

SERIE ORIENTALE ROMA
LXXXIII

INSCRIPTIONS FROM
THE TABO MAIN TEMPLE

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

Edited by

Luciano Petech and Christian Luczanits



ROMA

ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER L'AFRICA E L'ORIENTE

1999

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- XI. — *Un editto bilingue greco-aramaico di Aśoka*. Testo, traduzione e note a cura di G. PUGLIESE-CARRATELLI e di G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, con prefazione di G. TUCCI e introduzione di U. SCERRATO.
- XII. — LEE P.H., *Studies in the Saenaennorae: old Korean poetry*.
- XIII. — GNOLI R., *The Pramānavārttikam of Dharmakīrti*. The first chapter with autocommentary. Text and critical notes.
- XIV. — TUCCI G., *Deb t'er dmar po*. *Tibetan Chronicles*, by bSod nams grags pa, vol. I. Tibetan Text. Emendations to the Text. English Translation and an Appendix containing two Minor Chronicles.
- XV. — WYLIE T.V., *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad*.
- XVI. — CONZE E., *The Gilgit manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. Chapters 55 to 70 corresponding to the 5th Abhisamaya. Text and English translation (*Literary and Historical Documents from Pakistan*. 1).
- XVII. — GNOLI R., *Udbhāṭa's Commentary on the Kāvyaḷaṅkāra of Bhāmaha*. Sanskrit fragments from Pakistan. Edited with critical notes (*Literary and Historical Documents from Pakistan*. 2).
- XVIII. 1 — ROCK J.F., *A ¹Na-²Khi - English Encyclopedic Dictionary*. Part I.
- XVIII. 2 — ROCK J.F., *A ¹Na-²Khi - English Encyclopedic Dictionary*. Part II. *Gods, Priests, Ceremonies, Stars, Geographical Names*.
- XIX. — *A bilingual Graeco-Aramaic Edict of Aśoka*. Text, Translation and Notes by G. PUGLIESE-CARRATELLI and G. GARBINI, Foreword by G. TUCCI. Introduction by U. SCERRATO.
- XX. — GNOLI G., *Le iscrizioni Giudeo-Persiane del Gūr (Afghanistan)*.
- XXI. — AUBOYER J., *Introduction à l'étude de l'art de l'Inde*.
- XXII. — SCARCIA G., *Şifāt-Nāma-yi Darvīš Muḥammad Ḥān-i Ġāzī*. Crociata musulmana contro i Kafiri di Lagmān nell'anno 1582.
- XXIII. — TAKASAKI J., *A study on the Ratnaḡotra-vibhāga (Uttaratantra) being a treatise on the Tathāgata-garbha theory of Mahāyāna Buddhism*.
- XXIV. — RUEGG D.S., *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che, with the Tibetan text of the Bu ston rNam thar*.
- XXV. — SOPER A.C., *Chinese, Korean and Japanese bronzes*. A catalogue of the Auriti collection donated to ISMEO and preserved in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome.
- XXVI. — *Orientalia Romana*. 2, Essays and Lectures by V.S. AGRAWALA, P. BEONIO-BROCCHIERI, P. CORRADINI, L. LANCIOTTI, NAMKHAJ N. DEWANG.
- XXVII. — PENZA C., *L'Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti di Ārya-vimuktisena*. Sanskrit text.

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DIRETTA DA
GHERARDO GNOLI

Vol. LXXXIII

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As a result of Klimburg-Salter's research in Rome and her teaching in Vienna the President of then IsMEO Gherardo Gnoli, and the head of the Institute of Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, Ernst Steinkellner in 1990 formalised the co-operation regarding research in the western Himalaya and the scientific publication of its results. The success of this co-operation owes much to the continuous efforts of Luciano Petech and Maurizio Taddei; our sincere thanks also go to the Director of the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale, Donatella Mazzeo, who has always supported the co-operation by providing working space, photographs and help. Without the encouragement and the personal initiatives of all of the above mentioned, this publication would not have come about.

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the editors

As other major results of this co-operation the following publications may be mentioned:

East and West 44 (1), 1994, is dedicated to a joint mission at Tabo in 1991.

D.E. KLIMBURG-SALTER, *Tabo, A Lamp for the Kingdom. Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalaya*. London–Milan 1997.

Abbreviated Inventory of the Tucci Himalayan Photographic Archive 1928–1935. Synopsis of the Complete Catalogue kept in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale Photographic Archives. Compiled by D. KLIMBURG-SALTER, O. NALESINI & G. TALAMO, Rome 1994.

E. STEINKELLNER, *Sudhana's Miraculous Journey in the Temple of Ta pho. The inscriptional text of the Tibetan Gandavyūhasūtra edited with introductory remarks*. Serie Orientale Roma LXXVI. Rome 1995.

LIST OF PLATES

Pls. 1–8: Details of the Renovation Inscription

Pl. 9: Captions of the Entry Hall south wall

a) The caption of Ye śes 'od

b) The caption of Devarāja

Pl. 10: Captions of the Entry Hall south wall

a) rHugs 'or *dge' sloñ* dByig gi bsod nam

b) sÑel 'or *dge' sloñ 'Dul ba byañ chub*

c) Mag pi tsa dBañ phyug rten

Pl. 11: The caption identifying the protectress Wi ñu myin

Pl. 12: The quotation from the *Pratimokṣasūtra* above the Wheel of Life

Pl. 13: Detail of the Donor Assembly with the remains of captions below the seats of the donors

Pl. 14: Historical captions in the Assembly Hall

a) *gnas brtan chen po 'Dul ba chañ chub* and Gunavarman[n]

b) lCog la'i sde *dge sloñ* Mos pa bsod nam brag and [Gu] ge'i sde *smān pa brTson (...)* rin cen Mañ 'or

Pl. 15: Captions of the *rigs gsum mgon po*

a) Avalokiteśvara

b) Vajrapāṇi

Pl. 16: Captions of the Buddhas of the Ten Directions

a) The Buddha of the North, Jayendra; with traces of a previous inscription underneath

b) The Buddha of the Zenith, Nandaśrī

Pl. 17: Caption of 'Dul ba byañ chub and the Tabo *saṅgha*

Pl. 18: Three captions of the 16 Bodhisattvas

a) Candraprabha, BS6

b) Samantabhadra, BS7

c) Gandhahastin, BS14

Pl. 19: Three captions of the 16 Mahābodhisattvas

a) *Samantāvabhāsa, MBS2

b) Sāgaramati, MBS4

c) The *ye dharma*-verse, left panel of MBS12

Pl. 20: Ye śes 'od and his sons, Temple of 16 Arhats, Tholing

Pls. 21–24: Paper Inscription 1

Pl. 25: Paper Inscription 2

Pl. 26: Paper Inscription 3

LIST OF FIGURES¹

Fig. 1: The Tabo Main Temple (<i>gtsug lag khan</i>)	XII
Fig. 2: The location of the Renovation Inscription	11
Fig. 3: The western section of the Tabo Main Temple with the location of the Admonitory Inscription	31
Fig. 4: Face of the south wall separating the Assembly Hall from the Cella	31
Fig. 5: The Entry Hall (<i>sgo khan</i>)	103
Fig. 6: Entry Hall south wall; the location of the captions	104
Fig. 7: Entry Hall north wall; the location of the captions	111
Fig. 8: Entry Hall west wall; the caption identifying the protectress	114
Fig. 9: Entry Hall east wall; captions in connection with the <i>bhavacakra</i>	115
Fig. 10: The Assembly Hall (<i>'du khan</i>)	118
Fig. 11: Assembly Hall east wall	119
Fig. 12: Assembly Hall south wall	129
Fig. 13: Assembly Hall north wall	133
Fig. 14: The Cella (<i>dri gtsan khan</i>)	137
Fig. 15: The Cella walls	139
Fig. 16: The Ambulatory (<i>skor lam</i>); the triangle indicates the location of the Renovation Inscription	142
Fig. 17: The north and south walls of the Ambulatory	147
Fig. 18: Ambulatory west wall; the Eight Buddhas	160
Fig. 19: The locations of the three paper inscriptions	190
Fig. 20: Western section of the Assembly Hall north wall showing the location of Paper Inscription 1 (cf. Fig. 13)	194
Fig. 21: The locations of Paper Inscriptions 2 and 3, Assembly Hall east wall (cf. Fig. 11)	201

¹ All figures by C. Luczanits.

CONTENTS

Luciano Petech

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION _____ 1

Ernst Steinkellner & Christian Luczanits

**THE RENOVATION INSCRIPTION OF THE TABO
GTSUG LAG KHAN**

NEW EDITION AND TRANSLATION _____ 9

TEXT	16
TRANSLATION	21
APPENDIX	26
1. Spellings Different from the 'Classical Norm'	26
2. Metaphors and Similes	26
BIBLIOGRAPHY	28

Helmut Tauscher

**THE «ADMONITORY INSCRIPTION» IN THE
TABO 'DU KHAN _____ 29**

INTRODUCTION	29
Location and General Description	29
Palaeographic and Orthographic Peculiarities	31
Identification and Contents	34
Consideration of Textual Criticism	41
Religio-Political Significance	47
General Remarks on the Edition	49
TEXT	52
TRANSLATION	75
BIBLIOGRAPHY	92

Christian Luczanits

**MINOR INSCRIPTIONS AND CAPTIONS IN THE
TABO GTSUG LAG KHAN _____ 95**

ENTRY HALL	103
South Wall	104
North Wall	111
The Protectress	114
Captions at the bhavacakra	114
ASSEMBLY HALL	118
Donor Assembly	119
Rows of Donors	121
Fragments of an Inscription on the Lintel	124

The Protectors of the Three Families	124
The Buddhas of the Ten Directions	126
The Pilgrimage of Sudhana	135
The Life of the Buddha	135
CELLA	137
The Cella Buddhas	137
AMBULATORY	142
Captions on the Picture Accompanying the Renovation	
Inscription	143
Donor Depiction to the Right of the Cella	145
The 32 Bodhisattvas	147
The Sixteen Bodhisattvas	148
The Sixteen Mahābodhisattvas	154
The Eight Buddhas	159
The Buddhas of the bhadrakalpa	163
Ambulatory, outer walls	164
Ambulatory, inner walls (outer walls of the Cella)	171
APPENDIX : RELATED CAPTIONS FROM THOLING PRESERVED IN THE	
TUCCI PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES	178
BIBLIOGRAPHY	183

Elena De Rossi Filibeck

LATER INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TABO GTSUG LAG KHAN

189

PAPER INSCRIPTION 1	191
Text	194
Translation	197
PAPER INSCRIPTION 2	199
Text	201
Translation	202
PAPER INSCRIPTION 3	203
Text	203
Translation	204
BIBLIOGRAPHY	205

INDICES

207

INDEX OF HISTORICAL PERSONAL NAMES	207
INDEX OF PLACE-NAMES, CLAN-NAMES, AND GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES	209
INDEX OF DEITIES, NON-HISTORICAL NAMES AND NAMES OCCURRING IN THE	
CANONICAL LITERATURE	210
INDEX OF TITLES	212

INSCRIPTIONS FROM
THE TABO MAIN TEMPLE

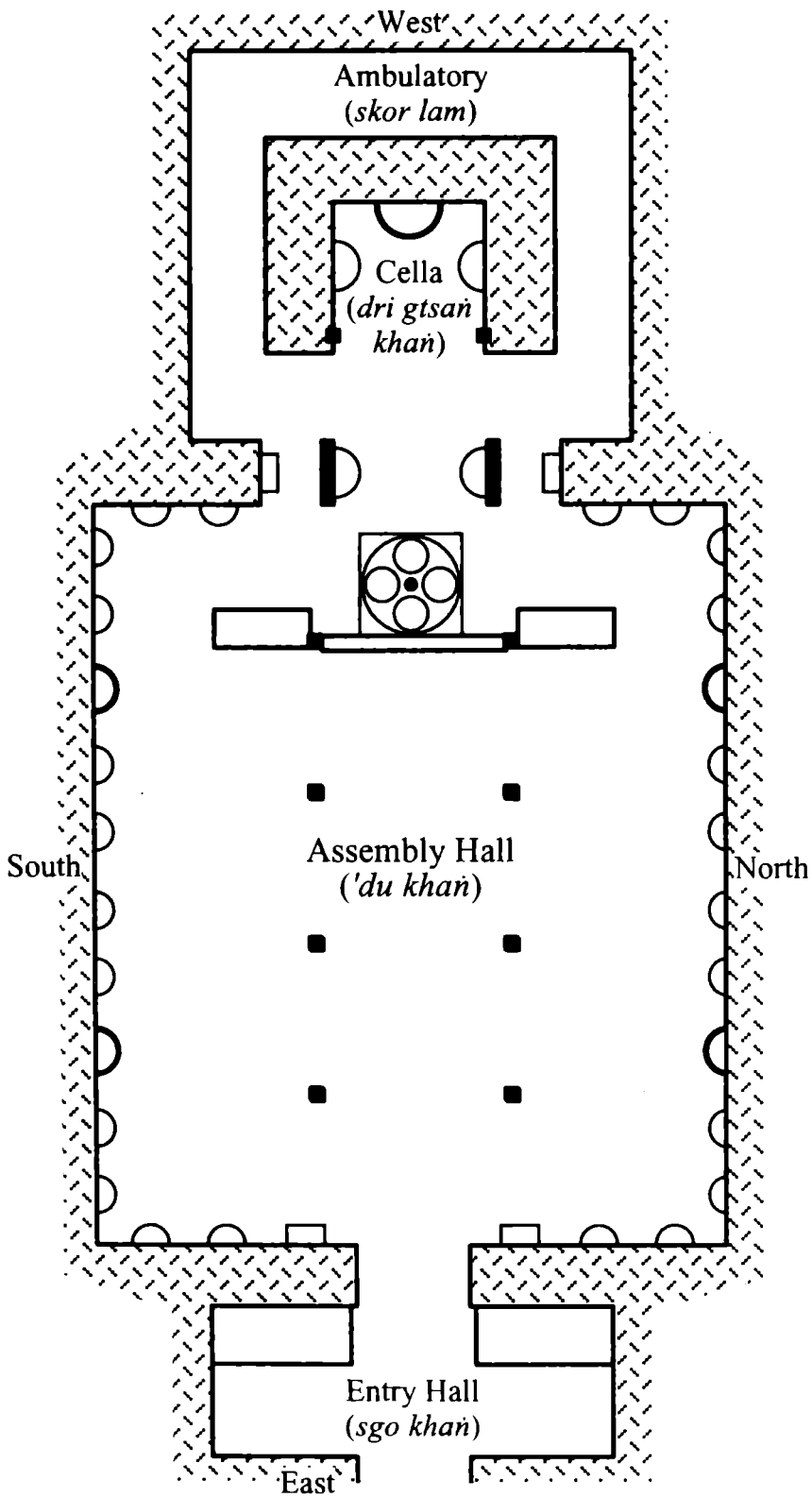


Fig. 1: The Tabo Main Temple (*gtsug lag khan*)

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

by Luciano Petech

The temple complex of Tabo in the Lahaul-Spiti district has already attracted the attention of scholars, and of an increasingly wider public, ever since the travels and researches of G. Tucci in the western Himalaya. Tabo was not, however, unknown before then, as it had been visited by A.H. Francke during his 1909 mission sponsored by the Archaeological Survey of India.¹ Francke was the first to realise Tabo's artistic importance, although he largely misunderstood the iconography of its paintings and statues. G. Tucci and his companion E. Ghersi visited Tabo in 1933 and subjected the temple to a thorough investigation, somewhat hampered by the lack of adequate equipment and time. The scientific results were made available soon after.² The pictures Ghersi took on that occasion are still valuable because of deterioration during the following half-century.

Starting from 1989, Tabo was the object of detailed studies by successive missions, organised jointly by the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde (ITB) of the University of Vienna and by the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (IsMEO). The

¹ A.H. FRANCKE, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part I: Personal Narrative, [A.S.I., New Imperial Series Vol. XXXVIII] Superintendent Government Printing, Calcutta 1914.

² Giuseppe TUCCI and Eugenio GHERSI, *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale (1933)*, Reale Accademia d'Italia 2, Rome 1934; Giuseppe TUCCI, *I templi del Tibet Occidentale e il loro simbolismo artistico*. Parte I. Spiti e Kunavar, *INDO-TIBETICA III.1*, Reale Accademia d'Italia 1935-XIII, Rome 1935.

iconographic results will be published in 1997 by Prof. D. Klimburg-Salter, with a historical section by L. Petech.³

The present volume contains the inscriptions found on the walls of the Tabo Main Temple (*gtsug lag khan*, Fig. 1). They range from the beginning of the 11th century (perhaps even earlier) down to the 19th century. Although only two of them are dated, they represent an original source which sheds several flashes of light on the religious history of West Tibet. This is particularly the case for the 11th century, during which that country was the starting point for the renovation of Buddhism in the whole of Tibet.

Tabo was one of the foundations due to the religious zeal of the kings of Guge, under whose rule the Spiti valley remained till 1630. This is not the place for dealing in detail with these thousand years of history, and I may be allowed to refer the reader to my earlier study of 1980⁴ and to my section in Klimburg-Salter's work, both being supplemented and partly replaced by G. Vitali's edition and commentary of the newly found Chronicle of West Tibet (*mNa' ris rgyal rabs*).⁵ A short summary will be sufficient for our purpose.

mNa' ris skor gsum (West Tibet) became a separate political entity as the aftermath of the collapse of the Tibetan monarchy after 842. Two descendants of 'Od sruñs, one of the two pretenders who struggled for the throne, lost their hold in Central Tibet and migrated to the West. One of them settled in western gTsañ. The other, called sKyid lde Ńi ma mgon, continued westward and built up a state in Purang and Guge, the political centre being at first Purang. Spiti too was a part of his dominions. His three sons divided the land among themselves. But since one of them apparently died without issue, the net result was the formation of two kingdoms: Guge-Purang as the paramount power and Mar yul (Upper Ladakh), at first subordinated but later wholly independent.

³ Deborah E. KLIMBURG-SALTER, *Tabo, a Lamp for the Kingdom*, London/Milan 1997.

⁴ Luciano PETECH, "Ya-ts'e, Gu-ge, Pu-rañ: a new study." *Central Asiatic Journal*, 24 (1980), 85–111; reprinted in *Selected Papers on Asian History*, IsMEO, Rome 1988, 369–394.

⁵ Roberto VITALI, *The Kingdoms of Gu.ge Pu.hrang according to the mNga'ris rGyal.rabs by Gu.ge mkhan.chen Ngag.dhang grags.pa*. Tho.ling gtsug.lag.khang lo.gcig.stong 'khor.ba'i rjes.dran.mdzad sgo'i go.sgrig tshogs.chung, Dharamsala 1996 [Indraprastha Press, New Delhi].

Historical Introduction

The historical role of the twin kingdoms of Purang and Guge consisted mainly in the re-introduction of Buddhism directly from India, independently of, and partly contrasting with, the older tradition from monarchical times that had survived in Amdo. At about the same period this latter form of Buddhism was staging a come-back in Central Tibet. The advent of the new brand of Buddhism, mainly through Kashmir, was the work of sKyid lde Ņi ma mgon's grandson Sron Ņe, who reigned for some years at the end of the 10th century, then abdicated (in 996?) and became a monk under the name Ye Ņes 'od (947–1024?).⁶ He found a most efficient collaborator in Rin chen bzañ po (958–1055), a man from Guge, who went to India as a youth, studied there for thirteen years with the most renowned masters of Buddhism and upon his return started up a strenuous activity as a translator of sacred texts. The royal monk and the translator together embarked upon the foundation of a series of chapels (*lha khañ*) and monasteries. In the same year 996 Ye Ņes 'od built Tholing (which became the national temple of Guge) and Tabo. Some years later Rin chen bzañ po founded Ņar ma, in the early period the chief religious and cultural centre of Mar yul, while Khor re, Ye Ņes 'od's younger brother and successor, built Kha char (Khojarnath), the main shrine of Purang. Ye Ņes 'od ruled a sort of ecclesiastical principality comprising Guge and Spiti, under the suzerainty of the kings of Purang.

In both kingdoms, Purang and Guge, the diffusion of the new forms of religion received a further impetus through the concerted action of Khor re's grandsons, the king 'Od lde (ca. 1025–1060),⁷ the monk Byañ chub 'od and the translator Źi ba 'od. The building of new temples continued, and in 1042 Byañ chub 'od carried out a renovation of the main temple of Tabo, as is narrated in the famous inscription on its walls. Religious progress was greatly accelerated by the invitation extended to the Indian master AtiŅa (982–1054), who came to Purang in 1042, stayed at Tholing for three years and then went to Central Tibet. He was the moving force of an intense teaching and translating activity. The impetus which he and his royal hosts had given to the 'second diffusion' (*phyi dar*) of Buddhism had its culmination in the religious conference (*chos 'khor*) convened at

⁶ Vitali's dates.

⁷ Vitali's date 1037 for the death of 'Od lde is impossible. 'Od lde was alive when AtiŅa came to Guge in 1042; George N. ROERICH, *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta 1949–53, 70. Besides, he met *btsad po* Khri lde btsan in 1057; *Chos la 'jug pa'i sgo*, f. 317a.

Tholing by king rTse lde (ca. 1060–1090) and his uncle Źi ba 'od. All the foremost scholars of Tibet attended.

Tabo must have played some role in this busy period. But actually this monastery is hardly ever mentioned in the texts and no translation executed there is included in the canon. We know only that the Kashmiri scholar Jñānaśrī, invited by rTse lde, stayed at Tabo for six years, where he learned Tibetan and gave Tantric tuition.⁸

The union of the two kingdoms, Purang and Guge, was severed after the death of rTse lde, and this of course contributed to a gradual decay in religious, literary and artistic life. This process was hastened when Guge was hit by an invasion of the Gar log (Qarluq), meaning apparently the Turks of Central Asia ruled by the Qarakhanid dynasty of Kashgar,⁹ an event which is to be dated in the first decade of the 12th century. The king bKra śis rtse was killed, a brother of his was carried away as prisoner. After the invaders had withdrawn, a third brother, ruling Kinnaur as a vassal prince, reconstructed the kingdom. But it was never the same. Translating work ceased altogether, while building activity slackened and was mostly reduced to renovations and additions. Purang was spared the Gar log invasion, but its political and cultural importance was on the wane.

Some time after the Gar log catastrophe Guge was divided into two states, North and South, a condition which lasted for more than a century. In the meantime a branch of the ruling family founded the kingdom of Ya tshe or Señjā in what is now western Nepal. For reasons which have never been elucidated, all the Central Tibetan chronicles consider the kings of Ya tshe as the paramount sovereigns of West Tibet and the rightful successors of the ancient monarchy.

After the beginning of the 13th century the religious life of the country, till then dominated by the bKa' gdams pa school, which ultimately goes back to Atiśa, came into sudden movement. At first there was a marked penetration by the 'Bri guñ pa sect, based on their hermitages in the Kailāsa-Manasarovar region. The 'Bri guñ pa were followed and partly replaced by the Tshal pa, whose estate included Lhasa; for a time the latter supplied the house chaplains (*bla mchod*) to the kings of Purang.

⁸ George N. ROERICH, *The Blue Annals*, Calcutta 1949–53, 74.

⁹ This event, unknown till very recently, is attested in both the lDe'u chronicles (of the late 13th century) and in the *mNa' ris rgyal rabs*.

After the middle of the 13th century a foreign power made its influence felt in that marginal area. This was the Mongol empire founded by Jinghiz Khan. In 1251 the *qaghan* Möngke issued a decree (*jasag*) apportioning the 'protection' of the various sects among the 10 members of the royal family.¹⁰ This arrangement did not last. When in 1260 Qubilai became *qaghan* and emperor of China (Yüan dynasty), he abolished the princely 'protectorates' (in practice: apanages) in Tibet. Only the brother Hülegü and the latter's descendants (Ilkhans) were allowed to keep their fief in gTsañ for several years more. Qubilai entrusted the administration of Central Tibet to the Sa skya sect, under the supervision of Mongol officials, both centrally and locally. Thus, Guge and Purang were controlled by the imperial regional commanders (*tu yüan-shuai*) of mNa' ris skor gsum. The upkeep of the imperial mail stages in the West was imposed, as a form of labour taxation ('*u lag*), upon the people of Purang and of North and South Guge. The single propitious event of that period was the unification of Guge carried out in 1277.

During the last years of Mongol supremacy some reshuffling of the political constellation in Central Himalaya took place. In ca. 1336 bSod nams lde, king of Purang, was elected king of Ya tshe upon the extinction of the local dynasty. But the union of the two states did not outlive its founder. Ya tshe and Purang parted ways, and in quick succession both ruling families died out. Ya tshe decayed rapidly and in the early 15th century fell into the hands of a Hindu usurper. Purang ceased forever to be an independent kingdom, to become a dependency or at the best a feudatory principality under Guge's sovereignty, repeatedly interrupted by occupations on the part of neighbouring powers.

After almost hundred years of obscurity, Guge again emerged into the limelight under the strong rule of rNam rgyal lde, who consolidated his hold over Purang and even intervened in Ladakh (1399). During his last years Purang, momentarily occupied by Ya tshe and then by Mañ yul Guñ thañ, fell for some decades under the domination of the new kingdom of Glo bo (Mustang, in western Nepal).

¹⁰ On the date 1251 see D. SCHUH, *Erlasse und Sendschreiben mongolischer Herrscher für tibetische Geistliche*, Sankt Augustin 1977, xxi-xxii, and L. PETECH *Central Tibet under the Mongols: the Yüan-Saskya period of Tibetan History*, Rome 1990, 10-11. Also the *rLañs Po ti bse ru rgyas pa*, Lhasa 1986, 110, is most definite in attributing to Möngke the distribution of the 'protectorates'.

Due to Glo bo rule in Purang there was a momentous change in the religious life of that country. At this time Nor Kun dga' bzañ po (1382–1456) established the supremacy of the Nor pa, a sub-sect of the Sa skya pa. On that occasion Khojarnath became and remained until recent times a Nor pa shrine.

A quite different development occurred in Guge under the reign of rNam rgyal lde's son and successor Nam mkha' dbañ po Phun tshogs lde (second quarter of the 15th century). With his support Nag dbañ grags pa, a pupil of Tsoñ kha pa, introduced the dGe lugs pa sect into Guge, and this became at once the creed of the dynasty and of the state. This development proved to be permanent and outlasted the end of the kingdom. Even now the dGe lugs pa are dominant in West Tibet. Their main centre in the West was Tholing until the destruction of that great monastery during the Cultural Revolution.

The reign of Nam mkha' dbañ po also saw the foundation of the temples and of the palace of Tsaparang, which replaced Tholing as the royal residence and the administrative centre of the kingdom. As for Tabo, it was converted to the new school. Our sources are silent concerning the circumstances of this conversion. A considerable role in this process, however, was certainly played by lHa dbañ blo gros, a pupil of mKhas grub rje, who worked extensively in Ladakh and Zaskar during the third quarter of the 15th century. He was responsible for some unspecified renovations at Tholing, and thus may have extended his influence to Tabo as well.¹¹ His activity has to be dated in the third quarter of the 15th century. To the same period belongs a prince (*rgyal po*) bSod nams lde, one of the sponsors of the works at Tabo.¹² He was probably a feudatory of Guge, but his name stands quite isolated. There is no mention anywhere of a royal family ruling in Spiti in that period.

In 1533 Purang was barely touched by the fantastic raid of the Kashgar prince Mirza Haidar Dughlat. Nonetheless Purang had to pledge a tribute that was never paid. Guge and Tabo remained outside the range of the Muslim invader.

¹¹ lHa dbañ blo gros' name occurs three times in the murals of the Tabo *dkyil khañ*. First, on the south wall, lower right corner, as lHa dbañ blo. On the north wall, lower left corner, he is portrayed with the caption *chos rje [lHa] dbañ blo* and is credited with renovations(?) at Tholing (*Tho gliñ gser khañ gi dkod pa*). He is portrayed again on the left wall, west side, with the caption *rje lHa dbañ [m]tshan*.

¹² Vitali, 525, n.896, reads this name as bSod nams 'bum.

Historical Introduction

In those times Guge was a quiet and relatively prosperous country under the rule of king 'Jigs med dbaṅ phyug (second quarter of the 16th century), who protected the clergy and carried out restorations on several temples. He even financed the foundation (1540) of the mNa' ris Grwa tshaṅ, far away in southern dBus. The mNa' ris Grwa tshaṅ was a flourishing centre of dGe lugs pa studies till recent times. Śānti pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1487–1567) was the foremost religious collaborator of the king 'Jigs med dbaṅ phyug, and later became the 7th abbot of Tashilhunpo.

The following period offers but little interest. The conquering activities of the Ladakhi king Tshe dbaṅ rnam rgyal (ca. 1575–1595) did not affect Guge permanently, nor did they disrupt the profitable wool trade, the main asset in the economy of the kingdom. In 1618 Guge received the visit of the First Paṅ chen Blo bzaṅ Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (1670–1662), on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the Kailāsa and Manasarovar. Tabo is not, however, included among the temples he visited.

In 1624 the Jesuit Father Antonio de Andrade established a short-lived mission of his order at Tsaparang, and to him and to his fellow-missionaries we owe a lively description of the kingdom shortly before its extinction. Perhaps its most original institution was the system of control by the monarchy over the rich and influential dGe lugs pa clergy. This control was realised through the *lha btsun*, a brother of the ruling king who was ordained as a monk and held the abbatial chairs of the foremost monasteries of the realm.

All this came to a sudden end when in 1630 Seṅ ge rnam rgyal (1616–1642), king of Ladakh, conquered and annexed Guge with Purang and Spiti. After his death, Guge became the apanage of his second son, who had become a monk with the name Indrabodhi. Spiti fell to the share of the third son bDe mchog rnam rgyal. Being no longer ruled by a dynasty of its own, Guge became a neglected province, prey to an increasing economic and demographic decadence.

In 1679/80 Guge was occupied by a Mongol-Tibetan army sent by the Dalai Lama's government; Indrabodhi took to flight. The peace treaty of 1683/4 recognised the annexation of Guge and Purang to Tibet. The border then agreed upon is on the main still valid at the present day. Only Spiti, although included in the cession, returned almost at once to Ladakhi sovereignty, represented on the spot by a governor or feudatory chief bearing the title *no no*. This dignity still

exists, but deprived of administrative and judicial powers. Ladakhi rule lasted till the 19th century, except for the years 1729–1748, when Spiti was a part of the dominions of bKra śis nam rgyal, king of Purig.

In the thirties of the 19th century Guge may have suffered from forays of Sikh forces from Lahore. This was certainly the case for Spiti and Tabo, an event for which we have epigraphic evidence.¹³ This was nothing, however, compared with the large-scale expedition led against Tibet by the Dogra general Zorawar Singh, who in 1835 had conquered Ladakh for Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu and later Maharaja of Kashmir. In 1841 he invaded western Tibet with a small army. He reached Tsaparang and advanced as far as Taklakoth, his soldiers plundering and damaging several temples and monasteries. He was checked, however, by an army sent from Lhasa, and in November Zorawar Singh was defeated and killed, his force was practically wiped out.

For the following 150 years the tale is merely one of increasing economic and cultural decay. In recent times the so-called Cultural Revolution inflicted irreparable damage to the religious life and to the artistic treasuries of the country. Only Spiti with Tabo was spared, because in 1846 it was detached from nominal allegiance to Ladakh, to be annexed to British Indian territories. It is now included in the Himachal Pradesh state of the Indian Union.

¹³ See E. DE ROSSI FILIBECK's contribution to the present volume.

**THE RENOVATION INSCRIPTION OF THE
TABO GTSUG LAG KHAN**
NEW EDITION AND TRANSLATION¹

by Ernst Steinkellner & Christian Luczanits

Giuseppe Tucci and Eugenio Ghersi visited the temples in Tabo² from July 18th to 21st 1933.³ The inscription was copied for Tucci by his lama.⁴ No photograph seems to have been made of the inscription proper,⁵ so that the later edition was entirely based on the lama's copy. Consequently Tucci had no means of knowing the extent of the many gaps in the inscription when he came to prepare his edition. In addition, the lama's copy contains a number of misreadings. For some of these Tucci proposed corrections which now can actually be confirmed as the true readings.

¹ First edition and translation: "Iscrizione di Tabo" in TUCCI 1935: 195–204.

² The proper old spelling of modern Tabo and the etymology of the name are unclear. Several different etymologized spellings such as *lta*, *rta*, *sta* can be found, and the variations *po/pho/bo* are also attested in inscriptions and manuscripts. For convenience' sake, we earlier followed the proposal of KLIMBURG-SALTER to use the spelling *Ta pho* (1987: n.9). At the last meeting of the Tabo research group in Vienna (January 19–20, 1996) it was decided to abstain in the future from this or similar differentiations, and to return to the modern spelling 'Tabo'.

³ TUCCI & GHERSI 1934: 121–132.

⁴ According to Tucci's notes in the edition (cf. TUCCI 1935: 197, ns.1,8; 198, ns. 3,4; 200, n.3). This lama joined the expedition on July 7th (cf. TUCCI & GHERSI 1934: 80). He was from Kaze monastery (ibid.) and his likeness is shown in fig. 74, but his name is not mentioned.

⁵ Cf. however, Photo Tucci Archives Neg.Dep.L. 6029/38, which shows the inscription in its place below the painting.

During our stay in Tabo in 1991,⁶ Luczanits made a careful survey of the inscription, comparing it with Tucci's edition. The state of the inscription in 1991 was such that in a number of places syllables or parts of syllables which were evidently still legible for the lama in 1933 and are contained in Tucci's edition, were no longer extant. Thus Tucci's text is, now, the only testimony for these readings which have been added to our edition in the footnotes. After our return the new readings were checked with the aid of various, usually inadequate photographs and with the only useful colour photograph of the inscription which was taken by Thomas Pritzker,⁷ and we gratefully acknowledge the photographer's permission to use it. Since the left side of the inscription was not completely taken, additional photographs were made in 1994 by Luczanits (cf. **Pls. 1-8**).

The new reading by Luczanits revealed a number of features that decidedly improve upon Tucci's edition. Not only do we now know the extent of the gaps, but a considerable number of syllables and words read differently. In addition, the use of the *śad* and other marks of separation in the inscription which evidently the lama did not pay any attention to, now turns out to be a carefully applied means for graphically structuring the text.

Since the need for a new edition seemed to have arisen, we also present a new translation which we believe also improves upon Tucci's pioneering attempt at its interpretation. No new historical information has emerged. However, the inscription (written in verse except for its *narratio*) proves to be a piece of monastic Tibetan poetry of considerable quality, and, although deteriorated, merits our attention as one of the rare documents of early Tibetan poetry.

This inscription was treated in Steinkellner's seminar in the winter term 1992/93. Besides the students and Luczanits, Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Chizuko Yoshimizu, Helmut Tauscher, and Kurt Tropper took part and contributed valuable suggestions which are gratefully acknowledged. We are also grateful to Prof. Luciano Petech, Jampa L. Panglung, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, and Paul Harrison for their helpful remarks.

⁶ As members of the joint expedition of the Istituto per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome, and the Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde, Vienna. Our participation was supported by a grant from the Austrian Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung.

⁷ This photo was put at the disposal of Deborah Klimburg-Salter and was available to us.

It will be a matter of further literary research to interpret the poem in detail, to indicate the lines of association with the Buddhist literary heritage and to analyse the poetic means applied. A list of metaphors and similes is added in the appendix. For the moment, we have to limit our work to offering merely a new edition and translation. But we hope this reconsideration of the inscription after a new examination of the facts will be accepted as a token of the respect due to Tucci's pioneering work.

*

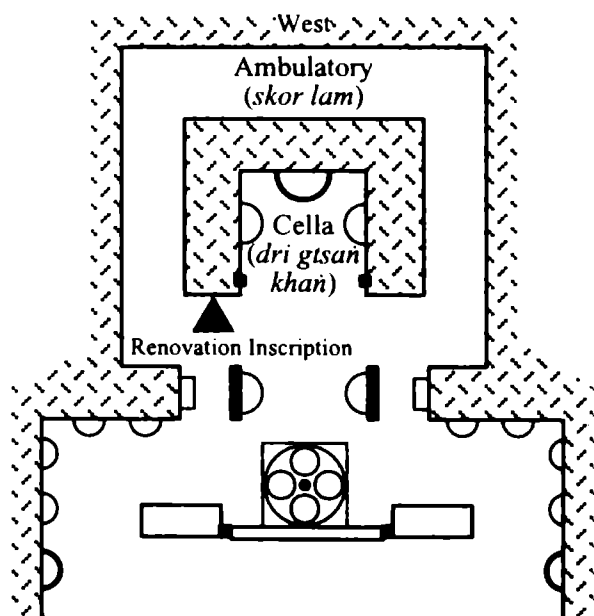


Fig. 2: The location of the Renovation Inscription

The inscription is located on the lower part of the left frontal end of the wall enclosing the Cella (Fig. 2; cf. Klimburg-Salter 1994: fig. 12). It is written on a rectangular panel within a frame between two red lines. It measures approximately 23 x 110 cm and comprises twelve lines.

The colour photograph reveals faint traces of two lines of writing in the space just below the lower edge of the inscription, i.e. not covered by the writing of the inscription. We did not observe these

traces on the spot, and they are illegible in the photograph. All that can be said is that there is a possibility that when the ground for the renovation inscription was applied, it was applied over an older inscription in the same place, whose contents and function are no longer known.

The inscription contains a short historical record and a “transfer of merit” formulated in an elevated style to mark the occasion of the conclusion of the renovation work in the Tabo gTug lag khañ.

The author of the inscription was a monk of the Tabo community who took an active part in the renovation of the temple. His name, *Phe(?) kha rgyu bdag*, is given in l.2, although the first syllable is highly uncertain. The second and third syllable were still legible when

the lama made his copy for Tucci in 1933,⁸ but all that now remains of the author's name is the last syllable: *bdag*.

In the inscription's *narratio*, the author gives the date⁹ and states his wish of giving a short historical record as well as expressing a transfer of merit¹⁰ at the conclusion of the renovation works in the gTsong lag khañ.

*

The inscription is clearly divided into three main parts:

- [1.] a short *narratio* in prose which contains the date is followed by
- [2.] a record (*lo rgyus*) (1–7a). This record consists of three parts:
 - [2.1] an introductory call for attention (1–2a),
 - [2.2] the foundation of the temple by Ye śes 'od (2b–4),
 - [2.3] its renovation by Byañ chub 'od (5–7a).
- [3.] a formulation of the transfer of merit (*bsño ba*) (7b–17) which consists of two parts:
 - [3.1] 'primary merit'
 - [3.11] first, the merit accrued from the actual renovation work is dedicated to the main donor, the king, and others (7b–9) and
 - [3.12] extended in particular to all visitors of the temple (10–11).
 - [3.2] Then the 'secondary merit' accrued from dedicating the primary merit to other beings (*gžan la gsños pa las*, 12a) is reflexively dedicated to the author, his friends, and the participants in the work of renovation (12–17).
 - [3.21] This second dedication uses an extended simile (12–14)
 - [3.22] and concludes with final wishes (15–17).

The internal structure of the inscription is corroborated by external features of the inscription. The internally coherent verses 1–7a [2.], 7b–11 [3.1] and 16–17 [3.22] are of 9 syllables while the dedication of secondary merit in 12–15 [3.2] is in verses of 11 syllables. Moreover, *śad*, spaces and ornaments are used to separate these coherent groups. Space and one ornament separate 7a and 7b, i.e. [2.] and [3.]. Space and two ornaments, a double *śad* between, separate 11 and 12,

⁸ Cf. TUCCI 1935: n.2.

⁹ For the dating of the 'monkey year' as 996 A.D. cf. PETECH 1997: 233.

¹⁰ For a survey of studies on the related ideas cf. H. BECHERT, "Buddha-Field and Transfer of Merit in a Theravada Source", *IJ* 35, 1992, (95–108) n.11.

i.e. [3.1] and [3.2]. Three ornaments mark the conclusion. Space and one small ornament additionally separate 9 and 10, i.e. [3.11] and [3.12]. Furthermore, a third *śad*, in addition to the two normal line-separating *śad*, separates 2a and 2b, i.e. [2.1] and [2.2], 4 and 5, i.e. [2.2] and [2.3], 14 and 15, i.e. [3.21] and [3.22].

Because of the extant gaps and other problems the verses containing the two dedications of merit are difficult to interpret. The decisive feature for our interpretation is a clear analogy in the structure of meaning which is reflected in the syntactical structure of the statements:

1. in 7b–9 [3.11], the king and others are the receiver of the results of the merit gained by the monks' co-operation: ... *yon bdag dam pa ni* *las stsogs* (8b–c) *spyod spyad cu*. (9c) *bsgrod cog* (9d),
2. in 10–11 [3.12], the results of the same merit are extended to embrace all visitors: *ltad mo pa rnams kyañ* (10d) *ded dpon yid stund (?) cog* (11d),
3. and in 12–17 [3.2], the results of the secondary merit gained from the dedication of the primary merit to all beings are, finally, received by the monks, their retinue, and the workers themselves: *bdag cag grogs bcas las su gtogs pa'i 'khor kun dag* (12c) *ñoms pa dañ* (14e) *sprad par śog* (14f), and final wishes are expressed *'khrus śog* (15d) *dsgreñ par śog* (17d).

*

The text shows those orthographic peculiarities that are typical for the 'irregular' orthographic style which was usual in West Tibet at the beginning of the second spread of Buddhism. The transliterated text of the inscription has not been changed in any way. It therefore even contains spellings that are apparently 'impossible' in terms of Tibetan linguistic possibilities, e.g. *gsños* (12a), *dsgreñ* (17d). Generally it can be said that the writing does not seem to display any flaws of personal idiosyncratic orthographic usage or carelessness.¹¹ This high standard of its orthographic usage would be quite appropriate to the semi-official function of the inscription. We may assume, therefore, that this document is a paradigmatic case of the orthographic standard at that time and place, and that the 'irregularities' and freedom of choice

¹¹ The only clear case of an orthographic mistake is *dug* (14f) for *drug*.

found in its orthography can be considered as the norm in this cultural context. For this reason, a list of words spelled differently from the later classical norms is added in the appendix both in order to provide a survey and to facilitate identification and interpretation.

Subscribed *ya* after *m* before *i* and *e* is probably usual. But *m?e* (3d) is an uncertain case, and *mes* (1.1, 6b) definitely does not have a subscribed letter. Superabundant *'a chuñ* occurs. The *da drag* is regularly used. The use of *pa* or *ba* seems to be free. The letter *ba* seems to be written in two ways: one is written with the head first, while the other is written like the letter *pa* with the left inceptive stroke continuing directly downwards. The right-hand side stroke often comes so close to the inceptive stroke that the letter is nearly or fully closed. However, there seems to be no way of distinguishing this second form of the letter *ba* from the letter *pa*. Since most of the *ba* letters in the text are written in the second way, we transliterate only those letters as *pa* which are clearly wide open. Only the following instances are *ba* letters of the first kind: *skye bo* (1c), *bskul* (1.1), *brgyad* (17b), *'gro bas* (1.1), *$on ba$* (10d), *gdul bya* (9a), *bdag* (14b), *dbon* (5a).

These peculiar palaeographical features are also known from the West-Tibetan context. Inverted *gi gu* (*i*) is frequent. *s-p*, *s-t*, *s-ts* ligatures of a horizontal kind are seemingly normal usage. But in two cases we find the second letter clearly subscribed (*spanš* in 1b and 3d).

Two further peculiarities of the poem's metrical structure are worth noting: on the one hand the suffixed genitive particle (*-i*) is read as an independent syllable in the following verses: 2b, 4d, 5a, 9a, and 17c, and on the other hand the particle *'am*, although written separately, has no syllabic value.

Editorial signs¹²

All deviations from Tucci's edition are underlined.

<u>a</u>	partly uncertain letter
≡	illegible 'letter'
≠	'letter' rubbed or broken off
-	illegible letter, when accompanied by legible letter(s)
+	letter rubbed or broken off, when accompanied by legible letter(s)
a/b	both readings possible
?	presence of further 'letters' uncertain
?	presence of further letters uncertain
{1}	beginning of line
*	ornament
ï	inverted <i>gi gu</i>

¹² Certain modifications and additions to the system of signs used in classical epigraphy and in the *Monumenta Tibetica Historica* (MTH) are necessary when editing Tibetan inscriptions in transliteration. We are using a to indicate uncertainty instead of a (MTH). And we differentiate '**letters**' which means in MTH any combination of letters in the Tibetan alphabet that occupy in vertical arrangement of the letter sequence the space of a single grapheme, from **letters** which refers to the single signs for consonants or vowel modification only. This differentiation is useful because parts of ligatures, if legible, can be preserved in this way.

