *bstan ’gyur* version. Interesting enough, this passage is not kept in the Dunhuang manuscript, a fact which tends to indicate that the Tabo passage could show later interpolation (?) or an alternative textual stage. Further analysis shows that reference to the work of emending previous terminology according to formally established principles (*lugs*), appears in the *dispositive* of the third authoritative decision, or the 814 “*bkas bcad*” (Annex I, p. 318a). Again, the middle or 795/783 *bkas bcad* speaks of “methods or principles for translating Buddhist texts” (*dha rmma bsgyur ba’i thabs, dam pa’i chos bsgyur ba’i lugs*, Annex I, p. 323), obviously alluding to the normative principles and methods destined for translators, that is the *sGra sbyor*. Particularly striking is the fact that even the first authoritative decision refers to formally established methods (*gtan la phab pa’i lugs*, Annex I, p. 321) for translating.

Texts (register/vyutpatti) and authoritative decisions (decree/edict/bkas bcad)

It appears quite normal that lists of words and dispositions, if not manuals regulating the translations, existed already from the time of the first vague codification — that is, the beginning of the institution of Buddhism in Tibet — as *texts* made in application of high authority's *decision*. Although the register of words (*dkar chag*) and the manual regulating the use of words (*sgra sbyor*) were produced in stages corresponding to the respective authoritative decisions, and although three different texts were compiled in application of the three authoritative decisions or edicts (*bkas bcad*), it should be stressed that the *texts/repertories* (*vyutpatti*) are collections of writing while the *bkas bcad* are edicts, or decrees, having force of law. The written document, or charter, stipulating the three decrees has survived until today in archives or collections and is physically kept together with three repertories (*vyutpatti*) of which the first and “Small Repertory” (*Sval-*

¹³² Nān ral, *Chos 'byuñ* p. 421.7-10 ... *shar gyi bsgyur ba rnams ni mi ñams par bya ba dañ | phyis 'gyur slob pa rnams la phan pa'i yan lag tu | <..... > rta che chuñ dañ | bka' bcad dañ | dkar chag gi yi ge gsum yañ mdzad do* || Cf. Uray 1989: 7. The parallel passage in Bu ston has been translated by Sørensen 1994: 412, cf. Petech 1996: 151 “The revised languages were made in three codices”. The translation is correct, but needs some explanation. This passage seems to be drawn from CHBY, 145a [*Chos 'byuñ* of Bu ston]. It refers to the two volumes (*bam po*) of the *Sgra sbyor gnyis pa*, plus the no longer extant “Lesser *Mahāvvyutpatti*” (Bye brag tu rtogs byed chung ngu)...” However this does not correspond to Bu ston (*Chos 'byuñ* fol. 891.6-892.1 *shar bsgyur ba rnams skad gsar bcad kyis kyañ gtan la phab ciñ | bkas bcad rnam pa gsum mdzad de | sde pa bye brag tu gzi thams cad yod smra las gžan dañ gsañ bshags rnams ma sgyur cig ces bkas bcad do || than bre dañ srañ dañ zo la sogs pa'an rgya gar dañ mthun par bcas so* ||), nor to Simonsson, loc. cit. q.v.

¹³³ See *supra* p. 303 and n. 123. For instance, the colophon appended to the *Lalitavistara* and quoted by Simonsson (1957: 224 footnote) attests the phraseology in question here. *ll rgya gar gyi mkhan po ji na mi tra dañ | dā na śī la dañ | mu ne bar ma dañ | źu chen gyi lo tsā ba ban de ye śes sdes bsgyur ciñ źus te | skad gsar bcad kyis kyañ bcas nas gtan la phab pa* || “The Indian Masters (*mkhan po*, *upadhya*) Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Munivarman and the Translator (*lo tsā ba*) [in charge of] Great Revision (*źu chen*) Venerable (*ban de*) Ye śes sde translated, corrected and fixed/ratified [the *ne varietur* version] after having made [the Tibetan translation] in conformity with the decision relative to the new language”.

¹³⁴ Cf. *supra* p. 286-287. On this expression see Simonsson 1957: 226-232 and Scherrer-Schaub 1992: 212 and n. 20 (ref). Cf. Stein 1983: 149-151, Seyfort Ruegg 1998: 121-122 and 121, n. 13.

pavyutpatti) for various reasons disappeared and merged into successive textual stages. A passage in the *Chos 'byuñ me tog sñiñ po* of Ñaṅ ral seems to be a faint echo of this fact: “With the scope of perfecting (*mi ñams par*) the translations [performed] earlier and as a section/supplement (*yan lag*) to assist teachers (*slob pa rnams*) in future time, the large and small [registers? *vyutpatti?*] and the decrees (*bkas bcad*) [relative to the codification of language in religious matter were produced and promulgated] and three texts of [these?] register(s) (*dkar chag gi yi ge gsum*) were made”¹³².

The decision relative to the new language (skad gsar bcad)

That former translations were corrected and revised according to terminology and principles fixed and established for the new language (*skad gsar*) is a fact known also through the record of texts' colophons¹³³. The expression *skad gsar bcad*¹³⁴ refers here to the new language, that is the terminology and normative principles followed in the *revision of former translations*. This expression, discussed at length by authors and attested in colophons of Dunhuang manuscripts, was certainly taken from a passage of the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* kept in all versions and apparently unnoticed up until now. Variant readings show again that the Tabo manuscript represents an earlier and/or alternative tradition. The expression occurs in two clauses, restricting the executive power of the colleges appointed to the office of translating, seen before (*supra* p. 288). The Tabo version, although referring to the work of forming expressions for translating a process currently in use at the time, does not speak of fixing “**new terms**” (*miñ/myiñ gsar du 'dogs*), nor of terms in the “**new language**” (*skad gsar du miñ/myiñ gdags*), as the Dunhuang and canonical versions do (Appendix I, p. 322, ll. 3-8 and p. 323, ll. 4-8). This fact nicely fits with the change in titulature and ecclesiastic chancery procedure occurred in the 814 *bkas bcad*.

We can thus confidently sum up as follows. The *institution* of translating Buddhist texts was rigorously organized right from the beginning, i. e. from the time it was founded under the ægis of Śāntarakṣita, the Bengali teacher, philosopher and high rank ecclesiastic, assisted by Ananta,

¹³⁵ On Sañ śi, see Seyfort Ruegg 1989: 60, 62 and n. 116.

the Kashmiri bilingual or polyglot Brahman and other scholars (possibly Sañ śi, no matter who was concealed under this name)¹³⁵. As Tibetan historiography attests, Buddhist texts in Tibetan were extant and circulating in Tibet already before the arrival of Śāntarakṣita. These texts possibly included the *Ratnamegha* and the *Laṅkāvatāra*, even if historiographical tradition did not count these among the five *mahāyānasūtra* supposedly circulating at the time of Khri lDe gtsug btsan (r. 704-755?). This material served as the point of departure for Śāntarakṣita's efforts and was soon revised as a consequence of the intellectual and scholarly discussions of the time.

Probably the first and earliest authoritative decision, the “small list” (*Svalpavyutpatti*) of terms, and the unspecified methods (*lugs*) of translating date to this epoch, as the Dunhuang and canonical version claim (and possibly even the first list of texts). As we have seen the Tabo *sGra sbyor* version attributes this event to the epoch of the Ancestors (*yab mes*). Whether recasting history or not, this could have been determined by the fact that the earliest unspecified and vague authoritative decision may have had two stages or phases. During the first decades of the VIIIth century when Buddhism flourished under the reign of Khri lDe gtsug btsan and religious sites were instituted by the King in the wake of military success (Kwa cu in Brag dmar, after the fall of the Chinese eponym town, for instance), monks from bordering countries, Khotan, Gilgit and China (lHo bal?)¹³⁶ were reaching Tibet, certainly carrying with them Buddhist texts and possibly religious implements. This much is perfectly in line with the widespread and perennial Buddhist narrative *cliché*. Bogoslovskij resumes this period gleaned passages from various Tibetan historiographers:

Sous le règne de Khri-lde-gcug-brtan déjà, s'était manifestée une violente recrudescence bouddhique [political incorrectness from the part of the author or translator?] dans le pays. La tradition attribue à ce bean-po l'édification de nombreux temples, l'invitation de prédicateurs bouddhistes et la protec-

¹³⁶ *lho bal* that is “non-Tibetan barbarians, including Sogdians. Azha, Mthong-khyab, Chinese, etc.”: see Takeuchi 1992, n. 5 with reference to Richardson 1983 and Takeuchi 1984.

¹³⁷ Bogoslovskij (1972: 52-53 and notes) represents a good and useful *résumé* — things of course are much more complicated when collating Tibetan historiography.

¹³⁸ Uray 1990: 423. Sørensen 1994: 303, n. 920 and Appendix n. 920.

tion des traducteurs des textes sacrées: “Il [Khri-lde gcug-brtan V. B.] invita des moines du pays de Li [Khotan, V. B.] et de nombreux autres de Chine” écrit l’auteur des “Annales bleues”. A la fin de son règne, “Sañ-si et d’autres hommes, quatre en tout, furent envoyés en Chine pour étudier les écrits canoniques”. Là, ils rencontrèrent le chef des bouddhistes chinois Hva-çañ et furent aussi reçus avec honneur par l’empereur.

Dès le début du VIII^e siècle, les moines bouddhistes, fuyant les invasions arabes au Sian-Kiang [sic, *ego*] et en Asie centrale, arrivèrent en foule au Tibet. Khri-lde gcug brtan et son épouse chinoise Kin-tch’eng [Kiñ šeñ, *ego*] les accueillirent de façon assez bienveillante, à en croire certaines sources; ils leur construisirent des temples et leur procurèrent les produits indispensables. Par contre, la population tibétaine demeurait sourde à la voix du bouddhisme. On lit dans les sources tibétaines: “Bien que le bcan-po (Khri-lde gcug-brtan) ait exalté la Doctrine, aucun Tibétain ne reçut l’ordination”. “On invita des moines du pays Li et on leur témoigna du respect, mais aucun Tibétain n’entra dans les ordres”. Bien plus, l’hostilité envers les moines étrangers grandit au sein du peuple jusqu’à une révolte ouverte qui entraîna l’expulsion hors du pays non seulement des nouveaux-venus, mais aussi de leurs protecteurs tibétains. Les sources tibétaines que nous avons entre les mains contiennent un compte-rendu pittoresque de la destinée des moines fuyards. La réaction anti-bouddhique du peuple tibétain y est liée à une épidémie de variole qui aurait frappé en particulier l’épouse chinoise du bcan-po, Kin-tch’eng”¹³⁷.

If monks left Khotan between 730 and 740¹³⁸ (at the same epoch Tibetans were in Gilgit), some decades earlier when the ideology propagated by the *Ratnamegha* (and the *Mahāmegha*) was possibly circulating in Tibet (*supra* p. 301), texts and implements from Bru źa/Gilgit could have reached Tibet in the wake of the first Tibetan raid in these regions, dated 719/720 (*supra* n. 41). Sheer coincidence or not, the Buddhist bronze of Jayamañgalavikramādityanandi I of the Paṭola Śāhi dynasty (v. Hinüber 1996 and forthcoming), kept in the Jokhang of IHasa, is dated 706/707. It represents “Lokeśvara in his mountain home Potalaka”, a figure who could have concurred to form the mythical paradigm of the Bodhisattva-king¹³⁹.

¹³⁹ Cf. *supra* p. 274, n. 41.

¹⁴⁰ On the institution of Dharma Colleges, see Uebach 1990; Cf. Sørensen 1994: 412-413 and notes.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1989: 62, n. 118 and 73.

Proposing dates

Later on, at the time of Śāntarakṣita, the texts that had been previously circulating when Buddhism was not yet institutionalised in Tibet, were collected and exhibited to the Great Bengali Teacher who, assisted by Ananta and Sañ śi (?), reviewed the extant Tibetan material and compared it with the “Indian” and other “originals” near at hand. This first informal revision may have been the occasion for the first authoritative decision, approximatively dating it at **763** →, i.e. the year of Śāntarakṣita’s arrival in Tibet or a little later.

If we turn now to the second or middle *bkas bcad*, we observe that this decision must have occurred **after** the foundation of bSam yas and the colleges (*gra*, *grva*)¹⁴⁰, since these are mentioned in the Tabo version representing the text or pseudo-text of 795/783 (Appendix I, p. 321 and 323), However, this decision must have been taken **prior to** the bSam yas debate (792-794?) since the principle of authority appealing to Nāgārjuna¹⁴¹ and Vasubandhu and issued **after** the bSam yas debate is not mentioned in the Tabo version. Hence, despite objections raised earlier (*supra* pp. 289-292), the date **783** for the issuing of the second and **middle bkas bcad** of Khri sroñ lDe btsan would conform to the results of diplomatic analysis.

Institution of translation of Buddhist texts: a work in progress

Tradition maintains, that the institution was initiated under the ægis of Śāntarakṣita, the intellectual (*mkhas pa*) and high ecclesiast (*mkhan po*) who presided over intellectual and liturgical matters. The methods and tools for translating and collecting Buddhist texts were developed in stages. From the start there were prototypes of what we know nowadays as *Mahāvvyutpatti* and *Madhyavyutpatti* or *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* existing as registers of words, methodological guidelines and critical lists of lexical entries. Unauthorized, personal and unbridled initiative, as well as lack of source material, compelled the high authorities to take specific decisions. A chancery procedure, flanked with an increasingly important bureaucracy and deliberative body, was instituted. The *sGra sbyor*’s text

tradition summarizes this and the diplomatic analysis brings out following results.