TEXT (Pls. 1–8)

{1}*// // spre 'u'i lo la sñon mes byañ chub sems dpas / gtsug
 lag khañ 'di bžeñs nas / lo bži bcu rtsa drug gi 'og tu dbon lha btsun
 ba byañ chub 'od kyis byañ chub kyī thugs sñon tu 'gro ≠ ≠¹³ / gtsug
 lag khañ 'di gso' ba mdzad de / de'i bka' rin po ches bskul ba sñon tu
 'gro bas dag cag sug ≠ ≠¹⁴ ≠ ≠ ≠ ? ?¹⁵ {2} ? ? s[k/t]os te / des na dri
 gtsañ khañ gī ri mo zind pa la dge 'sloñ ≠ s¹⁶ = =¹⁷ bdag lo rgyus¹⁸ dañ
 bsno ba byed par 'dod pa skyes te brjod pa ni ||

¹⁹ gañ žig thag riñ lam gyis dub 'gyur žiñ //

groggs dañ mdza' po dag gis rnam spañs pa'i //

skye bo ñon moñ ltad mo pa rnam la //

gtsug lag khañ mdzes 'di ni bže ≠ ≠²⁰ ≠ ≠ //

(1)

lo rgyus cuñ žig²¹ {3} = =²² gyis mñand par gyis |||

lha'i rig 'khruñs byañ chub sems dpa'i gduñ //

¹³ bas Tu.

¹⁴ sug pas Tu; -e- is visible above the space of pas, however.

¹⁵ At least three 'letters' missing.

¹⁶ Tucci notes that the first syllable of the name is not certain, while the others are. It could be read as: phe, pha, ne, na, še, śa.

¹⁷ kha rgyu Tu.

¹⁸ rgyus is clearly legible. Tucci's proposal for rgyu in the transcription is thus confirmed.

¹⁹ Verses of nine syllables.

²⁰ bžeñs Tu.

²¹ Long first 'letter'.

²² The lower parts of two long 'letters' are still visible.

myi rje lhas mdzad mgo' nag yoñs kyi mgon //
lhan cig skyes pa'i mkhyen rab phul byuñ bas // (2)

ma riḡ mun pa ye śes 'od mdzad des //
'khor bar 'byord par ?gyurd pa'i rgyal srid la //
sgyu ma lta bur gzigs pa sñon 'gro bas //
m?e tog 'phreñ rñis²³ bzin du spañs nas ni // (3)

{4} *?-rid thams cad chos phyir dbul mdzad de //*
mña' ≠ ≠²⁴ gdu ≠ ≠ ms²⁵ dkar por 'oñs gyurd nas //
dpal ldan bkra' śis bde gnas gtsug lag khañ //
rgyal 'khams 'di'i sgron mar 'dir bzeñs so ||| (4)

skyes mchog de'i rigs rgyud dbon ñid nī //
gañ žig bslab pa gsum dañ yañ dag ldan //
śes rab ljon śiñ dad pa'i rtsa ba zug //
sde sñod {5} gsum gyi mye tog 'bras bu rgyas // (5)

rje rgyal lha btsun byañ chub 'od de yiś //
mes kyis mdzad pa rñiñs par gzigs nas ni //
mkhan bzo' du ma²⁶ stsogs²⁷ te rgyu sbyar nas //
zab pa'i bka' yiś bdag cag bskos nas ni // (6)
*legs par byi dor byaś nas pcos pa yin // * //²⁸*

²³ Tucci's proposal for *rñes* in the transcription is confirmed.

²⁴ *ris* Tu.

²⁵ *gdul rñams* is Tucci's emendation *metri causa*. The lama's reading was: *gdu ma rñams*.

²⁶ Here Tucci proposes *'dus*; *'dul* could be read, but *metri causa* the reading must be *du ma*.

²⁷ Presumably Tucci's copy read *stsogs* too, which was corrected by him to *sogs* (cf.202,n.4).

²⁸ Empty space of about seven 'letters' with an ornament in the centre.

de ltar dge ba'i sems ni sñon 'gro bas ||
b ≠ ≠ ≠ g²⁹ rnam_s kyis 'di bya≠ las ≠ ≠ ? {6}
≠ +ge = =³⁰ myed rab dk/g? zla ba'i 'od || (7)

≠³¹ kundha³² ltar dkar ≠ ≠ ≠ gs³³ pa'i ||
 bsod nams de yis yon bdag dam pa ni ||
 chos rgyal rje btsun byañ chub 'od las stsogs || (8)

'gro ba kun kyis skye ba thams cad du ||
 gdul bya ma lus 'dund par nus pa'i ||
 gzugs mchog mtshan bzañs du mas rnam spras te ||
≠³⁴ ba kun tu byañ chub spyod spyad ciñ ||
 rim gyis bya≠ ≠ ≠³⁵ {7} ≠³⁶ par bsgrod sog || * ||³⁷ (9)

gañ yañ d m/b ≠ e lam can ds-d pa'i r+yid ||
bde gsegs sras bcas 'gro ba'i mgon d+³⁸ yi ||
 sku gzugs mañ po bris pa 'di dag kun ||
≠ on³⁹ ba 'am reg pa'i ltad mo pa rnam_s kyañ || (10)
 bskald pa bzañ po'i bde gsegs sras pcas kyī ||
 mñon sum žal mthoñ gsu ≠ chog thos⁴⁰ nas ni ||

²⁹ *bdag cag* Tu.

³⁰ A complex syllable of two 'letters'.

³¹ Probably *kh* and a 'letter' with a straight stroke at the end (*b/m*).

³² Tucci proposes *ku mud*, white lotus, for his reading *kund*.

³³ *lags* Tu, more likely is *bstsags*.

³⁴ *skye* Tu, more likely is 'gro.

³⁵ *byañ chub* Tu.

³⁶ *dam* Tu.

³⁷ Empty space of about two letters with a small ornament in the centre. The preceding line probably only contains eight syllables.

³⁸ *de* Tu.

³⁹ *mthoñ* Tu.

⁴⁰ *gsuñ mchog thos* Tu.

The Renovation Inscription

'jig rten ? ≠ams⁴¹ cad ? {8} ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ tsho' las ||

sgrol bar byed pa'i ded⁴² dpon ≠id stsund cog || * || * ||⁴³ (11)

⁴⁴ de ltar dge ba gañ rnamś gzan la gsños pa las ||

bsod nams rgya che nam mkha'i gtoś ≠ñam⁴⁵ gañ byuñ des ||

bdag cag grogs bcas las su gtogs pa'i 'khor kun dag ||

≠ ≠⁴⁶ ma myed nas dños zen rnam rtog 'khruld pa yis || (12)

≠ ≠⁴⁷ dregs pa'i rtsig ≠ mtho' brtseg_{nas}⁴⁸ {9} ≠ ≠ ≠

≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ma rig gzins pas steñ nas gs/r+eg ≠ pa dan ||

'dod chags že sdañ ka gduñ brtan par btsugs pa'i ||

de 'dra'i khyim ni srid gsum 'khor ba'i myiñ ldan nas || (13)

ye śes bśan m≠⁴⁹ thugs rje chen po'i phyag riñ bas ||

bdag cag myur ba myur bar drañ pa mdzad nas ni ||

≠ ≠ -yis⁵⁰ sta/o ≠ ≠⁵¹ don sems khañ khyim m≠ ≠⁵² ? ?

{10} ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ñ bde ba'i ≠ ≠⁵³ stan legs par b g ≠ ≠ d ≠ ||

⁴¹ thams Tu.

⁴² Tucci's proposal for *sded* in the transcription (?) is confirmed.

⁴³ Two ornaments separated by double sad.

⁴⁴ Verses of eleven syllables.

⁴⁵ mñam Tu.

⁴⁶ thog Tu.

⁴⁷ ña rgyal Tu.

⁴⁸ nas is written below; perhaps a later addition.

⁴⁹ mña' Tu.

⁵⁰ khyed kyis Tu.

⁵¹ m pa'i Tu.; Tucci proposes *dam pa'i*.

⁵² mchog Tu.

⁵³ mal ?

bsam +tan⁵⁴ zas dañ = = grol btuñ pas ñoms pa dañ //
pha rold phyin dug grogs⁵⁵ dañ rtag tu sprad par śog // |⁵⁶ (14)

der ni ci dgar 'khol ba'i ñon moñs bran 'khol ziñ //

rnam thar rdziñ la tiñ ñe 'dzind kyi chus bkañ ste //

d ≠ dag pad ma rgy-s⁵⁷ pas kun nas ≠ ? { 11 } ≠ ≠

≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ d g ≠⁵⁸ bsam pa dag pa bstand tu 'khru ≠ ? śog // (15)

⁵⁹ +r ≠⁶⁰ kh? ims dri ≠ i m/s ñ/- t ≠ d/b ≠ g ≠ n ≠ ni //

'dze ≠ ≠ ≠⁶¹ khrel yod gos kyi mchog bgos te //

mtshan dañ dpe' byad bzañ pos legs brgyand ciñ //

? bla myed theg chen mñon śes bñon ba la // (16)

pyañ chub sems kyi kha lo pa yiś ni //

yan lag brgyad ldan ≠ ≠ { 12 } ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ e //

mya nan 'da = ? ži dbye'i dgond pa ru //⁶²

byañ chub dkyil 'khor rgyal mtshan dsgrēñ⁶³ par śog // * * * //⁶⁴
 (17)

⁵⁴ *bsam stan* Tu.; Tucci proposes *bsam gtan*.

⁵⁵ Tucci assumes 'dug grogs; the transcription has *grags*.

⁵⁶ Three single śad. Verse 14 contains six lines.

⁵⁷ *skyes* Tu. The reading of the whole phrase is doubtful; one can also read *dspyad ka ba dme rkyas / dam rkyes*.

⁵⁸ *dga*'i ?

⁵⁹ Again verses with nine syllables.

⁶⁰ *tshul* Tu.; Tucci's reading here is highly improbable.

⁶¹ 'dzem *dañ* Tu.

⁶² Only eight syllables ?

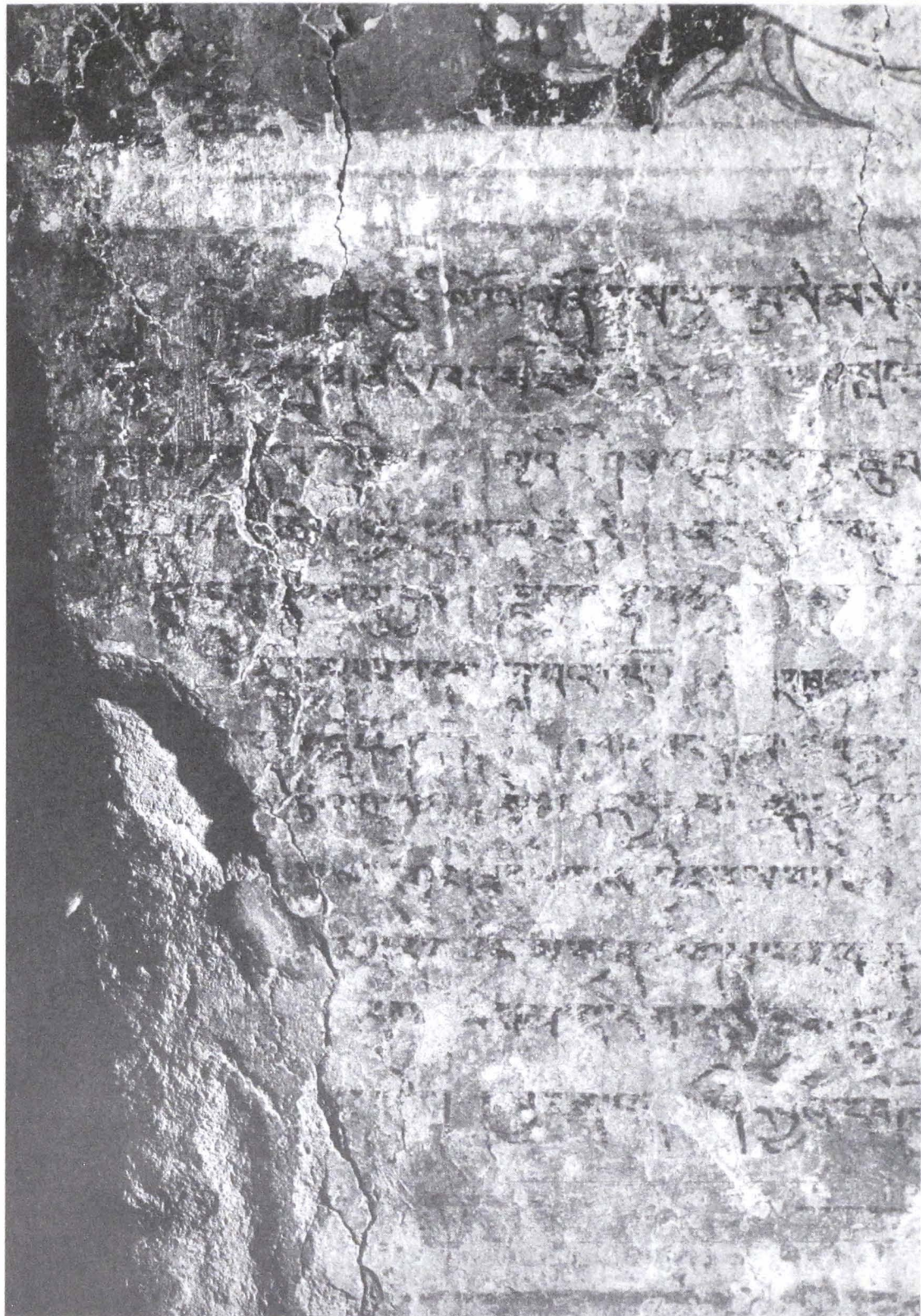
⁶³ Tucci proposes *bsgrēñ*; the transcription has *bsgrañ*.

⁶⁴ Empty space with three ornaments.

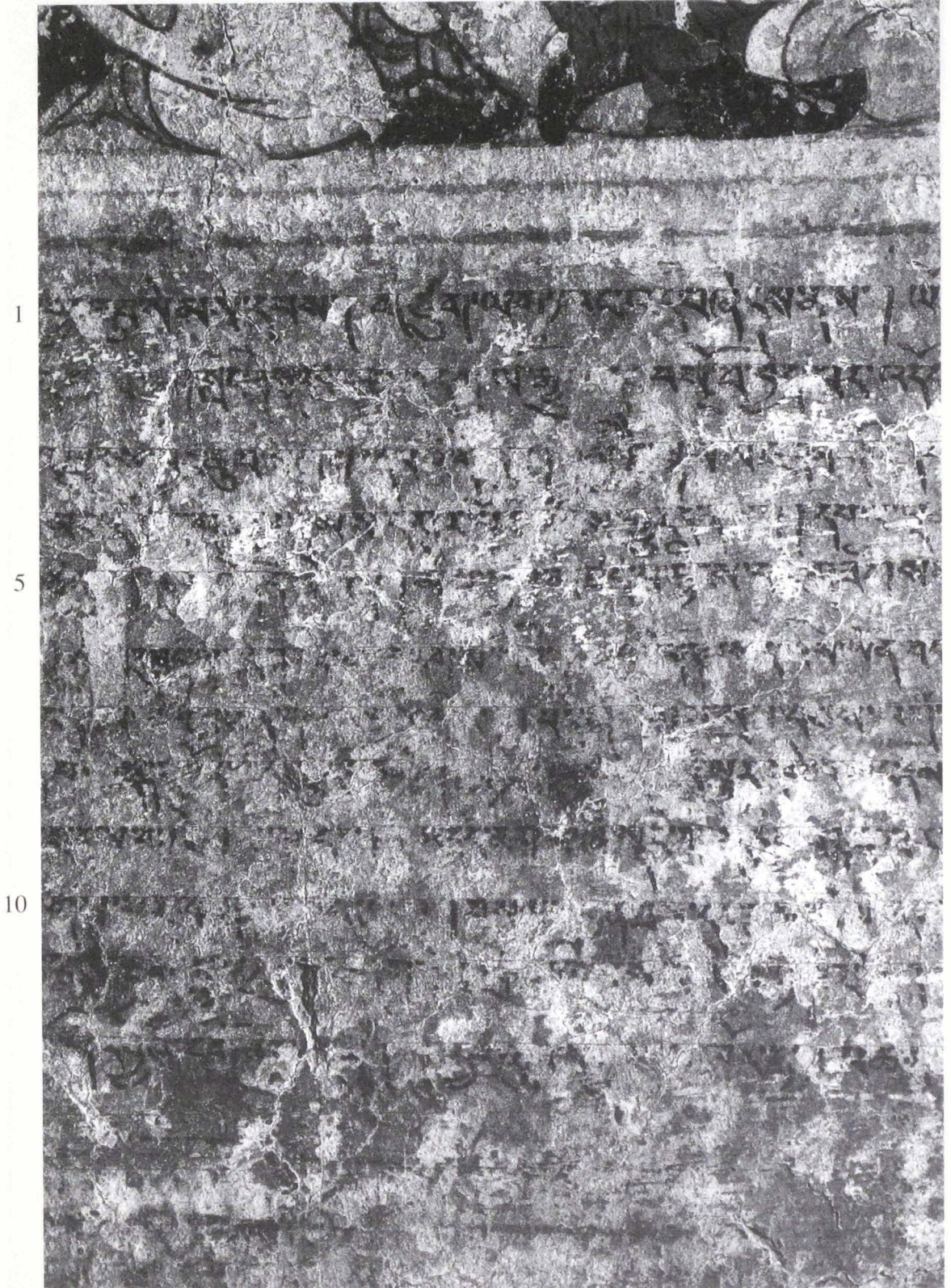
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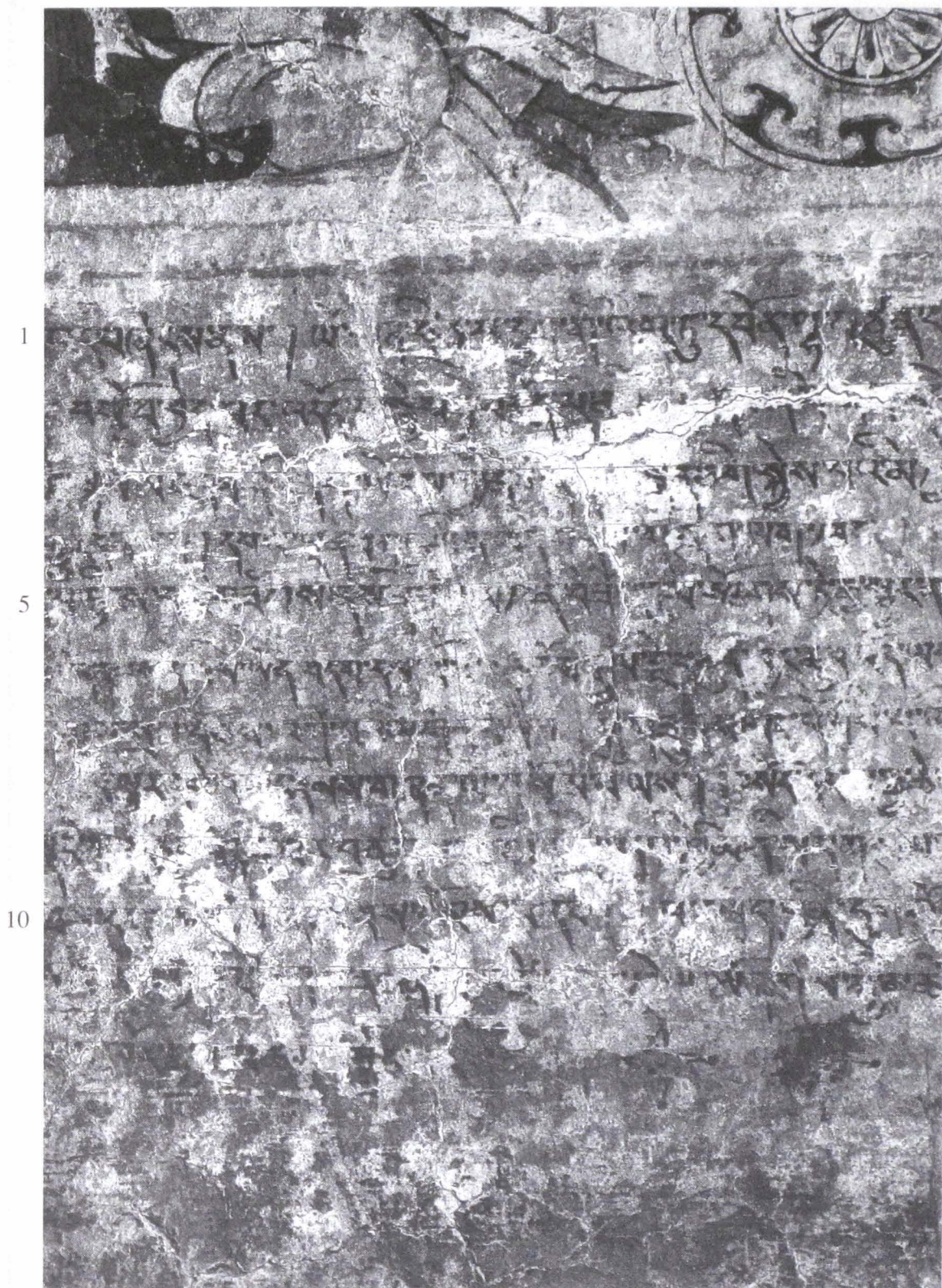
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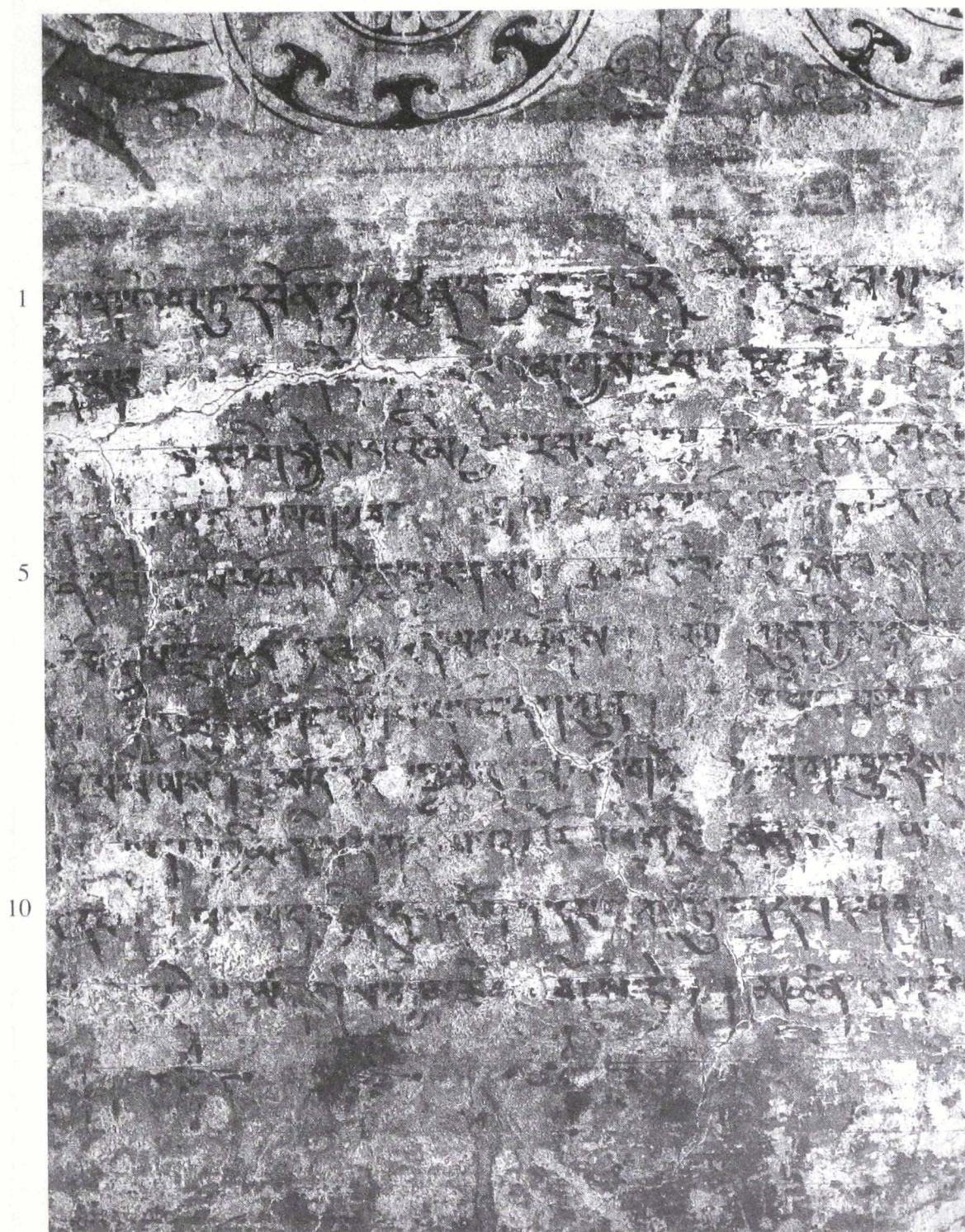
A detail of the Renovation Inscription (C. Luczanits 1994, 123, 27)



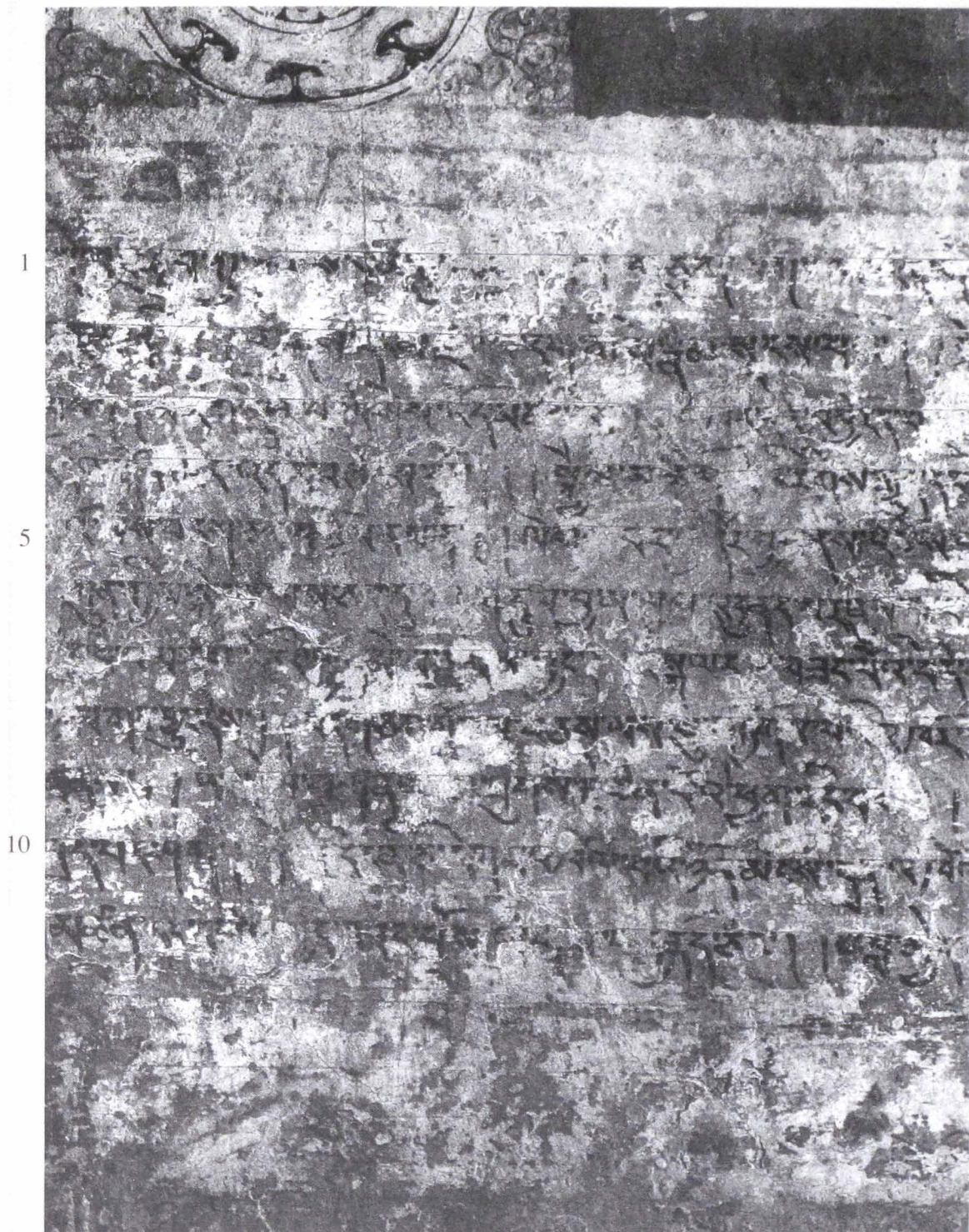
A detail of the Renovation Inscription (C. Luczanits 1994, 123, 28)



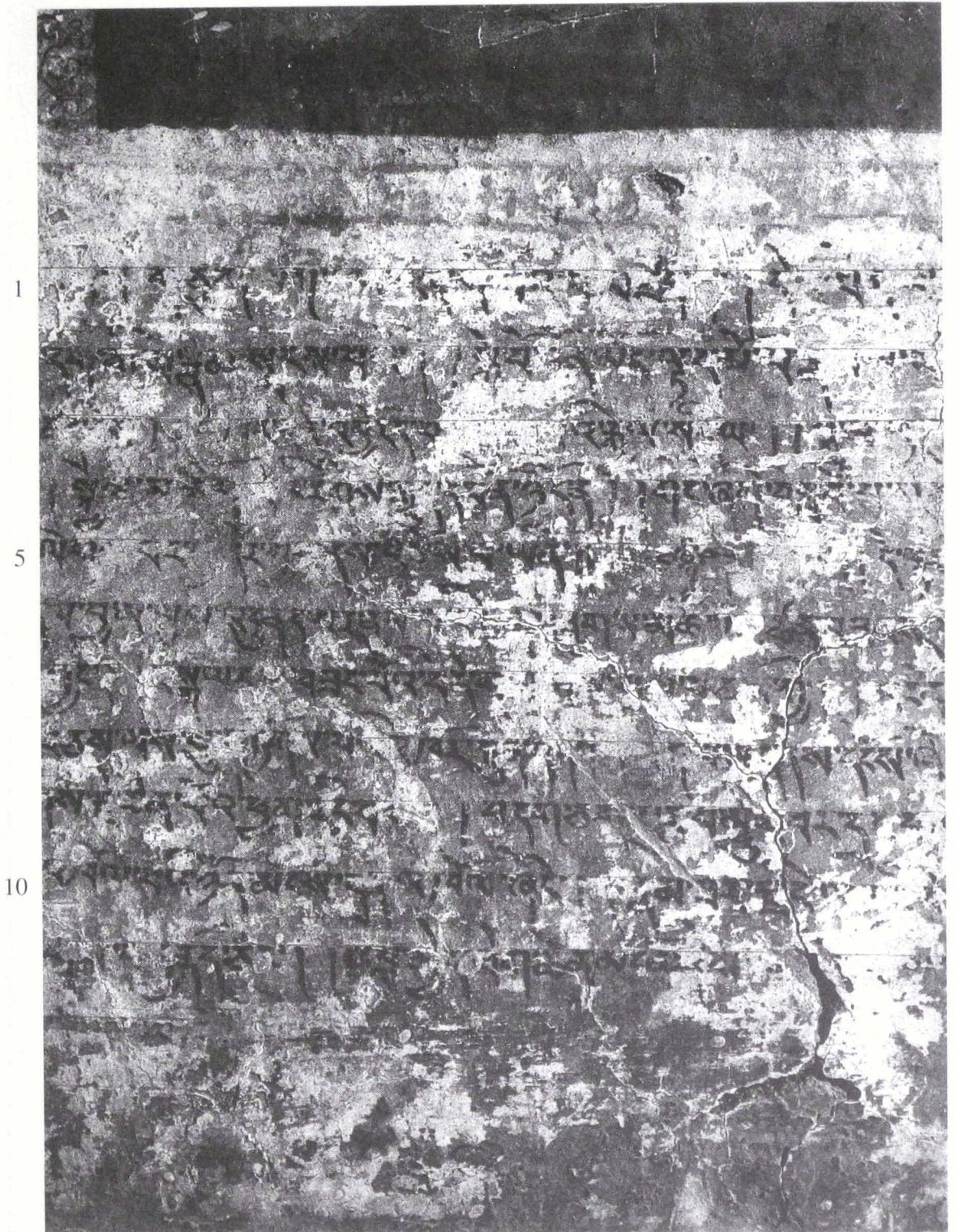
A detail of the Renovation Inscription (C. Luczanits 1994, 123, 29)



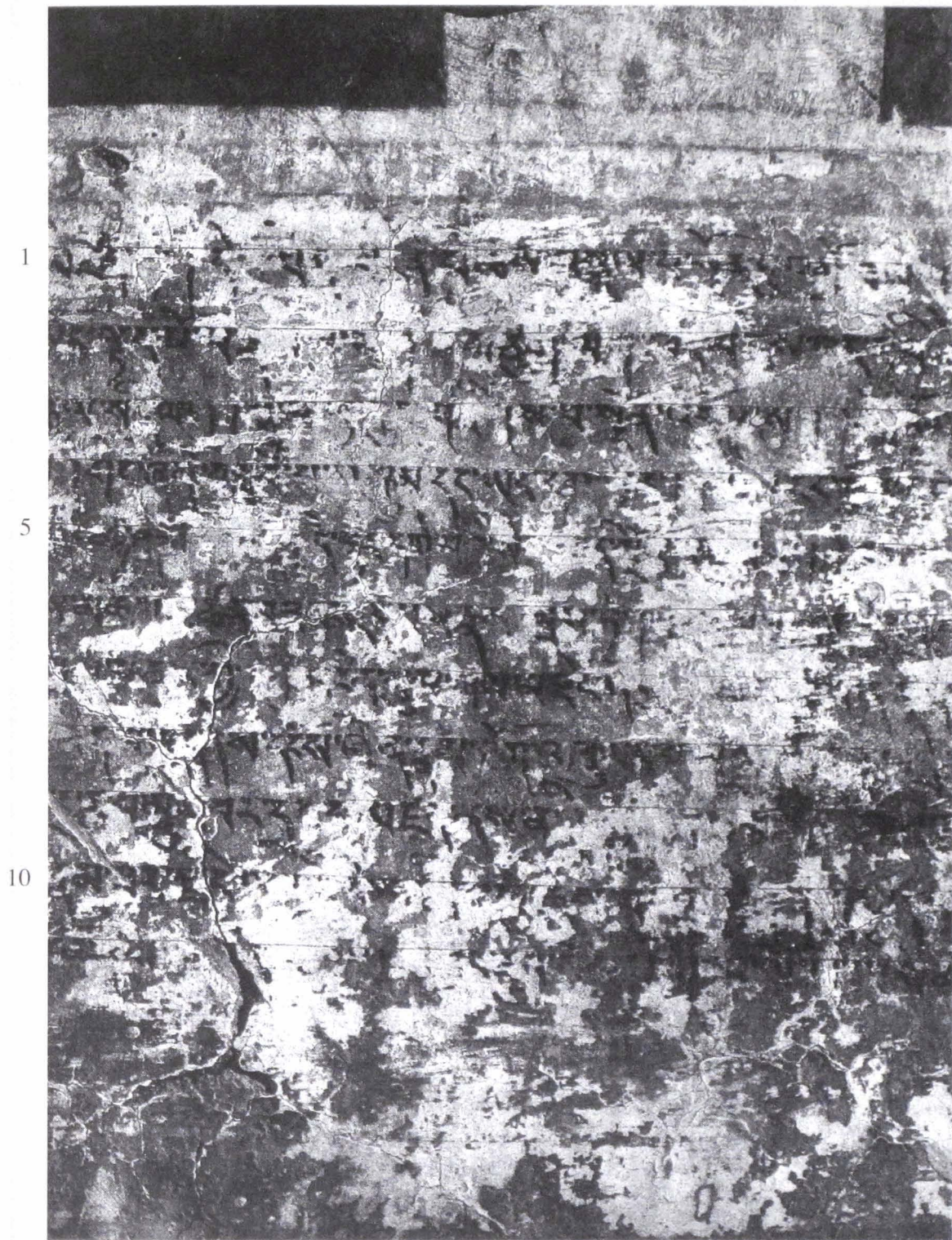
A detail of the Renovation Inscription (C. Luczanits 1994, 123, 30)



A detail of the Renovation Inscription (C. Luczanits 1994, 123, 31)



A detail of the Renovation Inscription (C. Luczanits 1994, 123, 32)



A detail of the Renovation Inscription (C. Luczanits 1994, 123, 33)



A detail of the Renovation Inscription (C. Luczanits 1994, 123, 34)

TRANSLATION⁶⁵

Earlier, in the monkey year, the ancestor, the Bodhisattva⁶⁶, erected this temple. Then, after 46 years, the grand-nephew lHa btsun pa Byañ chub 'od, motivated by the thought of enlightenment, restored this temple. Exhorted by his precious order we *were commissioned*⁶⁷ as reward.

Therefore, when the painting of the cella (*dri gtsañ khañ, gandhakuṭī*) was completed, the wish to make a record [of this] and a transfer (of merit) arose in the monk Phes(?) kha rgyu bdag⁶⁸, and he said:

To the short⁶⁹ record of the erection⁷⁰ of this beautiful temple for all those beings who are tired from [having walked] distant paths and are abandoned by friends and beloved ones, and who perceive the misery [in this world], listen with ... ⁷¹. (vv.1–2a)

⁶⁵ Complements implied by phrase or term are given in round brackets. Complements of interpretation are given in square brackets. Words in *italics* are uncertain proposals of meaning.

⁶⁶ I.e. Ye śes 'od. Verse 3a alludes to his name (cf. TUCCI 1935: 198,n.7). He is considered to be a bodhisattva (cf. KARMAY 1980a: 150–51). This appositional term was used by his descendants as his name but seemingly not by himself. It may go back to the phrase *byañ chub sems dpa'i gduñ (brgyud)* ascribed to earlier kings (KARMAY 1980b: 9; 1981: 209) which is used here as well (cf. v.2b).

⁶⁷ Read *hskos* (cf v. 6d).

⁶⁸ The first syllable of the name is highly uncertain. Petech (letter Oct.19th, 1996) supposes that *kha* is a nominal particle of belonging, *Phes(?) kha* meaning “the man from Phes(?)”.

⁶⁹ Read *cun zig*.

⁷⁰ Read *hžens pa'i* (two syllables) ?

⁷¹ “interest” ? (read perhaps *nan* ?).

This king, personification of a god⁷², born of divine race, of the lineage of bodhisattvas⁷³, lord over all black-headed (people), who by (his) perfect innate insight brought the light of wisdom (*ye śes 'od*) to the darkness of ignorance, abandoned (his) reign, which is connected with samsara, like a withered garland of flowers because he regarded (it) as an illusion. [He] then offered the whole *kingdom*⁷⁴ for the sake of the Dharma. When the lay people⁷⁵ of the realm (*mñā' ris*) had become white, [he] erected here the temple dPal ldan bkra' śis bde gnas as a lamp for this kingdom. (vv.2b–4)

The same grand-nephew, in the family lineage of this excellent being, truly provided with the threefold training, planted the root of faith of the tree of insight and spread the flowers and fruits of the Tripitaka. (v.5)

⁷² The interpretation of the attribute *myi rje lhas mdzad pa* is problematic. Tucci says “La formula è intensiva ed onorifica: corrisponde a *myi rje mdzad pa*” (1935: 199,n.4). He seems to be referring to the 'Phyön rgyas inscription (6f.) where Li-Coblin translate it as “acted as ruler of men” (LI-COBLIN 1987: 246; cf. also *rje mdzad pa las*, 58: “he served as lord” 1987: 249). An exact parallel to this formula is to be found in the Žwa'i lha khañ inscription, E.1: *myi'i rgyal po lhas mdzad pa*, translated as “king of men, personified by a god” (LI-COBLIN 1987: 291). The phrase *lhas mdzad pa* as part of royal attributes is also known from Tunhuang materials: *myi rje lhas mdzad pas* (P.T. 16,33b1) which Macdonald translates as “parce qu'il est un dieu devenu souverain des hommes” (MACDONALD 1971: 337), *myi rje lhas mdzad pa* (P.T. 16,25b3), and *myi rje lha mdzad* (P.T. 1290,r2f) the latter of which she translates as “un dieu devient souverain des hommes” (MACDONALD 1971: 320). Finally Karmay translates the phrase *myi rje lhas mdzad pa* from a colophon connected with Ži ba 'od as “the god who reigns over man” (KARMAY 1980b: 8). The problem lies in the instrumental particle of *lhas*, since the occurrence of *lha* in P.T. 1290 is unique. In their interpretation of the formula in the Žwa'i lha khañ inscription, Li-Coblin understand it as an agent “king of men, personified, made, represented by a god”. This interpretation seems to be the best so far.

⁷³ A similar phrase occurs in P.T. 840: *lha'i rigs la byañ c[h]ub sems dpa'i rgyu[d]* (corrections according to Karmay). This text is datable to the early tenth century (cf. KARMAY 1981: 194–96,209).

⁷⁴ Read *rgyal srid* ?

⁷⁵ *gdul rñams* for *gdul bya rñams*.

When this sovereign, the lHa btsun Byañ chub 'od, regarded the work of the ancestor as old, he gathered many masters and craftsmen, and provided the materials. When we, then, were commissioned by (his) profound order, we purified [the place] well and [the work] was done. (vv.6–7a)

May through this merit which we, motivated in this way by good thoughts, *gathered*⁷⁶ [as] white as jasmine the light of a very white moon , because of the work which was done⁷⁷ here, the noble donor, the king in the Dharma rJe btsun Byañ chub 'od, and others⁷⁸ in all births in all forms of existence⁷⁹ be adorned with excellent bodies with many good features that may be desired by all lay people, and then practice the conduct of a bodhisattva⁸⁰ in all forms of existences, and in due course proceed towards highest enlightenment! (vv.7b–9)

May also all the visitors who see or touch all these many painted images of the lords of (the five kinds of) existence, the Sugatas together with their sons , after seeing in person the Sugatas of the good age and their sons, and hearing the best teaching *identify*⁸¹ [their] minds with⁸².... the guides who rescue all living beings from the ocean *of samsara!*⁸³ (vv.10–11)

⁷⁶ *lags pa'i* Tu. Read (*b*)*stsags pa'i* ?

⁷⁷ Read *'di byas las* ?

⁷⁸ “Others” may refer to all other beings. Then “all the visitors” mentioned below are emphasized in particular as a special group of beings. On the other hand, it may refer to the masters and craftsmen gathered together who, like the king, gained merit by working on the temple. The latter alternative would, however, be contradicted by 12a (*gžan la gšnos pa las*) where *gžan* would refer to the “king and others” of 8bc. The most likely interpretation would be “other donors”.

⁷⁹ Tucci proposes *kyi* for *kyis*, but a modal interpretation seems to be appropriate.

⁸⁰ *byañ chub spyod* short for *byañ chub sems dpa'i spyod* ?

⁸¹ Luczanits reads *stsund/sñund*, while Steinkellner reads and proposes *stund*.

⁸² Read *yid* ?

⁸³ <*'khor ba'i rgya m>tsho' las*.

By this great merit, as extensive as space, which came about from dedicating all the good to others in this way, may we, together with our friends (and) the whole retinue attached to (this) work be very quickly pulled out from such a house, having the high walls of pride and intoxication piled up through [our] erroneous conceptions which take, since beginningless (time), as real [what is not real] (*dnos zen*), and which is down from a⁸⁴ and has firmly established the pillars and beams of passion and hatred and thus bears the name of the circle of the three existences, by the long arms of wisdom, expert in distinguishing (*bśan mña'*), and great compassion! [May we] then be [in] the excellent house, the house of the thought of truth, *which was taught by you*⁸⁵, well furnished⁸⁶ with the seat⁸⁷ of happiness and⁸⁸ be satisfied by the food of meditation and the drink of *liberation*⁸⁹, and be brought together always with the friends of the six⁹⁰ perfections! (vv.12–14)

In this [excellent house] the defilements are used as servants which [we] employ as [we] please, and the pond of release is filled with the water of meditation with the lotus of spread from all may [we] be *bathed*⁹¹ in the teaching of good thoughts ...! (v.15)

⁸⁴ *gzins* ?

⁸⁵ Read *khyed kyis (b)stan pa'i* ?

⁸⁶ Read *legs par bg[os pa]* ?

⁸⁷ Read *mal stan* ?

⁸⁸ Read *dan* ?

⁸⁹ *rnam grol* ?

⁹⁰ Read *drug* for *dug*.

⁹¹ Read *'khrus* ? for *khrus* ?

The Renovation Inscription

*Fumigated*⁹² [with] *the perfume*⁹³ *of morality*⁹⁴, dressed in the best clothes of shame and modesty and well adorned with the good primary and secondary characteristics (of the body) [may we] with the charioteer, the thought of enlightenment, in the chariot of supernatural knowledge of the highest great vehicle, raise the banner of the bodhimaṇḍala⁹⁵ in this monastery, connected with the eightfold [path] in which nirvana and tranquility are beginning to bloom!
(vv.16–17)

⁹² Read *bdugs nas ni* ?

⁹³ *dri* ?

⁹⁴ Read *tshul khrims* ?

⁹⁵ The meaning of bodhimaṇḍala (*byañ chub dkyil 'khor*) is unclear to us. It seems to be used here as a synonym of bodhimāṇḍa (*byañ chub sñiñ po*) which refers to the seat of the Buddha's enlightenment.