1. The first authoritative decision.

1.1. *Date.* In 763 or a little later, during the reign of Khri lde sroñ btsan ⇒ Antecedents at the epoch of 'Dus sroñ and Khri lDe gtsug btsan.

1.2. The decision stipulated the normative principles fixed on the occasion of translating (retranslating and revising) the *Ratnamegha* and the *Lañkāvatāra*, having led to lists of words, that are possibly merged in the large repertory (*Mahāvīyutpatti*) at hand today.

1.3. An informal committee of translator(s) (*lo tsā ba*) and scholar(s) (*mkhas pa*) participated in the decision in the presence of the sovereign.

2. The second or middle authoritative decision.

2.1. *Date.* 783, reign of Khri sroñ lde btsan.

2.2. The decision formally fixed or ratified the methods/normative principles for translating Buddhist texts and creating Tibetan terms (equivalent to the corresponding) Indian (lexical) entries destined to be entered in *a register*. Prohibitive and restrictive clauses (*supra* p. 286) completed the decision.

2.3. The Emperor (*btsan po*) and the council of ministers issued the decision.

2.4. A special chancery procedure for creating Tibetan terms was instituted under the authority of the Commissioner of the Bhagavat (*bcom ldan 'das rin lugs*) officiating in the college of translators (*dar ma bsgyur ba'i lo tsā ba'i grar*), who had to refer to the supreme authority (*btsan po*). See *supra* p. 288.

¹⁴² The Tabo fragment preserves fol. *śa* (corresponding to fol. 27 of numeral pagination and to the entry <caturnmahārājakāyikā>, Tabo fol. *śa verso* l. 6 = *bstan 'gyur* fol. 157b1), showing that the size of the lexicographic commentary must have been nearly the same. If we look at the introductory part of the *sGra sbyor*, the situation changes. On a rough estimate (counting syllables), the Tabo version is a third less than the corresponding *bstan 'gyur* part. In comparison if we calculate the proportion between the Dunhuang manuscript and the *bstan 'gyur* version, we arrive at the conclusion that Dunhuang is minimally shorter in size; the difference is roughly that of three lines of text or so. If the Tabo manuscript represents a copy of the text of the second authoritative decision, then we may plausibly admit that later additions mainly concerned the introductory part.

3. The third and last authoritative decision.

3.1. *Date*. 814, reign of Khri lDe sroñ btsan, *alias* Sad na legs.

3.2. *The register* of terms translated from Sanskrit into Tibetan is homologated and established as an official document. It may be inferred that before this *several (non-homologated) registers* were circulating.

3.3. The procedure for creating and *fixing a new term* is subject to specific principles of scriptural authority, appealing to Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu and other Indian authors, as far as the exegesis is concerned, and to the Indian grammatical tradition, as far as syntax and grammar is concerned.

3.4. Enlargement of the methodological guidelines fixed by the second or middle authoritative decision of 783.

3.5. The chancery procedure is more refined and the offices and officers are subject to various changes. The Bhagavat's representative is flanked by a committee (*mdun sa*) and assisted by the college for proposals of great revision (*žu chen*) of Buddhist texts (*dharma žu chen 'tshal ba'i grvar*), that has its seat at the Imperial palace.

3.6. The fact that the text of the *bkas bcad* of 814 speaks of "great revision" (*žu chen*) means that emendation and revision (*žus*) existed before, this being confirmed by colophons (cf. *supra* n. 133).

To sum up. In **763**→ the "small repertory" (*Svalpavyutpatti*) was composed on the basis of a previous prototype. This "small list" subsequently merged into the "large repertory" (*Mahāvyutpatti*) and disappeared into successive text-layers. In **783** the *sGra sbyor* was written down¹⁴². It was further enlarged upon and affixed to the document of the third *bkas bcad* of 814.

Finally in 814 the terminology, i. e. those entries so far included in the register of terms, was fixed *ne varietur*. The register of terms itself, however, remained open to additions and modifications. The register was officially homologated, and the text of the *sGra sbyor* reconfirming the previous authoritative decision of 783 was established as authentic. The work of translating Buddhist texts and entering new terminology continued after 814 until the fall of the Imperial dynasty, with which this unique intellectual enterprise had been so closely affiliated.

APPENDIX I

bstan 'gyur Tōh. N° 4347, vol. Co, fol. 131b1-160a7

ॐ Na mo Buddhāya //

rta'i lo la btsan po Khri lDe sroñ btsan pho brañ
sKyi'i 'On cañ rdo na bžugs /
sTod sMad kyi dmag rñiñ rjed dañ rkun chen
btul /

Gar log gi pho ñas phyag btsal /

Blon chen po Žañ Khri zur Ram śag dañ / Man
rje lHa lod la sogs pas rGya las mnañs¹ mañ po bead
de / rña dañ ba lañ² phal mo che phyag tu phul /
Žañ Blon man chad so sor bya dga' stsal ba'i

lan la / Ńi 'og gi mkhan po Ā cā rya Ji na mi tra
dañ / Su rendra bo dhi dañ / Śī lendra bo dhi dañ /
Dā na śī la dañ / Bo dhi mi tra dañ / Bod kyi mkhan
po Ratna ra kṣi ta dañ / Dharmma tā śī la dañ / lo
tsā ba mkhas par chud pa Jñā na se na dañ / Ja ya
rakṣi ta dañ / Mañju śrī varmma dañ / Ratnedra śī la
la sogs pas theg pa che chuñ las 'byuñ ba'i rGya gar
gyi skad las Bod kyi skad du **bsgyur ciñ miñ du**
btags pa rnames dkar chag tu bris te /

nam du yañ gžuñ lugs de las mi bsgyur žiñ
kun gyis bslab tu ruñ bar gyis śig ces **bka' stsal**

*Invocation symbol and
Devotion formula*

Dating formula ⇒ **814**

Narrative

Dated event ⇒ historical *lan*
*la*³

Ordinance

Prohibitive clause
Injunctive clause

¹ *mnañs* Uebach 1991: 504, n. 22: *gnañs* I.

² *ba lañ*, P: *lañ* I.

³ Uray 1975: 159.