APPENDIX

1. SPELLINGS DIFFERENT FROM THE 'CLASSICAL NORM'

For convenience, spellings and their variations attested in Jäschke's dictionary are considered as the 'classical norm'. Differences in *b/p*-spellings are not recorded.

Superabundant 'a *chuñ*: *bkra*' (4c) *mgo*' (2c), *mtho*' (13a), *dpe*' (16c), <*m*>*tsho*' (11c), *bzo*' (6c), *gso*' (1.1).

Other: *dsgreñ* (17d): *bsgreñ*, *gsños* (12a, but *bsño* 1.2): *bsños*, *tu* (1.1): *du*, *stan* (14d): *gtan*, *gdu*<*l*> (4b,9a): *dul*, *spre* 'u (1.1): *spre*'u, *moñ* (1c, but *moñs* 15a): *moñs*, *stsogs* (6c,8c): *sogs*.

The *da drag* is regularly used: *bskald* (11a), 'khruld (12d), *gyurd* (3b,4b), *dgond* (17c), *brgyand* (16c), *mñand* (2a), *stund*(?) (11d), *bstand* (15d), 'dund (9a), 'byord (3b), *stsund*(?) (11d), 'dzind (15b), *zind* (1.2), *rold* (14f).

2. METAPHORS AND SIMILES

' <i>dod chags že sdañ</i>	<u><i>ka gduñ</i></u> (13c)
	<u><i>kundha ltar dkar bsod nams</i></u> (8ab)
<i>gdul rnam</i> (?)	<u><i>dkar por</i></u> 'oñs <i>gyurd</i> (4b)
<i>byañ chub sems kyi</i>	<u><i>kha lo pa</i></u> (17a)
< <i>dañ pa</i> > 'i don <i>sem̄s</i>	<u><i>khañ khyim</i></u> (14c)
	<u><i>khyim ni srid</i></u> <i>gsum</i> 'khor <i>ba</i> 'i <i>myiñ ldan</i> (13d)
' <i>dzem dañ khrel yod</i>	<u><i>gos</i></u> (16b)
<i>pha rold phyin d</i> < <i>r</i> > <i>ug</i>	<i>grogs</i> (14f)
	<u><i>mgo</i></u> 'nag (2c)
<'khor <i>ba</i> 'i	<u><i>rgya m</i></u> > <i>tsho</i> (11c)
<i>byañ chub</i> <u><i>dkyi</i></u> 'khor	<u><i>rgyal mtshan</i></u> (17d)
	<u><i>sgyu ma lta bur</i></u> (3c)
<i>gtsug lag khañ</i>	<u><i>sgron mar</i></u> (4cd)
<i>tiñ ñe</i> 'dzind <i>kyi</i>	<u><i>chu</i></u> (15b)
<i>śes rab</i>	<u><i>ljon śiñ</i></u> (5c)

The Renovation Inscription

<rnām> grol	<u>btuñ pa</u> (14e)
thugs rje chen po 'i	<u>phyag riñ ba</u> (14a)
ñon moñs	<u>bran 'khol</u> (15a)
ma rig	<u>mun pa</u> (3a)
rgyal srid	<u>m?e tog 'phreñ rñis</u> bzin du spañs (3bd)
sde <u>snod</u> gsum gyi	<u>mye tog 'bras bu</u> (5d)
dad pa 'i	<u>rtsa ba</u> (5c)
na rgyal dregs pa 'i	<u>rtsig ≠ mtho'</u> (13a)
rnām thar	<u>rdziñ</u> (15b)
bla myed theg chen mñon śes	<u>bzon ba</u> (16d)
<u>bsam</u> gtan (:stan)	<u>zas</u> (14e)
ye śes	<u>'od</u> (3a)
ye śes	<u>bśan mñia'</u> (14a)
khyim ni	<u>srid gsum</u> 'khor ba 'i myiñ ldan (13d)

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THE «ADMONITORY INSCRIPTION» IN THE TABO 'DU KHAÑ

by Helmut Tauscher

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION AND GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The inscription edited and translated in this paper¹ is located on the face of the south wall separating the Assembly Hall from the Cella (cf. Figs 3 and 4). Inclusive a frame of 2–2,5 cm it measures ca. 63 x 103 cm, starts immediately below the statue of Vajrapāśa (rDo rje žags pa), the gate-protector of the South,² and ends ca. 50 cm above the floor.

The left side of the inscription starts less than 1 cm from the edge of the wall, and, although the whole face of the wall has been prepared with yellow priming paint and the lining for inscriptions, it covers only slightly more than the left half of it, leaving the right half blank. This part shows only the drawing of a wishfulfilling gem on a lotus in the

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to my colleagues J. Chu, H. Hu von Hinüber, K.N. Mishra and J.L. Panglung, who contributed essentially to this paper with their valuable suggestions, comments and corrections.

An abbreviated version of the introductory part is to be published under the title “An introduction to the «Admonitory Inscription» in the Tabo 'Du khañ” by the Karuna Foundation, Delhi, in the proceedings of the “International Seminar on Rinchen Zangpo and his Works”, Tabo, June 28 to July 3, 1996.

² Identified by LUCZANITS (forthcoming); cf. TUCCI 1988: 34 – Vajrahāsa (rDo rje bžad pa), HANDA 1987: 92 – Vajrasphoṭa (rDo rje phāt) [1994: 104 – Vajraphota (rDo rje phat)].

upper left quarter and a few solitary *akṣaras* not related to anything, obviously dating from a much later time than the inscription; there are no traces of any older writing underneath.

The inscription consists of 83 lines with 105–110 *akṣaras* (incl. *śad*) each. Between lines 26–27 and 30–31 the space is bigger than usual; the gap is filled with a few short vertical zigzag lines. From line 45 downwards the left edge of the wall is broken off, affecting the inscription from line 46 onward. Between lines 58 and 68 there exists a considerable discrepancy between the putative number of *akṣaras* that could – provided the inscription starts in a straight line – fit into this part and the number of *akṣaras* actually missing according to the canonical editions of the Daśacakrakṣitigarbha (Sa'i sñin po 'khor lo bcu pa) sūtra quoted therein.

Line	Room for <i>akṣaras</i>	<i>akṣaras</i> acc.Q(S)	Line	Room for <i>akṣaras</i>	<i>akṣaras</i> acc.Q(S)
46	1	1	66	13	6
47	3	3	65	13	8
48	7	7	67	13	5
49	7	7/8	68	13	6
50	8	5	69	13	10
51	10	12	70	12	0/4(10/13)
52	10	9	71	11	6
53	11	9/10	72	10	?
54	11	8	73	10	9
55	11	8	74	10	7
56	11	7	75	11	7
57	11	7	76	11	10 (9)
58	11	6	77	12	8
59	12	4	78	12	11 (10)
60	12	6 (7)	79	12	8
61	13	7	80	13	10
62	12	8 (7)	81	14	11/14(10/13)
63	12	5/6	82	14	8/10/12
64	12	6 (7)	83	14	–

The left part of line 66–74 and the right part of line 75–83 are badly damaged; lengthier passages are faded, overpainted by a thin layer of priming (?), washed away or broken off. Throughout the inscription, but in particular in the last third, there are traces of an

older text underneath the present one. In very few cases parts of *akṣaras*, vowel signs or *tsheg* are legible that clearly cannot belong to the present inscription;³ the majority consists of illegible traces that might or might not be the remains of an older text.

Location of the inscription

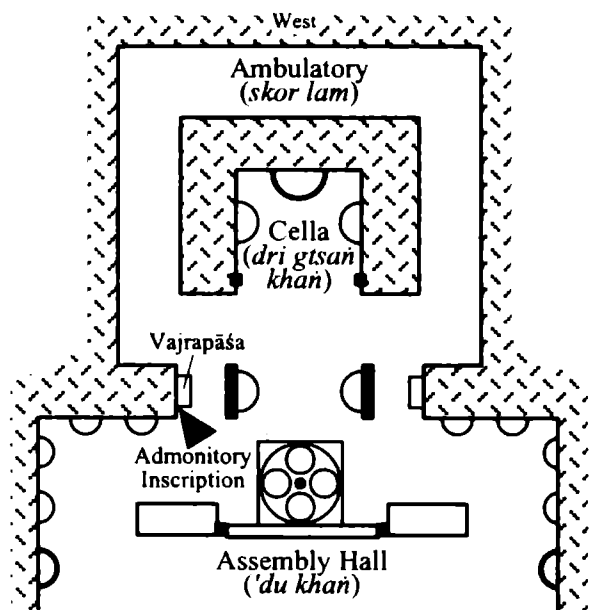


Fig. 3: The western section of the Tabo Main Temple with the location of the Admonitory Inscription

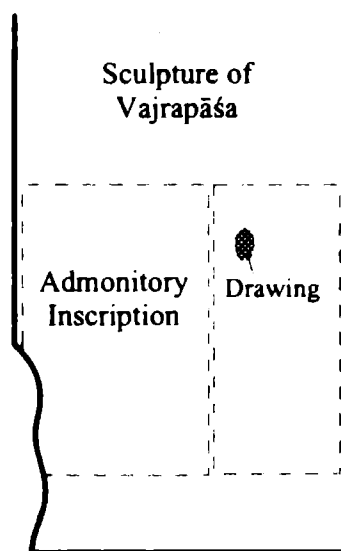


Fig. 4: Face of the wall separating the Assembly Hall from the Cella

PALAEOGRAPHIC AND ORTHOGRAPHIC PECULIARITIES

The inscription is written in *dbu can* script, and to a large extent it shares the palaeographic and orthographic peculiarities of other inscriptions in the Tabo 'Du khan as well as those manuscripts of the Tabo «Kanjur» assumed to belong to its oldest layer, known also from Tun-huang and Turfan materials.⁴ They have been discussed in detail

³ E.g. at the beginning of l. 21 there is a clearly legible *gi gu* above the *-m* of *dam*.

⁴ See STEINKELLNER 1995: n.34 and n.35.

elsewhere;⁵ here it will suffice to repeat only the most important and obvious ones:

- Putting a *tsheg* before *śad*;
- palatalisation of *m* before *i* and *e* by means of *ya btags* (*myed, myi, mye, smye, myig*);
- occurrence of *da drag*;⁶
- appearance of *s-t, s-p, s-ts* in horizontal ligature;
- appearance of genitive 'i and final 'o as distinct syllables;
- usage of the form *la(s) stsogs pa* instead of *la sogs pa*;
- no strict distinction between the graphemes *p-/b-* and *tu/du*.

There are, however, no occurrences of inverted *gi gu*, or haplography in case of the same final and initial consonants, and only one case of superabundant usage of final 'a (l. 27 *po'*), all features characteristic of the other inscriptions and the oldest manuscripts in the 'Du khañ.

In some cases the tenuis *tsa, ca* and *ta* are not distinguished from the respective aspirate *tsha, cha* and *tha* – a feature also quite common in older Tibetan texts: the usual form *tshon can* (instead of *tshon chen*, see below) occurs once as *tson can* (l. 28); the «correct» form *mtshon cha* (*praharaṇa/āyudha*) as part of two demons' names, appears as *mtshon ca* (l. 56, 70); *deñ phyin chad* (“henceforth”) as *deñ phyin cad* (l. 74), and *ma thag tu* (“immediately after”) as *ma tag [tu]* (l. 15).

In addition «orthographic mistakes» appear, viz. neglecting the prescript (*g-* and *'-*). The term *mda' gzu* (“bow and arrow”), for example, is spelled without the *ga sñon 'jug*: *mda' zu* (l. 26, 27 and 29)⁷ and *rgyun mi 'chad pa* (“uninterrupted”) appears as ... *chad pa* (l. 20). These might be simple misspellings, but they might as well be also considered as peculiarities, either of the particular inscription or of the Tabo writing style of the time. I have, however, not studied enough material to decide this question.

⁵ Cf. STEINKELLNER 1994: 124f., 1995: 11f., DE ROSSI FILIBECK 1994: 139, TAUSCHER 1994: 175f., STEINKELLNER/LUCZANITS (in the present volume), THAKUR (1997).

⁶ A *da drag* occurs in the following words (without indication of restorations of only partly readable words according to the canonical editions of the sūtra): *rkyend* (l. 75), *bskord* (l. 58, 65), *bskyald* (l. 56), *'khord* (l. 62), *gyurd* (l. 38, 41, 42, 44, 46, 47, 50, 59, 73, 80), *gyond* (l. 31, 61, 80), *'chald* (l. 1), *bstand* (l. 4, 6, 9, 16, 19, 41, 47, 75, 79, 81), *gdold* (l. 30, 32, 78), *sbyard* (l. 62, 65), *stsald* (l. 3, 24), *'dzind* (l. 53), *gzird* (l. 60), *gsold* (l. 73).

⁷ See Translation, ns.40 and 45; in l. 25 (see Translation n.39) the form *mda' hzi* appears.

One «mistake» of this kind is shared with the canonical editions of D, Q and S of the Kṣitigarbhasūtra. The *skul tshig*-form of *gnañ ba* (“to allow”), *gnoñs*, is spelled without the *sa rjes ’jug: gnon*.⁸

Another deviation from «normal» classical Tibetan shared by the inscription and the canonical editions of the sūtra is the consistent spelling *tshon can* (actually: “silver”) instead of *tshon chen* (“yellowish brown, saffron”) (l. 25, 28, 31, 63).⁹

With regard to the manuscripts of the Tabo «Kanjur» Steinkellner (1994: 125) states that, “For the time being, ... the occurrence of all or of the majority of the above peculiarities” can be taken “as an indication for the dating to the earliest period of the monastery’s, or the area’s, writing offices, i.e. from the 11th century A.D.” In general, it can be assumed that this judgement also holds good for the inscription. In the case of the inscriptions immediately adjacent to this «Admonitory Inscription», i.e. those of the Sudhana frieze and the «Renovation Inscription»¹⁰ this dating is supported by art-historical evidence.¹¹ The «Admonitory Inscription» itself is not accompanied by any pictorial painting, but the similarity to the adjacent inscriptions with regard to the style of writing and the orthographic and palaeographic peculiarities suggest a dating to the same period, i.e. to or around the year 1042, the time of the temple’s renovation.¹²

There are also features that might contradict this assumption. Despite all similarities between the inscriptions mentioned, there are some differences in their peculiarities, i.e., as stated above, the lack of the inverted *gi gu*, the superabundant usage of final *’a* and the haplography in case of the same final and initial consonants.

The considerable discrepancy between the putative number of *akṣaras* fitting into the part where the wall is broken off and the number of *akṣaras* actually missing according to the canonical editions between lines 58 and 68 mentioned above could theoretically mean that the inscription did not start in a straight line, and the damage to the wall already existed at the time when the present version was written.

However, since a larger empty space between two *śad* or similar irregularities in lost passages can hardly be taken into account, this

⁸ See Translation, n.71.

⁹ See Translation, n.34; as exception A reads *tson can* (l. 28), Q *chon can* (l. 25 and 63).

¹⁰ See STEINKELLNER 1995 and STEINKELLNER/LUCZANITS (present volume).

¹¹ Cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1994: 35.

¹² Cf. STEINKELLNER (in press).

discrepancy is not very conclusive. Besides, even if any importance should be attributed to it, the fact that there exist traces of an older inscription underneath the present one could mean that it was re-written at a later date, when the wall was already damaged, imitating its original style but omitting the peculiarities mentioned.

On the basis of the data that we possess, however, all such speculations are bound to be mere hypothesis. Thus they should not be pursued any further. To my knowledge there is no serious reason contradicting a provisional dating of the inscription to the time of or around 1042.

IDENTIFICATION AND CONTENTS

Lines 1–3 contain, without any introductory address, the actual message of this inscription: No layman, be he a king (*rgyal po*), minister (*blon po [chen po]*), lord (*dbañ po*) or whosoever, is entitled to physically or verbally punish or insult a monk, regardless of the latter's moral status.¹³

The rest of the inscription is dedicated to proving this statement by quotations from the authoritative Buddhist scripture.

1) **Daśacakraṣṭigarbhamahāyānasūtra:** This part actually constitutes the main body of the inscription. Lines 3–82 quote five passages from the Kṣitigarbhasūtra to support the initial statement. They correspond to:

D (293) 138b4–139a3 = Q (905) 148a2–8 = S (vol. *mDo Ña*) 54a6–55a1 = T (411) 736a16–b1 (l. 3–9); D 142b7–143a5 = Q 152a7–b4 = S 60b6–61a1 = T 737c15–26 (l. 9–15); D 151 b7–154b7 = Q 161b3–164b6 = S 73a4–77a6 = T 741b17–742c22 (l. 15–70); D 155a5–6 = Q 165a4–5 = S 77b6–7 = T 743a11–12 (l. 70–72); D 155b3–156a4 = Q 165b2–166a3/4 = S 78a6–79a4 = T 743a27–b19 (l. 72–82).¹⁴

¹³ A.H. Francke, who first mentioned the inscription in scholarly literature, seems to have misunderstood its meaning, stating that “it speaks of the many punishments to be inflicted on such lamas as do not live up to the standard of law” (FRANCKE 1914: 41), which – as will be discussed below – does not correspond to the contents of this inscription; cf. STEINKELLNER (in press): n.12.

¹⁴ The *sigla* for the Tibetan Kanjur editions have been proposed by P. Harrison and H. Eimer at the “7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, June 18th – 24th, 1995, Schloß Seggau – Graz”:

D Derge Kanjur and Tanjur, catalogued by H. Ullrich *et al.* (Tokyo 1970),

S Stog Palace Manuscript Kanjur, catalogued by T. Skorupski (Tokyo 1985),

In general these passages represent the sūtra text without any changes or redactional adaption. The only exception might be the short passage l. 70–72, where at the beginning some 20–23 and at the end some 18 *akṣaras* are lost or illegible. Nevertheless it is obvious that they cannot be identical with the corresponding passages in the canonical editions. As the Tabo inscription does not otherwise deviate essentially from the canonical editions, it is my assumption that in this case one episode of the story quoted to support the inscription's message is presented in an abridged form, with short transitional phrases at the beginning and end.¹⁵

All the passages quoted are taken from chapter 3 of the sūtra, *gNas śiñ spyad par mi bya ba'i le'u* ("That which is not to be adhered to and not to be practised"). The section preceding the first passage quoted in the inscription explains what is to be understood by this term, and at the same time it gives the context and the actual reason and motivation for establishing the sacrosanct status of the Buddhist monk proclaimed in the «Admonitory Inscription».

This need not be directly relevant for the inscription; nevertheless a rough summary¹⁶ of this section would seem to be justified:

There is the great explanation of perfect knowledge (*ājñāvyākaraṇa*) regarding things (*chos*) not to be adhered to and not to be practised. All previous Venerable Buddhas have thought this great explanation of perfect knowledge regarding things not to be adhered to and not to be practised, in order to lead all sentient beings to maturation, ...¹⁷

Q Peking edition of Kanjur and Tanjur, catalogued and reprinted at the Otani University, Kyoto, ed. D.T. SUZUKI (Tokyo, Kyoto 1955–1961).

A proposed for the Tabo manuscript fragments, will later on in this paper be used for the sūtra text represented in the inscription.

T Taishō edition of the Chinese Canon, catalogued by P. DEMIÉVILLE (Paris, Tokyo 1978).

¹⁵ See Translation, n.84 and 86.

¹⁶ A detailed treatment is not possible within the frame of this paper. Problems with regard to textual transmission, terminology and content are, therefore, largely ignored. – Indented passages indicate rough translations.

¹⁷ D 136a6–b1: *śes pa hrda sprod pa chen po gnas pa dañ / spyad par mi bya ba'i chos yod de / śnon 'das pa'i sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das thams cad kyis kyañ sems can thams cad yoñs su smon par bya ba ... 'i phyir / śes pa hrda sprod pa chen po gnas pa dañ / spyad par mi bya ba'i chos 'di gsuñs so //*

The term *gnas pa dañ* (/) *spyad par mi bya ba'i chos* poses some problems. This particular sentence seems to suggest an interpretation of *chos* as «religious teaching»

The Venerable One explains to Mahābrahman *Devagarbha: There are ten kinds of things not to be adhered to and not to be practised. If those who practise yoga (or contemplative concentration [*samādhi*]) are involved with any of these (kinds of) misbehaviour (*spyod pa nan pa*), the roots of virtue of *kāmadhātu* will not thoroughly be accomplished. Even if they have been accomplished previously, they will be destroyed immediately, how much less could [any accomplishment], from form and formless contemplative concentration up to the three vehicles and the one vehicle, be gained.¹⁸

These «ten kinds of things not to be adhered to and not to be practised» are given in two different lists, but not individually discussed later on.

The first list includes spiritual, moral, social and doctrinal faults, as for instance an agitated or indolent mind, disrespect of the Noble Ones, joking and lying, envy and maliciousness, or holding a view that denies the connection between cause and effect.¹⁹ No.2 from this list

(“There is the great explanation of perfect knowledge, the religious teaching about what is not to be adhered to and not to be practised. ...”). However, taking the following passages into account, I prefer to understand *chos* as «thing, matter» also in this case.

In the passages quoted in the inscription (l. 10–15) the term appears as *mi gnas pa dan mi bya ba* (‘i *chos*) in a context that suggest – misleadingly – an interpretation as Vinaya rule; cf. Translation, n.15.

¹⁸ D 136b6–137a1: *bcom ldan 'das kyis tshañs pa chen po lha'i sñiñ po la bka' stal ba / gnas dan spyad par mi bya ba'i chos rnam pa bcu yod de / gal te rnal 'byor can* (137a6, 7, b3: *tiñ ne 'dzin sgom pa) dag spyod pa nan pa 'di las 'ga' tсам gyi rdzas su žugs na yañ / 'dod pa'i khams kyi dge ba'i rtsa ba tsam yoñs su mi 'grub po // ji ste sñar grub pa na yañ de ma thag tu phyir stor ciñ ñams par 'gyur na gzugs dan / gzugs med pa'i tiñ ne 'dzin nas theg pa gsum dan theg pa gcig gi bar du thob par 'gyur ba lta ci smos /*

¹⁹ D 137a1–5: *'jig rten na* (1) *kha cig tiñ ne 'dzin sgom 'dod kyañ 'tsho ba'i yo byad kyis bral* pas 'tshol* (S *'thso*) *ba'i rkyen gyis ñon moñs pa*, (2) ... *tshul khrimis ñams śiñ kha na ma tho ba mañ po byed pa*, (3) ... *phyin ci log tu lta žiñ 'jig rten gyi ltas bzañ nan la chags te lus dan sems ma dul ba*, (4) ... *sems g.yo žiñ rgod pas 'phags pa la ma gžol te dbañ po rgod pa*, (5) ... *phra ma byed pa la dga' has dbyen byed pa*, (6) ... *nag rsub pos 'phags pa la smod ciñ dbañ za ba*, (7) ... *tshig kyal pa dan / brdzun du smra ba*, (8) ... *'dod chags dan / phrag dog gis gžan gyi khe dan / hsti stan dan / rñed pa la mi dga' ba*, (9) ... *že sdan dan bcas pas sems can la gnod sems skyes pa*, (10) ... *log par lta ba dan bcas pas rgyu dan 'bras bu med par lta ba*. (Each of these «misbehaviours» is introduced by the phrase *kha cig tiñ ne 'dzin sgom 'dod kyañ*).

shows the closest relation to the passages quoted in the inscription: “Somebody, although he wants to practise contemplative concentration, violates moral conduct and commits many vices (*kha na ma tho ba, sāvadya*)”.

The second list mentions delight in and attachment to worldly activities and objects, idle talk, sleeping, various pleasant sensations and (unwholesome) speculations and examinations.²⁰

The most important item is obviously No.1 from the first list: “Somebody, although he wants to practise contemplative concentration, being without the necessities of life gets defiled due to [the need to] acquire (them)”; this is the only item to be considered in the following explanations. However, it seems to be the «fault» not so much of the monk who wants to practise *samādhi*, but rather of those who fail to provide him with the necessities of life.

The crucial point, which is stressed several times, is the fact that all these «ten kinds of things not to be adhered to and not to be practised» count as misbehaviour or faults injurious to *samādhi*.

The accomplishment of *samādhi* is of the utmost importance, as without it all other virtues are meaningless and bad mental qualities will arise. This is the reason why there is a contradiction with worldly law. Physical punishment – of a monk, although this is not stated explicitly in this place – will result in all sorts of evil destinies, from severe diseases to falling into *avīci* hell, as it impairs meditation; those who fail therein are also bound for *avīci*.²¹

* *bral* (corr.) : *brel* (DPS); cf. n.23.

²⁰ D 137b1–3: (1) *las su bya ba'i dños po la dga' zñ chags pa*, (2) *bre mo'i gtam la ...*, (3) *gñid kyis log pa la ...*, (4) *zañ zñ tshol ba la ...* (5) *gzugs bzañ po la ...*, (6) *sgra sñan la ...*, (7) *dri žim po la ...*, (8) *ro žim po la ...*, (9) *reg bya 'jam po la ...*, (10) *rtog dañ dpyod pa la ...*

²¹ Cf. D 137b4–138a1: *gal te tiñ ne 'dzin ma bsgrubs na dge ba'i tshogs gžan ci bsags kyañ de ni don du mi 'gyur te / gañ bdag gi loñs spyod dañ / dad pas sbyin pa bsgrub pa'i phyir sems dañ sems las byuñ ba'i chos ñan pa skye bar 'gyur ro // de'i rkyen gyis rgyal po dañ / blon po chen pa'i khrims dañ yañ 'gal bar byed de / kha cig la ni gše śiñ spyo ba yañ byed do // kha cig la ni lcag gis gžu ba dañ / kha cig la ni lus kyi yan lag dañ ñiñ lag gcod par yañ byed do // de'i rgyu de'i rkyen gyis nad drag pos 'debs śiñ ... mtshams med pa'i sems can dmyal ba'i bar du ltuñ bar 'gyur te / u (DP ku) drā ka dañ / a ra da ka dañ / de śu ku pa la ki (S pā li ka) dañ / lhas sbyin la sogs pa dañ 'dra bar bsum gtan las ñams pa dañ / mtshams med pa'i sems can dmyal ba'i bar du ltuñ žiñ rnam pa tshad med pa sñed kyi sdug bsñal chen po mi bzod pa kun myoñ bar 'gyur ro //*

In general those who kill their parents or a Buddhist saint are reborn in *avīci* (cf. DIETZ 1994: 279). According to the Abhidharmakośa(bhāṣya) IV,99c it is only the

The Buddha's law, on the other hand, provides all sorts of facilitation for monks practising *samādhi* in remote areas. They are allowed a certain degree of luxury and are dispensed from their ordinary duties.

At that time the Venerable One said to the honourable, noble Kauṇḍinya:

You and (?) monks living in border countries and practising *samādhi* are allowed to dwell in excellent houses, to use excellent bedding and food, and not to fulfil any of the duties of the *samgha*.²²

The reason for this easing of Vinaya rules is simple: If those who practise *samādhi* lack the necessities of life, bad mental qualities will arise, *samādhi* will not be accomplished, and they will fall into *avīci* hell and suffer all sorts of incredible sorrow. If, on the other hand, they are provided with the necessities of life, their *samādhi* will be accomplished, and no unwholesome quality and none of the «ten kinds of things not to be adhered to and not to be practised» mentioned above will arise; they will be reborn among the heavenly gods and attain nirvāṇa.²³

The section of the inscription containing quotations from the Kṣiti-garbhāsūtra can be systematically divided into two parts.

a) The first part (l. 3–23) proves the inscription's initial statement as the command of the Buddha: Even a monk violating moral conduct (*śīlavipanna*) and committing offences might become the teacher and guide of all living beings and is therefore not to be physically

offence of *samghabheda* that necessarily leads to *avīci* (see AK_L IV, 207). For the unusual translation of the term see Translation, n.26.

²² D 138a1–2: *de'i tshe bcom ldan 'das kyis tshe dan ldan pa can śes kau di nya la 'di skad ces hka' stsal to // khyod dan bas mthar gnas śiñ tiñ ne 'dzin sgom pa'i dge sloñ dag gnas khañ mchog dag na gnas śiñ mal cha mchog dan / kha zas mchog la spyod ciñ dge 'dun gyi las thams cad mi byed par gnañ no //*

²³ Cf. D 138a2–4: *de ci'i phyir ze na / tiñ ne 'dzin sgom pa dag gal te 'tsho ba'i yo byad kyis bral (SD brel) bar gyur na sems dan sems las byuñ ba'i chos nan skye žiñ tiñ ne 'dzin thams cad mi 'grub pa nas mtshams med pa'i sems cad dmyal ba'i bar du ltuñ žiñ sdug bsñal chen po rnam pa tshad med pa sñed myoñ bar 'gyur ro // tiñ ne 'dzin sgom pa dag gal te 'tsho ba'i yo byad dan ldan na tiñ ne 'dzin mañ po ma grub pa yañ grub pa dan / snar grub pa dag kyañ mi ñams so // de'i dhañ gis mi dge ba'i chos thams cad mi skye ba nas gžuñ de'i bžin du rgyas par mi dge ba'i rtog pa dan dpyod pa'i bar du mi skye ba la mtho ris kyi lhar skye ba nas mya nan 'da' ba'i bar du 'thob par 'gyur ro //*

punished, not even in accordance with worldly law (*khyim pa'i chos ñid dan sbyar du*), or verbally offended by any layman. The simple fact of wearing the monk's robe is enough to protect him from such treatment. Whoever mistreats a monk in this way is bound to fall into the *avīci* hell.

This passage contains also a short «Vinaya-like» section (l.10–15), discussing different categories of offences and mentioning the consequences of committing a primary offence for a monk, viz. losing the rights of a full member of the *samgha*.

b) The second part (l. 23–82) illustrates the first one with two stories.

b1) The first story (l. 23–52) emphasises the merits of honouring and respecting the Buddhist monk, even if he is identified only by his robe. Although it does not completely correspond to Jātaka 514, this story seems to be, at least superficially, modelled on its example. It tells of the Bodhisattva in his existence as the six-tusked (*ṣaḍdanta*) elephant-king *Utpalākṣa (*Ud pa la'i myig / U pa la'i/li'i mig*). Five outcastes (*caṇḍāla*), disguised as Buddhist monks, come to kill him in order to get one of his tusks at the command of King Brahmadata of Kāśi. *Utpalākṣa's companion discerns their intention:

“[They] may pretend to be wearers of the monk's robe,
but as [they] all carry bows and arrows in [their] hands,
they are without mercy and dangerous,
they are outcastes inclined to committing sins” (l. 29f.),

and she wants to kill them:

“Those wearing the monk's robe
[you would] think have taken refuge in the Buddha;
[but] although the clothing appears very peaceful,
they nurse a vicious mind inside.

In order to completely destroy the enemy,
who has cast an arrow into the lord's body,
by having quickly trampled his body
[I] shall deprive [him] of [his] life.” (l. 33–34)

But *Utpalākṣa objects:

“If [one] appears wearing a small rag of a monk's robe
this is the root of kindness and compassion.
Because of kindness and love towards all living beings,
they will certainly have taken refuge in the Buddha.

If you, without suspicion towards them,
quickly promote this mental disposition [you will be-
come] brilliant.

These wearers of the saffron[-coloured] monk's robe
[will] liberate [you] from the ocean of *samsāra*.”

(l. 30–32)

And: “It is better to be deprived of [one's] life, but
[certainly] it is not proper to produce a sinful mind.
Although these [men] have a deceitful mind, [with
regard to their] clothing (they) resemble pupils of the
Buddha.

The pure mind of a wise one

is not for the sake of [his own] life;

thus for the sake of the liberation of many beings

practise always the conduct [leading to] enlightenment!”

(l. 34–36);

he casts out a tusk and offers it to the outcastes.

b2) The second story (l. 52–82) goes one step further and makes the sacrosanct status of the Buddhist monk a worldly law for the religious benefit of the people. In a country called Pa na tsa la²⁴ a criminal is sentenced to death. In order for his sentence to be executed he is fettered and brought to a burial ground which is haunted by man-eating evil ghosts (*yakṣa*) and demons (*rākṣasa*). However, he has a small rag of a monk's robe, which he had found, tied around his neck. Due to this fact the demons not only do him no harm; they show their respect by circumambulating him and finally release him. When King Jitaśatru/Jitāri (*dGra las rgyal ba*) hears about this, he is amazed by this miracle and proclaims the following law:

“Henceforth everybody is to be killed, if anybody
makes fun of or does harm to the disciples of the
Buddha living in my country, who, whether observing
moral conduct, violating moral conduct, or being with-
out [even] the slightest moral conduct, having shaved
hair and beard, wear the saffron-coloured robe.” (l.
74f.)

²⁴ See Translation, n.64.

On account of that, all the people of the country turn towards Buddhist teaching and seek refuge in the Three Jewels.

2) **Bodhicaryāvatāra** (?): Line 83 quotes half a stanza, said to be from the Bodhi(sattva)caryāvatāra (*[Byan chub] sems dpa'i spyod pa la 'jug pa*). Only the beginning is clearly legible; it reads: “Wear(ing) only the monk’s robe ...” (*chos gos tsam zig gyo[n] ...*). However, no such verse is to be found in the Bodhicaryāvatāra.²⁵

CONSIDERATION OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

One of the reasons for the importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it contains, in all probability, the earliest evidence of the Tibetan version of the Daśacakrakṣitigarbhasūtra, which constitutes a part of the larger unit of the Mahāsamnipātasūtra. The latter is a collection of sūtras of various ages and origins – partly from Central Asia –, which are believed to have been compiled into the present form in or after the 5th century A.D.²⁶

The cult of Kṣitigarbha, which is very popular in Central Asia and Japan but seems to have gained very little importance in Indian Buddhism,²⁷ is based on the old belief in the Mother Goddess of earth (*prthivī*), who, under the influence of Zoroastrian ideas, evolved into an independent bodhisattva in the southern part of the Tarim basin from the 4th century A.D. onward.²⁸

As for the Daśacakrakṣitigarbhasūtra, its textual history is by no means clear. Some Japanese scholars hold that it was compiled in Central Asia “by Buddhist priests who spoke Iranian languages”, while others say that it is the product of “enlarging and supplementing the Kṣitigarbha-praṇidhāna-sūtra²⁹ by Chinese monks”.³⁰

Amongst the Tun-huang materials there is a fragment of a roll containing the quotation (?) from a Sa’i sñiñ po ... źus pa’i mdo

²⁵ See Translation, n.99.

²⁶ See NAKAMURA 1980: 216.

²⁷ See GABAIN 1973: 47.

²⁸ See NAKAMURA 1980: 217.

²⁹ T 412; translated from the Sanskrit by Śikṣānanda in the 7th century A.D. There exists a translation into Japanese by Keiki Yabuki (unseen; see NAKAMURA 1980: 217, n.22) and one into English by a team of Chinese and American translators (*Sūtra of the Past Vows of Earth Store Bodhisattva*. New York 1974).

³⁰ See NAKAMURA 1980: 217.

(*Kṣitigarbha-... pariṛcchā-sūtra).³¹ A sūtra by the same name is attested by a fragment of three folios in the India Office Library, which gives the title as *Byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po sa'i sñiñ pos bcom ldan 'das la zus pa'i mdo* (*Kṣitigarbha-bodhisattva-mahāsattva-bhagavat-pariṛcchā-sūtra)³². Whether this sūtra has any connection to one of the two mentioned above has not yet been investigated.

The question of the redactional history of the Kṣitigarbhasūtra is not, however, the topic of this paper. Here it may suffice to mention a few facts:

(a) In 651 A.D. the Daśacakrakṣitigarbhasūtra was translated into Chinese by Hsüan-tsang.³³ This translation, in turn, was translated into Tibetan by the Chinese Ho/Hwa śaṅ zab mo etc. and the Tibetan Lotsāba rNam par mi rtog.

(b) At the beginning of the 8th century a Sanskrit version of the text must have existed, as it is quoted several times in Śāntideva's Śikṣā-samuccaya.³⁴ However, one of these quotations, which is also contained in the «Admonitory Inscription», shows considerable divergencies from the Tibetan text.³⁵

(c) The existence of a Tibetan translation of a *Daśacakrakṣitigarbha-(sūtra) (*Sa'i sñiñ po'i 'khor lo bcu pa*) is confirmed for the end of the 8th century by the catalogue of lHan kar.³⁶

However, it cannot be decided with certainty whether the text translated by Hsüan-tsang was identical with the one quoted by Śāntideva, and whether the Tibetan translation mentioned in the catalogue of lHan kar is the same as the canonical version.³⁷

Although the intention of the inscription was obviously not the transmission of the sūtra as such, there is no reason to doubt that the

³¹ Pelliot Tibétain 941, see LALOU 1950. The dots represent a gap in the manuscript; its extension is not stated in *op.cit.*

³² India Office Library Ch.03.14 and 51.I.49, see LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1962: No.62.

³³ T 411, see NANJIO 1980: No.64. According to NAKAMURA 1980: 217, n.21 this text was translated into Japanese by Keiki Yabuki (unseen).

T 410 also bears the name Daśacakrakṣitigarbha; it corresponds to NANJIO 1980: No.65, where it is attested as an earlier and shorter translation of No.64, translated into Chinese by unknown translator 397–439 A.D.

³⁴ See BENDALL 1902: Index I.

³⁵ Cf. Translation, ns. 4, 11 and 27.

³⁶ See LALOU 1953: 321, No.82.

³⁷ In the catalogue of lHan kar no translator is mentioned, but the sūtra is said to consist of 13 *ham po*. The canonical versions contain only 10.

quotation is faithful to its matrix. In order to form an idea about the position of the sūtra as quoted in the «Admonitory Inscription» (A) within the Tibetan textual traditions, its text was compared with its canonical editions of Derge (D) and Peking (Q) from the eastern group of Kanjur traditions, and with sTog (S) from the western group. As the sūtra was translated into Tibetan from the Chinese, at some crucial points, albeit not consistently, it was also compared with Taishō (T) 411. This comparison shows the same general result as in the case of, for example, the Tabo manuscript fragment of the Sambandhaparīkṣā³⁸: a highly independent textual tradition. However, while the manuscript of the Sambandhaparīkṣā appears to be closer to what can be considered the «original text» than the canonical versions, the opposite seems to be the case as regards this quotation of the Kṣitigarbhasūtra.³⁹

The following section is based on rather superficial observations with regard to the variant readings. It by no means claims or even aims at a complete analysis of the critical apparatus contained in the notes to the edition of the inscription.

The statistics of divergencies with regard to the placing of the *śad* indicate that the vast majority of cases display independence of the Tabo text. At the same time, although A is closest to S, the difference between the three canonical editions used for comparison is not significant enough to discern a relationship between A and any of them.

Total cases: 187		Considering the three editions separately:	
against DQS	86 (46 %)	against Q	147 (79 %)
DQ	41 (22 %)	D	136 (73 %)
S	29 (16 %)	S	127 (68 %)
Q	14 (7 %)		
QS	7 (4 %)		
DS	6 (3 %)		
D	4 (2 %)		

In the same way the majority of variant readings also indicate independence. Although it is hardly possible to establish any relation

³⁸ See TAUSCHER 1994.

³⁹ In this respect it could be interesting to investigate the 11 folios of the same sūtra extant in the manuscript collection of the Tabo «Kanjur»; seemingly they do, however, not belong to its oldest layer. As they do not contain any of the passages quoted in the inscription, they are not considered in the present paper.

between A and the canonical editions by the mere statistics, they seem to suggest that A is closest to D and corresponds least to S.

Total cases: 207		Considering the three editions separately:	
against	DQS 86 (42 %)	against	S 150 (72 %)
	S 48 (23 %)		Q 143 (69 %)
	Q 27 (13 %)		D 129 (63 %)
	DQ 24 (12 %)		
	DS 11 (5 %)		
	D 8 (4 %)		
	QS 5 (2 %)		

This observation is based upon the totality of all variants, regardless of their individual significance and value. Even if mere orthographic and other minor variants are neglected and only the more significant ones are taken into consideration, the picture does not change essentially: The «Admonitory Inscription», dating from the 11th century and – if this dating is not totally wrong – thus obviously representing a pre-canonical version of the sūtra, could be based on a common source of all the canonical versions. A strong evidence for this assumption could be one instance where all the Tibetan versions used in this paper agree on an obviously wrong translation of the Chinese «original»: In l. 78 the passage *[gn]od pa [b]ye[d] pa '[i] sems my[e]d na |* is given as introductory conditional clause (“When there is no mind of doing harm”) to the statement: *phyi ma ma 'ons pa'i dus na rgyal rigs gdol pa can dan ... srin po pas thu bar sdig pa byed do ||* (“later, in future times, a *caṇḍāla*-like king, ... commit sins more maliciously than demons”), which, of course, does not make any sense. According to the Chinese it is a specification following the previous sentence: ... *tshigs su bcad pas bstod de |* (“... and praised [him] in verses, without even a mind of doing harm. But later, ...”).⁴⁰

On the other hand, the fact that in several rather significant cases DQS correspond to the Chinese while A gives a different reading, does not fit to this assumption. The answer could be that, despite the corre-

⁴⁰ See Translation, n.95. Cases where the Tibetan versions in agreement deviate from the Chinese are, in general, not taken into account in this paper. There is, however, a number of such instances to be expected; see, for example, l. 22: *yid 'thun ba'i dge 'dun las bsñen par [rdzo]gs te* (“being ordained by a harmonious religious community”). *T* adds: “being ordained by an instructor (*qin jiao*, *upādhyāya*, *mkhan po*) [and] a harmonious religious community”.

spondence mentioned above, the particular version represented by A was not consulted at all when compiling the canon.

1) Examples for variant readings of A against DQS

a) First such instances will be given, where the canonical editions agree with one another and correspond with *T* but differ from A:

L. 10/11: *de la ji ltar na rtsa ba'i sdig la / rtsa ba'i sdig du myi 'gyur ba myi gnas pa dan myi bya ba'i chos še na* (“How, which are the things not to be adhered to and not to be practised in the case of a natural offence [if this] is not a primary offence?”). – The amendment *rtsa ba'i sdig du myi 'gyur ba* (“[if this] is not a primary offence”) is missing in DQS and has no correspondence in *T*. Besides, the negation *myi 'gyur ba* is out of place, as this paragraph ends with the statement: “Those are called (the things) not to be adhered to and not to be practised in the case of a substantial primary offence within the [class of] natural offence” (see Translation, n.18).

L. 40/41: *g.yo dan rgyas* (read *sgyus* [DQS]) *'tsho žiñ gnod pa byed de / gše žiñ spyo ba dan / 'jig rten pa dag bslus nas /* (“Those who live on falsehood and do harm, after reviling, scolding and deceiving the people in the world”). – Here the passage expressing the fact of doing harm, reviling and scolding (*gnod byed de / gše žiñ spyo ba dan /*) is unique to A (see Translation, n.55).

L. 44: *rgyun [b]cad pa rnams kyis /* – The plural form does not make any sense here; DQS read, in correspondence with *T*: *rgyun bcad pas* (“therefore”) (see Translation, n.58).

L. 72: *[de] tshe s[r]in [m]o [de] dag thams [c]ad kyis mthun bar sñiñ rje'i sems [bskyed na]s [//]* (“At that time, after they had equally produced a mind of compassion, all those female demons ...”). – The canonical versions read instead: *de'i tshe srin mo bu* (*S ma*) *smad 'khor dan bcas pa sñiñ rje'i* (*S rjes*) *sems bskyed nas /* (*DQ nas*) (“At that time, after they had produced a mind of compassion, together with the attendance of [their] children the female demon ...”), which is approved by *T* (see Translation, n.87).

b) In addition I would like to mention, at random, the following cases:

L. 23: *sñun 'das pa'i dus na* – A uses this colloquial form instead of *sñon 'das pa'i dus na*;

L. 24: A gives the name of the six-tusked elephant as *ud pa la'i myig*, the canonical versions as *u pa la'i (li'i) mig*;

- L. 49: *kha na ma tho ba : kha na ma tho ba chen po*;
L. 51: *mtshan bar 'tshañ rgya : mñon par 'tshañ rgya*;
L. 81: *p[c]om l[dan] 'das : bcom ldan 'das thams cad*.

2) *Examples for A corresponding to DQ against S*

- L. 12: *yin pa(r) : byin par*;
L. 16: *gos ñur sm(r)ig : ñur smrig*;
L. 18: *tshul khrims ñams pa sdig pa spyod pa'i dge sloñ : tshul khrims ñams pa spyod pa'i dge sloñ*;
L. 21: *yoñ su dag pa'i dge 'dun : dge 'dun*;
L. 31: *byams śiñ brtse ba'i phyir : byams dañ sñiñ rtse'i phyir*;
L. 32: *gdol pa : gdol pa can* (see Translation, n.37);
L. 48: *de ni : des*;
L. 61: *[r]gy[al mtsha]n : rgyan mchog*;
L. 66: *bdag cag mchod ciñ : mchod ciñ bdag cag*;
L. 77: *mgul du btags pa : btags pa*.

3) *Examples for A corresponding to S against DQ*

- L. 4: *[ra]b tu byuñ ñam | : rab tu byuñ nas* (see Translation, n.2);
L. 5: *mi dbañ na : mi gnañ na* (see Translation, n.1);
L. 37: *śin tu dga' nas : sñiñ śin tu dga' nas*;
L. 52: *m(y)i thob pa : thob pa*;
L. 55: *gcig cig : gcig gis*;
L. 56: *srin mo : srin mo chen mo*;
L. 58: *'di skad ces smras so : 'di skad smras so*;
L. 68: *rab tu byuñ ba dag la mchod pa'i phyir : rab tu byuñ ba dag las thob pa'i phyir*;
L. 81: *de dag ni : de ni*.

4) *Examples for A corresponding to DS against Q*

- L. 9: *yon tan rin po che'i phuñ po : rin po che'i phuñ po*;
L. 10: *de la ji ltar na : de ltar na*;
L. 25: *gdol pa can : gdol pa* (see Translation, n.37);
L. 61: *[mi de 'tshal d]ju gnoñ : mi de 'tshal du gnañ* (see Translation, n.71);
L. 70: *[bdag cag śin tu gus] par phyag [b]y[as pa ///]* omitted in Q and T (see Translation, n.83);
L. 74: *chuñ ñu na : chuñ ñun* (see Translation, n.92);

RELIGIO-POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Why would such an inscription be written on a temple wall? The only answer that can be given with certainty is simple: there was a need for it. The mere fact of its existence shows that, although the inscription was written about the same time as Atiśa came to mŃa' ris (1042) and from there the second diffusion of Buddhism (*phyi dar*) in Tibet was started, Buddhism was by no means generally firmly established in the area, and aggressive acts against the monks might have been quite common. The need to renovate the temple only 46 years after its foundation might be evidence of the same general situation.⁴¹ The «Renovation Inscription» (v.6ab), however, states only that ByaŃ chub 'od "regarded the works of the ancestors as old" (*mes kyis mdzad pa rñiŃs par gzigs*). These acts of aggression against the monks may have been caused by a general animosity towards the new religion, but they might also, to some extent, have been provoked by an unseemly conduct on the part of the monks.⁴²

The Kṣitigarbhasūtra addresses kings and other laymen; nevertheless the demand of the «Admonitory Inscription» to honour and respect Buddhist monks is certainly not directed against King ByaŃ chub 'od, but rather against his officials and – in the first place – against the people of the area. Although the inscription is not formulated as a royal command, it has to be assumed that it was at least in accordance with the king's intentions.

With regard to the *saṃgha*'s need for royal protection, the situation of Tabo in the early 11th century is not at all unique. Throughout the history of Buddhism its monastic communities have again and again found themselves in the situation of depending on being defended by worldly power. This was already the case in India; canonical texts relate the protection of the *saṃgha* by «good kings» like Bimbisāra, Aśoka or Kaniṣka, and archaeological evidence indicates the existence of shelter and hiding-places in monasteries, as for example, in Nālandā.⁴³ A situation more or less similar to that in 11th-century mŃa' ris must to some extent be assumed for all the countries

⁴¹ This assumption is expressed in STEINKELLNER (in press).

⁴² There is no direct evidence of such an assumption. Provided that the Kṣitigarbhasūtra really did originate from Central Asia around the 5th century A.D., however, the introductory part of its chapter 3 sounds very much like a legitimization of monastic life in the «border countries» not in accordance with the Vinaya rules. A similar situation can easily be imagined for 11th-century mŃa' ris.

⁴³ For references see HU VON HINÜBER 1994: 186, 269, 345, 491.

where Buddhism had been newly introduced. Certainly it has to be assumed – to remain within a comparable cultural context – for Central Tibet at the time of the first diffusion of Buddhism (*sna dar*). Nevertheless the «Admonitory Inscription» of Tabo is, to my knowledge, unique in the Tibetan tradition.⁴⁴ Historical texts relate similar protective laws – and severe punishment in the case of breaking them – for the time of King Ral pa can,⁴⁵ but no such edicts in any form are known from that time. An edict aiming at the protection of the *samgha* is extant from the Yüan period,⁴⁶ but in this case it is an exclusively imperial edict without any justification by the Buddha's word.

Could it be that Byañ chub 'od's command did not have enough weight, so that the sacrosanct status of the Buddhist monks and a corresponding worldly law had to be justified by the word of the Buddha? This question cannot be dealt with in this article. Even if this was the case, to authorise any command by the word of the Buddha seems promising only within a society that is, to some extent at least, Buddhist. This, of course, was the case in the Tabo area in the early 11th century. Except for – maybe – the monastic community, people seem to have followed some sort of Buddhism that was mixed with elements of the pre-Buddhist religion and with corrupt Tantric practices. A vivid picture of this sort of Buddhism is given by Sa skya Pañḍita, when he relates the episode from the biography of Rin chen bzañ po, where the *lotsāba* defeats a heretic endowed with supernatural powers. His heresy is described as corrupt regarding the essential points, but superficially Buddhist, so that the people can be deceived by it, just as poison mixed into good food is much more effective than mere poison recognised by everybody.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ As STEINKELLNER (in press) points out, “merely religious” i.e. non-historical inscriptions in Tibetan Buddhist temples have never been systematically studied or even recorded. Thus the statement about the uniqueness of the «Admonitory Inscription» at Tabo has to be seen in the light of this limited knowledge.

⁴⁵ An offensive gesture against a monk, for example, was punished by cutting off the finger (or hand), verbal abuse by cutting out the tongue. Cf. *Ba bzjed* 76, 1–6, seemingly the source for all later accounts; see e.g. *Ñān ral chos 'byuñ* 427,4–12, *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* II, 420, 20–22, *Deb ther dmar po* 39b3f. (these references I owe to J.L. Panglung and D. Klimburg-Salter) and *rGyal rabs me loñ* 233,8–10 (cf. SØRENSEN 1994: 424).

⁴⁶ See SCHUH 1977: 124ff. and FRANKE 1990: 138ff.; cf. STEINKELLNER (in press): n.15.

⁴⁷ See *sDom gsum rab dbye* 39a6ff. – This reference is taken from the paper by D. Martin, “Identifying the unnamed opponent in the biography of Lo-chen Rin-chen-

Thus it seems quite likely that this inscription pursues another purpose beyond merely assuring the monks' safety and acceptance within society. It must also be seen in connection with the efforts of Kings Ye śes 'od and Byañ chub 'od at reviving an authentic form of Buddhism. Before Indian masters arrived in that area, the only means of representing this «pure» Buddhism were authoritative texts, like the Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra in the Sudhana frieze and the Kṣitigarbhasūtra in this inscription.⁴⁸ Royal missionary activities might very well have been motivated by the king's concern about the Buddhist teaching, as the sources lead us to believe,⁴⁹ and directed against the “tantrists of Central Tibet”, as Ye śes 'od's ordinance states.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the people of his own country were also, or even primarily concerned, and the king's efforts seemingly pursued not only a religious goal, but also a political one: a «pacified» and «civilised» society within the religious and cultural frame of Buddhism. In this respect the «Admonitory Inscription» also appears as a means of supporting the missionary activities of Byañ chub 'od.

GENERAL REMARKS ON THE EDITION

The edition of the inscription is largely based upon a series of photographs which I had the opportunity taking during my first visit to Tabo in 1989 and two photographs taken by D. Klimburg-Salter on a previous visit. In addition four photographs of the inscription from the «Tucci Photographic Archives» kept in the Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale in Rome could be used.⁵¹ Many of the passages no longer visible or legible in the inscription are clearly preserved on these photographs. As the present edition aims at documenting the

bzang-po”, read at the International Seminar on Rinchen Zangpo and his Works, Tabo, June 29, 1996.

Although these teachings are ascribed to a particular person (or evil spirit) in the sources, I tend to take it as an accurate description of the religion generally followed at that time and in that area.

⁴⁸ This topic is discussed in detail in STEINKELLNER (in press).

⁴⁹ See for example BA 245; cf. CHATTOPDHYAYA 1967: 291ff.

⁵⁰ Its introduction says: “This ordinance was sent to the Tantrists in Central Tibet by lHa Bla-ma, the king of Pu-hrangs. I request you to solemn and to straighten up your views” (*phu hrañs kyi rgyal po lha bla ma'i źal sna nas / bod yul dbus kyi snağs pa rnams la brdzañs pa / gñan po mdzad ciñ lta ba bsrañ bar źu'o /*). See KARMAY 1980a: 153 and 155; cf. also KARMAY 1980b and THAKUR (1997).

⁵¹ My gratitude for providing these photographs is due to the director of the museum, Dr. Donatella Mazzeo.

inscription's actual state of preservation in 1989, *akṣaras* and passages legible on Tucci's photographs only are given in italics. Specifications as "partly damaged or uncertain reading", however, represent the inscription's condition in 1989 and are given even in those cases where an *akṣara* is "partly damaged", but the reading is obvious and quite certain from the context.

A comparison with the inscription *in situ* was possible only in 1996. While in many cases amendments and corrections to my notes were possible, some parts still legible or at least visible on the photographs turned out to be either no longer decipherable or to have disappeared. In such cases I preserve the reading gained from the photographs. Due to this circumstance, however, some of the variant readings listed in the critical apparatus might represent mere misreadings due to limited legibility.

The critical apparatus is given in the footnotes marked with numerals. Footnotes marked with capital letters (in the case of longer passages at the beginning and end) contain the canonical versions of illegible or badly damaged passages.

Variants regarding the graphemes *p / b* and *tu / du* are not listed, as these can hardly be distinguished in the inscription. Whatever form seems more likely is entered in the edition, regardless of whether it is «correct» according to classical Tibetan orthography; the reading *p*, for example, is maintained even when it occurs as a prescript.

In order to mark *akṣaras* or passages lost due to the fact that the left edge of the wall is broken off, the signs [≠] and [⇒ ⇐] have been introduced. The numbers given between the arrows ⇒ ⇐ in the latter case indicate the approximate number of *akṣaras* missing, provided the inscription starts in a straight line, not the number of *akṣaras* missing according to the canonical editions.

Due to the peculiarities of the inscription the signs ? and ? bear a double meaning. They denote cases where it is not clear whether an additional *akṣara* or a part thereof existed in the inscription, as well as cases where it cannot be decided whether illegible traces belong to the present inscription or to an older one that has been overpainted. Obvious remains of an older inscription are not indicated.

The «Admonitory Inscription»

The following editorial signs have been used:

*	ornament (single <i>yig mgo</i>)
	<i>śad</i>
< 5 >	empty space, with the approximate number of <i>akṣaras</i> fitting into it
{1}	beginning of line
xxx _{aa} xxx	additions below line
<u>a</u>	partly damaged or uncertain reading
<i>italics</i>	illegible or lost; reading according to the photographs from the «Tucci Photographic Archives»
<i>akṣara</i> (consonant or ligature plus vowel-sign, including <i>śad</i>):	
=	illegible
?	illegible, or remains of an overpainted text / possibly lost
≠	lost
[≠]	lost due to wall broken off
part of a ligature or vowel-sign:	
—	illegible
?	possibly lost
+	lost
lengthier passages, with the putative number of <i>akṣaras</i> missing:	
⇒ 5 ⇐	heavily damaged, broken off or washed away
[⇒ 5 ⇐]	wall broken off

TEXT

* | < 5-6 > ≠ ≠ ≠ byuñ ba tshul khris 'chald pa 'am | tshul khri-s
dañ ldan pa la yañ ruñ ste | de la rgyal po 'am | blon po chen po 'am |
 dbañ po 'am khyim pa gañ la las lcag dañ dbyig pa la stsogs pas lus la
 rdeg ciñ {2} 'tshog pa = = s | = -e pa d -y- = = = -o = = = = pa byas
 sam | bskur pa bt= = = = | glen pa 'am 'theñ po dañ źar pa źes bya ba la
 stsogs pas myiñ bdags pas kyañ sdig pa'i las dpag tu myed pa bstags
 par 'gyur te | |

de ltar {3} ci mñon źe na | 'di ltar 'phags pa sa'i sñiñ po 'khor lo
 bcu = źes bya = = = = chen po mdo las śes ste |

D 138b4-139a3, Q 148a2-8, S 54a6-55a1, (T 736a16-b1)

de nas¹ bcom ldan 'das kyis² tshañs pa chen po lha'i sñiñ po la 'di
 skad ces bka' stsald to | |

rigs kyi bu sems can gañ źig ña {4} 'i bstand pa la =b^A tu byuñ
 ñam |³ =^B dañ kha spu bregs te⁴ ^Cgo = = = = ?⁵ gi = = = gy-n^C na |⁶
 tshul khri.ms sruñ ñam |⁷ tshul khri.ms ñam≠ sam | tshul khri.ms myed

¹ de nas : om. (DQS)

² kyis : kyis | (S)

³ ñam | : nas (DQ)

⁴ te : te | (DQS)

⁵ go = = = = ? : ñur smrig (DQS)

⁶ na | : na (QS)

⁷ ñam | : ñam (Q)

^A rab

^B skra

^C ñur smrig gi tshal bu gyon

kyañ ruñ⁸ | de⁹ la lha dañ¹⁰ myi dañ | lha ma yin las stsogs pa thams
 cad kyis kyañ |¹¹ khyim pa'i {5} chos ñid dañ -y =^A du 'añ myi
 dbañ¹² na | de la lcag dañ dbyig pa ^B= = stsogs pa = =u= =^B lag¹³ ziñ
 'tshog pa d=¹⁴ btson rar gzug¹⁵ pa dañ | gse ba dañ¹⁶ spyo ba dañ | lus
 kyi yan lag gtub pa dañ | 'tsho ba'i dbañ po dañ phral pa¹⁷ chos ma
 yin pa dañ sbyar ba¹⁸ la¹⁹ ci smos | |²⁰

{6} de ci'i phyir ze na²¹ tshul khirms sruñ ziñ mañ du thos pa dañ
^Cl-a= pa lta = =^C | ña'i bstan= ≠ ≠^D rab tu byuñ nas |²² tshul khr-
 ñams te |²³ myi dge ba'i chos spyod pa |²⁴ nañ rul ciñ²⁵ myi gtsañ pas
 gañ ba'i srin kwa lwa dañ | 'dra ba²⁶ dge sbyoñ ma yin par dge {7}
 sbyoñ tu khas 'che ba | tshañs par spyod pa ma yin ^Eba= = = s par
 spyo= =^E khas 'che ba | ñon moñs pa mam pa sna tshogs las pham

⁸ ruñ : ruñ ste (DQ)

⁹ de : da (Q)

¹⁰ dañ : dañ | (DQS)

¹¹ kyañ | : kyañ (DQS)

¹² 'añ myi dbañ : yañ mi dbañ (S),

yañ mi gnañ (DQ)

¹³ lag : gzu (DQS)

¹⁴ d= : dañ | (DQS)

¹⁵ gzug : bcug (S)

¹⁶ dañ : dañ | (DQS)

¹⁷ phral pa : phral ba | (S)

¹⁸ sbyar ba : sbyor ba (DQS)

¹⁹ la : lta (DQS)

²⁰ smos | | : smos | (DQS)

²¹ na : na | (DQS)

²² byuñ nas | : byuñ nas (DQS)

²³ te | : te (DQ)

²⁴ spyod pa | : spyod pas (DQ),

spyod pa (S)

²⁵ ciñ : ciñ | (S)

²⁶ dañ | 'dra ba : dañ 'dra ba | (DQS)

^A sbyar

^B la sogs pas lus (DQ lus la)

^C ldan pa lta zog (Q zig) la

^D pa la

^E par tshañs par spyod par

pa |²⁷ zig pa | khas phub pa |²⁸ de lta bu'i tshul khrimś ñams pa'i dge
 sloñ ñan ba yañ |²⁹ lha dañ | klu dañ³⁰ gnod sbyin dañ | {8} dri za
 dañ | lha ma yin dañ | nam³¹ ldiñ dañ³² myi 'am^{A=i = =o} 'ph-^A chen
 po dañ |³³ myi dañ³⁴ myi ma yin pa las stsogs pa thams cad kyi ston pa
 dañ³⁵ 'dren par 'gyur te | yon tan rin po che dpag tu myed pa'i gter tu
 'gyur ro ||

gžan yañ rigs kyi bu ña'i {9} bstand pa la rab tu byuñ ba dag
 tshul khrimś ñams kyañ |³⁶ semś can dag gzugs mthoñ ba tsam gyis
 lhag pa'i bśam ba rnam pa bcu skye ba nas || yon tan³⁷ rin po che'i
phuñ po dpag tu myed pa bcu thob par 'gyur ro ||

D 142b7–143a5, Q 152a7–b4, S 60b6–61a1, (T 737c15–26)

tśhañś pa chen po {10} gžan yañ bcas pa'i sdiġ la myi gnaś pa
 dañ myi bya ba yañ yod la³⁸ rañ bžin gyi sdiġ la myi gnaś pa dañ |³⁹
 myi bya ba yañ yod⁴⁰ rañ bžin gyi sdiġ la rtsa ba'i sdiġ tu 'gyur ba

²⁷ pham pa | : pham pa (S)

²⁸ phub pa | : phub pa (DQS)

²⁹ yañ | : yañ (DQ)

³⁰ klu dañ : klu dañ | (DQS)

³¹ nam : nam mkha' (DQS)

³² dañ : dañ | (DQS)

^A ci dañ / lto 'phye

³³ dañ | : dañ (Q)

³⁴ dañ : dañ | (DQS)

³⁵ dañ : dañ | (Q)

³⁶ kyañ | : kyañ (DQ)

³⁷ skye ba nas || yon tan : skye bas na (Q),

skye bas na yon tan (D),

skye bas na || yon tan (S)

³⁸ yod la : yod la | (DQS)

³⁹ dañ | : dañ (DQS)

⁴⁰ yod : yod | (DQS)

myi gnas pa dañ |⁴¹ myi bya ba yañ yod do ||

de la ji ltar⁴² na rtsa ba'i sdig la | rtsa {11} ba'i sdig du myi 'gyur
 ba⁴³ myi gnas pa dañ myi bya ba'i chos še na⁴⁴ 'di lta ste | dge sloñ
 gañ žig myi tshañs par spyod pas rtsa ba'i sdig byas pa dañ |⁴⁵ ched du
 bsams te⁴⁶ skye ba⁴⁷ myi'i srog bcađ nas rtsa ba'i sdig byas pa dañ |
 dkon mchog gsum gyi dkor ma {12} yin pa⁴⁸ brkus nas |⁴⁹ rtsa ba'i
 sdig byas pa dañ | brdzun chen po smras nas rtsa ba'i sdig byas pa
 dañ⁵⁰ | dge sloñ gañ žig rtsa ba'i sdig mam pa 'di bži las 'ga' žig byas
 na |⁵¹ dge sloñ gis la bya ba 'i nañ du myi chud de⁵² loñs spyod thams
 cad dañ⁵³ {13} phyogs bži'i dge 'dun gyi nor la spyod du myi dbañ
 mod kyi | |⁵⁴ de la yañ dbyig pa dañ⁵⁵ lcađ gis brdeg ciñ bzu⁵⁶
 ba dañ | btson rar gžug pa dañ | spyo žiñ gše ba dañ | lus kyi yan lag
 gtub pa dañ | 'tsho ba'i dbañ po dañ phral ba⁵⁷ las stsogs {14} pa
 thams cad byed tu myi gnañ ño || de dag ni rañ bžin gyi sdig gi nañ

⁴¹ dañ | : dañ (DQS)

⁴² de la ji ltar : de ltar (Q)

⁴³ | rtsa ba'i sdig du myi 'gyur ba : om. (DQST)

⁴⁴ še na : šes na (Q), gañ že na | (DS)

⁴⁵ dañ | : dañ (D)

⁴⁶ te : te | (D)

⁴⁷ skye ba : skye bo (DQS)

⁴⁸ yin pa : yin par (D), byin par (S)

⁴⁹ nas | : nas (DQS)

⁵⁰ dañ : ste (DQS)

⁵¹ na | : na (DQ)

⁵² de : de | (DQS)

⁵³ dañ : dañ | (DQS)

⁵⁴ kyi || : kyi (DQ), kyi | (S)

⁵⁵ dañ : dañ | (DQ)

⁵⁶ bžu : gžu (DQS)

⁵⁷ phral ba : bral ba (S)

du⁵⁸ rtsa ba'i sdig lci ba ste⁵⁹ myi gnas pa dañ |⁶⁰ myi bya ba že
bya'o | |

ci'i phyir de la rtsa ba'i sdig ces bya že na⁶¹ | gañ zag gañ gis chos
rnam pa de bži byas na⁶² | tshe 'phos ? {15} ma tag ?⁶³ ñan soñ du
ltuñ bar 'gyur te | ñan soñ du 'gro ba'i rtsa ba yin pas na rtsa ba'i sdig
ces bya'o | |

D 151b7–154b7, Q 161b3–164b6, S 73a4–77a6, (T 741b17–742c22)

rigs kyi bu de ltar tshul khirms ñams pa sdig pa spyod pa'i dge
sloñ dag de ltar chos las 'gal ba'i sdig pa chen po byas mod kyi⁶⁴
{16} 'on kyañ ña'i bstand pa la gnas śiñ |⁶⁵ skra dañ kha spu bregs te
gos⁶⁶ ñur smrig⁶⁷ bgos nas⁶⁸ spyod lam dañ cha lugs 'phags pa rnam
dañ 'thun te | de la ni rgyal po dañ | blon po chen po dañ | khyim pa
rnam kyi khyim pa'i chos ñid dañ {17} yañ sbyor⁶⁹ du myi gnañ
na | gzu ba dañ⁷⁰ 'tshog⁷¹ pa dañ | nan la dor ba⁷² dañ | btson rar gzug
pa dañ gše ba dañ⁷³ spyo ba dañ | lus kyi yan lag gtub pa dañ | 'tsho

⁵⁸ nañ du : nañ na (DQS)

⁵⁹ ste : ste | (DQS)

⁶⁰ dañ | : dañ (DQS)

⁶¹ že na : že na (Q), še na (S)

⁶² bži byas na : bžin byas nas (S)

⁶³ ma tag [tu] : ma thag tu (DQS)

⁶⁴ kyi : kyi | (DQS)

⁶⁵ śiñ | : śiñ (DQ)

⁶⁶ gos : om. (S)

⁶⁷ smrig : smig (Q)

⁶⁸ nas : nas | (DQS)

⁶⁹ sbyor : sbyar (DQ)

⁷⁰ dañ : dañ | (DQS)

⁷¹ 'tshog : 'tshogs (Q)

⁷² dor ba : bor ba (DQS)

⁷³ dañ gše ba dañ : dañ | gše žiñ (DQS)

ba'i dbaṅ po daṅ phral ba⁷⁴ chos ma yin ba byed pa lta ci smos | |⁷⁵
 rgyal po 'am⁷⁶ {18} blon po 'am⁷⁷ khyim pa mams kyis gal te de ltar
 byas na kha na ma tho ba'i sdig pa chen po thob⁷⁸ par 'gyur te | gdon
 myi za bar mtshams myed pa'i sems can dmyal bar skye 'o | |

de⁷⁹ ≠r^A tshul khrimś nāms pa sdig pa⁸⁰ spyod pa'i dge sloṅ ≠^B
yaṅ chad pas gcod {19} du myi gnaṅ na |⁸¹ tshul khrimś daṅ ldan pa
 dge ba spyod pa⁸² lta ci smos | |⁸³

rigs kyī bu dge sloṅ gaṅ gis tshul khrimś kyi rtsa ba'i sdig las gcig
 nāms pa yaṅ |⁸⁴ tshul kh+i≠ ≠nāms^C śiṅ sdig pa spyod pa'i dge sloṅ zes
 bya mod kyī |⁸⁵ bstand pa bzin du {20} dad pa'i dge 'dun gyis las
 byas pa'i sdom ba rgyun myi chad⁸⁶ par yod do | |⁸⁷ bslab pa daṅ⁸⁸
 tshul khrimś kyī bar du btaṅ yaṅ rnam par dkar ba'i chos kyī bsuṅ⁸⁹
tsam ≠o≠ +y+s^D | de la yaṅ rgyal | po daṅ⁹⁰ blon po daṅ | khyim pa
 daṅ⁹¹ sdom ba myed pa mams kyis brñas⁹² {21} smod dam | |⁹³ chad

⁷⁴ phral ba : phral ba | (S)

⁷⁵ smos || : smos | (DQS)

⁷⁶ 'am : 'am | (DQS)

⁷⁷ 'am : 'am | (DQS)

⁷⁸ thob : 'thob (DQ)

⁷⁹ de : 'di (DQ)

⁸⁰ sdig pa : om. (S)

⁸¹ na | : na (DQ)

⁸² spyod pa : spyod pa la (DQS)

⁸³ smos || : smos | (DQS)

⁸⁴ vaṅ | : yaṅ (DQS)

⁸⁵ yi | : kyis (Q)

⁸⁶ chad : 'chad (DQS)

⁸⁷ do || : de | (DQS)

⁸⁸ daṅ : daṅ | (DQS)

⁸⁹ bsuṅ : gsuṅ (DQ)

⁹⁰ daṅ : daṅ | (DQS)

⁹¹ daṅ : daṅ | (DQS)

⁹² brñas : brñes (Q)

^A ltar

^B la

^C khrimś sñams

^D yod kyis

pas gcad⁹⁴ du myi gnañ ño ||

de ltar dge sloñ de chos kyi snod ma yin te | 'phags pa'i chos ñams
 pas⁹⁵ yoñs su dag pa'i⁹⁶ ^dge '≠un +mye ≠r^ byed ciñ]⁹⁷ dge sbyoñ gi
 las su bya ba'i las thams cad myi ruñ bar byed pa yin te | phyogs bži
 {22} 'i dge 'dun gyi loñs spyod la spyod du⁹⁸ myi dbañ mod kyi |
 'on kyañ yid 'thun ba'i dge 'dun las bsñen pa rdzogs te]⁹⁹ sdom pa
 thob pa ma btañ¹⁰⁰ bas khyim pa skye bo thams cad pas mchog go ||¹⁰¹

rtsa ba'i sdig ñams kyañ de lta bu yin na | de ma yin {23} pa bcas
 pa'i sdig phra mo gzan ñams pa'i¹⁰² lta ci smos te | de bas na rgyal po
 dañ | blon po dañ | khyim pa rnamś kyis brñas pa 'am | smod pa byed
 dam | chad pas gcod¹⁰³ du myi dbañ ño || de ci'i phyir že na |

rigs kyi bu sñun¹⁰⁴ 'das pa'i dus na |¹⁰⁵ {24} yul ka śa¹⁰⁶ zes bya
 ba na |¹⁰⁷ rgyal po tshañs pas byin zes¹⁰⁸ bya ba žig yod do¹⁰⁹ | des

⁹³ dam || : dam | (DQS)

⁹⁴ gcad : bcad (Q)

⁹⁵ ñams pas : ñan pas (Q), ñams su (S)

⁹⁶ yoñ= su dag pa'i : om. (S)

⁹⁷ =iñ | : ciñ (DQ)

^A dge 'dun sme bar

⁹⁸ spyod du : spyod du ni (DS)

⁹⁹ te | : te (DQ)

¹⁰⁰ btañ : gtañ (QS)

¹⁰¹ go || : go | (QS)

¹⁰² ñams pa'i : ñams pa (DQS)

¹⁰³ gcod : gcad (Q)

¹⁰⁴ sñun : sñon (DQS)

¹⁰⁵ na | : na (DQ)

¹⁰⁶ ka śa : ga śi (Q), ka śi (D)

¹⁰⁷ na | : na (DQ)

¹⁰⁸ byin zes : om. (S)

¹⁰⁹ do : de (DQS)

gdol pa lña la 'di skad ces bka' s+≠d^A to || khyed¹¹⁰ deñ la ri kha ba
*can gyi druñ na*¹¹¹ glañ po che mche ba drug dañ ldan pa¹¹² ud pa
 la'i myig¹¹³ ces bya ba žig yod kyis¹¹⁴ {25} khyed¹¹⁵ kyis de¹¹⁶ mche
 ba phyuñ la 'on cig ||¹¹⁷ gal te khyed¹¹⁸ kyis ma thob na gson du ma
 re śig¹¹⁹ ces bsgo'o ||

de'i tshe gdol pa can¹²⁰ de dag lus dañ /¹²¹ *srog gi phyir mda'*
*bži*¹²² thogs nas /¹²³ go≠ tshon¹²⁴ can gyon te | dge sbyoñ¹²⁵ gi tshul
 ltar {26} bcos nas |¹²⁶ ri kha ba can gyi druñ du |¹²⁷ glañ po che'i
 rgyal po gañ na bar soñ ño ||

der phyin pa dañ |¹²⁸ *de na glañ po che mo žig gis sñar mthon ba*
*dañ / mda' žu*¹²⁹ thogs pa des sñañs nas /¹³⁰ glañ po che'i rgyal po'i
 gan du rgyugs¹³¹ te phyin nas 'di skad {27} ces smras so || lha chen

¹¹⁰ khyed : khyod (S)

^A stsal

¹¹¹ na : na | (S)

¹¹² pa | : pa (Q)

¹¹³ ud pa la'i myig : u pa la'i mig (Q),

u pa li'i mig (DS)

¹¹⁴ kyis : kyis | (DQS)

¹¹⁵ khyed : khyod (S)

¹¹⁶ de : de'i (DQS)

¹¹⁷ cig || : cig (DQ), cig | (S))

¹¹⁸ khyed : khyod (DQ)

¹¹⁹ re śig : re žig (S)

¹²⁰ = dol pa can : gdol pa (Q)

¹²¹ dañ | : dañ (DQS)

¹²² mda' bži : mda' gžu (S), mda' gžu žig (DQ)

¹²³ nas | : nas (DQS)

¹²⁴ tshon : chon (Q)

¹²⁵ sbyoñ : skyod (Q)

¹²⁶ nas | : nas (DQS)

¹²⁷ du | : du (DQS)

¹²⁸ dañ | : dañ (DQ)

¹²⁹ mda' žu : mda' gžu (DQS)

¹³⁰ sñañs nas | : sdañs nas (D)

¹³¹ rgyugs : brgyugs (DQS)

po ma gzigs sam | myi kha cig mda' žu¹³² thogs te |¹³³ dal gyis 'jab ciñ
mchi na |¹³⁴ ci bdag cag gi tshe'i bar chad du myi 'gyur¹³⁵ grañ | |¹³⁶

glañ po' che'i rgyal pos mgo btegs te¹³⁷ bltas na |¹³⁸ skra dañ na
spu¹³⁹ {28} bregs nas |¹⁴⁰ gos tson¹⁴¹ can gyon pa dag¹⁴² cig 'on ba
mthoñ nas | |¹⁴³ glañ po che mo la tshigs su bcad pa 'di dag smras
so | ||¹⁴⁴

sañs rgyas gañ ga¹⁴⁵ kluñ gi bye sñed kyi | |

rgyal mtshan chos gos gyon ba 'di dag ni | |

sđig {29} pa thams cad yoñs su spañs pas na | |

ñes par sems can dag la gnod myi byed | |

de nas glañ po che mos kyañ tshigs su bcad pas¹⁴⁶ lan btab pas | |¹⁴⁷

chos gos gyon pa ltar ni byed mod kyi | |

thams cad lag na mda' žu¹⁴⁸ thogs {30} pas na | |¹⁴⁹

'di ni sñiñ rje myed ciñ ma ruñs pa | |

¹³² žu : gžu (DQS)

¹³³ te | : te (DQS)

¹³⁴ na | : na (DQ)

¹³⁵ 'gyur : 'byuñ (DQS)

¹³⁶ grañ || : grañ | (DQS)

¹³⁷ btegs te : bteg te (Q), bteg ste (DS)

¹³⁸ na | : na (Q)

¹³⁹ ña spu : kha spu (DQS)

¹⁴⁰ nas | : nas (DQ)

¹⁴¹ tson : tshon (DQS)

¹⁴² gyon pa dag ; gyon bdag (Q)

¹⁴³ nas || : nas (Q), nas | (DS)

¹⁴⁴ so | || : so || (DQS)

¹⁴⁵ gañ ga : gañ ga'i (Q), gañ gā'i (D), gañgā'i (S)

¹⁴⁶ bcad pas : bcad nas (DQS)

¹⁴⁷ btab pas || : btab pa || (Q), btab pa | (DS)

¹⁴⁸ žu : gžu (DQS)

¹⁴⁹ na || : na (Q)

sdig pa byed la mos pa'i gdold pa yin ||
de nas glañ po che'i rgyal pos yañ¹⁵⁰ tshigs su bcad de smras pa / |¹⁵¹
chos gos tshal bu gyon par snañ bas na //
byams dañ sñiñ rje'i rtsa ba de ñid yin |¹⁵²
{ 31 } sems can kun la byams śiñ brtse ba'i¹⁵³ phyir ||
sañs rgyas la ni 'di dag skyabs soñ ñes | |¹⁵⁴
khyed cag ≠ ≠ ≠ ^A tsom ma za bar ||
myur du¹⁵⁵ semṣ de rjeṣ su bzuñ¹⁵⁶ na mdzes | |
chos gos tshon can gyond pa 'di dag ni | ?
'khor ba'i { 32 } rgya mtsho las ni sgröl mdzad pa'o ||
de nas de'i tshe gdold pa¹⁵⁷ de dag gis¹⁵⁸ mda' dug can gyis glañ
po che'i rgyal po la phañs nas¹⁵⁹ gzaṣ pa bzin du sñiñ la phog go | |¹⁶⁰
de naṣ glañ po che mo¹⁶¹ skad chen po phyuñ nas¹⁶² ≠ṣ ≠ ≠^B | skad
kyis brnañs { 33 } bzin du tshigs su bcad pa 'di skad ces smras so ||
chos gos gyon pa de dag ni ||
sañs rgyas la ni skyabs soñ ≠ m^C ||
cha lugs śin tu zir snañ yañ ||

¹⁵⁰ yañ : kyañ (DQ)

¹⁵¹ pa || : pa (DS)

¹⁵² yin | : yin || (DQS)

¹⁵³ śiñ brtse ba'i : dañ sñiñ rtse'i (S)

¹⁵⁴ ñes || : ñes (Q)

¹⁵⁵ myur du : myur de (S)

^A 'di la the

¹⁵⁶ bzuñ : gzuñ (S)

^B ñus nas

¹⁵⁷ gdold pa : gdol pa can (S)

^C sñam

¹⁵⁸ gis : gis | (S)

¹⁵⁹ phañs nas : 'phañs nas (DQ), 'phañs nas | (S)

¹⁶⁰ go || : go | (QS)

¹⁶¹ mo : mos (DQ)

¹⁶² phyuñ nas : phyuñ ste (DQS)

gdug pa'i sems ni khoñ na srel¹⁶³ ||

lha'i¹⁶⁴ sku la mda' 'phyind¹⁶⁵ {34} pa'i ||

dgra de śin tu brlag pa'i phyir ||

myur du lus kun brdzis nas su ||

'tsho ba'i dbañ dañ d ≠ l ba ≠ ?^A ||

de nas glañ po che'i rgyal pos tshigs su bcad de smras pa ||¹⁶⁶

'tsho ba'i srog dañ bral kyañ bla'i¹⁶⁷ ||

{35} sdig pa'i sems ni pskyed myi rigs ||

'di dag slu ba'i¹⁶⁸ sems yod kyañ ||

cha lugs sañs rgyas ≠ ≠ =^B 'dra / |

mkhas ≠'i sems ni mnam dag pa ||

srog gi phyir ni ma yin te ||

skye bo mañ pos¹⁶⁹ bsgral ba'i phyir |¹⁷⁰

{36} rtag tu byañ chub spyad pa spyod ||

de'i tshe glañ po che'i rgyal po¹⁷¹ sñiñ brtse ba'i sems skyems¹⁷²

nas |¹⁷³ -y^{-C} de dag la 'di skad ce⁼¹⁷⁴ smras so || ≠ed^D na la ji¹⁷⁵ 'dod ||

¹⁶³ na srel : ni bsrel (S)

¹⁶⁴ lha'i : lha yi (DQS)

¹⁶⁵ 'phyind : 'phen (DQS)

¹⁶⁶ smras pa || : smras pa | (DS)

¹⁶⁷ bla'i : sla'i (D)

¹⁶⁸ slu pa'i : bslu ba'i (S)

¹⁶⁹ mañ pos : mañ po (DQS)

¹⁷⁰ phyir | : phyir || (DQS)

¹⁷¹ rgyal po : rgyal pos (DQ)

¹⁷² skyems : skyes (DQS)

¹⁷³ nas | : nas (DQ)

¹⁷⁴ ce= [QS ces] : ce (D)

¹⁷⁵ ji : ci (DQS)

^A dbral bar bya

^B slob ma

^C mi

^D khyed

de dag gis smras pa | khyed¹⁷⁶ kyi mche ba 'dod do | | glañ po che'i
 {37} rgyal po śin du¹⁷⁷ dga' nas¹⁷⁸ mche ba phyuñ ste | de dag¹⁷⁹
 byin nas¹⁸⁰ tshigs su p^{ca}d de smras pa | |¹⁸¹

khro ziñ phañs pa'i b̄sam pa myed b̄zin du | |

kyed la ña'i mce¹⁸² ba dkar po 'di | |

sbyin¹⁸³ pa'i bsod nams m̄ñon bar sañs rgyas {38} nas | |

skye bo'i ñon moñs nad mams zi byed śog | |¹⁸⁴

rigs kyi bu sñon 'das pa'i dus na | |¹⁸⁵ de l̄tar glañ po che'i rgyal
 po byol soñ g ≠ =ns su^A gyurd pa¹⁸⁶ yañ |¹⁸⁷ bla na myed pa yañ dag
par rdzogs pa'i {39} byañ chub 'dod pa'i phyir |¹⁸⁸ lus dañ srog la ma
 chags par btañ nas |¹⁸⁹ chos gos gyon ba de la |¹⁹⁰ rim 'gro dañ sti s-añ¹⁹¹
 bya ba'i¹⁹² phyir¹⁹³ des dgrar ≠_s^B kyañ |¹⁹⁴ lan my+ ?^C ldon pa la ltoñ | |

¹⁷⁶ khyed : khyod (DS)

¹⁷⁷ śin du : sñiñ śin du (DQ)

¹⁷⁸ nas : nas | (S)

¹⁷⁹ ste | de dag : ste de dag la (DQS)

¹⁸⁰ nas : nas | (S)

¹⁸¹ pa | | : pa | (DS)

¹⁸² ña'i mce : ña yi mche (DQS)

¹⁸³ sbyin : byin (DQ)

¹⁸⁴ śog | | : śog | (QS)

¹⁸⁵ na | | : na (DQ), na | (S)

¹⁸⁶ pa : pa de (S)

¹⁸⁷ yañ | : yañ (DQ)

¹⁸⁸ phyir | : phyir (DQ)

¹⁸⁹ btañ nas | : gtañ nas (Q), btañ
 nas (D), gtañ nas | (S)

¹⁹⁰ la | : la (DQS)

¹⁹¹ dañ sti s-añ : dañ | sti stañ (Q),
 dañ bsti stañ (DS)

¹⁹² bya ba'i : bya'i (S)

¹⁹³ phyir : phyir | (DS)

¹⁹⁴ kyañ | : kyañ (DQS) /

^A gi skye gnas

^B byas

^C mi

ma 'oñs pa'i dus na¹⁹⁵ rgya^{=A} rigs gdol {40} pa can dañ | blon po dañ |
 khyim pa dag¹⁹⁶ dañ | tshoñ dpon dañ | dge sbyoñ dañ¹⁹⁷ bram ze
 gdold pa ≠n dag yañ da= par glen ba'i rañ bzin can¹⁹⁸ yin = ñ¹⁹⁹ cuñ
zad tsam -yi²⁰⁰ =s pa^B sñems²⁰¹ te | g.yo dañ rgyas²⁰² 'tsho žiñ ²⁰³gnod
pa byed de | gše žiñ {41} spyo ba dañ |²⁰³ 'jig rten pa²⁰⁴ dag bslus
 nas |²⁰⁵ 'jig r-en phyi ma'i sdug bsñal gyi 'bras =u ≠^C 'jigs par myi
 pas |²⁰⁶ ña'i bstand pa la sky = ≠^D su soñ žiñ²⁰⁷ rab tu byuñ ba choš kyi
snod du gyurd pa dañ | chos kyi snod du ma {42} gyurd pa = =^E la
 'tshe žiñ gnod pa byed de |²⁰⁸ gše žiñ spyo ba dañ | 'tsho≠^F pa dañ |
 gzu ba dañ²⁰⁹ btson rar gzug pa dañ | = =^G ba'i dbañ po dañ phral
 ba'i par du byed do | | de ni 'das ≠ dañ²¹⁰ ma 'oñs pa dañ | da ltar
 {43} byuñ ba'i²¹¹ sañs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi²¹² da=^H tshig las
 gal²¹³ ba'i kha na ma tho ba chen po byed pa ste / gdon myi za bar

¹⁹⁵ na : na | (S)

¹⁹⁶ khyim pa dag : khyim bdag (DQS)

¹⁹⁷ dañ : dañ | (DQS)

¹⁹⁸ rañ bzin can : rañ bzin (S)

¹⁹⁹ yin = ñ [S yin kyañ] : yañ (D), kyañ (Q)

²⁰⁰ -yi [DQ gyi] : gyis (S)

²⁰¹ sñems : bsñems (S)

²⁰² rgyas : rgyus (DQS)

²⁰³ gnod ... dañ | : om. (DQST)

²⁰⁴ 'jig rten pa : 'jig rten (DQS)

²⁰⁵ nas | : nas (DQ)

²⁰⁶ pas | : bas (DQ), ba'i | (S)

²⁰⁷ žiñ : žiñ | (S)

²⁰⁸ de | : de (DQ)

²⁰⁹ dañ : dañ | (DQS)

²¹⁰ dañ : dañ | (DQS)

²¹¹ byuñ ba'i : bžugs pa'i (DQS)

²¹² kyi : kyis (Q)

²¹³ gal : 'gal (DQS)

A rgyal

B šes pa

C la

D skyabs

E kun

F 'tshog

G 'tsho

H dam

mtshams myed ba'i sems can dmyal *pa chen* por *lhuñ*²¹⁴ ño || dge
 ba'– rtsa ba yoñs su bsregs {44} te²¹⁵ rgyun =cad pa mams kyis²¹⁶
 mkhas pa thams cad kyis yoñs su s– =^A bar bya'o || *de dag gis de ltar*
kha na ma =o pa'i²¹⁷ sdig pa chen po byas kyañ²¹⁸ g.yo dan sgyus
 'tsho ste | ña rgyal gyi dbañ du gyurd nas |²¹⁹ {45} ? 'jig rten dag
 bslu ba'i phyir²²⁰ de dag ^{B=ñ} so =o nas b=ag^B cag kyañ bla na myed
 pa yañ dag = = ≠ ≠ ^C pa'i byañ chub 'dod pa yi ≠ ≠ ≠ =^D cag ni theg
 pa chen pos mñon par 'tshañ rgya'o źes zer ro ||

'di lta ste²²¹ {46} ^{E[≠]} ≠ = na myi ≠ ≠^E bdag gi myig phyuñ
 nas²²² loñ ba= gyurd pa²²³ pha rol gźan gyi lam mtshon pa'i phyir²²⁴
 ri chen po la 'dzeg pa =i ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠^F do ||

de bźi= du phyi ma²²⁵ ma =oñs pa'i dus ña²²⁶ rgyal rigs^G gdol ≠ ≠
 ? {47} [≠ ≠ ≠] ≠ ñ po d=^G | khyim bdag dan²²⁷ tshoñ =pon dan | dge
 sbyoñ dan²²⁸ bram ze gdol pa can dag kyañ de dan 'dra ste | ña'i
 bstand pa la s+yab =^H su soñ źiñ rab tu byuñ ba /²²⁹ choś +yi snod du

²¹⁴ lhuñ : ltuñ (DQS)

²¹⁵ te | : ste (Q), te (DS)

²¹⁶ rgyun [b]cad pa mams kyis | :
 rgyun bcad pas (DQ), ... pas | (S)

²¹⁷ pa'i : ba (DQS)

²¹⁸ kyañ | : kyañ (DQS)

²¹⁹ nas || : nas (DQS)

²²⁰ phyir | : phyir (DQ)

²²¹ ste : ste | (S)

²²² nas | : nas (DQS)

²²³ pa | : pa (DQ)

²²⁴ phyir | : phyir (DQS)

²²⁵ phyi ma : phyis (S)

²²⁶ na | : na (DQ)

²²⁷ dan : dan | (DQS)

²²⁸ dan : dan | (DQS)

²²⁹ ba | : ba (DQ)