Narrative

nas / **sñon lha sras Yab kyi riñ la** / Ā
 cā rya Bo dhi satva dañ / Ye śes dbaṅ po
 dañ / Žaṅ rGyal ñen ña bzaṅ dañ / Blon
 Khri zer śaṅ śi dañ / lo tsā ba Jñā na de va
 ko ṣa dañ / lCe Khyi 'brug dañ / Bram ze
 Ananta⁴ la sogs pas **chos kyi skad Bod la
 ma grags pa** las miñ du btags pa mañ dag
 cig mchis pa'i nañ nas kha cig chos kyi
 gźuñ dañ / vyā ka ra ṇa'i lugs dañ mi
 mthun te / mi bcos su mi ruñ ba rnams
 kyañ bcos /

Event and motives having occasioned
 the authoritative decision

Prescription relative to revision of
 improperly formed terms

skad kyi miñ gces so 'tshal gyis kyañ
 bsnan nas theg pa che chuñ gi gźuñ las ji
 ltar 'byuñ ba dañ / gna'i mkhan po chen po
 Nā gā rju na dañ / Va su bandhu la sogs
 pas ji ltar bśad pa dañ / vyā ka ra ṇa'i
 sgra'i lugs las ji skad du 'dren pa dañ yañ
 bstun te / mjal dka' ba rnams kyañ tshig so
 sor phral nas gtan tshigs kyis bśad de gźuñ
 du bris / skad rkyañ pa bśad mi 'tshal ba
 sgra bžin du bsgyur bar rigs pa rnams kyañ
sgra btsan par bgyis te miñ du btags /
 skad kha cig don bžin du gdags par rigs
 pa rnams kyañ **don btsan par bgyis te
 miñ du btags**

Principles of authority

⁴ Ananta ego: Ānanta Ferrari, Ānanda I.

Tabo fol. ka recto l. 1 ⇒

Invocation and dating formula ⇒
795/783

ཕག་གི་ལོ་ལ་ཕོ་བླ་མ་འཇུག་པའི་
bžugs //

Reconfirmation of previous authoritative decision

Authoritative decision concerning the principles of translating and establishing the terminology. Legislative and deliberative body

nas / **bTsan po'i spyan snar** Bande
chen po dPal gyi Yon tan dañ / Bande
chen po Tiñ ñe 'dzin la sogs pa yañ
'tshogs te / **rJe Blon gdan 'dzom pa**
la žus nas **dha rmma bsgyur ba'i**
thabs dañ / rGya gar gyi skad la Bod
kyi skad du miñ btags pa rnams gtan la
phab ste / **bkas bcad pa** /

dam pa'i chos bsgyur ba'i lugs ni
don dañ yañ mi 'gal la Bod skad yañ
gar bde bar gyis śig / dha rmma bsgyur
ba la rGya gar gyi skad kyi go rims las
mi bñor bar Bod kyi skad du bsgyur na
don dañ tshig tu 'brel žiñ bde na ma
bñor bar sgyur cig /

bTsan po'i spyan nar / Ban de
chen po Yon tan dañ / Ban de chen po
Tiñ ñe 'dzind dañ / Blon chen po rGyal
gzigs dañ / Blon chen po sTag ra las
stsogs pa la / **rJe Blon mol ba'i** spyā
nar / rGya gar skad las Bod skad du ...
...⁵ (2) rnams/ gtan la phab ste **bkas**
bcad pa' //

dam pa'i chos bsgyur ba'i lugs ni
don dañ / myi 'gal la Bod skad la bde
bar bya ba dañ / rGya gar skad go rims
las myi bñor bar / don dañ tshig tu
'brel par byos la sgyurd cig //

⁵ Lacuna.

Supplementary principles and rules for translating ⇒ *bstan 'gyur* fol. 132a2-132b3, Tabo and Dunhuang: omit.

bsnor na bde *zīn* go ba bskyed pa *zīg* yod na / tshigs bcad la ni rtsa ba *bzi* pa'am / drug pa'añ ruñ ste / tshigs su bcad pa gcig gi nañ na gañ bde ba bsnor *zīn* sgyur cig /

rkyañ pa la ni don gañ sñeḡs pa yan chad kyi tshig dañ don *gñis* ka la gar bde bar bsnor *zīn* sgyur cig /

skad gcig la miñ du mar 'dren pa ni ltag 'og dañ bstun la gar sñeḡs pa *bzin* du miñ thogs *śig* /

*gau ta mya*⁶ lta bu *gau*'i sgra las tshig dañ / phyogs dañ / sa dañ / 'od dañ / rdo rje dañ / ba lañ dañ / mtho ris la sogs pa rnam pa du mar sñeḡs pa dañ / *kausika* lta bu rtsva ku śa thogs pa dañ / mkhas pa dañ / pa dma la dga' ba dañ / 'ug pa dañ / mdzod ldan la sogs pa'i sgra'i lugs las drañs śiñ bsgyur na sna grañs mañ po *zīg* tu sñeḡs la /⁷ bsgyur ba rnam gcig ni nañ du ni sna grañs de kun 'dur yañ mi btub ste / gcig tu chad par byar yañ gtan tshigs chen po med pa rnam ni mi bsgyur bar rGya gar skad so na *zōg* cig /

gar yañ drañ du ruñ ba'i tshig cig byuñ na / phyogs gcig tu chad par mi bsgyur bar spyir sñeḡs su ruñ bar gyis *śig* /

yul dañ / sems can dañ / me tog dañ / rtsi śiñ la sogs pa'i miñ bsgyur na yid gol *zīn* tshig mi bde ba dañ / 'ol spyir bsgyur du ruñ yañ don du de ltar yin nam ma yin gtol med pa rnam la / mgo la yul *ze'am* / me tog ces pas la sogs pa gañ la bya ba'i miñ gcig bla thabs su snon la rGya gar skad so na *zōg* cig /

grañs la rGya gar skad *bzin* du bsgyur ba dge sloñ brgya phrag phyed dañ bcu gsum *zes* 'byuñ ba la sogs pa ni stoñ ñis brgya lña bcu *zes* tha mal par Bod skad du kyi lugs *bzin* bsgyur na don dañ yañ mi 'gal la Bod kyi skad la yañ bde bas / grañs bsdom du ruñ ba rnam Bod skad kyi lugs *bzin* du thogs *śig* /

pari dañ / *sam* dañ / *upa* lta bu la sogs te / tshig gi phrad dañ rgyan lta bur 'byuñ ba rnam bsgyur na don dañ mthun *zin* 'byor ba⁸'i thabs ni / yoñs su *ze'am* / yañ dag pa *ze'am* ñe ba *zes* sgra *bzin* du sgyur cig / don lhag par sñeḡs pa med pa rnam ni tshig gi lhad kyi bsnan mi dgos kyi don *bzin* du thogs *śig* /

rnam grañs su gtogs pa'i tshig rnam ni ma 'dom na miñ gañ Bod skad du spyir grags śiñ tshig tu gar bde bar gdags so // 'dom na so sor btags pa *bzin* du thogs *śig* /

⁶ *gau ta mya* Simonsson: *gau ta ma* I.