^A span

^B kyañ so so nas bdag

^C par rdzogs

^D yin te / bdag

^E dper na mi źig

^F ni gnas med

^G gdol pa can dan / blon po dan

^H skyabs

gyurd pa 'am | chos kyī snod ma yin pa yañ²³⁰ ^Ar-ñ {48} [⇒ 7 ⇐] ≠
 ≠ = tsh- zi = = od^A par byed de | gse ziñ spyo ba dañ | rdeg pa²³¹ dañ |
 btson rar gzug pa²³² ^B= ≠ | ≠ ≠^B pa'i²³³ dbañ po dañ 'phral²³⁴ =^{-C} bar
 du byed do²³⁵ | de ni²³⁶ 'das pa dañ | ma 'oñs pa dañ | da ltar -yi sañs
 rgyas thams ^Dca≠ {49} [⇒ 7 ⇐] ≠ l^D ba'i kha na ma tho ba ²³⁷ by =
 ≠s^E |²³⁸ dge ba'i rtsa ba thams cad bsregs ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠^F *bcad pas* / ²³⁹ gdon
 myi = *bar mtsham* = myed pa'i sems can ^G= ≠ ≠ ≠ = = po = l-un^G ño | |
 de *pas* na mkhas {50} [⇒ 8 ⇐] ≠ ≠ñ^H bar bya'o | | =s^J de ltar kha na
 ma tho ba chen po byas kyañ²⁴⁰ g.yo dañ sgyus 'tsho ziñ / ²⁴¹ *na* ^K-yal
 =i db =^K du gyurd pa |²⁴² 'jig rten ^L= =u = = -y-r^L |²⁴³ bdag cag gi²⁴⁴
 bla na myed pa'i {51} [⇒ 10 ⇐] ≠ = =g^M kyañ theg pa chen ≠s
 mtshan bar²⁴⁵ 'tshañ rgya'o zes zer ro | | de ^Nd = *gis de ltar rab* = 'b-un
b ≠ ≠ ≠^N ziñ gnod pa byas pas |²⁴⁶ ⇒ 8-10 ⇐^O kyañ myi thob ≠ |²⁴⁷
 theg pa rnam {52} ^P[⇒ 10 ⇐] ≠ ≠ ≠ ñ myed pa'i ≠ ≠ pa^P myi thob

²³⁰ pa yañ : pa'añ (DQ)
²³¹ rdeg pa : brdeg pa (DQS)
²³² gzug pa : bzug pa (S)
²³³ pa'i : bas (S)
²³⁴ 'phral : phral (DQ), bral (S)
²³⁵ do : de (DQS)
²³⁶ de ni : des (S)
²³⁷ DQS insert chen po
²³⁸ ≠s | : pas (DQ)
²³⁹ pas | : pas (Q)
²⁴⁰ kyañ : kyañ | (S)
²⁴¹ ziñ | : ziñ (DQS)
²⁴² gyurd = | : gyur pa (DQ)
²⁴³ -y-r | : phyir (DQS)
²⁴⁴ gi : ni (DQS)
²⁴⁵ mtshan bar : mñon par (DQS)
²⁴⁶ byas pas | : byas pas (DQ),
 byed pas (S)
²⁴⁷ ≠ | [S na |] : na (DQ)

^A *ruñ ba'i slob ma rnams la 'tshe*
ziñ gnod
^B *dañ / 'tsho*
^C *ba'i*
^D *cad kyi dam tshig las 'gal*
^E *byas pas*
^F *siñ rgyun*
^G *dmyal ba chen por ltuñ*
^H *pa rnams kyis spañ*
^J *des*
^K *rgyal gyi dbañ*
^L *bslu ba'i phyir*
^M *bhyañ chub tshol ba yin te / bdag cag*
^N *dag gis de ltar rab tu byuñ ba la*
'tsho (D 'tshe)
^O *ma rabs tha ma'i lus*
^P *gñis kyi byañ chub pa'am (S ham)*
bla na med pa'i theg pa

pa²⁴⁸ lta ci smos te |²⁴⁹ skal ba chad pa =in no //

rigs -yi =u gzan yañ ^As+ = = =s pa'i ≠us^A na |²⁵⁰ yul ^Bp ≠ ≠ = ž = =
 ≠ ≠ +y≠ ≠ dgra las ≠ ≠ ? {53} [⇒ 11 ⇐] ≠ ≠^B srid du²⁵¹ 'dzind ≠ ≠ ≠
 ≠ ≠^C byed do || de na dur sa chen po kha lam pa ^Dže≠ ≠ ≠ ≠in =u 'gs
 pa'i ≠n≠ ≠ = ≠d^D d- |²⁵² gnod +byin da=²⁵³ srin po yañ de na mañ du
 gnas so ^E≠ ≠ ≠ {54} [⇒ 11 ⇐] = =s =i= ba s-u²⁵⁴ ≠ ≠^E ño ||

yul²⁵⁵ de na ñes pa bya≠ pa gsad pa žig yod ^F≠ ≠ = po ≠ ? ≠ m?^s
 kyis g ≠ ≠ ≠^F de²⁵⁶ bcin²⁵⁷ pa ^G=s b= = = ≠ ≠ =^G lam pa žes bya pa'i
^Hdur s ≠ ≠ ≠ {55} [⇒ 11 ⇐] = dan²⁵⁸ 'uñ po ≠ms^H zar bcug go |²⁵⁹

gsad pa gcig cig²⁶⁰ srog ^J≠ ≠ ≠ -kr = ≠ ≠ ≠ =gs^J te |²⁶¹ chos ≠ ≠^K
 kyi tshal bu žig r-ed pa mg+l²⁶² tu btags²⁶³ so || btson²⁶⁴ ^Lrdzis =id de
 {56} [⇒ 11 ⇐] bžin tu b ≠i = ≠ ≠s b ≠i ≠ ≠ ≠s^L |²⁶⁵ dur sa chen po
 der bskyald to ||

²⁴⁸ myi thob pa : thob pa (DQ)

²⁴⁹ te | : te (DQ)

²⁵⁰ na | : na (Q)

²⁵¹ srid du : srid (DS), sred (Q)

²⁵² d- || [Q do ||] : de | (DS)

²⁵³ da= [S dan] : dan | (DQ)

²⁵⁴ ba s-u : spu (Q) [ba spu (DS)]

²⁵⁵ yul : de yul (D)

²⁵⁶ de : de | (D)

²⁵⁷ bcin : bcins (Q)

²⁵⁸ da : da | (Q)

²⁵⁹ bcug go || : 'jug go | (Q),
 'jug go || (D), bcug go | (S)

²⁶⁰ cig : gis (DQ)

²⁶¹ te | : te (DQ)

²⁶² mg+l [DS mgul] : 'gul (Q)

²⁶³ btags : gtags (Q)

²⁶⁴ btson : brtson (D)

²⁶⁵ ≠s | : nas (DQ)

^A snon 'das pa'i dus

^B Pa na tsa la (Q Bu na tsa) žes bya
 ba na rgyal po dGra las rgyal ba
 (DQ rgyal) žes hya ba yod de / yul
 de'i

^C cin (Q cin /) dbañ

^D žes bya ba šin tu 'jigs pa'i gnas šig
 yod

^E // de dag tu phyin na 'jigs sin ba
 spu (Q spu) ldan

^F na (S na /) rgyal po'i khrims kyis
 gsad ba

^G lñas (Qsnas) bcins nas / (Qnas) kha

^H dur sa chen po der skyal te / srin
 po dan (DQ dan /) 'byuñ po rnam

^J gi phyir skra dan kha spu bregs

^K gos

^L rdzis khrid de rgyal po'i khrims
 bžin du bcin ba lñas bcins nas

=el = ^A phyir log nas de'i nub mo srin mo²⁶⁶ mtshon ca'i myig
ces bya ba 'khor lña stoñ dan b=s te²⁶⁷ {57} ^B[⇒ 11 ⇐] ^Bso ||
mye²⁶⁸ ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ^C mthoñ nas rab tu 'jigs śin skrag go ||²⁶⁹ de'i tshe
srin mo des myi²⁷⁰ bcin ba lñas bcins pa |²⁷¹ skra dan kha spu bregs
te |²⁷² chos gos kyi²⁷³ ^D≠ ≠ =u {58} [⇒ 11 ⇐] =s ≠ =thoñ^D nas |²⁷⁴ =
= ^E nas bskord te sti stañ²⁷⁵ dan bcas pa'i²⁷⁶ phyag byas = ? ^F mo
sbyard nas²⁷⁷ tshi=s su bcad pas 'di skad ces²⁷⁸ smras so ||

skyes bu khyod ^G≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ {59} [⇒ 12 ⇐] b = =s^G ||

khyo= ≠ ≠ dag^H cag gnod pa myi bgyid do ||

skra bregs chos gos gyon pa khyod mthoñ bas²⁷⁹ ||

bdag cag sañs rgyas =es su dran par gyurd ||

^F≠ ≠ ≠ rin {60} [⇒ 12 ⇐] = ≠ ?^J la 'di skad ces smras so ||

bdag cag śin tu bkres skom bas ||

lus dan sems ni nam par gzird ||²⁸⁰

²⁶⁶ nub mo srin mo : nub (D nub mo)

srin mo chen mo (DQ)

²⁶⁷ te : te | (S)

²⁶⁸ mye : mi (DS)

²⁶⁹ go || : go | (QS)

²⁷⁰ myi : mi de (DQS)

²⁷¹ pa | : pa (DQ)

²⁷² bregs te | : bregs pa (DQ),
bregs pa | (S)

²⁷³ kyi : kyis (S)

²⁷⁴ nas | : nas (DQ)

²⁷⁵ te sti stañ : te (S te |) bsti stañ (DS)

²⁷⁶ pa'i : pas (DQS)

²⁷⁷ nas : nas | (S)

²⁷⁸ ces : om. (DQ)

²⁷⁹ bas [S pas] : nas (D), na (Q)

²⁸⁰ gzird || : gzir | (Q)

^A skyel ma

^B dur khrod der lhags

^C des rgyan nas

^D tshal bu mgul du btags pa mthoñ

^E g.yas

^F te thal

^G ni ma bsñens bde bar bzugs

^H khyod la bdag

^J de'i tshe srin mo'i bu rnam

kyis / (DQ kyis) ma

The «Admonitory Inscription»

A s d ≠ ≠ s ni²⁸¹ bd? ≠ 'i^A phyir ||

B ≠ m {61} [⇒ 13 ⇐] = u^B gnoñ²⁸² ||

de = as srin mos²⁸³ bu rnams la |²⁸⁴ 'di skad ces smras so ||

sañs rgyas gañ ga²⁸⁵ kluñ gi bye sñe≠ +yi |^C

D ≠ m par grol ba'^{+D} ?gy ≠ ≠ =n²⁸⁶ gos gyond pa ||

'di la myi^{E=} ≠ sdig {62} [⇒ 12 ⇐] = =^E ||

nes pa= =tshams^F myed ≠ ≠ ≠^G can dmyal bar lhuñ²⁸⁷ ||

de²⁸⁸ nas srin mo²⁸⁹ bu dañ 'khord du bcas pas²⁹⁰ phyag byas te/²⁹¹ ≠ ≠^H

mo s'ard nas²⁹² tsh ≠ ≠ bcad pa²⁹³ 'di skad ces smras so ||

{63} |^J[⇒ 12 ⇐] ? =^J khyod la so sor 'chags | |²⁹⁴

bdag cag ji ste pha dañ ma dag la |²⁹⁵

lus dañ nag yid myi =ge^K byas bl+ ≠i^L //

kyod la n ≠ ≠ u 'añ ≠ ≠ od^M pa²⁹⁶ myi bgyid d+ ||

de nas yañ srin mo {64} ^N[⇒ 12 ⇐] ≠^N žes bya ba ^O≠ ≠or la ≠ ≠

²⁸¹ ni : de (S)

²⁸² gnoñ : gnañ (Q)

²⁸³ mos : mo'i (Q), mo || (S)

²⁸⁴ la | : la (DQS)

²⁸⁵ gañ ga : gañ gā'i (DQ), gañgā'i (S)

²⁸⁶ ?gy ≠ ≠ =n [DQ rgyal mtshan] :

rgyan mchog (S)

²⁸⁷ lhuñ : ltuñ (DQS)

²⁸⁸ de : des (S)

²⁸⁹ mo : mo'i (S)

²⁹⁰ pas : pas bskor te | sti (DS bsti)

stañ dañ bcas pas (DQS)

²⁹¹ te | : te (DQS)

²⁹² nas : nas | (S)

²⁹³ pa : pas (DQS)

²⁹⁴ 'chags || : 'chags (Q)

²⁹⁵ la | : la || (DQS)

²⁹⁶ pa : par (DQS)

^A lus dañ sems de (DQ ni) bde ba'i

^B yum (Q yul) gyis mi de 'tshal du

^C sñed kyi //

^D rnam par grol ba'i

^E dge sdig pa'i sems bskyed na

(Q nas)

^F par mtshams

^G sems

^H thal

^J tshon (Q chon) can gyon pa

^K dge (S bde)

^L bla yi

^M nam du 'añ gnod

^N chen mo Boñ bu so (S chen po Boñ

chuñ nu)

^O 'khor lna ston dañ

≠ñ^O bcas te²⁹⁷ dur khrod der lhag= so || srin mo des kyañ bciñ ba²⁹⁸
 lñas bcins pa / /²⁹⁹ skra dan kha ≠u br+gs pa |³⁰⁰ chos gos -yi tshal bu
 mgul du ^Ab= = ba'i {65} [⇒ 13 ⇐] ?skord te -t- st-ñ^A dan bca≠ ≠ ≠^B
 phyag byas nas³⁰¹ thal mo sbya=d te³⁰² tshigs su bcad pas 'di skad ces
 smras so //

^Cskyes = = = g g+s ma^C bsñeñs bde bar bzugs ||

khyod kyi³⁰³ mgul du bta=s pa³⁰⁴ {66} [⇒ 13 ⇐] |^D

drañ sroñ chen po'i = ≠^E mtshan na bza³⁰⁵ lags ||

de la bdag cag mchod ciñ³⁰⁶ phyag 'tshal lo //

de nas srin mo de'i³⁰⁷ bu rnam ≠ ≠³⁰⁸ ma la 'di skad ces smras so ||

= =^F śa dan khrag ^G= = zim {67} [⇒ 13 ⇐]^G

lus dan sems ^Hsto ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠i ≠^H 'phel bar 'gyur ba | |³⁰⁹

śin tu dpa' la rtul phod 'jigs myed pa | |

yum ^J≠ ≠ ? = = < 2-3 >^J de ni³¹⁰ 'tshal du gnoñ | ||³¹¹

²⁹⁷ te : te | (S)

²⁹⁸ bciñ ba : bcins pa (Q)

²⁹⁹ pa || : pa | (S), pa (DQ)

³⁰⁰ pa | : pa (DQ)

³⁰¹ nas : nas | (S)

³⁰² te : nas (S)

³⁰³ kyi : kyis (Q)

³⁰⁴ pa : pa'i (DQS)

³⁰⁵ bza : bza' (DQS)

³⁰⁶ bdag cag mchod ciñ : mchod ciñ
 bdag cag (S)

³⁰⁷ mo de'i : mo'i (S)

³⁰⁸ rnam ≠ ≠ [Q mams kyi] : mams
 kyis (D), mams kyis | (S)

³⁰⁹ 'phel bar 'gyur ba|| : 'phel bar
 'gyur| (DQ), 'phel 'gyur ba|| (S)

³¹⁰ de ni : bdag cag (DQS)

³¹¹ gnoñ | || : gnoñ | (Q), gnoñ || (DS)

^A btags pa'i mi de mthon nas bskor
 te / sti (D bsti) stan (Q steñ)

^B bcas pas

^C skyes bu bdag gis

^D tshal bu 'di //

^E rgyal

^F mi yi (Q mi'i)

^G las zim pa med //

^H stobs skye zin

^J gyis de la

The «Admonitory Inscription»

de na srin ≠ =³¹² bu ^Arna = = la {68} [⇒ 13 ⇐]^A smras so | ≠

^B⇒ 6 ⇐ od^B ldan pa thams cad kyañ ||

rabtu byun ba dag la mchod³¹³ pa'i phyir ||

⇒ 8-10 ⇐^C mchod pa'i³¹⁴ na ||

bde ba tshad mye = pa ≠ ≠^D 'thob par '≠ur ||

{69} ^E[⇒ 13 ⇐] 'khor = ⇒ 10 ⇐^E ≠s sti³¹⁵ stañ dan b≠as pas
phyag +yas ste³¹⁶ thal mo sbyar te³¹⁷ tshigs su bcad de s-as pa |?

^F⇒ 6-8 ⇐ s ≠ ≠ pa'i = = ≠ ≠^F ||

^Gbdag ≠ag =n^G tu gus par³¹⁸ ^Hphya≠ =tsh = ? {70} [≠ ≠ ≠ ?]^H

^{319J}[⇒ 8/9 ⇐] par phyag +y ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ?³¹⁹

≠ ≠ =^K ma 'oñs pa'i³²⁰ dus kun tu ||

sañs rgyas mthoñ ziñ dad pa skye par ≠ ≠ ? ?^L

D 155a5-6, Q 165a4-5, S 77b6-7, (T 743a11-12)

⇒ 20-23 ⇐ can dan³²¹ srin mo chen mo mtshon ca'i³²² M= =O ≠ ≠

?^M bya {71} ^N[⇒ 11 ⇐] lña st ⇒ 7 ⇐^N dur khrod od ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ? |^O

³¹² ≠ = [DQ mos] : mos | (S)

³¹³ la mchod : las thob (DQ)

³¹⁴ pa'i : pas (DQS)

³¹⁵ ≠s sti : nas bsti (D),

nas | bsti (S)

³¹⁶ ste : ste | (Q), te | (DS)

³¹⁷ te : nas (DQS)

³¹⁸ par : pa (S)

³¹⁹ om. (QT)

³²⁰ pa'i : pa yi (DS)

³²¹ ⇒ 20-23 ⇐ can dan : de'i

tshe yañ (DQS)

³²² ca'i : cha'i (DQS)

^A rnam^s la 'di skad ces

^B lha mi'i (Q ma'i) loñs spyod

^C chos gos gyon pa 'di la

^D yañ

^E de nas srin mo'i bu rnam^s 'khor

dan bcas pas bskor

^F skra bregs chos gos gyon pa'i

skyes bu la

^G bdag cag śin

^H phyag 'tshal ba (DQ bas) //

^J bdag cag śin tu gus par phyag

byas pas // (Q om.)

^K rtag tu

^L śog // (S śog /)

^M gdoñ zes

^N ba yañ 'khor lña stoñ dan bcas te /

(Q te)

^O der lhags so //

srin mo de dag g³²³ kyañ ≠i^A de bcin pa ^Bl-as = = = ⇒ 18-20 ⇐
 ≠gul^B du btags³²⁴ pa mtho= nas | =sk ≠ ? byas [?]325 {72} [⇒ 10 ⇐] =d
 par ≠ ≠ ≠ ?³²⁶

D 155b3-156a4, Q 165b2-166a3/4, S 78a6-79a4, (T 743a27-b19)

^C≠ tshe s+in =o^C ≠ dag thams =ad kyis mthun bar³²⁷ sñiñ rje'i³²⁸
sems ^D≠ ≠ ≠ s = =i ⇒ 14-16 ⇐ = = =^D b-kyed pa byas nas ph-ir
 = =n^E ño || myi de -yi= ñi≠ sña³²⁹ {73} [⇒ 10 ⇐]^F du 'oñs ≠s³³⁰ G≠
 ≠s po d ≠ ≠ ≠^G kyis žib tu gsold to ||

de'i tshe rgyal po dgra ^H⇒ 12-13 ⇐ pas ≠ ≠^H ces³³¹ thos nas
sñañs te³³² ño mtshar rmad du gyurd nas khrims su ^J?≠ s te {74}
 [⇒ 10 ⇐] la bka=^J btags pa | deñ phyin cad³³³ ña'i yul na gnas pa |³³⁴
sañs rgyas kyi³³⁵ slo≠^K ma tshul khrims = ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠^L tshul khrims ñams
sam | chuñ ñu na³³⁶ tshul khrim= myed pa≠^M skra ña kha spu bre≠^S

³²³ de dag g≠ : des (DQS)

³²⁴ btags : gtags (Q)

³²⁵ = sk ≠ ? byas ? : bskor te (DQS)

³²⁶ Beginning of line 72 not identified.

³²⁷ ≠ dag thams cad kyis mthun bar :

bu (S ma) smad 'khor da bcas pa (DQS)

³²⁸ rje'i : rjes (S)

³²⁹ -yi= ñi≠ sa [D phyis ñin sa,
 Q phyir ...] : phyis ñin sar (S)

³³⁰ ≠s : nas | (S)

³³¹ ces : om. (DQS)

³³² sñañs te : dñañs te (D), sñañs
 te | (S)

³³³ cad : chad (DQS)

³³⁴ pa | : pa (DQS)

³³⁵ kyi : kyis (S)

³³⁶ chuñ ñu na : chuñ ñun (Q)

^A mi

^B lñas bcins pa / (DQ pa /) skra ña
 kha spu bregs pa / (DQ pa) chos gos
 kyi tshal bu mgul

^C de'i tshe srin mo

^D bskyed nas / (DQ nas) mi de (DQ
 de'i) bcins pa bkrol te / (DQ te
 bsags pa ña (DQ ña) spro ba

^E gtañ (D btañ)

^F rab tu rgyal po'i drun

^G dños po de dag rgyus

^H las rgyal ba 'khor ña bcas pas de
 skad

^J bcas te / (DQ te) yul gyi mi rñams
 la bkar (DQ bkas)

^K slob

^L sruñ ñam /

^M par

≠ | = = smri≠ {75} [⇒ 11 ⇐]^A rkyal ka = ≠³³⁷ gnod pa ≠ ≠ ?^B = |³³⁸
 thams cad bsad³³⁹ do zes khrim_s ≠ byas³⁴⁰ so | | de'i rgyu de'i rkyend ≠
kyis³⁴¹ myi mañ po yañ bsod nams la dga' bas thams c≠ =gs k?i_s bstand
 = la phyogs ≠ ≠³⁴² {76} ^C[⇒ 11 ⇐] ≠₀^C de dbañ ba'i ^D⇒ 9 ⇐ m =
 ≠ ≠^D pas³⁴³ ^E⇒ 10 ⇐ s+abs su ⇒ 5-7 ⇐^E | |

rigs kyi bu de ltar 'das pa'i dus na |³⁴⁴ s?in mo yi dags ^{F+y+} ⇒
 10-12 ⇐^F 'phrog = ś d = |³⁴⁵ {77} ^G[⇒ 12 ⇐] ≠ ≠ ≠ = ba | ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠^G
 pa yañ ^H⇒ 16-18 ⇐ ≠gs pa = ≠ ≠ ≠ ?^H +y+ =u³⁴⁶ mgul du³⁴⁷ btags pa
 de la pskor ⇒ 6-8 ⇐^J dañ³⁴⁸ rim ^K= ⇒ 10-12 ⇐ = =^K dañ | ^L≠ ≠ ≠ su
 {78} [⇒ 12 ⇐] ≠ ≠ ≠ od pa +y_e = pa' +^L sems my+d na |³⁴⁹ ph+i ma
 ma ^M≠ns pa'+ ≠ ≠^M na³⁵⁰ rgyal rigs gdold pa ≠n dañ³⁵¹ blon po dañ /
khyim bdag dañ | ^Ntsh = ≠ ≠on^N dañ | dge ^O⇒ 12-14 ⇐ 1 ≠ ≠ ≠_s {79}

³³⁷ rkyal ka = ≠ : brkyal ka'am (Q),
 kyal ka'am (D), kyal ka 'am | (S)
³³⁸ = | : na (DQS)
³³⁹ bsad : gsad (DQS)
³⁴⁰ byas : bcas (S)
³⁴¹ kyis (Q) : gyis (DS)
³⁴² ≠ ≠ | [S nas |] : nas (DQ)
³⁴³ pas : par (S)

³⁴⁴ na | : na (DQ)
³⁴⁵ = ś d = | : pa | śa dañ (QS),
 pa śa dañ (D)
³⁴⁶ +y+ =u : kyi tshal (Q chal)
 bu (DQS)
³⁴⁷ mgul du : om. (S)
³⁴⁸ dañ : dañ | (S)
³⁴⁹ na | : na (Q)
³⁵⁰ na : na | (S), su (D)
³⁵¹ dañ : dañ | (DQS)

^A bregs te / (DQ te) nur smrig gyon pa
 la su žig
^B byas
^C 'Dzam bu (DQ bu'i) glin na rgyal po
^D mi thams cad bsam pa nes
^E dkon mchog gsum la skyabs su
 gsol to
^F kyi rgyud du skyes pa / mdas
^G khrag za ba / sdig pa la bkram pa
 sñin rje med
^H / de lta bu'i (Q de lta bu) tshul
 khri ms med pa / (DQ pa) skra dañ
 kha spu bregs pa / (Q pa) chos gos
^J ba dañ / bsti (Q sti) stan
^K gro dañ / phyag bya ba dañ /
 (Q dañ) mchod pa
^L tshigs su bcad pas bstod de / (Q
 de //) gnod pa byed pa'i
^M 'ons pa'i dus
^N tshon dpon
^O sbyon dañ / bram ze gdol pa can
 la sogs pa gdug pa'i sems

TRANSLATION

< > translated according to the canonical editions

[In the case of] (a monk) regardless of whether he has forsaken moral conduct (*duḥśīla*) or adheres to moral conduct (*śīlavat*), any king, minister, lord or layman (by) beating and striking (his) body with a whip, a stick, etc., and {2} ...; even by having ..., or ... speaking evil (*apavāda*, *bskur pa bt[ab pa]*), and giving (*bdags*) (him) a name by [expressions like] «fool» or «lame and blind» etc. accumulates enormous sinful actions.

{3} How is this evident? – In this way it is known from the *Ārya- Daśacakraḥṣitigarbha-Mahā[yāna]sūtra*.

D 138b4–139a3, Q 148a2–8, S 54a6–55a1, (T 736a16–b1)

Then the Venerable One said to Mahābrahman *Devagarbha the following:

Noble sir, {4/5} if (I) do not allow¹ that, even in accordance with worldly law, any god, man and *asura* etc. [inflict such torture] upon any living being, if it is initiated into my teaching or², having shaved hair and beard, wears <[no more than] a small rag (*tshal bu*)> of <a saffron-coloured> robe³, regardless of whether it observes moral conduct, violates moral conduct, or is [altogether] without moral conduct, {5} how much less [do I allow any] unjust (*chos ma yin pa dan sbyar ba*) [punishment] of that [person, like] beating and striking <[his] body> with a whip, a stick, etc., throwing into prison, reviling and

¹ *mi gnañ na* (DQ) : *mi dbaṅ na* (AS). Except for l.23 (cf. n.33) all four versions (ADQS) of the text, in this context, use consistently the term *mi gnañ* (see l. 14, 17, 19, 21), which is also attested by the quotation in Śiḥṣ: *nānujānāmi, mi gnañ na* (see n.4).

² *ñam* (AS); DQ read *nas*, which seems to be preferable.

³ *go[s nur smrig]* : *nur smrig* (DQS)

scolding, cutting off the limbs of the body, and depriving him of his life.⁴

{6} Why? – <Not to speak of (*lta zog*)⁵> [a monk] who observes moral conduct and is well-learned, <but (*la*)> [even a monk who] after being initiated into my teaching, performs non-virtuous actions, is like⁶ a *srin kwa lwa* (?) that is rotten inside and full of filth,⁷ {7} pretends to be a *śramaṇa* (*dge sbyoñ du khas 'che ba, śramaṇapratijñā*)⁸ while not being a *śramaṇa*, pretends <to observe chastity (*brahmacāripratijñā*) while> not observing chastity, is overcome, destroyed, perverted by manifold defilements – even a bad monk of such kind, who violates moral conduct {7/8} [might] become a teacher and guide of all the gods, *nāgas*, *yakṣas*, {8} *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*,⁹ <*kinnaras*>, great serpents (*mahoraga*), humans, *amanuṣyas*, etc.;¹⁰ he might become a hoard (*nidhī*) of immeasurable precious virtues.¹¹

⁴ Cf. the quotation in Śikṣ 68,4–7 (BENDALL/ROUSE 1922: 72; WINTERNITZ 1930: 70): *tasmād yo mamoddiśya pravrajitaḥ śilavān duḥśīlo vā tasya nānujānāmi cakravarttirājñām api yan mamoddiśya pravrajitasya sahadharmenāpi kāye dandaprahāram vā dātum cārake vā prakṣeptum āngam āngam vikarttanam vā kartum jīvitād vā vyaparopanam kartum / kim punar adharmena //*

Śikṣ_D 43b7–44a1: *de lta bas na na'i phyir rab tu byuñ ba tshul khirms dañ ldan pa'am tshul khirms 'chal pa yañ ruñ ste / gañ na'i phyir rab tu byuñ ba la 'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po yañ chos dañ mthun pas kyañ lus la chad pas gcod pa dañ btson rar 'jug pa dañ yan lag dañ ñid lag gcod pa dañ srog gcod du mi gnañ na chos ma yin pa lta ci smos /*

⁵ Tshig mdzod explains this expression as: *de 'dra phar zog*; cf. *chu qi* (T)

⁶ ... *dañ 'dra ba* / (DQS) : ... *dañ / 'dra ba* ...

⁷ Cf. Śikṣ (n.27): *kaśambakajāta* (*śiñ rul ba lta bur gyur ba*) – acc. BHS applied to a tree the inside of which is rotten; MVy 9139 (§ 277: *dge sbyoñ gi skyon du brtsi ba* [– *rtsi ba'i miñ*]).

⁸ Cf. *khas 'ches pa'i dge sloñ: sdom pa ma blañs pa'am / yañ na sdom pa ral te med par gyur na yañ na dge sloñ yin zes pa lta bu* (Tshig mdzod).

⁹ *nam mkha' ldiñ* (DQS) : *nam ldiñ*

¹⁰ The same list (extended) is, e.g., DB VII M.

¹¹ Cf. the quotation in Śikṣ 67,19–68,2 (B 72): (*yo mahābrahman*) *mamoddiśya pravrajito duḥśīlapāpasamācāro bhikṣur anubhūtaḥ kaśambakajāto aśramaṇaḥ śramaṇapratijñāḥ abrahmacārī brahmacāripratijñāḥ / dhvastah patitah parājito vividhaiḥ kleśaiḥ atha ca punaḥ sa duḥśīlapāpasamācāro bhikṣur adyāpi sarva-devānām yāvat sarvamanuṣyānām yāvat punyanidhīnām darśayitā bhavati kalyāṇa-mitram /*

Śikṣ_D 43b4–6: (*tshañs pa chen po*) *gañ na'i [: de'i] phyir rab tu byuñ ba / tshul khirms 'chal pa sdig pa spyod pa'i / dge sloñ mdoñs pa śiñ rul pa lta bur gyur pa / dge sbyoñ ma yin pa la dge sbyoñ du khas 'che ba / tshañs par spyod pa ma yin pa la tshañs par spyod par khas 'che ba / ñon moñs pa sna tshogs kyis bśig pa ltuñ ba*

Further, noble sir, {9} those initiated into my teaching, even if violating moral conduct, might obtain the ten immeasurable groups of precious virtues (**guṇaratnarāśi*)¹² due to the arising¹³ of the ten kinds of resolute intention (*adhyāśaya*)¹⁴ [with] the sentient beings, caused by the mere seeing of [their physical] shape.

D 142b7–143a5, Q 152a7–b4, S 60b6–61a1, (T 737c15–26)

Mahābrahman, {10} further, in the case of an offence of disobedience (*bcas pa'i sdig*, **pratikṣepaṇāpatti/°pāpa*) there are (things) not to be adhered to and not to be practised (*mi gnas pa dan mi bya ba['i chos]*)¹⁵, as well as in the case of a natural offence (*rañ bzin gyi sdig*, **prakṛtyāpatti/°pāpa*)¹⁶ there are (things) not to be adhered to

pham pa yin yañ tshul khrims 'chal pa sdig pa spyod pa'i dge slon de de'i tshe na yañ lha thams cad dan mi rnams kyi bar dan bsod nams kyi gter dag gi bar ston pa dan dge ba'i bśes gñen yin no ||

¹² The ten *balāni* / *pāramitās* (?)

¹³ *skye ba nas*; DQS *skye bas na*

¹⁴ In the following passage (D 139a3–140a1) the sūtra claims to explain these ten kinds of resolute intention. However, only eight of them are listed. One is the resolute intention of devotion (*dad ciñ gus pa'i lhag pa'i bsam pa*), six are with regard to mindfulness (*anusmṛti*) concerning the six *parāmitā* (*tshul khrims –, sbyin pa –, bzod pa –, brtson 'grus la nan tan bya bar –, bsam gtan la mñam par gzog pa –, śes rab rjes su dran pa la lhag pa'i bsam pa*), one is with regard to mindfulness of the fact that the roots of virtue have previously been produced (*ba dge ba'i rtsa ba sñon bskyed par rjes su dran pa la lhag pa'i bsam pa*).

For the term *adhyāśaya* cf. e.g. DB I Rff.

¹⁵ The term *mi gnas pa dan mi bya ba('i chos)* poses some problems. Here it appears in a Vinaya-like context of offences that can be identified with the *samghāvaśeṣa* and *pārājikadharmā* (see n.16). The punishment for these is temporary or permanent suspension from the *samgha*, which means that a monk who has committed these offences is neither allowed to dwell in the *vihāra* in the company of other monks, nor to take part in the assembly and the proceedings of the community (see l. 12/13). This context might suggest an interpretation as the corresponding «rules for not dwelling [together]» (*mi gnas pa'i chos, asaṃvāsadharmā*) and «not [taking part in the] proceedings [of the community]» (*mi bya ba'i chos, *akarma°/akriyādharmā*).

However, the term is obviously identical in meaning with the topic of chapter 3 of the Kṣīṭigarbhasūtra, *gnas pa dan* (!) *spyad par mi bya ba('i chos)*, which is not connected with any Vinaya rules, but denotes various kinds of misbehaviour that make the accomplishment of *samādhi* impossible and destroy the roots of virtue. – See Introduction, n.17.

¹⁶ In this passage closely related to Vinaya regulations I prefer the translation “offence” for *sdig pa*, because this is the usual term in Vinaya texts, and the term *pāpa* is hardly ever used there.

and not to be practised, [and] also in the case of a natural offence [if this] is a primary offence (*rtsa ba'i sdig*, **mūlāpatti/°pāpa*)¹⁷ there are (things) not to be adhered to and not to be practised.

{10/11} If somebody asks here: How, which are the things not to be adhered to and not to be practised in the case of a natural offence [if this] is not a primary offence?¹⁸ {11} – Like this: If any monk has committed a primary offence due to not observing chastity, has committed a primary offence having intentionally taken the life of a human being¹⁹, has committed a primary offence having stolen what is not the property (*dkor*, *dravya*) of the Three Jewels²⁰, {12} has com-

bcas pa'i sdig seems to correspond to the Vinaya term *saṃghāvaśeṣa* (*dharma*) (*dge 'dun lhaḡ ma['i chos*]), offences that result in the monk's temporary suspension; *rañ bžin gyi sdig* refers to the four *pārājikadharmā* (*phas pham par 'gyur ba'i chos*): fornication (*abrahmacarya*, *mi tshañs pa spyod pa*), taking something which is not given (*adattādāna*, *ma byin par len pa*), killing (*badha*, *gsod pa*) and boasting of superhuman qualities (*uttaramaṇuṣyadharmapralāpa*, *mi'i chos bla ma[r] smra ba*) (MVy 8364–8367). A monk who has committed such an offence is expelled from the *saṃgha* forever. – Cf. ROSEN 1959: 7f., 50–76; SCHLINGLOFF 1964; UPASAK 1975: 157f., STACHE–ROSEN 1984: 42ff.

The terminological similarity suggests a connection of these terms with *bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba* (*dañ bcas pa*) (AK_L IV,83 n.2, SARAT CHANDRA DAS [*A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. Calcutta 1902]: *bcad pa'i ...*), *pratikṣepaṇasāvadya* (MVy 7248) «vice of disobedience», and *rañ bžin gyi kha na ma tho ba* (*dañ bcas pa*), *prakṛtisāvadya* (not in MVy) «natural vice». Observing the moral precepts with regard to these two kinds of vice is the «perfectly pure morality» (*tshul khrims rnam par dag pa*) which serves as auxiliary means for *śamatha*-meditation (cf. 2.BhK 23,8ff.); *prakṛtisāvadya* consists in actions that are *per se* sinful and forbidden for monks and laymen alike: killing, stealing, fornication and lying; *pratikṣepaṇasāvadya* consists in disregarding any rule of the Buddha (cf. the definition of *śīla*, AK IV, 122c), like eating at the wrong time (*vikālabhojana*) (cf. AK_L IV,83 n.1, LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1927: 48f.).

See also the expression *kha na ma tho ba'i sdig pa* (l.18, 44).

¹⁷ *rtsa ba'i ñon moñs pa*: “sin inherited from former births” (A. SCHIEFNER, quoted in H.A. JÄSCHKE, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*. London 1881), “original sin” (SARAT CHANDRA DAS, see n.16), “the primary defiling elements” (Y.N. ROERICH, *Tibetan-Russian-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Parallels*. 11 vol, Moscow 1983), *ñon moñs kyi rten gži'am rtsa bar gyur pa* (Tshig mdzod). What is actually meant here are the four *pārājikadharmā* (see l.11f.).

¹⁸ *rtsa ba'i sdig du myi 'gyur ba om.* in DQS and *T*. The negation seems out of place; cf. the final statement of this passage.

¹⁹ *skye bo mi* (DQS) : *skye ba myi*; It is not a *pārājika*-offence if a monk kills somebody by accident (cf. ROSEN 1959: 56).

²⁰ i.e. somebody's personal property; cf. the explanation of *dkor* in Tshig mdzod: *dad pa'i rdzas*, as an example for which *dge 'dun gyi dkor* is given.

mitted a primary offence having told a «capital lie» (*brdzun chen po*)²¹, and (if) any monk has committed any of these four kinds of primary offence, he has no right to participate (*mi chud de*)²² in the proceedings of the monk[s] (*dge sloṅ gis las bya ba*);²³ {12/13} he may not be entitled (*mi dbaṅ mod kyi*) to enjoying all fruition (*loṅs spyod*) and {13} the riches of the religious community of the four directions (*caturdiśasamgha*); but even for him (I) do not allow to execute [punishments like] beating and whipping²⁴ with a stick or whip, throwing into prison, reviling and scolding, cutting off the limbs of the body, depriving of (his) life and all the rest. {14} – Those are called (the things) not to be adhered to and not to be practised in the case of a substantial primary offence within the [class of] natural offence.

{14/15} Why is this [kind of offence] called primary offence? – It is called primary offence, because it is the primary cause (*rtsa ba*) for going to evil destinies (*durgati, apāya*), when any person [other than a monk ?], having committed the four offences (*chos*) of that sort (i.e. the *pārājika*-offences), is bound to fall into evil destinies immediately after dying.

D 151b7–154b7, Q 161b3–164b6, S 73a4–77a6, (T 741b17–742c22)

{15} Noble sir, some (*dag*) monk violating moral conduct (*śīla-vipanna*) [and] committing offences in this way may have committed a capital offence transgressing the law, {16} but if (I) do not allow that, even in accordance with worldly law, [any] king, minister and layman [inflict such torture] upon him, who resembles the noble ones with regard to behaviour (*īryāpatha*) and costume (*nepathya*) after he has,

Stealing the property of the Three Jewels is, however, considered the severest form of «taking something which is not given» in e.g. the Tathāgata(guhyā)koṣa-Sūtra, quoted in Śikṣ 171,13ff. (= SubhS 69,7ff.). Śikṣ 171, 14f.: *idam agram adattā-dānām yad uta triratnadravyāpaharaṇatā /*

²¹ Although the text uses the term «lie» for this primary offence, its specification as «capital lie» (or, maybe, rather: «capital mania») seemingly indicates its identity with the fourth *pārājikadharmā*, «boasting of superhuman qualities» (*uttaramaṇuṣyadharmapralāpa*) (J.L.Panglung, personal communication).

²² Literally “he has no room”; the verb *chud pa* (“to enter”) is – acc. Tshig mdzod – taken as a synonym of *śoṅ ba* (“to hold, contain, have room”).

²³ T: *zhu bi qiu suo zhuo shi ye* (“the proceedings undertaken by the monks”); obviously a synonym of *samghakarman*/^o*karāṇīya*. For *karman*/*kriyā* and related terms see HU VON HINÜBER 1994: 200–209.

²⁴ *gzu ba* (DQS) : *bzu ba*

abiding in my teaching, having shaved hair and beard, put on the saffron-coloured robe, {17} how much less [do I allow for him] an execution of unjust [punishments like] whipping and striking, exposing to (arbitrary) pressure,²⁵ throwing into prison, reviling and scolding, cutting off the limbs of the body, and depriving (him) of (his) life. If [any] king, {18} minister or layman have acted in this way, they will obtain a great offence of vice (*kha na ma tho ba'i sdig pa*, **avadyapāpa*); certainly [they] will be reborn in the «immediate hell» (*mtshams med pa'i sems can dmyal ba*)^{26, 27}

If in this way (I) do not allow [any] punishment even for a monk violating moral conduct [and] committing offences, {19} how much less for²⁸ one of moral conduct (*śīlavat*) [and] virtuous conduct (*kuśalacārin*).

Noble sir, even any monk who has committed (*ñams pa*) [only] one of the primary moral offences (*tshul khrims kyi rtsa ba'i sdig*) may indeed be called a monk violating moral conduct and committing offences, {20} but [also for him] there exists uninterruptedly²⁹ the obligation (*sdom pa*) of actions performed by the religious community that is faithful according to the teaching. <As there> still <exists> [for him] the preaching of the perfectly white doctrine, even though he has dismissed the realms (*bar du*) of learning and moral conduct, also for him (I) do not allow contempt, {21} blame or³⁰ punishment.

In this way this monk, not being a vessel of the doctrine (*dharma-pātra*) [and], by violating the duty (*chos*) of the noble ones, staining

²⁵ *nan la dor pa* (DQS *bor ba*); l. 80: *nan la 'dor* (QS), ... *'dar* (D); cf. *nan la gtad pa: btsan pos khral sogs hkal ba* (Tshig mdzod).

²⁶ I.e. *avīci*-hell. The term *mtshams med pa* suggest Skt. *ānantarya*; it is, however, a literal translation of Chin. *wu jian*, the usual rendering of *avīci* (*mnar med [pa]*). – Cf. also the translation of *ānantarya* by *mnar med par 'gyur ba* (LA 138,2ff., 139,4ff.) and the explanation of the term *mtshams med: śi ma thag dmyal bar skye bas bar do sogs kyi mtshams ma chod pa* (Tshig mdzod).

²⁷ Cf. the quotation in Śiks 68,9–11 (BENDALL-ROUSE 1922: 72): *ye mamoddiśya pravrajitān yānabhūtān pātrabhūtān vā viheṭhayaṣyanti te sarveṣāṃ trayodhva-gatānām buddhānām atīva sāparādhā bhavanti | samucchinna kuśalamūlā daghasantānā avīciparāyanā bhavanti |*

Śiks_D 44a2f.: *na'i phyir rab tu byuñ ba snod du gyur tam snod du ma gyur kyañ ruñ ba rnams la gañ dag 'tshes ba de dag thams cad ni dus gsum du gsegs pa'i sañs rgyas thams cad la śin tu ñes pa dañ bcus pa yin no || dge ba'i rtsa ba chad pa dañ rgyud tshig pa dañ mnar med par gžol pa yin no.*

²⁸ ... *spyod pa la* (DQS) : ... *spyod pa*

²⁹ *rgyun mi 'chad par* (DQS) : ... *chad par*

³⁰ *dam* / (DQS) : *dam* //

(*sm[y]e bar byed*) the perfectly pure religious community (*pāri-śuddhasamgha*) and not performing properly all the actions that are to be performed as actions of a *śramaṇa*, {22} may indeed not be entitled to enjoying the fruition of the religious community of the four directions, but as he, being ordained (*upasampanna*) by (*las*) a harmonious religious community (*yid 'thun pa'i dge 'dun, samagrasamgha*)³¹, has not dismissed [the possibility of] obtaining the vow, he is superior to all lay beings.

If [it] is like that even [in the case of] committing (*ñams*) primary offences, {23} how much more [in the case of] committing³² other slight offences of disobedience, which are not that [kind of primary offence]. Therefore [any] king, minister, and laymen are not entitled³³ to contempt or blame or punishment [of any monk]. Why? –

Noble sir, in former times,³⁴ {24} in the country called Kāśī³⁵, there was a king called Brahmadata. He spoke the following to five outcastes (*caṇḍāla*): “Hey you, here [in this country], near a snowy mountain, there is an elephant with six tusks (*śaddanta*), called *Utpalākṣa; therefore {25} pull out and bring me [one of] his³⁶ tusk[s]. If you do not obtain (it), do not hope to live.” Thus he commanded.

At that time those outcastes³⁷, for the sake of body and life put on the saffron-[coloured]³⁸ robe, after arming (*thogs*) themselves with

³¹ HIRAKAWA 1982: 161 explains *samagrasamgha* as meaning “that no one was absent from the assembly” (cf. HÄRTEL 1956: 122 “vollzählige Gemeinde”). The usual rendering for *samagra* is, however, *'thun/mthun pa* (MVy 5318, 9269). The fact that here the term *yid 'thun pa* is used I understand as a hint towards an additional meaning “unanimous”; cf. HU VON HINÜBER 1994: 223ff.