⁷ / DC: om. I.

⁸ *ba* Simonsson: *pa* I.

bstan 'gyur fol. 132b3

Saṅs rgyas dañ Byañ chub sems
dpa' dañ Nan thos la sogs pa že sa⁹ dañ
sko loṅ gi tshig gi rim pa ni Saṅs rgyas
la že sa'i tshig tu bsgyur / gžan la tshig
'brin po man chad tsam du byas **te** /

*Reconfirmation of previous authoritative
decision* ⇒ **763** →

sñon lha sras Yab kyi spyan snar
mkhan po dañ lo tsā ba mkhas pa
'tshogs pas / dha rmma dKon mchog
sprin dañ / Lañ kar gšegs pa bsgyur te
/ **gtan la phab pa'i lugs bžin du sgyur
cig** /

Tabo fol. ka *recto* l. 2

Saṅs rgyas dañ byañ chub sems dpa'
dañ / ñan thos nmams la rje ... dañ ...
rk (3) dañ rim pa ni rje sa'i tshig tu
bsgyur ro // gžan la tshig 'brin po man
chad tsam du bya'o //

*Reconfirmation of previous authoritative
decision* ⇒ **Khri lDe gtsug btsan (r. 712-
755)?**

gžan ni Yab myes kyi sku rin la /
mkhan po dañ lo tsa bas dar ma dKon
mchog sprin dañ / Lañ kar gšegs pa
bsgyur te **gtan la phab pa'i lugs bžin**
du sgyurd cig //

⁹ *že sa* Simonsson: *žes* I.

bstan 'gyur fol. 132b4⇒

Tabo and Dunhuang extant, see next page

skad kyi lugs 'di ltar bkas bcad pa las so so nas su yañ 'chos śiñ 'og tu **miñ gсар du 'dogs su mi gnañ gis /** bsgyur ba¹⁰ dañ 'chad pa'i grva so so nas **skad gсар du miñ gdags dgos pa žig yod na yañ /** so so'i grva grvar miñ chad par ma gdags par chos kyi gžuñ dañ sgra'i lugs las ji skad du 'byuñ ba'i gtan tshigs dañ / chos la ji skad du gdags pa dpyad de /

Prohibitive clause

Restrictive clause related to revision and formation of new terms

pho brañ du bCom ldan 'das kyi riñ lugs kyi mdun sa dañ / dha rmma žu chen 'tshal ba'i grvar phul la / **sñan du žus te bkas bcad nas skad kyi dkar chag gi dkyus su bsnan no //**

Procedure and instances of approval of a new term eventually entered in the register

gsañ sñags kyi rgyud nmams gžuñ gis gsañ bar bya ba yin te / snod du ma gyur pa nmams la bśad ciñ bstan du yañ mi ruñ la / bar du bsgyur žiñ spyod du gnañ gis kyañ / ldem po dag tu bśad pa ma khrol nas sgra ji bžin du 'džin ciñ log par spyod pa dag kyañ byuñ / sñags kyi rgyud nañ nas thu žiñ Bod skad du sgyur¹¹ ba dag kyañ byuñ žes gdags kyi / phyin chad gzuñs sñags dañ rgyud **Bla nas bka' stsal te /** sgyur du bcug pa ma gtogs pa / sñags kyi rgyud dañ / sñags kyi tshig thu žiñ bsgyur du mi gnañ no //

Ordinance

Restrictions, motives and prescriptions relative to the Tantra

¹⁰ *ba* Simonsson: *pa* I.

¹¹ *sgyur* Dh: *bsgyur* I.

Dunhuang fol. kha *recto* l. 1-5

Restrictive clause relative to revision and formation of new term

// de. las. so. so. nas. su. yañ. 'chos. śiñ. 'og. du. **myiñ. gsar. du. 'dogs** . su. myi. gñañ. gis // sgyur. ba. dañ. 'chad. pa'i. sgra. so. so. nas. **skad. gsar. du. myiñ. gdags**. dgos. pa. žig. yod. na. yañ // so'i. so'i. gra. grar. myiñ. chad. par. ma. gdags. par // chos. kyi. gžuñ. dañ. sgra'i. lugs (2) las. ji. skad. du. 'byuñ. ba'i. gtan. tsigs. dañ. chos. la // ji. skad. du. gdags. pa. dpyod. de //

Procedure and instances for approval of new term

pho. brañ. du. / bcom. ldan. 'das. kyi. riñ. lugs. kyi. 'dun. sa. dañ // dar. ma. žu. chen. 'tsal. ba'i. grar. phul. la // sñan. du. žus. te. bka's. bcad. nas // skad. kyi. dkar. cag. gi. dkyus. su (3) bsnand. to //

Ordinance

Restrictions, motives and prescriptions relative to the Tantra

sñags. kyi. rgyud. rnams. gžuñ. gis. kyañ. gsañ. bar. bya. ba. yind. te // snod. du. ma. gyurd. pa. la. bśad. ciñ. bstan. du. yañ. myi. ruñ. la // bar. du. sgyur. žiñ. spyod. du. gñañ. gis. kyañ // ldem. po. ñag. du. bśad. pa. ma. khrel. nas // sgra. bžin. du. 'dzind. ciñ (4) log. par. spyod. pa. dag. kyañ. byuñ // sñags. kyi. rgyud. kyi. nañ * nas. thu. žiñ // bod. skad. du. sgyur. ba. dag. kyañ. byuñ. žes. gda's. kyiis // phyin. cad. kyañ. gžuñ. sñags. dañ // ¹²

// **Bla. nas. bka'. stsald** . te. sgyur. du. bcug. pa. la. ma. gtogs. par (5) sñags. kyi. rgyud. dañ. sñags. kyi. tshig. thu. žiñ. sgyur. du. myi. gñaño //

bstan 'gyur fol. 132b7-133a1, Dunhuang: omits.

skad kyi miñ sñon gtan la ma phab pa dañ miñ du ma thogs pa las theg pa che chuñ gi gžuñ dañ sgra'i gžuñ las 'byuñ ba dañ sbyar te bśad pa'i **dañ po'o** //

¹² Lacuna?

Tabo fol. ka *recto* l. 4-*verso* l. 1

Restrictive clause relative to formation of term

skad gyi lugs 'di ltar bkas bcad (4) pa las / so so nas su yañ 'chos su myi gñañ bar sgyur 'chad gra so sor yañ **skad gdags** dgos pa pa¹³ žig yod na / so so'i gra grar myiñ ma 'chad par gdags par chos kyi gžuñ dañ / sgra'i lugs las ji skad 'byuñ ba gtan tshigs dañ / chos la gdags par byos žig // 'di dag bsgyur ba'i (5) myiñ smrañ yañ /

Procedure and instances for approval of term

pho brañ du bcom ldan 'das kyi riñ lugs dañ / dar ma bsgyur ba'i lo tsha ba 'i grar gtugs la /

sñand tu žus te bkas bcad nas dkar gnag gi skyus su yañ bsnand no //

Ordinance

Restrictions, motives and prescriptions relative to the Tantra

sñags kyi rgyud rnams ni gžuñ gis kyañ / gsañ bar bya ba yin te // snod du ma gyurd (6) pa la bśad ciñ bstand tu yañ / myi ruñ bas / ldem po [d / ñ]ag las log par go na skyon yod pas / **sñand tu žus te / bka's gñañ nas** sñags bsgyur ba yañ mkhas pa rab kyiis don ma nord par sgyur la / sñags sñon grags pa bžin gžuñ ma nord¹⁴ par gyis žig // sñags bsgyur ba / yañ (ka,v,1) gtan la [m]y[i] gñañ / ño

skad kyi myiñ sñon gtand la phab pa dañ myiñ du btags pa theg pa che chu ñu gi gžuñ dañ / sgra sbyord du bśad pa'i **bam po dañ po** //

¹³ Ditto?

¹⁴ -d subscript.

Colophon

bstan 'gyur fol. 160a4-7, Tabo, Dunhuang: omit.

Mahāvvyutpatti Bye brag tu rtogs byed chen po / **Madhyavyutpatti** Bye brag tu rtogs byed 'briñ po / **Svalpavyutpatti** Bye brag tu rtogs byed chuñ ñu / **Vacavyutpatti** sKad bye brag tu bśad pa 'di ni 'briñ po'o // chen po'i dka' ba'i gnas [chos]¹⁵ dañ sgra'i gźuñ dañ sbyar te bśad pa'i **Pañjikā Madhyavyutpatti** yin no //

pho brañ 'On cañ rdor Bod dañ rGya gar mkhan po thams cad kyis **chos skad gtan la phab ste / rJe Blon mol nas** reg zeg¹⁶ du mdzad pa **skad gsar gyi miñ sñon ma thogs pa dañ / gtan la ma phab pa** la mkhas pa rnams 'tshogs te **miñ du btags śiñ gtan la phab ste /**

Eschatocol

Ratification of new terminology

IHa bTsan po Khri lDe sroñ btsan gyis bskul nas

bkas bcad de mi bcos par bźag pa rdzogs so //

Authoritative confirmation and authentication of the Imperial decree

bkas bcad pa bla dpe bźin bris pa gźan gyis kyañ de bźin du zur ma bcos so //

Document authentication or validation

sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa'o //

Explicit

¹⁵ Cf. Simonsson 263, n. 5.

¹⁶ *reg zeg* ego: *reg zid* I.

APPENDIX II

India Office fragment, I. O. tib J 76, part V, fol. 63a-63b
 Book form, 21.9 c. × 15.3 c., ll. 8, see La Vallée Poussin 1962: 31a-32a.
 Pelliot tib. 845, 9 folii, pagination by letter-numerals, well-formed highly refined small squared script, red rubrics. *gi gu log, ya btags, da drag*, intersyllabic *tsheg*.
poṭhi form, binding holes with circles, 13.2 x 65.8, ll. 8,
 Cf. Lalou 1939, N° 845 ⇒ fol. 'a, recto, l. 1-2
 Tabo RN° 129: *deest*
bsTan 'gyur, sDe dge, Tōhoku N° 4347, vol. Co, fol. 154a4-5
 Ishikawa 1990: 98

fol. 63b1 bya | : | *MvyS 4239, Mdhvy 297* da. ra. ni¹ . źes. bya. ba | a. rba. gran.
 than . | dha. ra. ya. rī. tī. dha. ra. ni² . źes. bya. ste || sñags. kyi. chos. gi. don.
 dañ. tshig. myi. brjed. par. 'dzin. ciñ. khyad. bar. gi. rim. pa. (2) thob. par. 'gyur.
 ba'i. myiñ. ste | gzuñs. źes. bya. | : | *MvyS 4240, Mdhvy 298* man. ta . la . źes.
 bya. ba. || sñiñ. po. 'am. dbyiñs. sam. dkyil. la. bya. | la. ni. a_{da} ni³
 <
>.l. 7 ལྷ ལྷ || sañs. rgyas. dañ | byañ. chub. sems. dpa'. thams.
 cad. la. phyag. 'tshal. lo ||

¹ Recte: *dhā ra nī*.

² Recte: *artha-grantham dhārayatīti dhāraṇī*. Cf. *Abhisamayālamkāraloka*, ed. Wogihara p. 98: *smṛtir hi granthārtha-dhāraṇena dhārayatīti kṛtvā dhāraṇī-saṃbhāra itī*.

³ The *gi gu* is traced. Recte: *mañ ḍa la źes bya ba || sñiñ po 'am dbyiñs sam dkyil la bya | lā ni ā dā ne* (see Verhagen 1994: 42).

Reading the sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa as a charter

§1 **Protocol** [*bstan 'gyur* Tōh. N° 4347, vol. *Co*, fol. 131b1-160a7. Tabo and Dunhuang partially extant]
Decree(s) and ratification
Prescriptions and rules

☞ Na mo Buddhāya || rta'i lo la btsan po Khri lDe sroñ btsan Pho brañ sKyi'i 'On cañ rdo na bźugs l

→ continues

← ends with

|| sñags kyi rgyud dañ sñags kyi tshig thu žiñ bsgyur du mi gñañ ño ||

§2 **Main Body** [*bstan 'gyur* fol. 133a1-160a4. Tabo and Dunhuang are fragmentary]

I Application: Derivation of words according to normative prescriptions

skad kyi miñ sñon gtan la ma phab pa dañ miñ du ma thogs pa las theg pa che chuñ gi gźuñ dañ sgra'i gźuñ las 'byuñ ba dañ sbyar te bśad pa'i dañ po'o||l

sañs rgyas kyi mtshan dañ yon tan gyi miñ la sogs pa || skad dka' ba rnams thog thog bśad pa || sañs rgyas kyi mtshan gyi rnam grañs la l

buddhaḥ žes bya ba sgra las drañs na gcig tu na | *mohanidrā-pramatta-buddha-puruṣavat* ces bya ste | gti mug gi gñid sañs pas na mi gñid sañs pa bžin te | sañs pa la sñegs pa | yañ rnam pa gcig tu na | *buddher vikāśanād buddha-vibuddha-padma-vat* ces bya ste | blo bye žiñ rgyas pas na *pa dma* kha bye žiñ rgyas pa dañ 'dra bar yañ bśad de sañs rgyas šes bya'o ||
tshig gi don spyir na chos thams cad thugs su chud ciñ ma lus par byañ chub pa la bya ||