³² *ñams pa* (DQS) : *ñams pa'i*

³³ Despite the fact that here all four versions of the text agree on the term *m(y)i dbaṅ no*, the context might suggest *mi gnañ no, nānujānāmi* (“I do not allow”); cf. n.1.

³⁴ *snun 'das pa'i dus*, DQS *shon 'das pa'i dus*;

The following story, though not identical to it, shows some similarities to the Chaddantajātaka (Jātaka 514).

³⁵ *Ka śa* (AS), *Ka śi* (D), *Ga śi* (Q)

³⁶ *de'i* (DQS) : *de*

³⁷ *gdol pa* (Q), *jian tuo luo* (T) : *gdol pa can*; cf. l. 39/40, 46/47 and 78 (n.52). The form *gdol pa can* for *caṇḍāla* appears also in the S version (exclusively) of l.32.

³⁸ *tshon chen* (corr.) : *tshon* (Q *chon*) *can* (ADQS); cf. l. 28, 31, 63. A parallel passage in Jātaka 514: 49,8 reads *kāsāvāni pasidahitvā, kāsāva* being explained as “a kind of brown, i.e. yellow” (QTSD). SARAT CHANDRA DAS (see n.16) gives *kusumbha*

bow and arrow³⁹; after preparing like *śramaṇas* {26} they went to the dwelling-place of the elephant-king near the snowy mountain.

When they arrived there, a female elephant saw them first and, fearing the [men] carrying (*thogs pa*) bows and arrows⁴⁰, she ran to the elephant-king, [and] arriving [there, she] spoke the following:

{27} “Great lord, don’t you see? Some men carrying bows and arrows⁴⁰ are slowly sneaking [towards our dwelling place], and when [they] appear [here], how can possibly (*gran*) our lives not become interrupted?”

When the elephant-king, lifting⁴¹ [his] head, looked [up], {27/28} he saw some [men] coming, who were, having shaved hair and beard⁴², {28} wearing the saffron[-coloured]⁴³ robe; then he spoke to the female elephant these (*'di dag*) verses:

“Those wearing the monk’s robe, the banner of victory of the Buddhas, numerous as the sand of the river Gaṅgā,

{29} as they have completely renounced all sins, will certainly do no harm to living beings.”

Then also the female elephant answered⁴⁴ in verse:

“[They] may pretend to be wearers of the monk’s robe, but as [they] all carry bows and arrows⁴⁵ in [their] hands,

{30} they are without mercy and dangerous, they are outcastes inclined to committing sins.”

Then the elephant-king again spoke these verses:

“If [one] appears wearing a small rag of a monk’s robe, this is the root of kindness and compassion.

{31} Because of kindness and love towards all living beings,

they will certainly have taken refuge in the Buddha.

(saffron) as the Sanskrit equivalent for *tshon chen* (cf. the explanation of *tshon chen* in Tshig mdzod: [1] *tshon mdog mi 'gyur ba'i sa tshon dan rdo tshon*, [2] *rdo tshon bye brag cig*); *tshon can*, on the other hand, is attested in the meaning of “silver” (SARAT CHANDRA DAS: *raupya*, Tshig mdzod: *dnul*).

³⁹ *mda' gzu* (S), *mda' gzu zig* (DQ) : *mda' bzi*

⁴⁰ *mda' gzu* (DQS) : *mda' zu*

⁴¹ *bteg ste* (DS), *bteg te* (Q) : *btegs te*

⁴² *kha spu* (DQS) : *na spu*

⁴³ *tshon chen* (COR.) : *tson can*, *tshon can* (DQS); see n.38.

⁴⁴ *lan btab pa* (DQS) : ... *pas*

⁴⁵ See n.40.

If you, without <suspicion> <towards them ('di la)>, quickly promote this mental disposition (*sems*) [you will become] brilliant (*mdzes*).

These wearers of the saffron[-coloured]⁴⁶ monk's robe {32} [will] liberate [you] from the ocean of *samsāra*."

Then, at that time, those outcastes, shooting poisonous arrow(s) at the elephant-king, hit [his] heart, as (they had) planned (*gzas pa bzin du*). Then the female elephant⁴⁷, after crying in a loud voice,⁴⁸ almost choked with (her) voice, {33} spoke the following verses:

"Those wearing the monk's robe <[you would] think> have taken refuge in the Buddha; [but] although the clothing appears very peaceful, they nurse a vicious mind inside.

{33/34} In order to completely destroy the enemy, who has cast⁴⁹ an arrow into the lord's body,

{34} by (*nas su*) having quickly trampled his body <[I] shall deprive [him]> of [his] life."

Then the elephant-king spoke these verses:

"It is better to be deprived of [one's] life, but {35} [certainly] it is not proper to produce a sinful mind.

Although these [men] have a deceitful mind, [with regard to their] clothing (they) resemble <pupils> (of the) Buddha.

The pure mind of a wise one is not for the sake of [his own] life; thus for the sake of the liberation of many⁵⁰ beings {36} practise always the conduct [leading to] enlightenment!"

At that time the elephant-king⁵¹, after the mind of compassion had arisen, said to those <men> the following: "What do <you> want from me?" They said: "We want your tusk." The elephant- {37} king, after he, casting out a tusk, very gladly gave it to them, spoke this verse:

⁴⁶ See n.38.

⁴⁷ *glañ po che mos* (DQ) : ... mo

⁴⁸ *skad chen po phyuñ ste ñus nas* (DQS) : ... *phyuñ nas* ...

⁴⁹ *'phen pa* (DQS) : *'phyind pa*

⁵⁰ *mañ po* (DQS) : - *pos*

⁵¹ *rgyal pos* (DQS) : - *po*

“After being fully awakened [due to] the merit of giving you this white tusk of mine with (*bzin du*) a mind without hate and stint, {38} may [I] pacify the diseases of defilement of the beings.”

Noble sir, in former times the elephant-king, although he had gotten into <the animal> state of existence (*tiryagyoni*), wished for the highest perfect {39} enlightenment. Thus, having no attachment to body and life, he renounced (them); thereafter, in order to pay honour and respect to those who wore the monk’s robe, in this way he paid attention not to return [their evil deeds], although they had acted in a hostile manner. In future times a *caṇḍāla*-like king (*rgyal rigs gdol[d] pa can*),⁵² {40} a *caṇḍāla*-like minister, houseowner,⁵³ master of a guild (*śreṣṭhin*), *śramaṇa* and brahman will be of truly foolish nature, but boast of <the knowledge> of only little. Those who live on falsehood⁵⁴ and do harm, after reviling, {41} scolding and⁵⁵ deceiving the people in the world, they torture and do harm to <everyone>, those who have taken <refuge> in my teaching, entered ascetic life [and] become vessels of the doctrine (*dharmapātra*), and those who have not become vessels of the doctrine, as they do not care about being afraid of the result consisting in the suffering of a later world. {42} They do [all sorts of torture and harm] up to reviling and scolding, cutting and whipping, throwing into prison and depriving of (ones) life. {42/43} They commit the great vice transgressing⁵⁶ the rules of the past, future and present {43} Venerable Buddhas; they will certainly fall into the vast «immediate hell»⁵⁷. The roots of virtue are completely burnt, {44} i.e. (*ste*) cut off; – therefore⁵⁸ all wise men should thoroughly

⁵² This expression represents a Skt. karmadhāraya-compound (*caṇḍālakṣatriya*) or an expression like *kṣatriyaḥ caṇḍālavān* (*T: sha di li jian tuo luo*). Cf. 1.25 (n.37), where *gdol(d) pa can* is used instead of *gdol(d) pa* in ADS. – *rgya[l] rigs* for *rgyal rigs pa* (*kṣatriya*).

⁵³ *kyim bdag* (DQS) : *khyim pa dag*

⁵⁴ *sgyus* (DQS) : *rgyas*; I take the expression *g.yo dan sgyu* as meaning the same as the more familiar expression *g.yo sgyu*, which is explained as: *rañ skyon sha zin gzan mgo skor ba'i bsam sbyor zig* (*Tshig mdzod*); cf. MVy 2487: *g.yo sgyu can* = *śaṭha*.

⁵⁵ *gnod byed de / gśe zin spyo ba dan / om*. DQS and *T*

⁵⁶ *'gal ba* (DQS) : *gal ba*

⁵⁷ See n.26.

⁵⁸ *rgyun bcad pas* (DQS) : *rgyun [b]cad pa rnams kyis*; cf. 1.49.

<abandon> [such behaviour]. – Although they have in this way committed the great offence of vice, {44/45} because they deceive the (people in the) world, after they have – living on falsehood – got under the power of egotism, {45} <even> they say: “<One by one> even we hope for the highest <perfect> enlightenment. By [means of] Mahāyāna <we> [will] become fully awakened.”

Like this: {46} <For example> <it is not suitable that> <any> man who has become blind after casting out his own (*bdag gi*) eye climbs up a big mountain, in order to point out the way to another foreign place (*pha rol gzan*).

In the same way, later, in future times <also> <a *caṇḍāla*-like⁵⁹> king, {47} a *caṇḍāla*-like <minister>, houseowner, master of a guild, *śramaṇa* and brahman are similar to him. {47/48} <They torture and do harm to the disciples> who have taken refuge in my teaching and entered the ascetic life, regardless of whether they have become vessels of the doctrine or are no vessel of the doctrine. {48} They do [all sorts of torture and harm] up to reviling and scolding, beating, throwing into prison <and putting to> death. {48/49} <As they have committed> the vice <transgressing the rules of> all past, future and present Buddhas, {49} all roots of virtue are burnt <and> cut off; therefore they will certainly <fall into the vast> «immediate <hell>⁶⁰». – Therefore wise {50} <men> should <abandon [such behaviour]>. – Although they have in this way committed a great vice, <because> they live on falsehood and have gotten under <the power of egotism> [and] deceive the world, they say: “We⁶¹ <seek> the highest {51} <enlightenment>; by [means of] Mahāyāna even <we> [will] become fully awakened⁶².” As they <have in this way tortured> and done harm to monks, they will obtain not even <a body of the most inferior class (*ma rabs tha ma'i lus*)⁶³>, {51/52} how much less will they obtain <the enlightenment of the twofold> vehicle {52} or the highest vehicle: the good fortune is cut off.

⁵⁹ See n.52.

⁶⁰ See n.26.

⁶¹ *bdag cag ni* (DQS) : *bdag cag gi*

⁶² *mñon par 'tshan rgya* (DQS) : *mtshan bar 'tshan rgya*

⁶³ They will attain no human rebirth, not even in the lowest caste or as a *caṇḍāla*;

T: *xia jian ren shen*.

Noble sir, [there is] also another [story to illustrate this.] In <former> times, <in> a country <called Pa na tsa la⁶⁴ there was a king called Jitaśatru/Jitāri (*dGra las rgyal ba*)> {53} he was the sovereign⁶⁵ <and lord of this country>. There was a big burial ground (*dur sa*) <called> «Kha lam pa», <a most terrifying dwelling place>. Even evil ghosts (*yakṣa*) and demons (*rākṣasa*) dwelled there in great number. {54} <When approaching them, one got terrified and> one's hair <stood on end>.

<When> in this country there was a doomed man (*gsad pa*) who had committed a crime (*ñes pa*), he <who was to be killed by the king's law> <after being tied with five> fetters <he was carried to the big burial> ground called «<Kha> lam pa»; {55} <the evil ghosts> and <spirits (*bhūta*)> began to eat [him].

One doomed man⁶⁶ had, <for the sake of his> life, <shaved (his) hair and beard;> he had a small rag of a religious <robe> which he had found tied around the neck. Lead by the gaoler {56} <he was tied with five fetters> according to <the king's law; then> he was delivered to this big burial ground.

At night, after <the escort> had returned, a female demon called *Praharaṇā°/Āyudhākṣī⁶⁷ together with five attendants {57} <approached this burial ground (*dur khrod*)>. When this man⁶⁸ saw [the demon] <from a distance>, he was utterly terrified and frightened. After this female demon had seen this man⁶⁹ tied with five fetters, having shaved hair and beard [and] wearing <a small rag> of a monk's robe {58} <tied around the neck>, she circumambulated (him) <to the right> [and], saluting him with respect,⁷⁰ she folded <the palms of the hands>; then she spoke the following in verse:

“O man, you <must not fear; {59} be at ease!>

⁶⁴ Perhaps to be identified with Vanasthāna: “N[ame] of a country (Buddh.)” (MONIER-WILLIAMS, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, reprint Delhi 1984); BHSD lists Vaśālā as “a city, where the Buddha preached to the brahman Nadin” and MALALA-SEKARA 1974 *Vanasa* as a “city between Vedisā and Kosambī”, MITRA 1971 (see index) mentions Vanavāsa/Vanavāsi as a *vihara* in North Kannada.

⁶⁵ *srid* (Q *sred*) 'dzin (DQS) : du 'dzin

⁶⁶ *gsad pa gcig gis* (DQ) : *gsad pa gcig cig*

⁶⁷ *mTshon cha'i mig* (DQS) : *mTshon ca'i myig*; *mtshon cha*, *āyudha* (weapon) / *praharaṇa* (striking, beating); the Chinese *Dao jian yan* seems to suggest *Āyudhākṣī*.

⁶⁸ *mi* (DS) : *mye/me*

⁶⁹ *mi de* (DQS) : *myi*

⁷⁰ *sti stan dan bcas pas* (DQS) : ... *pa'i*

We will do you no harm.

As we have seen you (with) shaved hair [and] wearing
the monk's robe,
we were reminded of the Buddha.”

<At that time {60} the children of the female demon> said the
following <to the mother>:

“As we are very hungry and thirsty,
[our] bodies and minds are quite afflicted.
In order to <ease body and mind>,
<the mother {61} should> allow (us)⁷¹ to <eat this
man.”

Then the female demon said the following to the children:

“He who wears the robe, <the banner of victory of
liberation
of> the Buddhas, numerous as the sand of the river
Gaṅgā, –
<when producing a non-virtuous> sin<full {62} mind>
towards him,
one will certainly fall into the «immediate hell»⁷².”

Then the female demon together with the children as attendants, after
they had, saluting (him),⁷³ folded the palms of the hands, spoke the
following verse:

{63} “<O wearer of the saffron[-coloured⁷⁴ robe]> we
confess (*pratidiś-*) to you:
The non-virtuous (deeds) done by us (with) body,
speech [and] mind
to (our) father and mother, are proper [for us], but we
will <never do> you <harm>.”

Thereafter, moreover, a big female demon {64} called <Boñ bu
so>⁷⁵ together with five<thousand attendants> approached this burial

⁷¹ *gnoñ* (ADS), *gnañ* (Q). See also 1.67 where all versions have *gnoñ*; in fact the reading *gnod* is possible (it even seems to be more likely) in all versions, but does not make any sense in this context. The meaning of the sentence is clear not only from the context, but also from the Chinese: *yuan ting shi ci ren* (“let [us] eat this man”).

gnoñ is obviously a hybrid form of *gnoñs* (*skul tshig*-form of *gnañ ba*).

⁷² See n.26.

⁷³ DQST: “... .. circumambulated (him); after they had, saluting (him) with respect, ...”

⁷⁴ *tshon chen* (corr.) : *tshon can* (DS and probably A), *chon can* (Q); see n.38.

⁷⁵ S reads *Boñ chuñ nu*; the reading of Q and D is attested by T: *Lü luo ci* (“tooth of an ass”).

ground. Also this female demon, <after she had seen this man,> who was tied with five fetters, had shaved hair and beard [and] a small rag of a monk's robe <tied> around the neck, {65} circumambulated (him). After saluting (him) with respect, folding the palms of the hands <she spoke the following> in verse:

“<O man,> do not fear <us>; be at ease!
<This small rag> tied⁷⁶ around your neck
{66} is the garment⁷⁷ of the banner of victory of the
great sage.

This we honour and salute.”

Then the children⁷⁸ of this female demon said the following to the mother:

“<There is nothing more> tasty <than> <human> flesh
and blood.

{67} [As] <the strength of> body and mind <arises
and> increases⁷⁹ [by this means],

[and] the very strong one has courage [but] no fear,
the mother should allow⁸⁰ us⁸¹ to eat <this (man)>.”

Then the <female> demon said to the children {68} <the following:>

“All those provided <with the attainments of gods and
men>, too,

will obtain <even> immeasurable bliss,

if⁸² they honour <this wearer of the monk's robe>,

in order to honour those who have entered the ascetic
life.”

{69} Then, after circumambulating (him) together with the attendants [of] the female demon's children, (she) saluted (him) with respect; folding the palms of the hands she spoke this verse:

“<[This] man with shaved hair and wearing the monk's
robe>

we <salute very> respectfully.

⁷⁶ *btags pa'i* (DQS) : *bta[g]s pa*

⁷⁷ *na bza'* (DQS) : *na bza*

⁷⁸ *bu rnams kyis* (DS) : *bu rnam[s kyi]*

⁷⁹ *'phel bar 'gyur* (DQ) : *'phel bar 'gyur ba* (A), *metri causa*, and *'phel 'gyur ba* (S).

⁸⁰ Cf. n.71.

⁸¹ *bdag cag* (DQS) : *de ni*

⁸² *pas na* (DQS) : *pa'i na*

The «Admonitory Inscription»

{70} <Due to having> saluted <(him) very respectfully>,⁸³
<may> <always> in all future times
the seeing of the Buddha and devotion (to him) arise!”

D 155a5–6, Q 165a4–5, S 77b6–7, (T 743a11–12)

... and⁸⁴ also a big female demon called *Praharaṇa°/Āyudha-
<mukhī (*mTshon cha'i gdon*)⁸⁵ {71} together with> five<thousand
attendants approached this> burial ground. Also these female demons,
after they had seen that <man> <who was tied with five> fetters, <had
shaved hair and beard [and] a small rag of a monk's robe> tied around
the neck, made a circumambulation (?) {72} ...⁸⁶

D 155b3–156a4, Q 165b2–166a3/4, S 78a6–79a4, (T 743a27–b19)

At that time, <after they had> equally <produced> a mind of compassion, all those female demons⁸⁷ <loosened the fetters of that man;> after they made <repentance and cheered up> <(they) let (him) free> again. When that man early the next day⁸⁸ had come to <the king>, {73} he related (*gsold*) <those matters> in a detailed <narration>.

At that time, when the king <Jita>śatru/Jitāri <together with (his) attendants>, heard <this story>, he got frightened; wonderstruck <he made> a law.⁸⁹ {74} Commanding <the people of the country>:

⁸³ This line is omitted in Q and T. The instrumental case necessary to establish the causal relation is added to the previous line.

⁸⁴ A passage of 20–23 *akṣaras* is illegible and cannot be identified, probably a summarizing or introductory paraphrase. The canonical text of the following passage starts with “at that time, moreover” (*de'i tshe yan*).

⁸⁵ Cf. n.67; T: *Dao jian kou*.

⁸⁶ The canonical texts read *bskor te* instead of = *sk ? ≠ byas ?* at the end of l. 71; the beginning of l. 72 can not be identified, but it is clearly not identical with the following text in DQS. Seemingly the passage of the demon *Praharaṇa°/Āyudha-mukhī is given only in an essentially abridged form, with short transitional phrases at the beginning and end.

⁸⁷ DQST: “... after they had produced a mind of compassion, together with the attendance of [their] children the female demon ...”

⁸⁸ *phyis/phyir ñin sna* (S *sñar*) *rab tu*; T: *qing dan* (“early in the morning”).

⁸⁹ *khirms su byas te*; judging from the space, the reading *khirms su bcas* (QS) seems to be more likely, but the reading attested in l.75 is to be preferred for contextual reasons.

“Henceforth⁹⁰ {74/75} everybody is to be killed⁹¹, <if anybody> makes fun of <or does> harm to the disciples of the Buddha living in my country, who, whether <observing> moral conduct, <violating> moral conduct, or being without [even] the slightest⁹² moral conduct, <having shaved> hair and beard, {75} <wear the saffron-coloured robe>” he made a law. By reason of that, on account of that, also many people rejoiced in meritorious acts (*punya*); therefore (they) all, one by one (*bags kyis*) turned towards the (Buddhist) teaching. <Thereafter> {76} <all the people> under the control (*dbañ ba, vaśitā* [?]) of that <king> <in Jambudvīpa> <sought refuge in the Three Jewels>, as <[they had become] firm in [their] minds>.

Noble sir, in this way in former times (those) female demons, {76/77} although <they were born into the condition (*rgyud, gati*) of> pretas, were «<strength->robbers» (*ojohāra*)⁹³, <eating flesh and {77} blood, spreading out sins, [and] without compassion>, circumambulated that (man), who <was without such (*de lta bu* [’i]) moral conduct, had shaved hair and beard [and]> a small rag⁹⁴ of <a monk’s robe> tied around the neck, <[offered him] respect, honour, salutation and worship> and <praised (him) in verses>. {78} When there is no mind of <doing harm>,⁹⁵ later, in future times, a *caṇḍāla*-like⁹⁶ king, <*caṇḍāla*-like> minister, houseowner, <master of a guild>, <*śramaṇa* and brahman etc.>, {79} who assume (*’chan*) <a vicious mind> and are without compassion, commit sins more maliciously than evil ghosts and demons. Those infatuated fools, whose roots of virtue are completely cut off, {79/80} do not have <faith> and pay respect <to the disciples,> who are <initiated into> my teaching, regardless of whether <they have become vessels of the doctrine or {80} have not become

⁹⁰ *deñ phyin chad* (DQS) : – *cad*

⁹¹ *gsad* (DQS) : *hsad*

⁹² *chuñ nun* (Q) : *chuñ nu na*

⁹³ An epitaph of *rākṣasas*; cf. BHSD.

⁹⁴ *tshal* (Q *chal*) *bu* (DQS) : [*b*]u

⁹⁵ With this translation, which does not make sense in the given context, I am trying to be faithful to the Tibetan versions, although they are obviously wrong. The Tibetan suggest the expression *gnod pa byed pa’i sems m(y)ed na* to be the condition for the following sentence, according to the Chinese: ... *ji ban ... wu shun hai xing. ran ...* (“... but/even ... without doing harm. But ...”), however, it is to be understood as a specification of the previous passage. This would lead to a translation which is certainly to be preferred here: “... and praised (him) in verses, without even a mind of doing harm. But later, in future times, a *caṇḍāla*-like king ...”

⁹⁶ See n.52.

The «Admonitory Inscription»

vessels of the doctrine>, [and] having shaved hair and beard, wear the saffron-[coloured] robe. {80/81} Those who do [all sorts of evil] to them, up to <doing harm, reviling and beating, exposing to (arbitrary) pressure (*nan la 'dor ba*)⁹⁷, throwing into prison and> {81} depriving of <(their) lives>, commit a great vice and transgression against the teaching of the past, future and present Venerable <Buddhas>. {82} As <the roots of virtue are completely burnt> and (*nas*) cut off, they will certainly fall into the vast «immediate <hell>»⁹⁸; <therefore wise (men) should thoroughly abandon [such behaviour]>.

{83} (...) also in the [Bodhi]sattvacāryāvatāra [it is said]:
Wear(ing) only the monk's robe ... teach(ing) ... do/does.⁹⁹ (...)

⁹⁷ Cf. I.17.

⁹⁸ See n.26.

⁹⁹ Not identified. No verse of the Bodhicaryāvatāra beginning with *chos gos tsam žig gyon*, **cīvaramātradhāraṇa* (or similar) is known to me. The only occurrence of the term *cīvara* is in V,85d: *tricīvarabahis tyajet (chos gos gsum ma gtogs pa sbyin)*, which is in the context of *dāna* and does not fit here.

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MINOR INSCRIPTIONS AND CAPTIONS IN THE TABO GTSUG LAG KHAN*

by Christian Luczanits

It is only recently that the inscriptions and wall texts of Tabo monastery have begun to receive the attention they deserve as records of secular and religious history. Beside the wall texts, excerpts from the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*¹ and the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra*², and the famous Renovation Inscription,³ a large number of minor inscriptions and captions can be found throughout the Tabo Main Temple (*gtsug lag khan*). Besides a few names of historical significance⁴ the majority of

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¹ STEINKELLNER 1995 and 1996.

² TAUSCHER in this volume. On the function of the two wall texts cf. STEINKELLNER (in press).

³ First published and translated by TUCCI 1935: 195–204. Newly edited and translated by STEINKELLNER & LUCZANITS in this volume.

⁴ The royal *bla ma* Ye śes 'od and his two sons Nāgarāja and Devarāja, Byaṅ chub 'od and the presumed abbot of Tabo 'Dul ba byaṅ chub are mentioned and partly discussed in several publications (e.g. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1987: 687–690; 1994: 27–33; 1997: Chapter II; PRITZKER 1989: 39–41; 1992: 81–82; VITALI 1996: e.g. 266–7, 306–9; PETECH 1997: 232–239; THAKUR 1997: 969–71, 973–975). A general survey

these texts and names have escaped scholarly attention until now. The first aim of this article is to make them available to a wider public.

The early paintings and inscriptions in the Main Temple fall into two chronological groups, the foundation of the temple in 996 A.D. and the renovation initiated by *Byañ chub 'od* and completed in 1042.⁵ These two dates mark two completely different phases of the development of Buddhism within the kingdom of Purang-Guge. Here only the inscriptions and captions belonging to these two phases are recorded. In addition, there are a few later inscriptions written on paper attached to the wall of the Main Temple. These are discussed by Elena De Rossi Filibeck in this volume.

The two early groups of minor inscriptions are of great historical and religious interest. They are not only distinguished by their physical characteristics but also by the content due to the fact that they resulted from two completely different social and cultural phases within the same kingdom. While in the first phase non-Tibetan names written in a completely inconsistent orthography appear, the second phase is already Tibetanized. This despite the small gap of only 46 years between the two phases. In the second phase we find nearly standard Tibetan orthography and such a highly sophisticated Tibetan Buddhist poem as the Renovation Inscription. Beside the wider historical interest a large number of captions naming the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas depicted on the walls are of great art historical, especially iconographical, importance.

In order to best preserve all the cultural, cultural-historical and religious information contained in the inscriptions, they are edited in the way they are found on the wall. All the 'mistakes'⁶ and inconsistencies are faithfully copied in the transcription. Unclear readings are indicated and variants of the presented reading are mentioned in the footnotes.⁷

of the historical figures represented in the Tabo Main Temple is found in KLIMBURG-SALTER 1996: 325–31.

⁵ The dates for these two phases have been extracted from the Renovation Inscription found in the temple (cf. STEINKELLNER & LUCZANITS). Although the inscription only mentions a monkey year for the foundation, the dates proposed here are widely accepted. However, one always has to keep in mind that this is just an hypothesis (cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997: 45–6 and PETECH 1997: 133–5).

⁶ These can be spellings different from the later classical norm as well as real writing errors!

⁷ Of course, this method only records the present state and cannot avoid mistakes on the basis of parts of 'letters' being lost in the course of time.

* * *

In summer 1990 I had the great luck to be one of the first to profit from the cleaning work done by the Archaeological Survey of India (A.S.I.) in the Entry Hall (*sgo khañ*) where the oldest paintings and inscriptions are located. Until then it was not known that the royal *bla ma Ye śes 'od* and his two sons are depicted in the temple. At that time I completed a first reading of most of the captions found in the Main Temple. During subsequent visits in 1991, 1993 and 1994, these readings have been supplemented and controlled several times. The degree of attention depended on the importance of the captions and their location, as many are virtually inaccessible. For example, the *sgo khañ* inscriptions have been controlled several times, in 1991 also by Prof. Ernst Steinkellner and Dr. Jampa L. Panglung. On the other hand the names of the Buddhas of the *bhadrakalpa* located in the Ambulatory or the names of the Buddhas in the Cella have usually been read only once and partly could not be read at all. However, as these are independent of the iconographic details of the Buddhas depicted beside them, possible misreadings and gaps are less significant. The main purpose of including them here is to assist in the identification of the textual source or a particular variant of it. The famous formula condensing the teachings of the Buddha into one verse, the *ye dharmā-*verse, is found in the Assembly Hall as well as in the Ambulatory and has only been read in full in a few cases, but its occurrence is noted in every case. Also empty panels and gaps are recorded.

The *in situ* readings have also been checked with the help of slides and black and white photographs now in the Tabo Archives, Vienna. The archive numbers of the photographs and slides in the Tabo Archives are given with the transcription of the captions. However, the comments on the orthography and palaeography have been made only on the basis of my notes and the archives' photographs and could not be controlled again on the spot.

* * *

The inscriptions are arranged by location and content. In the first instance the principal spatial units of the Main Temple (*gtsug lag khañ*) — Entry Hall (*sgo khañ*), Assembly Hall (*'du khañ*), Cella (*dri gtsaṅ khañ*, *gandhakutī*), and Ambulatory (*skor lam*) — are differ-

entiated (cf. Fig. 1). Within these units captions of related or similar content are grouped together. A full reference containing the complete information on the location – including the name of the temple’s section, a letter indicating the wall within the section, the part of the wall and a location number – would be too long and repetitive if noted for each inscription. Therefore, to allow easy reference to the inscriptions a running number has been added in front of each in round brackets. The *ye dharmā*-verses quoted are excluded from the running numbers and the Buddhas of the *bhadrakalpa* in the Ambulatory are referred to by their respective Buddha number (indicated by a B in front of the number).

Further each group is provided with the information concerning its exact location within the temple. Additional numbers (roman numerals for the rows and each row numbered from left to right) provide information about the relationship of the respective captions within each of the larger groups. This information is complemented by diagrams illustrating the location of each caption. An approximate translation of the inscriptions and captions is provided in the footnotes as a service to the reader who is not familiar with Tibetan.

All the captions of the early phase are written in *dbu can* with dark ink directly on brownish-yellow panels of different sizes painted on the wall. These panels are framed by a red line, and sometimes ruled lines are visible.

*Editorial signs and abbreviations*⁸

\underline{a}	partly uncertain letter, uncertain reading
\equiv	illegible ‘letter’ (consonant or ligature plus vowel-sign, including <i>śad</i>)
\neq	‘letter’ rubbed or broken off completely
–	illegible letter (including vocal sign), when accompanied by legible letter(s) in the same ligature
+	letter rubbed or broken off, when accompanied by legible letter(s) in the same ligature
<i>a/b</i>	both readings possible

⁸ It turned out to be useful to differentiate ‘letters’, which means any combination of letters in vertical arrangement that occupies the space of a single grapheme, from **letters**, which refers to the single sign for consonants or vowel modification only. In this way also parts of ligatures, if legible, can be preserved (cf. STEINKELLNER & LUCZANITS in this volume, n.12).

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

[]	supplementation supported by traces of letters and context
< >	empty space
=>no.<=	heavily damaged, broken out or washed away passage with approximate number of 'letters' lost
[=>no.<=]	broken passage with approximate number of 'letters' lost
{no.} or \	indicates the beginning of a new line
?	presence of further 'letters' or words uncertain; possibly lost 'letters' (space but no definite evidence of writing, remains of an overpainted text)
?	presence of further letter(s) uncertain
ī	inverted <i>gi gu</i> (<i>gi gu log</i>)
/	<i>śad</i>
*	single <i>dbu</i> -sign, beginning the opening (<i>mgo yig</i>) of a caption, or an ornament between <i>gñis śad</i>
**	double <i>dbu</i> -sign beginning the opening (<i>mgo yig</i>) ⁹
= ^x	small illegible letter
= ^f	large illegible letter or 'letter'
a _x	a 'letter' written below
s	slide in the Tabo Archives, Vienna
f	black and white photograph in the Tabo Archives, Vienna

Photographs by: CL Christian Luczanits
DKS Deborah E. Klimburg-Salter
JP Jaroslav Poncar (Cologne)

Other readings by: Pa. Jampa Panglung Rinpoche
St. Ernst Steinkellner
Td. Tshering Dorje

Orthography and palaeography

As already mentioned, there are two main groups of inscriptions, one attributable to the founding of the temple in 996 A.D. and exclusively found in the Entry Hall, and one attributable to the time around the renovation which was finished in 1042. As these groups are quite

⁹ Most of the captions have an opening (*mgo yig*) consisting of a single *dbu* followed by two *śad* often with two dots above each other in-between. This is transcribed with * / : /. For an overview of the meaning and development of the Tibetan opening symbol cf. SCHERRER-SCHAUB (in press: Chapter 3.3).

different from each other, their orthography and palaeography have to be discussed separately.

One feature common to both groups is that there seems to be no way of distinguishing the letters *ba* and *pa* as they are usually written in the same way. Only in a minority of cases can *pa* clearly be differentiated by the opening on top of the letter. The usage appears not to be standardised.¹⁰

Founding period

It is not clear if the inscriptions from the founding period in the Entry Hall are all written by the same hand. However, some differences in their content suggest that the historical inscriptions on the north wall are written by a different person than the other ones, and most probably also at another time. In a similar way the style and colours used for the donor paintings on the south and north walls differ.

The orthographic features recorded in the Entry Hall represent a pre-classical stage of Tibetan orthography, as is also found in the Dunhuang documents. However, really striking is the high number of inconsistencies. Side by side the name of presumably the same place or clan (e.g. *sñel 'or* [5, 8, 26] and *sñel wer* [13], but note *sñes wer* [30], which seems to be another place or clan name) and the same Tibetan term (e.g. *rge sloñ* [5, 6], *dge' sloñ* [7, 8, 9, ...] and *dges sloñ* [14]) are written differently. While the first cases can be judged as common when a word of a foreign language is rendered in a script created for another language, the variations in the word *dge' sloñ* rather indicate that the scribe had a poor education or was simply careless.¹¹

Beside *dge' sloñ* there are many instances of words spelt differently from the 'classical norm'.¹² Superabundant *'a chuñ* is common. However, there is only one certain case of palatalisation of *ma* by *ya btags* (*myin* in caption 53) and no instance of *da drag* in the captions

¹⁰ The same phenomenon has been recognised in the Renovation Inscription and the Admonitory Inscription.

¹¹ It seems quite probable that the scribe actually just copied the pre-written captions onto the wall. Evidence for this might be *rge sloñ*, where the *r* could be explained as a misinterpretation and 'correction' of the prescript *d*.

¹² For convenience, spellings and their variations as attested in Jäschke's dictionary are considered as the 'classical norm'. Of course, such a differentiation is artificial as most of the variants attested are quite common in early Tibetan writings.

of the founding period. There is also a single instance of the ligature *rh* (14).

The style of writing, too, is rather comparable to pre-classical Tibetan. All *gi gu* in the Entry Hall are written reversed and if possible the ligatures are written horizontally. There is an evident inconsistency in the case of *wa*: it can be in the shape of a *l* with *wa zur* (13), an angular '*a chuñ* (!) with *wa zur* (30) and an '*a chuñ* with *wa zur* (34) on the south wall and as an '*a chuñ* with double *wa zur* (48) on the north wall.¹³ The uncertainty concerning the letter *wa* might also be responsible for the variant readings '*er* and *wer* as the superscribed *wa zur* might have easily disappeared or become illegible.

Some examples of spellings which differ from the 'classical norm' in the captions from the founding period (the inscriptions are quoted according to their serial number, the surnames are not included):

Superabundant '*a chuñ*: *dge'* in *dge' sloñ* (7, 8, 9, 10, 11 ...), *dge' ba* (14) and *dge' tshul ma* (30) but not in *dge bsñen* (20, 21, 22, 47), *dblo' gros* (27).

Other: *rge sloñ* (5, 6), *dgeṣ sloñ* (14), *sod nams* (15) and *bsom nams* (25), *brtson grus* (17, 28), *dge sñen* (21), *dul ba* (25), *dblo' gros* (27), *bsam tan* (44), *dglan* (54, 1.2), *chi* (54, 1.3).

Unusual names or terms: *brug dpal* (31), *guñ sum* (33), *guñ che skyan bu* (49).

Renovation period

Different hands are evidenced during the renovation period (cf. the Bodhisattvas in the Ambulatory). However, the number of different hands and if the same handwriting is evidenced in the Ambulatory and in the Assembly Hall cannot be verified. There is even evidence that at least some of the captions were filled in twice (cf. Buddhas of the Ten Directions), which makes the attribution of all these inscriptions to the renovation period doubtful.

¹³ This inconsistency might reflect an uncertainty concerning the right shape of the letter, which apparently was introduced last in the Tibetan alphabet and originally was a ligature of '*a chuñ* with *wa zur* (cf. URAY 1955). It is interesting to note here that in one case on the northwall (36) also the small straight tick protruding from the upper semicircle of the '*a chuñ* upward to the right (cf. URAY 1955: 111) is evidenced. I am grateful to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub for pointing out the Uray article to me.

There are only a few *gi gu log* in the Assembly Hall (67, 70, and five in caption 75 alone; no cases in the Ambulatory). Palatalisation of *ma* by *ya btags* before *e* and *i* is common (73, 74, 89, 98, 99, 116, 121, 123, 125, 140, B10, B44, B57, B64, B98, B146, B163, B192) and *da drag* also occurs regularly: *sald* (65), *'dzind* (82), *gnond* (83), *gyurd* (111), *'byord* (143), *brgyand* (B148), *mkhyend* (B190).

Other spellings different from the 'classical norm':

Buddhas of the Ten Directions: *'od gzer kun gzer* (69, cf. also B93), *gna's* (70).

32 Bodhisattvas: *nam ka* (108), *bzañs* (110), *gzo nu* (111), *spyobs* : *spobs* (115), *zad* : *bzad* (116) *'od gzer* (132).

Buddhas of the *bhadrakalpa*: *cen* : *chen* (B13, B14, B143), *g.ye śes* : *ye śes* (B100), *dbañ sphyug* : *dbañ phyug* (B165). Twice the vocal in *bzin* is long (B82, B141), and once *ta thā ga ta* replaces *de bzin gśegs pa* (B100).

Again, when possible, ligatures are written horizontally (e.g. *sp* in no. 66). In the transcription of the *ye dharmā*-verse the reversed letters for the Sanskrit cerebrals are common, and the *anusvāra* is written with a circle in a bow or a hook to the right, which seems to be a cursive version. There are several scribal errors evidenced, some of them have been corrected at once (e.g. nos. 118, 122 and B23, where the scribe started twice to write *de bzin gśegs pa*).

ENTRY HALL

The Entry Hall (*sgo khan*) is a small room through which the Main Temple is entered (Fig. 5). It houses two large standing protectors of clay¹⁴ and paintings attributable to the foundation of the temple in 996. Among these paintings the depictions of the donors associated

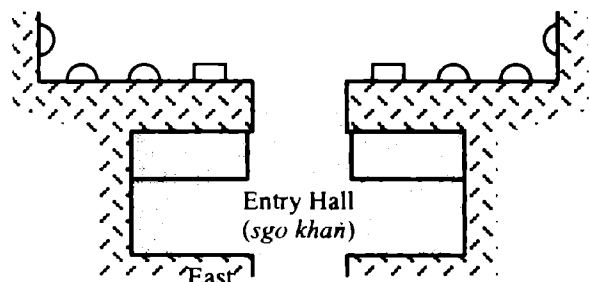


Fig. 5: The Entry Hall (*sgo khan*)

with the foundation of the temple are historically most interesting, particularly as the donors have been identified by captions. Beside these, a few non-historical inscriptions are also found: one identifying the protectress of the temple and several others among the fragments of a Wheel of Life. The

large number of protective deities – local and Hindu gods in the service of Buddhism – have captions too, but these were never filled in.¹⁵

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ENTRY HALL

The historical inscriptions in the Entry Hall (*sgo khan*) are exclusively in the form of captions naming the person depicted. These names are built according to the following scheme:

surname (clan or place of origin) – (religious) title – personal name

While the surname is of non-Tibetan origin, the personal names and titles are mostly Tibetan, sometimes Sanskrit. On the north wall some

¹⁴ Cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1994: fig. 8. Although since the foundation there have been protectors in this location, the present sculptures are quite recent (cf. LUCZANITS 1997: 189).

¹⁵ Cf. e.g. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1994: fig. 7. For a more detailed description of the paintings in the Entry Hall cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997: Chapter V.1.

captions only consist of title and personal name, or surname and personal name.¹⁶

SOUTH WALL

Originally a large assembly of seven rows of historical figures covered the whole lower half of the wall (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1994: fig. 9; 1997: fig. 45). The figures have been arranged along a vertical axis which is approximately at the centre of the wall.

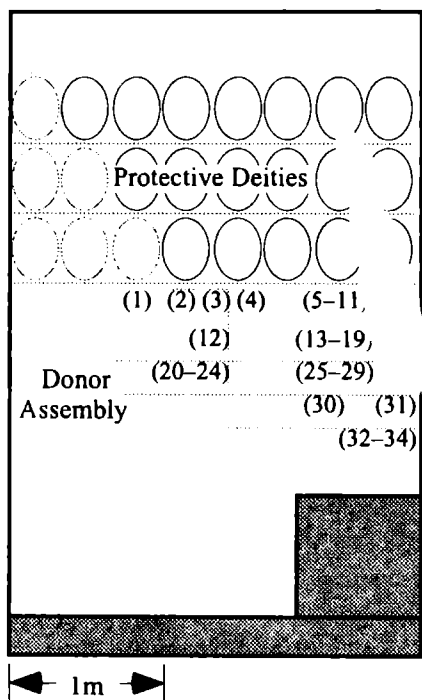


Fig. 6: Entry Hall south wall; the location of the captions

On the left side only lay persons have been depicted, while on the right side the upper four rows are occupied by religious figures. Nearly all these figures are turned towards the central axis of the composition. However, only a part of the composition survives. Best preserved is the upper right corner with the monks while the sixth and seventh row on the bottom are nearly completely defaced (cf. Fig. 6).

All the figures have been identified by captions placed above their shoulders. Like the images, they are best preserved in the upper right (western) corner, and the readings are therefore most reliable there. The captions have been arranged in rows, each row reading from left to right. The location of the captions is illustrated in Fig. 6. Roman numerals are used for the rows from top to bottom. The remaining figures, even if there are only traces left, are numbered from left to right.

¹⁶ Comparing the scheme in the *sgo khañ* with the one used in the Assembly Hall, i.e. [community] – (spiritual) title – personal name – place or clan (of origin) (cf. below nos. 60–64), it seems likely that the non Tibetan terms in front of the names represent localities rather than clans. In any case these terms were shifted to a secondary position by the mid eleventh century and later on disappeared completely. THAKUR (1997: 970) is of the opinion that the surnames denote localities.

First, uppermost row (I)

Up to approximately the middle of the wall lay persons are turned towards the right. The central figures (I.3 to I.5) are covered by a baldachin.

I.1 Of the first two figures only traces are left. Like the following central images these were seated on a throne and are covered by a baldachin. Of the first one a fragment of the inscription is preserved:

(1) *b n .cen.mchog.g[≠] y? ≠ n.ba.*

I.2 Only fragments of the figure preserved.

I.3 Nāgarāja shares the throne and the baldachin with the following figure. Their separation from the other figures depicted is further stressed by a closed umbrella on a pillar depicted to the proper right of this image (cf. the depiction of Byañ chub 'od above the Renovation Inscription).

(2) *lha.sras.na.ga. \ ra.dza*

I.4 Ye śes 'od is depicted a little larger than the previous and dressed in a coat with a flower pattern (Klimburg-Salter 1994: fig. 10, 1997: fig. 2). **Pl. 9,a** s CL91 12,21, 12,36

(3) ** / d-l =^{x17}.chen.po.ye.śes. \ 'od /*

I.5 Devarāja is separated by vertical lines from the other images. He is sitting on a throne and under a baldachin. He and the following persons in the first row are now turned to the left and hold a *mālā* with the right hand in front of the chest. While 1.4 heads the secular half 1.5 heads the monastic half of the assembly (Klimburg-Salter 1994: fig. 10, 1997: fig. 2). **Pl. 9,b** s CL91 12,22, 17,28

(4) ** lha.btsun¹⁸.pa ? \ d¹⁹e.ba.ra.dza /²⁰*

¹⁷ This title is practically illegible. The *d* seems fairly clear, while the following two 'letters' can be read in the range of *slob* to *bla ma*. Of course it would be tempting to read *lha bla ma chen po*, but a *lha* is certainly not supported by the remaining traces.

¹⁸ Pa., St.

¹⁹ St. *dhe*, but the line of this *h* usually looks different.

To the right of 1.5 seven monastic figures sitting on cushions are depicted. They all are holding a *mālā* with their right hand (Klimburg-Salter 1994: fig. 11, 1997: fig. 3).

I.6 f CL91 12,31, 17,28

(5) * *sñel.*'or²¹.rge.sloñ.grags.pa.bśes. \ gñen /

I.7 f CL91 17,27

(6) */ gran.la.rge.sloñ.rad.na. \ gar.ba /²²

I.8 Pl. 10,a s CL91 12,24, 12,25; f CL91 17,27

(7) */ *rhuḡs.*'or²³.*dge*'.*sloñ.dbyig.gi.* \ *bsod.nams*

I.9 Pl. 10,b f CL91 17,6

(8) */ : *sñel.*'or.*dge*'.*sloñ.* \ '*dul.ba.byañ.chub* /²⁴

I.10 s CL91 12,37; f CL91 16,22a, 17,5

(9) */ *ñi.ma*²⁵.*dge*'.*sloñ.rig.pa.*'*byuñ* \ *gnas* /

²⁰ According to the *mÑa' ris rgyal rabs* (59–60) De ba ra dza was ordained in 996 at Pa sgam Byams sñoms gliñ, a place said to be in Rum, and obtained the ordination name De ba pra bha. bSod nams rtse mo places this event in the year 1016 (cf. PETECH 1997: 235, n.37)! The depiction of De ba ra dza at the head of the monks and bearing the title *lha btsun pa*, “Royal Monk“ (cf. RUEGG 1995: 23), at Tabo certainly supports the *mÑa' ris rgyal rabs*.