→ continues

← ends with

II Colophon [passage extant in the *bstan 'gyur* version only]

Mahāvvyutpatti Bye brag tu rtogs byed chen po / Madhyavyutpatti Bye brag tu rtogs byed 'briñ po / Svalpavyutpatti Bye brag tu rtogs byed chuñ ñu / Vacavyutpatti sKad bye brag tu bśad pa 'di ni 'briñ po'o // chen po'i dka' ba'i gnas [chos] dañ sgra'i gźuñ dañ sbyar te bśad pa'i Pañjikā Madhyavyutpatti yin no //

§3 **Eschatocol** [extant in the *bstan 'gyur* version only, fol. 160a4-7]

I Authoritative decision

pho brañ 'On cañ rdor Bod dañ rGya gar mkhan po thams cad kyis chos skad gtan la phab ste / rJe Blon mol nas reg zeg du mdzad pa skad gsar gyi miñ sñon ma thogs pa dañ / gtan la ma phab pa la mkhas pa rnams 'tshogs te miñ du btags śiñ gtan la phab ste /

II Confirmation / Validation by the King

lHa bTsan po Khri lDe sroñ btsan gyis bskul nas
bkas bcad de mi bcos par bžag pa rdzogs so //

III Document Authentication

bkas bcad pa bla dpe bžin bris pa gžan gyis kyañ de bžin du zur ma bcos so //

Explicit

sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa'o //

*Three authoritative decisions***III****814****imperial decree****II****795/783?***Post bSam yas foundation and pre- bSam yas debate?***imperial decree****I***— At the time of the Father (Yab)**Śāntarakṣita first arrives in Tibet?**763 ⇒**— At the time of the Forefathers (yab myes)**• Sroṅ btsan sgam po**Edificatory narrative?**• Khri lDe gtsug btsan? (r. 712-755)**'Dus sroṅ? (r. 676-704)**Ratnamegha and Laṅkāvatāra possibly circulated in Tibet***unspecified authoritative decision****Fig. B**

Samples of patterns for lexicographical entries

Pattern I: The term is analysed for the first time.

1. [Sanskrit term] *śes bya ba*
2. [According to the literal twofold interpretation] *sgra las drañs na*
3. [First literal interpretation] *gcig tu na*
4. [Sanskrit exegesis/derivation] *śes bya ba ste*
5. [Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit derivation] *(s)te*
6. [Tibetan meaning] *sñegs (pa)*
7. [Second literal interpretation] *yañ rnam pa gcig tu na*
8. [Sanskrit exegesis/derivation] *śes bya ba ste*
9. [Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit derivation] *(s)te*
10. [Tibetan equivalent term] *śes bya'o*

Option

11. [Common meaning of the word] *tshig gi don spyir na*
12. [Meaning of the word as it is generally known in Buddhist hermeneutics] *la bya*.

⇒ *MvyS 8 <buddhaḥ> śes bya ba sgra las drañs na gcig tu na <mohanidrā-pramatta-prabuddha-puruṣavat> ces bya ste | gti mug gi gñid sañs rgyas pas na mi gñid sañs pa bñin te | sañs pa la sñegs pa | yañ rnam pa gcig tu na | <buddher vikāśanād buddha-vibuddha-padmavat> ces bya ste | blo bye žiñ rgyas pas na pa dma kha bye žiñ rgyas pa dañ 'dra bar yañ bśad de <sañs rgyas> śes bya'o ||*

tshig gi don spyir na <chos thams cad thugs su chud cin ma lus par byañ chub pa> la bya ||¹

Pattern II: The term must be translated taking its context into account

1-6. [Word derivation ⇒ *Pattern I* §1-6]

7. [The expression in common use in previous **translations** must now be [subject to being] strictly enforced / confirmed / ratified, on the basis of word derivation out of which two distinct translations are proposed]

¹ Ishikawa 5-6, Simonsson 1957: 265-266 and 266 (ref.).

— *las snar bsgyur ba'i tshig grags pa btsan par bya ste*

[New word derivation ⇒ *following the usual pattern*]

10. [Tibetan established terms to be submitted for approval]

— *žes btags*

— *žes gdags*

⇒ *MvyS* 2 <bhagavat> *žes bya ba gcig tu na* | <bhagamāra-catuṣṭayatvād bhagavān> *žes bya ste* | bdud bži bcom pas na bcom pa *la bya* | *yan rnam pa gcig tu na* <bhaga> ni legs pa mam pa drug gi miñ ste | gzugs dañ | grags pa dañ | dbañ phyug dañ | dpal gi *spyi la bya* | <vān> *žes byuñ ba* ni <bhago'syāstīti bhagavān> *žes ldan* par bśad de | rnam grañs 'di skad du bya ba *las snar bsgyur ba'i tshig grags pa btsan par bya ste* | <bcom ldan 'das> *šes bya ba* ni mdo sde dag las sañs rgyas kyi yon tan la mtshan 'jig rten las 'das pa'o *žes kyañ 'byuñ bas na* | 'jig rten pa'i lha *bhagavat* las khyad par du <'das> *šes bla thabs su bśan te* | <bcom ldan 'das> *šes btags* | 'jig rten pa'i *bhagavat žes bya ba* ni 'jig rten pa'i gzuñ ñid las kyañ bcom par mi 'chad de | legs pa dañ ldan pa *žes 'chad* pas 'jig rten pa'i *bhagavat* ni <legs ldan> *žes gdags*²

Pattern III: The term has been previously settled but not ratified. It is now submitted, and established *ne varietur* on the basis of the previously known term, §340, after having been newly analysed.

[Word derivation ⇒ *Pattern I §1-6*]

7. [Although the twofold word derivation is possible / correct]

— *tshig 'di gñis kar yañ drañ du ruñ gis kyañ*

8. [The Tibetan term has been fixed as “...” after having been established in conformity with the term known previously]

— *śnan chad miñ du btags te grags pa bžin du bžag nas ...žes btags* |

⇒ *MvyS* <pudgala> ni <punañ punar gatiṣu liyate iti> *žes bya ste* | yañ dañ yañ lha dañ mi la sogs pa'i rgyud du skye žin sbyor bas na yañ sbyor ba *žes kyañ bya* | <pūryate galate caiva pudgalaḥ> *žes kyañ bya ste* | skyes nas dar gyi bar du ni gañ | dar yol nas ši ba'i bar du ni zag pa *la yañ bya ste* | *tshig 'di gñis kar yañ drañ du ruñ gis kyañ śnan cad miñ du btags te grags pa bžin du bžag nas* <gañ zag> *ces btags*

Pattern IV: The term is unsettled and not yet decidable. For the time being it cannot be submitted for approval for lack of arguments. The term is polysemic and several different translations exist.

[Word derivation ⇒ *Pattern I §1-6*]

² Verhagen 1994: 24-26.

7. [Since according to the written sources there is no strong argument (in favour of any of the derivations) (the term) has not been enforced / decided]

— *yi ge gzuñ dañ sbyar na gtan tshigs mi che bar 'gyur te mi btsan par byas so ll*

⇒ *MvyS* <yāma> [yāma and yama] *zes bya ba* <asuravivāda-bhayād apayātaḥ> *zes bya ba ste* | sum cu rtsa gsum pa'i ris man chad ni lha ma yin gyis 'thab pa'i 'jigs pa dañ ma bral la | 'di yan chad ni lha ma yin dañ 'thab pa'i 'jigs pa las 'das te bral bas <'thab bral>^{MvyS3080} *zes btags te* | bsod nams kyis phyin pa dañ | mel tshe thun re re la skoms śiñ skul ba'i skad 'byuñ ba dañ | *sñon* <mtshe ma> ^{MvyS 3911} dañ <zuñ ma>^{MvyS 798} *zes btags pa ni yi ge gzuñ dañ sbyar na gtan tshigs mi che bar 'gyur te mi btsan par byas so ll*

Fig. C

Ratnameghasūtra and Mahāvvyutpatti
A terminological comparison

Ratnameghasūtra, sDe dge ed., vol. lwa, fol. 1b et sq, Dh I. O. Tib 161 fol. 1a1 et sq.
MvyS, Mahāvvyutpatti, Sasaki ed., reference to the entry number

fol. 1b1	
dkon mchog sprin	MvyS 1337
fol. 1b3	
zag pa zad pa	MvyS 1075
ñon moñs pa med pa	MvyS 1076
dbañ du (fol. 1b4) gyur pa	MvyS 1077 dbañ [dañ ldan par]
fol. 1b4	
sems śin tu rnam par grol ba	MvyS 1078
śes rab śin tu rnam par grol ba	MvyS 1079
cañ śes pa	MvyS 1080
glañ po chen po	MvyS 1081
bya ba byas pa	MvyS 1082
byed pa byas pa	MvyS 1083
khur bor ba	MvyS 1084
fol. 1b5	
bdag gi don rjes su thob pa ³	MvyS 1086 rañ gi ~
srid par kun tu sbyor ba yoñs su zad pa	MvyS 1085 srid pa ~
bka ⁴ yañ dag pas sems śin tu rnam par grol ba	MvyS 1087 yañ dag pa'i śes pas sems ~
sems kyi dbañ thams cad kyi dam pa'i pha rol tu (fol. 2a1) son pa ⁵	MvyS 1088 ~ son pa thob pa
fol. 2a1	
chos kyi dbyiñs la mkhas pa	MvyS 1089
chos kyi rgyal po'i sras	MvyS 1090
sems rñed pa dañ l bkur sti thams cad dañ bral ba	MvyS 1091
legs par rab tu byuñ ba	MvyS 1092
legs par brñien par rdzogs pa	MvyS 1093
brnag pa yoñs su rdzogs pa	MvyS 1094
fol. 2a2	
mya ñan las 'da'pa'i lam la gnas pa	MvyS 1095
fol. 2a3	
skye ba gcig gis thogs pa	MvyS 806
thams cad mkhyen pa ñid la mñion du phyogs pa	MvyS 807

³ Dh fol. 1a4 *bdag gi rab tu rñed pa*

⁴ Dh fol. 1a4 idem. MvyS 1087: Skr: *samyag-ājñā-suvimukta*, Tib. *yañ dag pa'i śes pas sems śin tu rnam par grol ba*. *Ratnamegha* (*bstan 'gyur* and Dunhuang I. O. Tib. J 161, loc. cit.) reads “Skr” (*samyag-*)*ājñā*, Tib. *bka* '(yañ dag pas). MvyS, Mvy reads Skr *ājñā* with the meaning of “knowledge”, cf. *pāli aññā*). Has the MvyS' entry been revised? This needs further inquiry.

⁵ Dh fol. 1a4 *phyin pa*.

thams cad mkhyen pa ñid la g'zol ba	MvyS 808
thams cad mkhyen pa ñid la 'bab pa	MvyS 809
thams cad mkhyen pa ñid la bab pa	MvyS 810
chags pa med pa'i (fol. 2a4) gzuñs dañ tiñ ñe 'dzin thob pa	MvyS 811
fol. 2a4	
dpa' bar 'gro ba'i tiñ ñe 'dzin la śin tu gnas pa	MvyS 812
mñon par śes pa chen pos rnam par rol pa	MvyS 813
lam gyi rgyun ma bcad pa	MvyS 815
sgrib pa dañ chod pa dañ kun nas ldañ ba thams cad dañ bral ba	MvyS 814
fol. 2a5	
byams pa chen po dañ sñiñ rje chen pos phyogs bcu'i 'jig rten	
gyi kham su khyab pa	MvyS 816
sañs rgyas kyi žiñ mtha' yas par 'gro ba la mkhas pa	MvyS 817
stoñ pa ñid spyod yul ba	MvyS 818
mtshan ma med pa la gnas pa	MvyS 819
smon lam la gnas pa (fol. 2a6) thams cad dañ bral ba	MvyS 820
fol. 2a6	
sems can thams cad la phan par brtson pa	MvyS 821
sañs rgyas kyi yul thams cad la mkhas pa	MvyS 822
ye śes mtha' yas pa	MvyS 823
sems can mkha' dañ mtshuñs pa	MvyS 824
sems rgya mtsho ltar zab pa	MvyS 825
sems ri'i rgyal po ri rab (fol. 2b1) ltar mi sgul ba	MvyS 826
fol. 2b1	
sems pa dma ltar ma gos pa	MvyS 827
sems rin po che ltar śin tu yoñs su dag pa	MvyS 828
sems gser ltar śin tu yoñs su byañ ba	MvyS 829
fol. 2b2	
lag na rdo rje rin po che	MvyS omits ⇒
	MvyS 649, 655
lag na phyag rgya rin po che	MvyS 656
rin po che'i cod pa na	MvyS 657
gtsug na rin po che	MvyS 658
rin po che brtsegs pa	MvyS 659
rin po che 'byuñ gnas	MvyS 660
rin po cha'i rtse mo	MvyS 661
rin po che'i rgyal mtshan	MvyS 662
rdo rje'i sñiñ po	MvyS 663
.....⇒	MvyS 674
fol. 2b3	
spyān ras gzigs dbañ po	MvyS 645
mthu chen thob	MvyS 653
kun tu bzañ po	MvyS 648
kun nas mig	MvyS 675

Fig. D

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I.O. Tib J 76, Tib J 161, S 8212

Tabo RN° 129

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