²¹ sÑel 'or and sÑal 'or appear to be identical. A certain sÑel 'or Klu mgon sgra appears as scribe in a *Śatasāhasrikā*-colophon (SCHERRER-SCHAUB forthcoming). The name also occurs in documents of Mazār Tāgh (cf. THOMAS 1951: 293 (M.Tāgh. b,i,0058)).

²² The same monk's name mentioned here appears in an identical phrasing in a *Śatasāhasrikā*-colophon. In the latter instance he is the recipient (*mchod gnas*) of a donation made on behalf of the Great Princely Donor Byañ chub sems dpa', presumably Ye śes 'od (cf. SCHERRER-SCHAUB in press, Chapter 5; forthcoming).

²³ rHuḡs 'or is probably the same as rHuḡs 'er/wer (cf. below n.29).

²⁴ He is mentioned two times more in the inscriptions of the renovation period (nos. 60 and 104).

²⁵ Cf. gÑe ma as name for a part of Upper Žaň žuñ (TUCCI 1956: 83) and Ñi mo bag in M.Tāgh.c.iii.0019 (*ñi mo bag'i sde rhye lig 'or khen tiñ tse*, THOMAS 1951: 293), both variants actually referring to the same *stoñ sde* of Upper Žaň žuñ (cf. UEBACH 1987: 22–3).

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

I.11 f CL91 16,22a, 17,1 17,4
 (10) */ : /mo.lo.dge'.sloṅ.śes.rab.sñiṅ. \ po /

I.12 f CL91 16,22a, 17,2, 17,3
 (11) */ : /mag.pī.tsa.dge'.sloṅ.mos.pa.śes. \ rab /

Second row (II)

Fragments of six figures, each wearing a flat hat, turned to the right and kneeling on one knee. Only the last of them has an inscription which is partly legible. This inscription may also refer to some of the figures depicted before this one (II.1 to II.5), as there is no trace of another caption even when the figure is fairly visible.

II.6
 (12) ≠ ≠ r²⁶. 'dī.rnams. 'khor.ba /

In the right half seven monks are depicted. They are again turned towards the centre and now perform a kind of *vitarkamudrā* (Klimburg-Salter 1994: fig. 11).

II.7 s CL91 12,22; f CL91 17,29
 (13) */ : /sñel.w²⁷er.dge'.sloṅ.dri.≠ed.≠o ≠ s²⁸

II.8 f CL91 17,29
 (14) */ : /rhugs.'er²⁹.dges.sloṅ.dge'.ba.skyoṅ /

²⁶ ≠tshar ?

²⁷ Written like an *l* with *wa zur*.

²⁸ Perhaps *dri myed* followed by a long letter or 'letter' with *na ro*. Td. suggested *blo.gros*, but the remaining strokes below the first *na ro* seem to contradict this reading. A 'letter' with a *t* or with a similar round delineation at the bottom is a more likely possibility.

²⁹ rHugs 'er seems to be identical with Hrugs wer, which occurs in this form in caption 34. In Rin chen bzang po's biography Hrugs wer appears as his family name (cf. SNELLGROVE & SKORUPSKI 1980: 101, l.13–14; biography published by Lokesh Chandra in TUCCI 1988: 104, 2v, l.3). Rin chen bzang po is said to have been born at a place called Khva tse in Gu ge. According to TUCCI (1935: 8–10) this place can be identified with a small village containing the ruin of a large castle somewhat to the west of Tholing (Khartse on the map).

II.9

f CL91 17,30

(15) */ : /mañ.wer³⁰.dge'.?sloñ.sod.nams.rin.cen /

II.10

f CL91 17,30

(16) */ : /ma.ton.dge'.sloñ.lha.≠i.g-yuñ.druñ /

II.11

s CL91 12,33; f CL91 17,7

(17) */ /mañ.'er.dge'.sloñ.rin.cen.brtson.grus /³¹

II.12

s CL91 12,34, 14,17; f CL91 16,22a, 17,8

(18) */ : /rum³².dge'.sloñ.dran.ba.śes.rab / /

II.13

s CL91 12,35, 14,17; f CL91 16,22a, 17,9

(19) ? / mag.pī.tsa³³.dge'.sloñ.yon.tan.go \ cha /

Third row (III)

In the left half only a few fragments of the figures are preserved, but several of the captions are fairly legible.

³⁰ Presumably the same as *mañ 'er* (no. 17) and *mañ 'or* (no. 63). A monk and translator called Mañ wer Rin chen śes rab (*mÑa' ris rgyal rabs*, 52, l.1) is said to have accompanied Rin chen bzañ po on his second journey to Kashmir. *mañ 'or* appears in the name Mañ 'or Byañ chub śes rab, who attended the religious council (*chos 'khor*) presumably held at Tholing in 1076 (BA 328, SZERB 1990: 116 [= Bu ston's *Chos 'byuñ* 158a5], TUCCI 1933: 30). Byañ chub śes rab is said to have translated the *Kālacakratantra* (BA 837). Interestingly some Gu ge ministers of the 15th and 16th century bear the clan name Mañ dber ba (VITALI 1996: 522, n.889). However, it is yet to be determined if this clan name derives from the surname mentioned in Tabo.

³¹ Possibly the same person as no. 63!

³² Beside the surname Rum, denoting a clan or locality, in the captions in Tabo (cf. also no. 102 and n.144) there also exists a region of Rum (*rum yul*), which is located somewhere west of Tholing (cf. PETECH 1997: 233, n.21 and VITALI 1996: 307). Logically Rum alone would be a place within this region, but here it might also denote the region the person stems from. Evidently the Rum people were the most prominent donor group for the renovation. According to THOMAS (1951: 149–50, M.I.xxviii,oo2) Rum denotes a clan name.

³³ There is nothing known about this designation, however, the frequency with which it occurs in the Tabo inscriptions alone, especially in the founding period (nos. 11, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 29, 32, 33), mainly in a secondary position, points to a local clan or place. It occurs only once again in the renovation captions (cf. n.144).

III.1

(20) *ma_g³⁴.pi.tsa.dge.bsñen. \ byañ.chub.ldan /*

III.2

(21) *mag.pi.tsa.dge.sñen. \ ? d.pa./*

III.3

(22) *ma_g.pi.tsa.dge.bsñen. \ mo^{=x} pa /*

III.4

f CL91 17,32

(23) *mag.pi.tsa. 'dul.ba. 'dzin.pa³⁵ \ rgyal.ba.bsoa.nams /*

III.5 below Ye śes 'od (I.4)

f CL91 17,32

(24) *ma_g.pi.tsa.slob.dpon.yon. \ tan.bla.ma./*

From here onward seven monks were represented, only the last four figures (9–12) of which are preserved. These are depicted like the monks in row II.

III.6

f CL91 17,31

(25) **/ : /mu.druñ.yar.dge'.sloñ.dul.ba.bsom.nams.*

III.7

(26) **/ /sñel.'or.dge'.sloñ.yon. ?? nams./*

III.8

(27) **/ : /bod.dge'.sloñ.tshul.khrims.dblo'.gros /*

III.9

f CL91 17,11

(28) **/ /nam.bu.śud/ñ.dge'.sloñ.dad.pa.brtson.grus /*

III.10

f CL91 17,10

(29) **/ /mag.pi.tsa.dge'.sloñ.dul.ba.yon.tan./*

³⁴ The *ga* is written below the *ma* (id. in nos. 22 and 24).

Of III.11 the inscription is lost, and for III.12 the caption never was filled in (s CL91 14,17).

Fourth row (IV)

From the left half only the fragment of a hat is preserved approximately in the middle of the row.³⁶ In the left half, below the monks of the previous row, presumably four more monks (only the red of their dress is preserved) are followed by five female figures, presumably nuns. Their hands, covered by long sleeves, rest on their lap. They are kneeling and turn towards the centre (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 48). The first and the last of their captions are partly legible.

IV.1

f CL91 17,12

(30) sñes.w³⁷er³⁸.dge'.tshul.ma ≠e/o/i gi.gi. | dad.pa |

IV.6 This inscription is written in red and in another handwriting!

(31) m ≠³⁹ 'aṅ.s/rgyas⁴⁰.brug.dpal |

Fifth row (V)

In the fifth row apparently only lay figures have been depicted. Only in the right half five male donors, performing *añjalimudrā*, are clearly visible. The figures wear a flat hat and two red ribbons are projecting from their shoulders. Except for the last one, which is shown frontally, the figures turn towards the left (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 49). Only the last three of the preserved images still have their captions.

³⁵ St., Pa.

³⁶ Only once, in 1991, did I read a fragmentary caption there. As this reading has never been controlled again it is only added here in the footnote:

mag.pī.tsa dpal
khib.rtan.

³⁷ Written rather like an angular 'a chuñ with wa zur!

³⁸ The place or clan name sñas 'wer/lwer appears in the colophon of a *Śata-sāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*-manuscript in the Tabo collection (sñas 'lwer dge' sloṅ man dzu ba tra = Mañjubhadra). I am grateful to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub for this information.

³⁹ This first syllable is written in pink, afterwards red ink was used!

⁴⁰ Most probably an abbreviation for *sans rgyas* (Pa.).

V.4 Pl. 10,c

s CL91 12,29; f CL91 17,13

(32) */ : /mag.pi.tsa.dbañ.phyug.rten /

V.5

s CL91 12,30; f CL91 17,14

(33) */ /mag.pi.tsa.guñ.sum./

V.6 female?

f CL91 17,15

(34) */ /hrugs.w⁴¹er.ses.≠≠ /

While the following sixth row has nearly disappeared, fragments of lay figures survive in the seventh row.

NORTH WALL

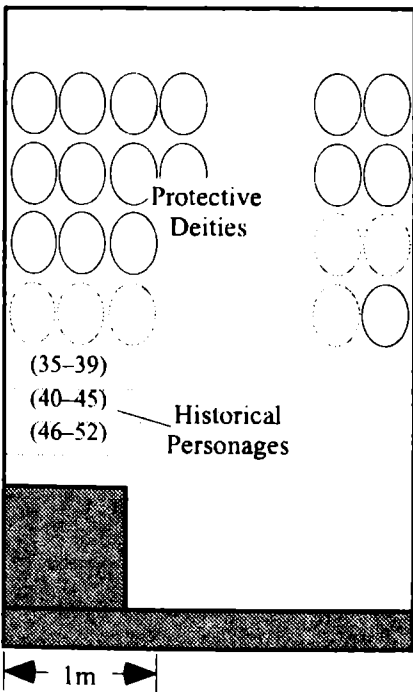


Fig. 7: Entry Hall north wall; the location of the captions

Three rows of lay figures with inscriptions are found in the lower left corner of the north wall. Except for the main image all the depicted figures have been identified. The location of the captions is illustrated in Fig. 7. The handwriting seems to be different from the one on the south wall. The figures and their inscriptions are numbered like the ones on the south wall: Roman numbers for the rows from top to bottom and counting from left to right.

First row (I)

I.1 This figure is shown frontally and sits in *lalitāsana* on a throne. He wears a yellow coat with a red border. His right hand is raised in *abhayamudrā*, the left arm rests in the sleeve on the knee. Although he appears to be the main figure of this composition, his name is not recorded in the caption (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 50).

(35) */ /lha.[sra]s ?

⁴¹ Written like an 'a *chuñ* with *wa zur*.

C. Luczanits

I.2 Depicted like I.1 this figure wears a brown coat and turns slightly towards the previous one (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 50).

(36) */ /lha.sras. 'jig. \ rten.mgon./ s CL91 15,35; f CL91 17,16

I.3 Female wearing a yellow coat and shown frontally. She performs *abhayamudrā*. s CL94 77,25; f CL91 17,17

(37) */ /lha.lcam. 'od.⁴² \ 'phro

I.4 s CL94 77,25; f CL91 17,18

(38) */ /lha.sras. \ brden.brtsan

I.5 s CL94 77,25

(39) *lha.sras*

Second row (II)

All figures except II.3 are male. All kneel on one knee, and are turning towards the left (the wall).

II.1 f CL91 17,23

(40) *sñel. 'or.bo.dī.ba.dra.*

II.2 f CL91 17,22

(41) *stag.lo⁴³.tshul.khrim_s. ...*

II.3 f CL91 17,21

(42) *gza⁴⁴.ma.byañ.chub.brde.?*

II.4 f CL91 17,20

(43) *sna.ro.chos.kyi.sñiñ.po.*

⁴² Also 'di could be read. The vocal was apparently written twice (probably a reversed *gi gu* corrected to a *na ro*).

⁴³ sTag lo as a surname occurs in Nel pa Paṇḍita's *Me tog phreñ ba* (UEBACH 1987: 133).

⁴⁴ Pa. read a *gi gu*.

II.5

(44) *sñel. 'or. bsam⁴⁵. tan. byañ. chub*

II.6

f CL91 17,19

(45) *sñel. 'or. byañ. tshul /*

Third row (III)

The figures to the captions of this row are not preserved.

III.1

(46) *rin. can. rgyal⁴⁶ \ ? ≠ ≠*

III.2

f CL91 17,24

(47) *sgye. ñi. dge. bsñen. tshul \ khrims. legs. pa. /*

III.3

f CL91 17,25

(48) *sñam. w⁴⁷er. khri. mchog*

III.4

f CL91 17,26

(49) *sñel. or. guñ. che. skyan. bu /*

III.5

(50) *... chad ... n /*

III.6

(51) *sñel. 'or. skyid. mchog /*

III.7

(52) *sñel. 'or*

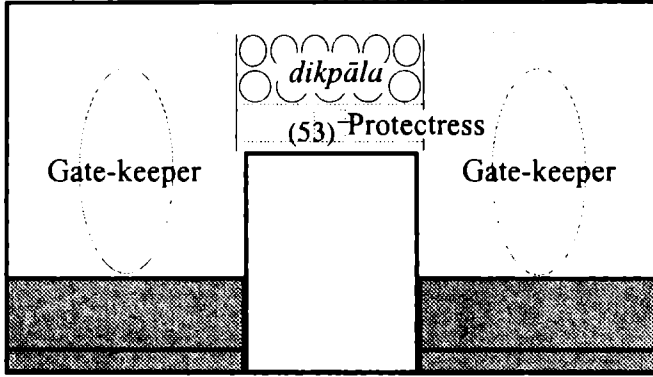
⁴⁵ Pa.

⁴⁶ Also *ri mo rtsun rgyal* could be read.

⁴⁷ Written like an 'a chuñ with double wa zur.

NON-HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ENTRY
HALL

THE PROTECTRESS



◀m▶

Fig. 8: Entry Hall west wall; the caption identifying the protectress

On the west wall, above the entrance to the main hall an inscription identifies the main protectress whose image is not preserved (cf. Fig. 8). She was depicted riding on a deer. To both sides of the protectress a female retinue of nine figures on each side is depicted (Klimburg-Salter 1994: fig. 6; 1997: figs. 37–39). The caption is in the lower left

corner of the screen held behind the protectress by two women of the retinue.

(53) Pl. 11

s CL91 12,26

* /:/ gtsug.lag.khañ.gi.
sruñs.ma // sman.che~~z~~.~~o~~ //
wi.ñu.myin.'khor.ba.dañ
bcas.pa // //⁴⁸

CAPTIONS AT THE BHAVACAKRA

Several inscriptions are found in connection with the Wheel of Life (*bhavacakra*, *srid pa'i 'khor lo*) in the northern part of the east wall (cf. Fig. 9; Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 41, 42). Only the inscription above the Wheel in the upper left corner is well preserved.

⁴⁸ “The protectress of the main temple, the great (healing) woman (sman chen mo) *Wi ñu myin* together with [her] retinue.”

sman in certain contexts seems to denote just ‘woman’ (cf. STEIN 1956: 371), however, there also exists a whole class of pre-Buddhist female deities called *sman mo* (NEBESKY-WOJKOWITZ 1956: 198–202).

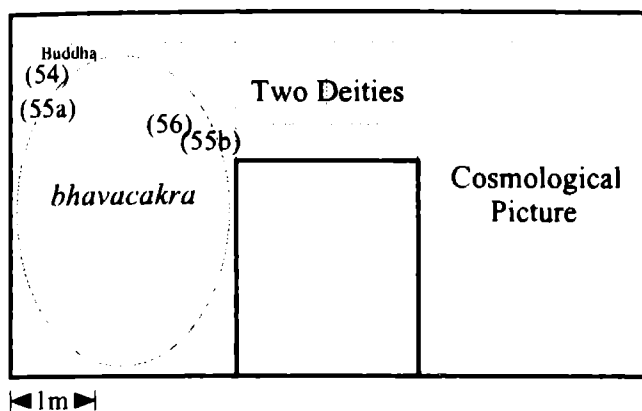


Fig. 9: Entry Hall east wall; captions in connection with the *bhavacakra*

It contains two verses of the conclusion of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* (verses 14 and 15 in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*) as prescribed by the *Vinaya* for the decoration of a *sgo khañ*. Beside the caption a Buddha performing *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* is depicted (Pl. 12; Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 40).⁴⁹

Remarkably line five was written twice, one over the other. It seems that the scribe forgot at first to copy the word '*khor ba*'. After he realised this mistake he apparently rewrote the whole line in the same place. This can be taken as evidence that it was less important for the text to be legible than for it to be complete. The wall text has been compared with the *Prātimokṣasūtra* in the Peking edition (Q Vol. 42 149,3,6–7).

- (54) Pl. 12 s CL91 18,3
- {1} * / *brtsam.bar.bya.žin̄. 'byuñ.bar.bya / s[an̄s.]rgyas.*
- {2} *bstan.la⁵⁰. 'jug.par.bya / 'dam.bu⁵¹.khyi_m.la.dglañ⁵².can.bžin̄*
- {3} *chi⁵³.bdag.de⁵⁴.ni.gžom.bar.bya // gañ.žig.rab.du.[ba]g.*
- {4} *yod.par // chos.'dul.'di.la.spyod.'gyur⁵⁵.pa / skye.ba_i⁵⁶.⁵⁷*

⁴⁹ The description of the *bhavacakra* in the passage in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya* prescribes that the following three elements be displayed with the Wheel of Life: the depiction of a (teaching) Buddha, the *pratīyasamutpāda* on the outer circle of the Wheel (see below), and the two verses encouraging the conversion to Buddhism (*Vinayavibhaṅga*, 31. *Pātayantika*, Q Vol. 43 73,1,6–2,4).

⁵⁰ Q reads against the metre *bstan pa la*.

⁵¹ Q *bu 'i*.

⁵² Q *glañ*.

⁵³ Q '*chi*.

⁵⁴ Q *sde*.

⁵⁵ Q *gyur*.

⁵⁶ Written *bi* with subscribed '*a chuñ* for Q *ba 'i*.

⁵⁷ On the edge *stiñ ba* seems to be written, but it is not clear if it belongs to the inscription.

- {5a}⁵⁸ *rab.spāns.nas./sdug.sñas* s // *gyes g* ≠.
 {5b} *'khor.ba.rab.spāns. ? ' sdug.[sña]l.*⁵⁹
 {6} *mtha*⁶⁰.*mar.byed.par. 'gyur. zes.gsuñs* .
 {7} *so*⁶¹

The remains of two more inscriptions can be found directly on the Wheel, one on the left side, directly in front of the red figure holding the Wheel from the left corner, and one below the hand of another green figure holding the Wheel from the opposite, upper right corner.

Although there is not much preserved from these two inscriptions, the beginning of the right caption does allow me to propose their purpose. The captions on the Wheel were most probably used to represent the *pratīyasamutpāda* in writing instead of the form of metaphorical pictures generally used in later depictions. The presence of the *pratīyasamutpāda* in writing appears to be unique to Tabo.

(55a) caption on the left side of the wheel:

... .. ch/thuñ.ba.dañ ?
 ? ... ch/tsha ? .ba.la.ch/mab/s ?
 žphyir.ro.

(55b) caption on the right side of the wheel:

s CL91 18,9

*| rga.ši.⁶²nī.st n⁶³
 =fo r l/ ≠ p.dañ.?-ra

⁵⁸ Here, the two lines are written one on top of the other!

⁵⁹ Reconstructed line 5: *'khor ba rab spāns nas / sdug sñal* (Q bsñal).

⁶⁰ Q *tha*.

⁶¹ “‘Commence, go forth [and] join the Buddha's teaching! Destroy Māra's host, as an elephant [destroys] a reed-hut! Who conscientiously observes the [Buddhist] monastic rules (dharmavinaya) will leave the circle of rebirth, and reach the end of suffering', thus it is said.”

This translation follows to a large extent the German translation in SCHMIDT 1989: 79. PREBISH (1975: 113) translates the verses quite differently. I thank Haiyan Hu von Hinüber for discussing the translation with me.

⁶² Old age and death (*jāramarāṇa*), the twelfth item of the *pratīyasamutpāda*.

⁶³ Vocal above, most probably *gi gu*.

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

≠ ≠ ≠ dog.'gyur.

≠ ≠ ≠ ≠i ≠ m/s.y'.

... ..

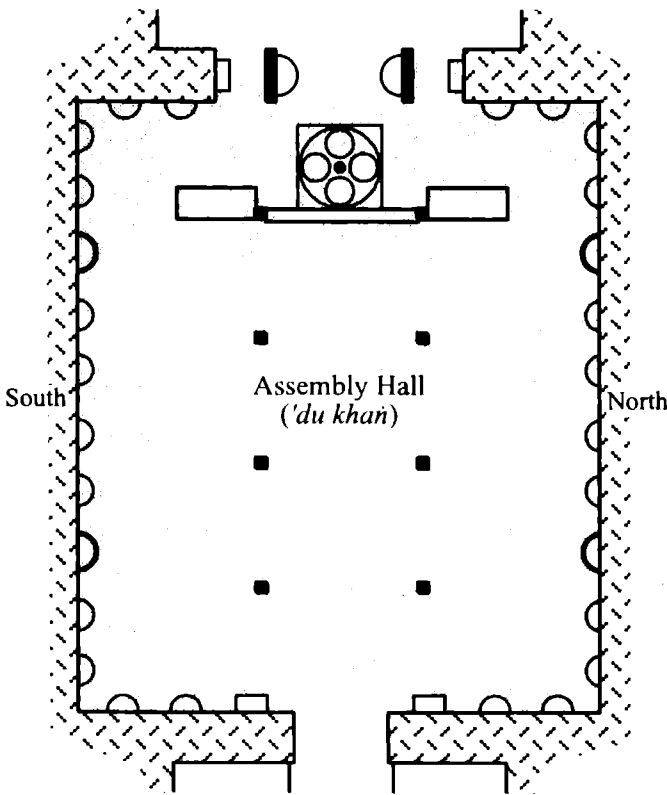
· Another small caption within the Wheel below some human figures in the upper right half of the Wheel identifies the human world Jambudvīpa.

(56) lho. 'i. 'dzam.bu.glin⁶⁴

⁶⁴ “The southern [continent] Jambudvīpa.”

ASSEMBLY HALL

The Assembly Hall (*'du khan*) is dominated by the 33 deities of a three-dimensional Vajradhātumaṇḍala. Except for the fourfold Vairocana in the centre, behind the altar, the clay sculptures are attached to the walls all around the room.⁶⁵ The sections below and above the sculptures are painted with different iconographic themes. The area below the sculptures is mainly dedicated to two narrative themes – the Pilgrimage of Sudhana from the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* and the Life of the



Buddha, the first of them accompanied by a wall text.⁶⁶ In the northern half of the east wall there was also a larger area dedicated to the donors of the renovation of the temple completed in 1042. This section is only very fragmentarily preserved. All the historical captions of the Assembly Hall are found there. In the section above the sculptures different iconographic groups are placed. Among these the deities of two groups – the Protectors of the Three Families and the Buddhas of the Ten Directions – have been identified by captions.⁶⁷

Fig. 10: The Assembly Hall (*'du khan*)

⁶⁵ Cf. e.g. Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 54, 60. For a discussion of the technique and the iconography of the sculptures see LUCZANITS 1997.

⁶⁶ Cf. STEINKELLNER 1995; 1996 and in press.

⁶⁷ For a detailed description of the Assembly Hall cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997: Chapter V.2.

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL

On the east wall of the Assembly Hall a large section of the painting was dedicated to the depiction of historical figures. Like most of the paintings preserved in the Assembly Hall, this section too, is datable to the renovation of the temple completed in 1042. The donor

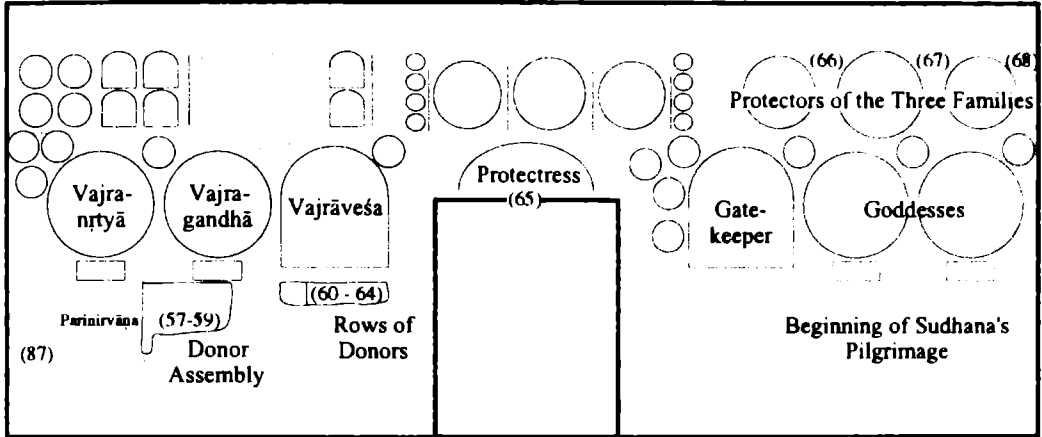


Fig. 11: Assembly Hall east wall

depictions are found below the clay sculptures in the northern half of the wall between the final scene of the Life of the Buddha (the depiction of the *parinirvāṇa*) and the entrance, i.e. below the sculptures of the goddess Vajragandhā and the *dvārapāla* (*sgo bsruṅs ba*) Vajrāveśa (cf. Fig. 11). The whole composition is only preserved in fragments, but a division in two parts is evident. Below Vajragandhā is a large donor assembly, and to the right of it (below Vajrāveśa) there were several rows of historical figures.

DONOR ASSEMBLY

Below Vajragandhā there are fragments of a large composition depicting a row of main donors surrounded by secondary figures. Only a part of the left half of this composition and a tiny section in the top right corner are fairly well preserved. In the centre was a row of eight or nine figures sitting in front of a screen or curtain. Only fragments of four of the figures are preserved on the left side of the composition. These main donor figures can be identified by their dress – a combination of a monk's habit and a Tibetan-style coat as is also worn by Byaṅ chub 'od in the painting above the Renovation

Inscription – as royal *bla mas*. Originally they were identified by captions below their thrones. Sadly the remains of these captions are very fragmentary and none of the names are left.

The first image from the left (figure 1) is the only one wearing a hat. His caption is lost.

The following three have retained fragments of their captions. The three captions together are fairly visible in s DKS91 34,28.

Figure 2, the second figure from the left, has the right hand raised as if in *abhayamudrā*. Of his caption of four lines only fragments are left: **Pl. 13**

(57) ... | ... sg
 ... n.byañ | ... d.pa. ? // //

The third figure has the right hand lifted towards the shoulder with some fingers outstretched. His caption is of two lines and the best preserved in this group. **Pl. 13**

(58) rje.lha.btsun.pa ≠ -u.n/d n/d ≠
 m/'⁶⁸.sd/na.nas // // //

The fourth figure has his right hand in the sleeve resting on his thigh. **Pl. 13**

(59) rje.lha ... ≠ ⁶⁹.že.sda.na // ⁷⁰

All around these central figures a whole assembly of people has been depicted, the ones in the foreground are much larger than the ones at the back behind the screen, which creates a sort of depth in the representation. While the nobles who wore a flat type of headdress were placed in front, the women and the men with other hat-styles were placed to the sides and at the back.

⁶⁸ The fragments could also be the upper part of a *ž*, which one would expect here.

⁶⁹ *n* or *r* depending on preceding *i/u*.

⁷⁰ The last two of these captions were apparently also noticed by THAKUR (1997: 974, transcriptions no. 6 and 7). For comparable inscriptions from Tholing cf. the Appendix. There also the phrase *žal sna nas* is discussed.

ROWS OF DONORS

The second part of the donor depictions below Vajrāveśa consists of several rows (presumably five) of figures placed one above the other. However, only a very small part of these rows, some figures in the uppermost row immediately below the sculpture, is well preserved. Most of the rows were covered quite recently (probably at the turn of the century) with plaster and repainted. Only where the plaster which was used in this 'renovation' has fallen off are the very fragmentary remains of the original visible. In the lower right corner of this composition there was also a larger inscription. Only a very careful removal of the plaster and the repainting which covers most of the section could bring the originals to light, and even then the remains might be too fragmentary to reveal new information. Again the rows are given Roman numerals and the figures are counted and arranged from left to right.

Only some part of the first row immediately below the *dvārapāla* (*sgo bsrūns ba*), and usually hidden by his apron, is well preserved. There are five figures with captions.

I.1 is depicted frontally with the right hand pendent and the left on the knee. He wears a red hat and red monk's dress and has white hair (Klimburg-Salter 1987: pl. 2,a; 1994: fig. 13).

Pl. 14,a s DKS91 34,25 37,37, CL91 34,34 34,35, CL94 85,6

(60) *gnas.brtaṅ.chen.po.'dul.ba.byaṅ.chub. \ sñel.'or.*⁷¹

I.2 wears a hat open at the front and a patchwork monk's dress. His right hand is raised at the side towards the shoulder, while his left is pendent. He is turned towards the former (Klimburg-Salter 1987: pl. 2,a). Pl. 14,a s DKS91 34,25, CL94 85,7

(61) *chos.sg?a'i.slob.chen.po.gu.na.bar.ma \ te.'or.*⁷²

⁷¹ "The Great Elder (*mahāsthavira*) 'Dul ba byaṅ chub from [the place/the clan] *sñel 'or.*" He apparently was the abbot at the time of the renovation (cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1994: 34 and below n.141).

This and the following caption were first published and discussed in KLIMBURG-SALTER 1987: 690, pl. 2,a, the provisional reading based on the photograph. A revised reading has been published in KLIMBURG-SALTER 1994: n.14.

⁷² THAKUR (1997: 974) erroneously reads the name as *gu na ba na ti 'or* and interprets the phrase *chos sga* as a place name. However, here one presumably has to

I.3 is also directed towards I.1. He has no hat, a red monk's dress and a stubby beard. His right hand is raised in *vitarkamudrā* and his left rests on the knee. **Pl. 14,b** s DKS91 34,28 37,36 60,2 60,3, CL94 85,8

(62) *lcog.la*⁷³ 'i.sde.dge.slon. \ mos.pa.bsod.nams. \ g/brag/s⁷⁴.⁷⁵

I.4 is depicted like I.3 but he turns towards the following figure (I.5). His right hand is resting on the thigh, while the left is held out towards the following figure as if he were talking to him.

Pl. 14,b s DKS91 34,28 60,4, CL94 85,9

(63) [gu.]ge'i.sde.sman.pa.brtsen. \ # # =^x.rin.cen. mañ.'or //⁷⁶

I.5 is consequently turned towards the former (I.4). He wears a red hat and only the right hand, lying on the knee, is preserved.

(64) lcog.la \ tan.dad.pa

read *chos sgra'i slob chen po* and interpret the whole phrase as a religious title. This assumption is supported by the fact that the section below the *sga* is rubbed off, thus a subscribed *r* could easily have been there. This title, although sounding very much like a translation of a Sanskrit title, is not found as such in the common dictionaries. Nevertheless it seems quite likely that here a specialist in Buddhist terminology, a translator, is depicted. This is further supported by the Sanskrit name of the person. Thus, the phrase would translate: "The mahācārya of Buddhist terminology Gunavarman from [the place/the clan] Te 'or." Gunavarman, *Yon tan go cha in Tibetan, is not found in the common Tibetan historical works. Another possibility would be that *chos sga* actually stands for *chos grwa* "Buddhist college".

⁷³ lCog la apparently designated a larger area around the confluence of the Spiti and Sulej rivers reaching at least as far north as the Lingti river (as the term occurs in an inscription at Lalung [to be published in future]) and to the region east of the Shipki pass. Its variants sPi (ti) lcog (la) and Gug lcog (= Gu ge lcog la) might denote the respective western and eastern parts of the region. For a much more differentiated picture and references cf. VITALI 1996: 307–9, and PETECH 1997: n.20. In the *mÑa'ris rgyal rabs* Tabo monastery is called the ornament of lCog la in Spiti (*pi tir ta po cog la brgyan*, 54, 1.9–10).

⁷⁴ THAKUR (1997: 974,3) reads *hums*.

⁷⁵ "The monk from the lCog la region Mos pa bsod nams [grags]."

Both *lcog la* (*cog la*) and *gu ge* (*gug ge*) are names of thousand-districts (*ston sde*) of Lower Žaṅ žuñ (*žañ žuñ smad*) (cf. e.g. UEBACH 1987: 22). I therefore understand *sde* as referring to a region or district rather than to a community.

⁷⁶ "The physician of the Gu ge region brTson ... rin cen from [the place/the clan] Mañ 'or." THAKUR (1997: 974,4) reads *thon* for *brtsen* and *yañ 'or* ('od) for *mañ*

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

Of the four other rows only tiny fragments of figures and traces of captions are left. Of the second row only the upper edges of panels are left, one of them containing the phrase *gu.ge'i.sde* only. Of the third row only the legs of one image are visible under which, presumably belonging to the fourth row, another panel with a fragmentary caption is left.⁷⁷ Below these captions are again more fragments of a figure, and below that apparently was a larger panel containing an inscription. There are further small fragments of a fifth row. These few traces, however, do not really allow the reconstruction of the arrangement that was once there.

In addition four more historical figures are depicted in the space between the *dvārapāla* (*sgo sruñ ba*) and the door. These were never named.

'or. The person is possibly identical with the monk mentioned above in caption no. 17.

⁷⁷ I once read: lcog.la. ... ? \ hsod.nams, but this reading has never been controlled again.

NON-HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE ASSEMBLY HALL

FRAGMENTS OF AN INSCRIPTION ON THE LINTEL

Very few fragments are left of a long inscription in two lines written on the wooden lintel just below the depiction of the temple's protectress (cf. Fig. 11). The inscription presumably covered the whole length of the lintel (c. 180 cm) with the first line, while the second line ended after approximately 50 cm. The inscription is written in the old orthography, but is so fragmentary that it is not even clear what it refers to. I only tried once, in 1990, to decipher the fragments and the reading has never been controlled.

(65) {1} ? <= *skyes.bu.thos.pa.sñiñ.par.phyad.r*⁷⁸ => 21cm <= *sta kya* => 66cm <= *c ≠ ≠ ≠ d pāl. ≠ n ≠ ≠ pa.bstod.* // *deñ.nas.brtsa m s t .ji.srid.*⁷⁹ => 18cm <= *n b ś ≠ kya b do mlto ≠ 'i.dgis.* // *śos.pa.g ≠ mug.mun.sald.sgron.ma.y n ≠ ≠ ≠* => 15cm <= *mchog.* // => 5cm

{2} ? <= *dag.bcom.ma.* => ?

THE PROTECTORS OF THE THREE FAMILIES

In the southern half of the east wall in the upper register above the sculptures there is a Bodhisattva triad depicting the Protectors of the Three Families (*rigs gsum mgon po*), the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāṇi (cf. Fig. 11). Mañjuśrī (in the form of Mañjughoṣa) in the centre is slightly larger than the other two. All three Bodhisattvas sit in *lalitāsana*.

Each of the Bodhisattvas is identified by a panel above the shoulder to the right of the respective image. In the captions all three are called *bodhisattva mahāsattva* (*byañ chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*) followed by one or several epithets, which appear rather unusual. The identifications are followed by the *ye dharmā*-verse. The panels are arranged from left to right, that is in the direction of *pradakṣiṇā*.

⁷⁸ The length of this fragment is 11 cm.

⁷⁹ This fragment covers ca. 22 cm.

The first panel to the left of Avalokiteśvara contains only the *ye dharmā*-verse: s JP1984 581; CL94 84,3

ye.dha.rma.he.tu.pra.bha.ba.he.tun.te.śan.
ta.thā.ga.to.hya.ba.dad.te.śan.tsa.yo.ni.
ro.dha.e.baṃ.bha.ti.ma.ha.śra.ma.ṇa. / /

Karuṇeśvara(?)⁸⁰-Avalokiteśvara is white and holds a *mālā* with *vitarkamudrā* in the right hand. The left hand rests at his hip and holds the stem of a white lotus (*padma*). He has an antelope skin wrapped around his upper body and wears a one-pointed crown with the Buddha Amitābha in front of his high hair-knot. The *ūrṇā* has the shape of a vertical eye (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 107).

On the panel above his right shoulder he is identified.

Pl. 15,a

s JP1984 582; CL94 84,7

(66) *byaṅ.chub.sems.dpa'.sems.dpa'.chen.po.*
thugs.rje'i.mṅa'.bdag.spyan.ras.gzigs.kyi.
dbaṅ.phyug.//
ye.dha.rma.

Ārya Mañjuḥoṣa is (bright) red, his right hand shows *varaḍamudrā* in front of the knee while the left fist on his thigh holds the stem of a blue lotus (*utpala*). Above the lotus a *Prajñāpāramitā* is depicted. Mañjuḥoṣa wears a scarf across his upper body and a crown with five points. The *ūrṇā* has the shape of a vertical eye.⁸¹

⁸⁰ *thugs rje'i mṅa' bdag* used here as a synonym for *thugs rje'i dbaṅ phyug* (BIT 1015)?

⁸¹ Iconographically the depiction corresponds with the “royal” Mañjuśrī as differentiated by MALLMANN (1964: 35–6; 1986: 252–3), a form found in *Sādhana-mālā* nos. 50, 69 and 70. There the deity is unanimously called Mañjuḥoṣa. However, the Tabo image does not sit on a lion throne and adds the book above the lotus. His epithets in front of the name are only partially preserved. They might include *nan soṅ gi 'gro ba – apāyagati* and *rnam par 'joms pa – vidārana* (as occurs in the name of another deity, BIT 14, 34, 2376).

(67)

S JP1984 471

{1} *byañ.chub.s*{⁸²*em[s.dpa'.se]ms.dpa'.chen.po.nan.son.gi.'gyo* ≠ ≠
≠ c/ts}ogs.

{2} *rnam.par.* {'jom ≠ ≠ .'*phags.pa.'jam.ba'i.d-y* ≠ ≠ ≠⁸³}⁸²// //

{3} *ye.dha.rma*

Vajrapāṇi is only partly original. Apparently he was once coloured in a dirty bright green that was later repainted blue. His right hand in front of the breast appears to hold a pointed object resembling a bud or fruit. The object as it is left today does not appear to be a *vajra*, and if it was, then it was probably a *vajra* in the sense of a diamond as it is depicted in the Ambulatory as well. However, there also the diamond has a completely different shape.⁸⁴ The left hand of Vajrapāṇi is clenched and rests on his thigh. He wears a scarf across his upper body and a crown with five points. The *ūrṇā* is not preserved.

Pl. 15,c

S JP1984 472

(68) *byañ.[chub.se]ms.dpa'.sems.dpa'.chen.po.*

gsaṅ ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠ *po*⁸⁵.*phyag.na.rdo.rje*// | //

ye.dha.rma

THE BUDDHAS OF THE TEN DIRECTIONS

The Buddhas of the Ten Directions are depicted in the upper register on the south and north walls of the Assembly Hall. Each of the ten Buddhas is flanked by two Bodhisattvas. The names of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are recorded in captions just above their shoulders (cf. Fig. 12 and Fig. 13). The remaining space in the panels is filled with the *ye dharmā*-verse.

⁸² The part within {} brackets was read in 1990, but was broken out in 1991. In 1994, when I was studying the sculptures carefully, I found parts of this inscription again in the lotus base of a clay sculpture. The fragments were put back in place by a team of the A.S.I. headed by Dr R.P. Singh.

⁸³ Read: 'Jam pa'i dbyañ.

⁸⁴ Cf. below the MBS13.

⁸⁵ Most probably *gsaṅ ba'i bdag po* – *guhyākādhipati* as an epithet (cf. Tshig mdzod p. 3006 and in several variations in the Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary 2482–83).

The names of the Buddhas and of one of the accompanying Bodhisattvas are taken from the introductory chapter to the three larger versions of the *Prajñāpāramitā*, i.e. *Śatasāhasrikā*-, the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*-, and the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā*.⁸⁶ There also the names of the respective worlds (*lokadhātu*) the Buddhas reside in and their principal Bodhisattvas are mentioned. The Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* have been used for comparison.⁸⁷

As can be seen from the sequence of the content, the captions of the Buddhas of the Ten Directions were meant to be read in *pradakṣiṇā* starting with the eastern triad in the south-east corner and ending with the zenith triad in the north-west corner. In the literature, first the Buddhas in the cardinal directions are enumerated, then the intermediary ones and last the ones at nadir and zenith. Here I record the captions as they actually appear in Tabo, the arrangement following the *pradakṣiṇā*, and each triad is read from left to right.

For the Buddhas, the captions mention the quarter (*phyogs*) or intermediary quarter (*phyogs mtshams*) the respective Tathāgata resides in, and his name. The Bodhisattvas are only named. In each caption the *ye dharmā*-verse follows in the next line. It is remarkable that at least some captions on the north wall apparently have been filled in twice (cf. nos. 81, 82, 85, and 86). At least in the cases of 81 and 86, the only captions where the earlier inscriptions are fairly legible, the content of the captions has been changed, although within the same context. No. 81 originally referred to the Bodhisattva depicted to the right of the caption and not to the Buddha to the left of it as today, and 86 mentions the Bodhisattva Pad mo dam pa/Padmottara, the Bodhisattva of the Nadir. The latter case indicates the reversal of the triads in zenith and nadir.

It can be assumed that the Buddhas of the Ten Directions do not have a standardised iconography, they are rather displayed with a tendency towards stereotype repetition (cf. also the comparisons mentioned below). With one inconsistency, the five Buddhas on each wall of the Assembly Hall are actually performing the *mudrā* of the

⁸⁶ Cf. the table in CONZE 1960: 47. Translations of the introductory chapter are found in CONZE 1961: 1–9 and 1975: 37–44.

⁸⁷ *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* ed. DUTT 1934: 12–17; Q Vol. 18 43–51. The Sanskrit equivalents of the names are taken from Dutt and the alternative spellings in Q are mentioned. Variant readings common in the orthography of Tabo, such as *myed* for *med*, *cen* for *chen* and *da drag*, are not recorded.

five *jina*, with the preaching Buddha (*dharmacakramudrā*) in the centre. However, the *varadamudrā* is replaced by a gesture where the hand above the knee is raised as in *abhayamudrā*, which looks rather like a gesture of blessing. The Buddha of the south-east (above sculptures S6 and S7) performs *vitarkamudrā* instead of the regular *abhayamudrā* of his counterpart on the opposite wall. However, the body colours do not follow the five *jina* configuration as only red and white is used alternately. With the exception mentioned, the Buddhas and the colours of the attending Bodhisattvas facing each other are identical, the walls mirroring each other.⁸⁸

The Bodhisattvas are facing towards the central Buddhas holding (or as if holding) a small offering in their right hand. The left arm is stretched behind the thigh with the palm facing downwards towards the seat as if they were leaning on their arm. Although there are remarkable differences between the depictions of the Bodhisattvas on the north and south walls – like the different *dhotīs* and their textile patterns – stylistically they belong to the same group.⁸⁹ While the Bodhisattvas on the south wall hold flowers or jewels as offerings, the ones on the north wall are empty-handed.

The Buddhas of the Ten Directions and their principal Bodhisattvas are also depicted in the Derge *bKa' 'gyur* illustrating the beginnings of volumes 15 to 24 of the *Śes phyin* section.⁹⁰ There the Buddhas are uniformly depicted with *dharmacakramudrā* and the principal Bodhisattvas are venerating them. The Buddhas alone are depicted in BIT 1084 to 1093 as part of an *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* pantheon.⁹¹ Here, too, the *mudrās* of the five *jinās* have been used.

South wall

The location of the south wall captions is shown in Fig. 12.

East

Bodhisattva Samantaraśmi: white; right hand held in a kind of reversed *vitarkamudrā* (facing towards the shoulder) in front of the breast; left arm behind the leg.

S JP1984 480

⁸⁸ The symmetry of the walls was noticed by D.E. Klimburg-Salter.

⁸⁹ Cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997: Chapter III.

⁹⁰ Cf. KOLMAŠ 1978: 66–67, 116–121 (15a–24b).

⁹¹ The group was not recognised as the Buddhas of the Ten Directions and consequently the rendering of the Tibetan captions into Sanskrit is faulty.

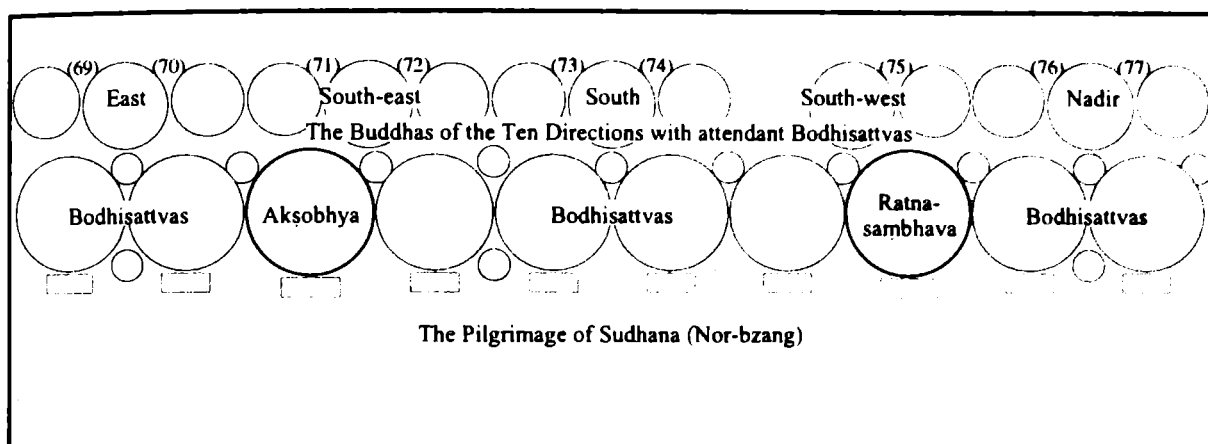


Fig. 12: Assembly Hall south wall

(69) *byañ.chub.sems.[dpa']. 'od.gzer.kun.gzer.kun.
nas. 'byuñ.ba.*⁹²// //

*ye.dha.rma.he.tu.pra.ba.bha.he.tun.te.śan.ta.thā.ga.to.hya.ba.dan.
te.śan.tsa.yo.ni.ro.dha.e.baṃ.ba.ti.ma.hā.śra.ma.ṇa.//*

Buddha Ratnākara: red; *dhyānamudrā*.

S JP1984 481

(70) *śar.phyogs.kyī.de.bzin.gśegs.pa.
dkon.mchog. 'byuñ.gna's.*⁹³/ ⁹⁴
ye.dha.rma

Bodhisattva: red; holding a small jewel in the right hand; left hand behind leg. Caption lost.

South-east

Bodhisattva Padmahasta: green; holds a tiny open flower in the right hand; the left arm is behind the leg (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 108).

⁹² The way the name is written here either is a mistake or it reflects the source the name was copied from. Q (e.g. 43,5) and KOLMAŠ (1978: 15b) have 'Od zer kun nas 'byuñ ba.

⁹³ Q (e.g. 43,4), BIT 1084 and KOLMAŠ 1978: 15a: Rin chen 'byuñ gnas.

(71) *byaṅ.chub.sems.dpa'.lag.na.pad.mo./ /*
ye.dha.rma

Buddha Padmottaraśrī⁹⁵: white; right hand in *vitarkamudrā*; left hand on lap (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 109).

(72) *śar.lho.mtshams.kyi.de.bzin.gśegs.pa.*
pad.mo.dam.pa'i.dpal./ /⁹⁶
ye.dha.rma

Bodhisattva: white; offering a tiny closed flower; left hand behind leg. Caption lost (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 110).

South

Bodhisattva (Vigat-)Aśoka: red; holding a jewel in reversed *vitarkamudrā*; left hand behind leg.⁹⁷ S JP1984 119

(73) *byaṅ.chub.sems.dpa'.mya.ñan.myed.pa.// /*
ye.dha.rma

Buddha Aśokaśrī⁹⁸: red; *dharmacakramudrā* S JP1984 118

(74) *lho.phyogs.kyi.de.bzin.gśegs.pa.mya.ñan.*
myed.pa'i.dpal./
ye.dha.rma

Bodhisattva: dark green; offering a jewel; left hand behind leg. Caption not read or lost (in a photograph of 1984 the caption is visible just below the capital; it contains at least the *ye dharmā*-verse).

⁹⁴ “*The Tathāgata of the southern quarter Ratnākara.*” Translated exemplarily. The caption is published in KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997: fig. 36.

⁹⁵ BIT 1089.

⁹⁶ “*The Tathāgata of the southeastern intermediary [quarter] Padmottaraśrī.*” Translated exemplarily.

⁹⁷ In 1984 the caption was still in perfect condition.

⁹⁸ BIT 1085.

South-west

Bodhisattva [Sūryaprabhāsa/Ñi ma rab tu snañ ba] and his caption lost.

Buddha Sūryamaṇḍalaprabhāsottamaśrī⁹⁹: white, *bhūmisparśa-mudrā*. s JP1984 124

(75) *lho.nub.kyī.phyogs.mtshams.kyī.de.bžin.gśegs.pa.*
ñi.ma'i.dkyil.'khor.snañ.ba.d ≠ ≠'i.dpal./
ye.dha.rma

Bodhisattva: red; offering a closed flower with the right hand; left hand behind leg. Fragmentary caption not read or lost (in a photograph of 1994 fragments of a caption are visible just below the capital; it contains at least the *ye dharmā*-verse).

Nadir

Bodhisattva: green; *mudrā* with open palm in front of breast; left hand behind leg. The caption above his right shoulder refers to the following Buddha: s JP1984 128

(76) *'og.gi.phyogs.kyi.de.bžin.gśegs.pa.pad.mo.dam.*
p ≠ ≠.¹⁰⁰ | // // //
[ye.dha.rma]

Buddha Padmaśrī: red; gesture of blessing (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 25).¹⁰¹ The caption above his right shoulder refers to the following Bodhisattva: s JP1984 129

(77) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.sems.dpa'.chen.po.*
pad.mo.dam.pa'i. ? ¹⁰² // //

⁹⁹ Q (e.g. 48,1) Ñi ma'i dkyil 'khor snañ ba dam pa'i dpal; BIT 1090: Ñi dkyil snañ ba dam pa'i dpal.

¹⁰⁰ Q (e.g. 49,4) Pad mo'i dpal; BIT 1092.

¹⁰¹ The right arm is stretched towards the knee where its hand is raised as in *abhayamudrā*. That this gesture has the meaning of blessing can be seen in the paintings of the pilgrimage of Sudhana.

¹⁰² Q (e.g. 49,5) Pad mo dam pa.

ye.dha.rma

Bodhisattva Padmottara: white; offering a jewel; left hand behind leg.

North wall

The location of the north wall captions is shown on Fig. 13.

West

Caption in the corner:

ye.dha.rma

Bodhisattva Ārya Avalokiteśvara: white; *vitarkamudrā*; left hand behind leg (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 26).

- (78) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'. 'phags.pa.spyan.*
ras.gzigs.dbañ.phyug.//
ye.dha.rma

Buddha Ratnārcis¹⁰³: red; gesture of blessing.¹⁰⁴

- (79) *nub.phyogs.kyi.de.bžin.gše[gs].pa.rin.*
cen.'od.'phro.//
ye.dha.rma

Bodhisattva [Cāritramati/sPyod pa'i blo gros]: green; right hand as if offering something; left behind leg.

North-west

Bodhisattva: red; right hand in front of breast, *mudrā* not preserved.

The original murals and captions of the Buddha [Ekacchattra/gDugs dam pa¹⁰⁵] and the right Bodhisattva [Ratnottama/Rin chen mchog] are lost. Both have been repainted at a later period.

¹⁰³ BIT 1086.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. n.101.

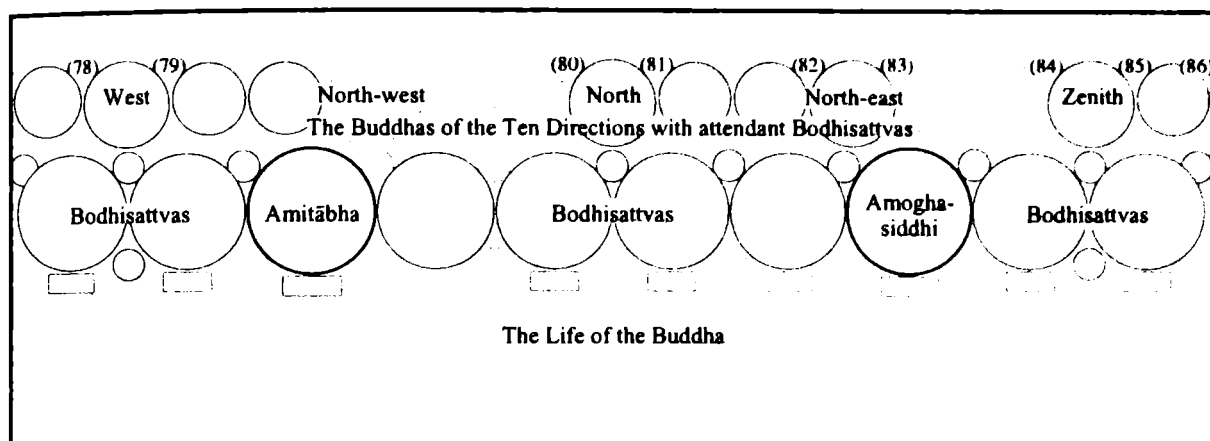


Fig. 13: Assembly Hall north wall

North

Bodhisattva repainted; caption only fragmentarily preserved.

S JP1984 560

(80) [byañ.chub.sem]s.dpa'.sems.dpa'.chen.po.

... ..

[ye.dha.rma]

Buddha Jayendra¹⁰⁶: red; *dharmacakramudrā*.

Pl. 16a

S JP1984 559

(81) byañ.phyogs.kyi.logs.kyi.de.bzin.gśegs

pa.rgyal.ba'i.dbañ.po.//

ye.dha.rma¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ BIT 1091.

¹⁰⁶ BIT 1087.

¹⁰⁷ Underneath this inscription an older, faded one is quite readable. It is written with much larger letters and has only three lines. There was no *ye dharma*-verse in the older version. Instead of mentioning a Buddha it refers to the Bodhisattva Jayadatta:

*| byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.
sems.dpa'.chen.po.rgyal.
bas g/byin.// //

Bodhisattva [Jayadatta/rGyal bas byin]: red; gesture of offering towards the Buddha; left arm behind leg; caption not preserved.

North-east

Bodhisattva: white; *vitarkamudrā*; left hand behind leg. The caption above his right shoulder refers to the following Buddha:

S JP1984 554

- (82) *byañ.śar.gyi.phyogs.mtshams.kyi.de.bzin.*
gśegs.pa ≠ ñ.'dzind.kyi.glañ.po.dam.
pa'i.dpal.||
*ye.dha.rma*¹⁰⁸

Buddha Samādhihastyuttaraśrī¹⁰⁹: white; *abhayamudrā*. The caption above his right shoulder refers to the following Bodhisattva:

S JP1984 553

- (83) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.chen.po.rnam.par.*
rgyal.bas.rnam.par.gnond.pa.|| ||
ye.dha.rma

Bodhisattva Vijayavikrāmin lost and partly repainted.

Zenith

Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī is lost and repainted, but his caption is preserved.

S JP1984 549

- (84) *byañ.chub.sem[s.dpa'.]'jam.dpal.*
ye.dha.rma

¹⁰⁸ Here, too, traces of an older inscription are visible below the present one.

¹⁰⁹ Q (e.g. 46,4) *Tiñ ñe 'dzin gyi glañ po dam pa'i dpal*; BIT 1088: *Tiñ 'dzin glañ po dam pa'i dpal*.

Buddha Nandaśrī¹¹⁰: red, *dhyānamudrā*. Pl. 16,b s JP1984 548

(85) *steñ.gi.phyogs.kyi.de.bžin.*

gśegs.pa.dga'.ba'i.

dpal.// //

*ye.dha.rma*¹¹¹

Bodhisattva Nandadatta: white; right hand raised towards the shoulder¹¹²; left arm behind leg. s JP1984 547

(86) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa[']*

dga'.bas.byin.pa./

*ye.dha.rma*¹¹³

THE PILGRIMAGE OF SUDHANA (NOR BZAÑ[S])

The reader is referred to Steinkellner 1995 for the inscriptions in connection with the narrative of Nor bzañ(s) in the lower register of the southern half of the temple. There inscriptions occur in large panels adjacent to the paintings as well as short captions written on the paintings which explain the content of the pictures.¹¹⁴

THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

Not even the large panels have been used in the depiction of the Life of the Buddha. The only short caption occurring in the Life is a

¹¹⁰ BIT 1091.

¹¹¹ Here, too, a faded older inscription of different content is visible.

¹¹² Probably the “*mudrā* of deference” which goes back to Gandhāran art (cf. TADDEI 1969: 375).

¹¹³ Again, traces of an older inscription of different content are visible underneath the present one! It can be read as:

byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.pad.

mo.dam.pa?

¹¹⁴ At the end of the narrative frieze depicting the story of Sudhana, and apparently not part of the story, is an interesting short inscription: *ra mo mkhan dum bu*. It belongs to a group of four riders with their shields and horses depicted there (cf. STEINKELLNER 1995: 104, n.6).

one-line inscription on the panel below the descent from Trāyastriṃśa Heaven. Its location can be seen in Fig. 11.

(87) *// rin.cen.ri.bo.gser. ≠ ≠. bdan¹¹⁵. 'khor.yug

It is not clear what the purpose of this inscription was and when it was written. It uses one of the panels meant to be filled in with the story of the Buddha's Life.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ Also the reading *b.dan* is possible.

¹¹⁶ This inscription was only read once!

CELLA

In the back part of the temple a small Cella is surrounded by an Ambulatory. Together this western section of the temple could be called an apse (Fig. 14). The

Cella contains a group of three larger-than-life-size clay sculptures to which also the two Bodhisattvas in the passage leading from the Assembly Hall to the apse belong.¹¹⁷ The central Vairocana and the two Bodhisattvas against the side walls of the Cella are flanked by two painted goddesses each. Above them different rows of Buddhas cover the space.¹¹⁸

In the Cella itself there are no historical inscriptions, nor is there any trace of an inscription below the donor picture on the north wall.¹¹⁹ Captions are found only with the rows of Buddhas at the top of the walls.

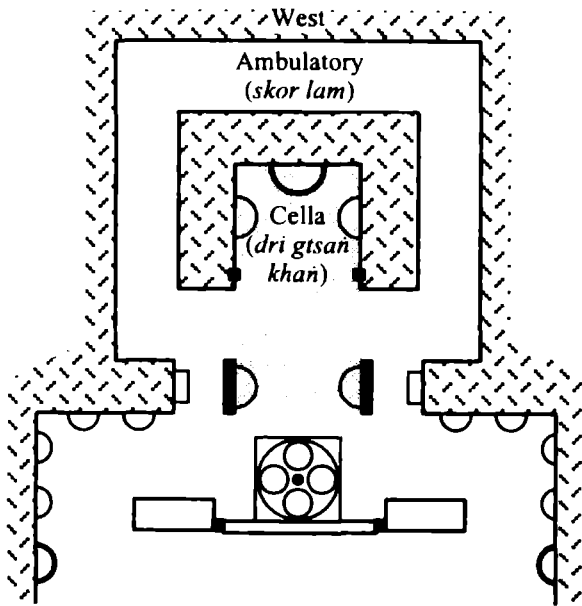


Fig. 14: The Cella (*dri gtsan khan*)

THE CELLA BUDDHAS

The uppermost part of the north and south walls is covered by four rows of eight (in the lower rows seven) Buddhas respectively. On the west wall three rows have 11 Buddhas each, while in the corners

¹¹⁷ For a discussion of the iconography and the date of these sculptures cf. LUCZANITS 1997: 195–200.

¹¹⁸ For a more detailed description and depictions of the Cella cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997: chapter V.3.

¹¹⁹ About the possible identity of this donor cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997: 148–150, fig. 151.

three more Buddhas are placed in a fourth row. All these Buddhas are accompanied by captions (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 152, 153).

However, only a very small number of these Buddha captions could be read. Firstly the captions are so high up that it is not possible to read the inscriptions even standing on a ladder. Secondly the sculptures and their pedestals do not permit one to move the ladder close to the wall, and thirdly most of these captions are extensively covered with dust, thus they are hardly visible at all. Most of the Buddha-names have been read only once, in 1991. For these reasons there is only a random selection of captions recorded (cf. the location of the legible captions in Fig. 15), and their reading is not very reliable.

Nevertheless, the legible names collected are sufficient to exclude the possibility that the names are from the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*. The names are taken from different collections. They also include some rather unusual, but telling, names for which a source could not be identified at all. Most of the names recorded belong to the 35 Buddhas of Confession (*ltuñ bśags sañs rgyas gsum bcu so lña*¹²⁰), but also names of the Seven Heroic Buddhas (*sañs rgyas dpa' bo bdun*¹²¹), the Buddhas of the Ten Directions (*phyogs bcu'i sañs rgyas*) and the Eight Healing Buddhas (*sman bla bde gśegs brgyad*) appear.

Except the subscribed *y* in *myed pa* and the *tsheg* in front of the *śad* there are no signs of old orthography. It is uncertain if these inscriptions, as also the paintings, were part of the renovation or if they were made during a subsequent repair.

All the Buddhas in the Cella are shown meditating. The same dress-colour is used for the Buddhas in a vertical row. Stylistically the Buddhas belong to the painted goddesses and the donor depiction, now provisionally attributed to the last phase of the renovation period.¹²²

The readings are arranged according to the walls and the horizontal rows, in which they are read from left to right.

South wall

First row, first Buddha: Bhaiṣajyaguru (sMan gyi bla)

(88) *de.bžin.gśegs.\ pa.sm/pan.gyi.z/bla*

¹²⁰ Also called *ltuñ bśags lha so lña* (Tshig mdzod, 1089).

¹²¹ On *sañs rgyas dpa' bo bdun* cf. n.175. They are also called *sañs rgyas rabs bdun* (Tshig mdzod, 2919; DAGYAB 1977: 39).

¹²² Cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997: Chapter III.

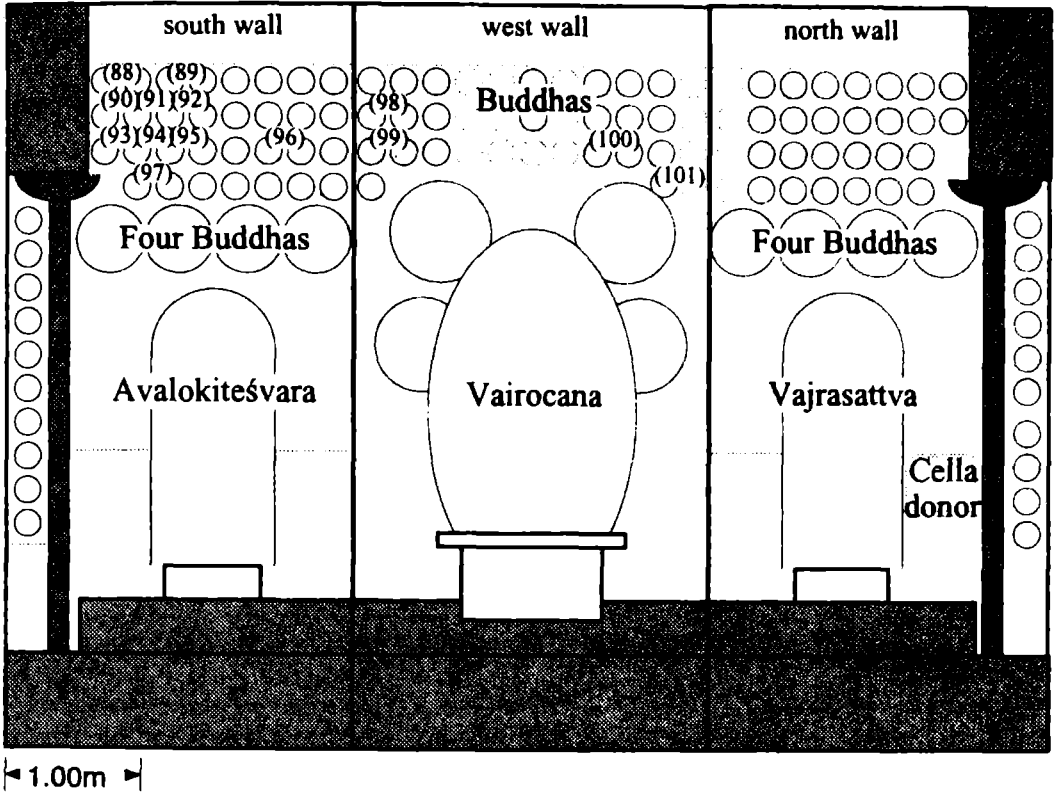


Fig. 15: The Cella walls

Third Buddha

(89) *de.bzin.gsegs.\ pa.śad.ma.myed.par.\ sgyur.ba.||*

Others illegible!

Second row, first Buddha

(90) *de.bzin.gsegs.pa.\ 'jogs.pa.thams.cad \ rab.du.zi.bar.mdzad.pa.||¹²³*

Second Buddha

(91) *de.bzin.gsegs.pa.\ 'gro.ba.thams.cad.yo_ns.\ su.spyañ.ba.||¹²⁴*

Third Buddha

(92) *de.bzin.gsegs.\ pa.r n.s .thams.\ cad.rab.tu.zi.bar \ mdzad.pa.||¹²⁵*

¹²³ “The Tathāgata who pacifies all ...” *jogs pa* is probably misread.

¹²⁴ “The Tathāgata who completely purifies (read: *sbyoñ ba*) all living beings.”

Others illegible!

Third row, first Buddha: Nandaśrī, the Buddha of the Zenith¹²⁶

(93) *de.bzin.gśegs.\ pa.dga'.ba'i.\ dpal.//*

Second Buddha: Candanaśrī, one of the 35 Buddhas of Confession¹²⁷

(94) *de.bzin.gśegs.\ pa.tsan.dan.gyi.dpal.//*

Third Buddha: *Vīra¹²⁸

(95) *de.bzin.gśegs.pa.\ dpa'.po.//*

Sixth Buddha: Viśvabhū (°bhuj) the third of the Seven Heroic Buddhas

(96) *de.bzin.gśegs.\ pa.thams.cad.skyob*

Others illegible!

Fourth row, the space occupied by the first Buddhas in the upper rows is partly covered by the end of the capital; there is only a caption without inscription. The caption of the first Buddha (below the second Buddhas of the upper rows), Kāśyapa, is written in a script different from the others!

(97) *de.bzin.gśegs.\ pa.'od.sruñ.//*

All others illegible.

West wall

Nothing of the first row could be read.

Second row, first Buddha: Vimāla, one of the 35 Buddhas of Confession¹²⁹

¹²⁵ "The Tathagata who completely pacifies all ..."

¹²⁶ The same as in caption no. 85.

¹²⁷ BIT 64, 2317.

¹²⁸ May be Vīrasena/dPa' bo'i sde, one of the 35 Buddhas of Confession; BIT 51, 2304.

¹²⁹ BIT 57, 2310.

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

(98) *de.bzin.gśegs.\ pa.dri.ma.myed.pa.||*

Third row, first Buddha, Aśoka-?¹³⁰

(99) *de.bzin.gśegs.\ pa.≠.nan.myed.pa'i \ ...*

Third row, eighth(?) Buddha: most probably Suparikīrtitanāmaśrī (mTshan dpal [śin tu] yoṅs bsgrags), one of the 35 Buddhas of Confession¹³¹

(100) *de.bzin.gśegs.\ pa tshan.dpal. ≠ ≠ ≠ \ yoṅs.bsgrags.||*

Fourth row, second Buddha from the right: Yuddhajaya (g.Yul las [śin tu rnam par] rgyal ba), one of the 35 Buddhas of Confession¹³²

(101) *de.bzin.gśegs.\ pa.g-yul.las ...*

No Buddha-name has been recorded from the north wall!

¹³⁰ Most probably Aśokaśrī/Mya nan med pa'i dpal, one of the 35 Buddhas of Confession (BIT 67, 2320) and the Buddha of the South (BIT 1085 and caption 73).

¹³¹ BIT 74, 2327.

¹³² BIT 77, 2330.

AMBULATORY

As has already been mentioned, the Cella is surrounded by an Ambulatory. The Ambulatory is covered with paintings on both sides, the inner side mainly dedicated to the Buddhas of the *bhadrakalpa*. On

the front walls of the Cella, being also the inner wall of the Ambulatory, the only historical depictions are found. Here, to the left of the Cella (cf. Fig. 16), the Renovation Inscription has been preserved, together with a depiction of the main donors. Another depiction of historical figures on the opposite side of the Cella is today largely lost. The main themes of the Ambulatory paintings are 16 Bodhisattvas, 16 Mahābodhisattvas, the Eight Buddhas and their prominent disciples, the Buddhas of the *bhadrakalpa*, all of which are at least partly accompanied by captions and a narrative, which has not yet been identified.¹³³

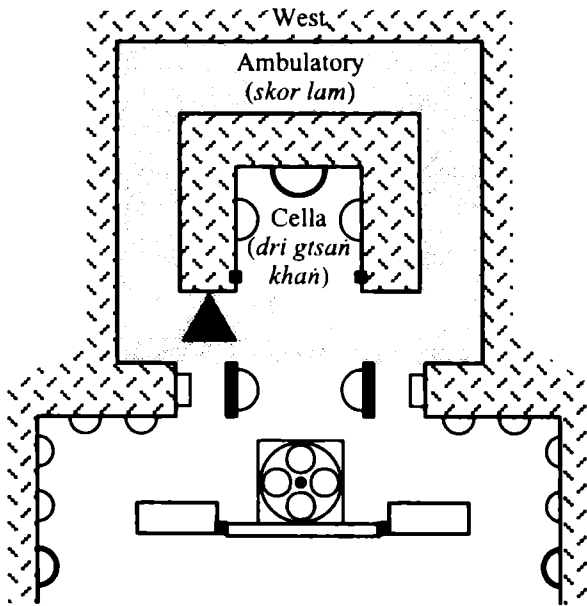


Fig. 16: The Ambulatory (*skor lam*); the triangle indicates the location of the Renovation Inscription

HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE AMBULATORY

The most important place for donor depictions and inscriptions belonging to the renovation phase was the front of the walls enclosing the Cella. Here, on the south side (to the proper right of the main

¹³³ For a more detailed description of the Ambulatory cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1997: Chapter V.4. The depiction above the Renovation Inscription is described with the Cella at the beginning of Chapter V.3.

image) the Renovation Inscription is found in the lower section of the wall. The painting accompanying the inscription also has captions. On the other side of the Cella another donor picture has been photographed by E. Gherzi which has almost completely disappeared by now.

CAPTIONS ON THE PICTURE ACCOMPANYING THE
RENOVATION INSCRIPTION¹³⁴

Some of the figures depicted in the assembly around the central figure, presumably *Byañ chub 'od* (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 5, 139), are identified by captions. These inscriptions, however, are hardly legible.

The most prominent secondary figure is the layman in the lower row immediately to the proper right of the main image. He is dressed in a white coat with a wide collar and long sleeves, and wears a flat disc-like hat, the typical dress for a West Tibetan nobleman in the Tabo paintings (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 4, 140). The caption is heavily damaged at its left side.¹³⁵

s JP1984 278, CL94 69,31, 69,32; f CL94 123,35

(102) gz¹³⁶*i'*.mal.ba¹³⁷.*dbañ.phyug*.
m z/n ≠¹³⁸.*rum./gu.ge'i.sde./*¹³⁹

¹³⁴ Published in KLIMBURG-SALTER 1987: pl. 2,b; 1994: fig. 12.

¹³⁵ TUCCI's reading (1935: 73, no.1) of this caption is certainly erroneous. He read: *gZi' mal la dbañ phyug mgon/ mkhar rum gu ge sde*. There is no space left in the first line to add *mgon* after *dbañ phyug*. An erroneous interpretation of this caption was TUCCI's reason for dating the Tabo paintings to the 13th/14th centuries (cf. 1935: 73-4) by interpreting *gZi' mal la* as a variant of the personal name of the Malla king 'Dzi smal.

¹³⁶ I noted *g* or *b* for the first letter. However, here also could be an ornament and/or a beginning *śad*. The second letter might also be a long 'letter', but the lower part looks rather like a scratch. THAKUR (1997: 974) reads *gzi'*.

¹³⁷ TUCCI, PRITZKER (1989: fig. 3a), VITALI (1996: 306, n.474), and THAKUR (1997: 974) read *mal la*. However, the remaining traces contradict this reading. Either it has to be read as *mal.ba* or as *ma'.la*.

¹³⁸ The second 'letter' seems to be long and wide, the third 'letter' could also be a *tsheg* with two *śad*. Also TUCCI's reading *mkhar* seems possible. PRITZKER (1989: fig. 3a) and THAKUR (1997: 974) read, presumably following TUCCI, *mkhar*.

¹³⁹ It is not completely clear how this caption has to be understood and the interpretations published so far vary to a great extent. As already mentioned (n.135) TUCCI

Behind the man from Rum there are two more lay figures, with different hats, venerating the central figure.

In the upper row three monks are kneeling. A caption between the monks has been left empty. In the left corner of this row the right half of an inscribed caption is preserved, presumably referring to the monks.

s CL94 69,35, 69,36, 69,37

(103) ... p g.n/par.gi/e.sug
 ... gu.ge[’i].sde. | dga’.
 ... ≠. ≠ab.dad.pa. |
 ... ’er.// // //

A third caption is written in the upper right corner above a whole group of monks. These are headed by a figure seated immediately to the left of the main donor. He holds a flower in his raised hand and wears a hat with an opening in the front. The caption apparently refers to this more prominent person and the monastic assembly depicted

understands *gzi’ mal la* as a personal name followed by titles. He is followed in his interpretation and translation by THAKUR (1997: 974) with the exception that Thakur notes that there is no place for *mgon*. VITALI (1996: 306) translates: “The Rum Gu.ge community *gZi’.mal.la dBang.phyug* castle [is depicted here]”, and interprets from this caption and a reference in the *mNa’ ris rgyal rabs* about the foundations of *Byañ chub ’od (gzim mal blo can gyi dgon tshogs su lha khañ dmar po bžeñs* 62, 1.17–18) that Tabo was the temple of a certain *gZi’ mal* community, and that Rum is just another name for *lCog la*, which indicated the region around Tabo (although in ancient times the area designated by this term was certainly much more extensive than the present one, cf. PETECH 1997: n.20). However, there are several inconsistencies with this interpretation, as on the one hand there is no evident proof beside the occurrence of the same name, *gZi’/m mal*, in both, the Tabo inscription and the *mNa’ ris rgyal rabs*, that the place referred to in the *rGyal rabs* is actually Tabo. On the other hand, there is neither a Red Temple evidenced in Tabo, nor does the *rGyal rabs* refer to a renovation. Furthermore, it seems unlikely that *gZi’ mal* is to be directly connected with Rum and the Gu ge community in a way that one can speak of a *gZi’ mal* community at Tabo. Also the identification of Rum with *lCog la* is not likely as both names occur in the inscriptions belonging to the renovation period. Thus the extensive interpretation presented by VITALI (1996: 306–309) is certainly too far-fetched.

Considering the scheme of the other inscriptions in the Assembly Hall belonging to the renovation period (e.g. nos. 60–64), it seems likely that *gZi’ mal ba/la* is a surname, deriving from the place or the clan of origin, *dBañ phyug* ... would be the actual personal name, Rum again indicates a clan or place and *gu ge’i sde* the wider region this place or clan belongs to.

behind him (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 6, 141).¹⁴⁰

Pl. 17

s CL94 69,33, 69,34; f CL94 123,36

(104) *gnas.brtan.chen.po.'dul.ba.byañ.chub.|| ? ?* ¹⁴¹

*ta po.yi.dge.'dun.sde.chen.po./ ||*¹⁴²

Thus, above the Renovation Inscription the principal donor of the renovation, the royal *bla ma* Byañ chub 'od is flanked on his proper right by some lay and monastic donors representing the central authority of Guge (*gu ge'i sde*). On the proper left of the main donor the monastic community of Tabo is represented. Additional donors, at least partly of local origin have been displayed on the opposite side, to the right of the Cella.

DONOR DEPICTION TO THE RIGHT OF THE CELLA

Some of the donors depicted to the right side of the Cella are also identified. This painting was seriously damaged some time after Tucci's visit, and of both, the donors and the labels, hardly anything is left and legible today.¹⁴³ The first two fragments preserved and recorded here are from the left edge of the donor depiction and were not published by Tucci. The fragment of the third allows certain improvements on Tucci's readings, which can also be verified on the hand of Gherzi's photograph in the Tucci Photographic Archives (Neg.Dep. 6024/03).¹⁴⁴ From left to right:

¹⁴⁰ TUCCI (1935: 73, no.2) misread the personal name as *'dul ba mdzad*. Sadly, this inscription has been misinterpreted several times in the last years by reading or interpolating Byañ chub 'od himself into it (cf. PRITZKER 1989: fig. 3b and VITALI 1996: 306, n.474).

¹⁴¹ "The Great Elder (*mahāsthavira*) 'Dul ba byañ chub."

'Dul ba byañ chub has already occurred twice in other parts of the temple (cf. nos. 8 and 60). Prominently placed in front of the monastic community of Tabo, he seems to have been the abbot of the monastery at the time of the renovation (cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1994: 34, n.7). There are traces that the inscription actually continues in this line. Theoretically here should follow the surname of the abbot. The remaining traces could be read *brtsegs pa*, but then there would be no space for a particle before it. These traces could also be from an older inscription.

¹⁴² "The great monastic community of Tabo."

¹⁴³ Cf. TUCCI 1935: 74, Tav. XXV.

¹⁴⁴ The photo in the Tucci Photographic Archives taken in 1933 (Neg.Dep. 6024/03) provides additional (and even better information) on the captions not

Two captions on the left edge refer to noble children. These captions were not recorded by Tucci.

(105)yo
 ≠ dag
 ≠¹⁴⁵ o.d/na/ug.lo

(106) rkyam. ≠ ≠ n.
bar

In the middle of the panel another fragment of a caption is preserved. This caption was also published by Tucci (cf. n. 144).

(107) rhugs. 'or
sgron./ do
bdas¹⁴⁶

preserved anymore. It is thus worthwhile suggesting new readings here. The readings preserved only in Tucci's publication without any confirmation by the photograph are underlined; if they appear to be even contradicted by the photo they are set in round brackets.

The first caption recorded by Tucci is the one in the centre of the picture, between a male and a female donor. Left of this caption, behind the male donor, a caption seems to begin with *rum*.

The central caption most probably refers to the kneeling male donor to the left of the caption, although Tucci records a female there. However, his reading is not really confirmed by the photograph. The first line of this caption is lost because of a crack, it therefore could be re-edited in the following way:

=>5<= \ khrom 'u ≠ ≠ \ (chuñ) m/pa

The second caption in Tucci is largely confirmed, but refers to a female from (the family of) Mag pi tsa, her name largely illegible:

mag pi tsa za brten \ ti ? dge' / yon \ bdag /

The third caption has only two lines and refers to the second female donor:

rum za (rtan) po \ gsug

As evident from the photograph the following two captions in Tucci's edition have been mixed up. The first one is identical with no. 107 and refers to the female depicted right below the caption.

rhug 'or za / ye šes \ sgron / d/ñoš ≠ d'i yon \ bdag // /

The last caption refers to the small female below it and is only of one line.

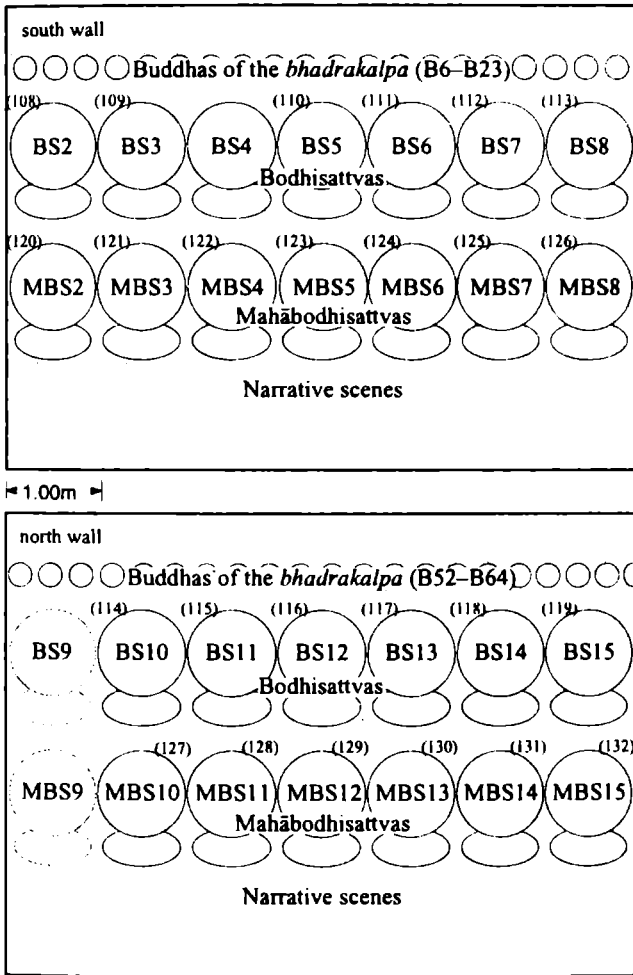
rum za gñen tin /

¹⁴⁵ m?

NON-HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE
AMBULATORY

THE 32 BODHISATTVAS

Two rows of seven Bodhisattvas each are depicted on the south and north walls of the Ambulatory (cf. Fig. 17). To this group four more Bodhisattvas in the corners of the east wall have to be added as they belong to the same group.



more Bodhisattvas in the corners of the east wall have to be added as they belong to the same group.

The Bodhisattvas on the south and north walls are identified by captions. Principally, two panels are painted above the shoulders of each of the Bodhisattvas, but often only one has been used. The location of the panel containing the name of the Bodhisattvas is indicated in Fig. 17. Of the four Bodhisattvas painted in the south and north corners of the east wall, belonging to the same group but painted in a different style, no captions are preserved. As the only panel partly preserved there is empty, it is not clear whether there have ever been any inscriptions.

Fig. 17: The north and south walls of the Ambulatory

Among the captions of the Bodhisattvas at least three handwritings can be differentiated. Although the differences are clear in most cases, there are also captions not clearly attributable to a certain group. Therefore the different

¹⁴⁶ Earlier I read bsans.

groups have not been indicated here. It is likely that the captions for the 16 Bodhisattvas and the ones for the 16 Mahābodhisattvas were written by different (groups of) persons. In one panel (no. 112, cf. note 157) two handwritings are evidenced.

Following the captions, the 32 Bodhisattvas are divided into two groups of 16 Bodhisattvas: 16 Bodhisattvas (BS) and 16 Mahābodhisattvas (MBS). The BS are placed in the upper level, the MBS below them. The group of 16 BS is a variant of the groups known so far, while the group of 16 MBS is hitherto unknown. Several of their names do not occur elsewhere. For neither of the groups has the source been identified until now. The captions are divided and arranged according to these two groups, each group of captions is read in the direction of the *pradakṣiṇā*, from the south corner of the east wall to the north corner.

Iconographically the 32 Bodhisattvas can also be grouped by their respective body colours: blue and white on the south wall, red and green on the north wall. Apparently these colours refer to the respective directions and families of the Bodhisattvas. With the exception that yellow is replaced by white, the colours agree with the *jinas* of the Vajradhātumaṇḍala depicted in the Assembly Hall.

The Sixteen Bodhisattvas

Although the group of 16 Bodhisattvas is known from several *maṇḍalas*, none of these groups agrees with the group of 16 Bodhisattvas represented at Tabo.¹⁴⁷ The one closest to Tabo is the group described in a commentary to the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhanatantra* (cf. Table 1). There the root *maṇḍala* of this *tantra* is described, the Vajradhātumaṇḍala.¹⁴⁸ In addition to the same Bodhisattvas grouped together according to their respective families this description also prescribes the family colour for each group.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. e.g. MALLMANN 1986: 125–7 or the *maṇḍalas* of the Yoga-tantras in the Ngor Collection (BSOD NAMS RGYA MTSO 1983: nos. 27, 31, 39, 40, 41).

¹⁴⁸ SKORUPSKI 1983: 312, n.5; Q 76, 124,4,3–8. The commentary is attributed to Vajravarman (rDo rje go cha) by SKORUPSKI (1983: xiv) following the Peking Edition. The Derge Canon, however, attributes this commentary to Ānandagarbha (Kun dga' sñiṅ po) (Ul *et.al.* 1934: no. 2626).

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

Table 1: The 16 Bodhisattvas

Direction Colour	The 16 Bodhisattvas as mentioned in the Tabo captions	The 16 Bodhisattvas as described in a commentary to the <i>Durgati- pariśodhanatantra</i> ¹⁴⁹	
East blue	BS1 BS2 <i>Gagaṇagañja nam ka mdzod</i> BS3 <i>Vajragarbha rdo rje sñiñ po</i> BS4	South yellow	Jālinīrabha Dra ba can gyi 'od Gagaṇagañja Nam mkha' mdzod Vajragarbha rDo rje sñiñ po Amṛtaprabha 'Od dpag med
South white	BS5 <i>Bhadrapāla bzañs skyoñ</i> BS6 <i>Candraprabha zla 'od gzo nur gyurd pa</i> BS7 <i>Samantabhadra kun tu bzañ po</i> BS8 <i>byañ chub sems</i>	East blue	Śūraṃgama dPa' bar 'gro ba Samantabhadra Kun tu bzañ po Candraprabha Zla ba 'od gzon nu Bhadrapāla, bZañ skyoñ
West red	BS9 BS10 <i>Sarvaśokatamonirghātana- mati, mya [ña]n kun 'joms</i> BS11 <i>Pratibhānakūṭa spyobs pa brtsegs pa</i> BS12 <i>Akṣayamati blo gros myi zad pa</i>	West red	Sarvaśokatamonirghātana mati, Nan soñ kun 'joms Jñānaketu Ye šes tog Akṣayamati Blo gros mi bзад pa Pratibhānakūṭa sPobs pa brtsegs po
North green	BS13 <i>Maitreya byams pa</i> BS14 <i>Gandhahastin spos kyi glañ po</i> BS15 <i>Sarvāpāya(ñ)jaha ...soñ kun 'dre...</i> BS16	North green	Maitreya Byams pa Sarvāpāyajaha Nan soñ kun 'dren Gandhahastin sPos kyi glañ po Amoghadarśin Don yod grub pa

The iconography of the individual images also varies. While in some cases the depiction of the respective deity in Tabo conforms to the descriptions published by Mallmann, in other cases they are so

¹⁴⁹ SKORUPSKI 1983: 312.

divergent that it is even possible that the Tabo image has been wrongly identified. However, despite these difficulties it is still possible to suggest the identification of some of the images for which the captions have been lost (e.g. BS8).

Ambulatory, east wall, south corner

BS1 blue; stem of something in the right hand; left hand not preserved.

No panels preserved.

Ambulatory, south wall

BS2 Gagaṇagañja (Nam mkha' mdzod): blue; something that looks like a small prayerwheel held in front of the body with the right hand¹⁵⁰; left in *varadamudrā* in front of the left knee.

Left panel (i.e. above the left shoulder of the Bodhisattva).¹⁵¹

S JP1984 378

(108) *de.byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.nam.ka.*

mdzod./ /

Right panel empty.

BS3 Vajragarbha: dark blue; holding a *vajra* in the right hand; left with fist or *abhayamudrā* above the knee.

Left panel:

S JP1984 380

(109) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.*

rdo.rje.sñiñ.po./ /

Right panel empty.

BS4 blue; holds a cloth(?) with a cellular pattern¹⁵² with both hands.

¹⁵⁰ The 'prayerwheel' could be the *dharmagañja*, 'treasury of the *dharmā*', the common attribute of Gagaṇagañja (cf. MALLMANN 1986: 164–5).

¹⁵¹ Another empty panel is painted right below this one!

¹⁵² It could be made of jewels, or it could be an armour (*vajra*-armour, but it has no *vajra*-ends). From the iconography this Bodhisattva can neither be identified with Amitaprabha nor with Jālinīprabha, which are the options remaining according to the

Panels on both sides lost.

BS5 Bhadrāpāla (bZaṅ skyoṅ): white; decorated vessel with spout in the right hand; left in *varadamudrā* in front of the knee.¹⁵³

Left panel:

s JP1984 384

(110) [byaṅ chub] *sems.dpa'.bzāṅs.skyoṅ./*

Right panel empty.

BS6 Candraprabhakumārābhūta: white; right hand with crescent on a lotus¹⁵⁴; left fist on thigh.

Left panel: Pl. 18,a

s JP1984 202, 386

(111) *byaṅ.chub.sems*¹⁵⁵.*dpa'.zla.'od.gzo.nur.gyurd.*

pa./

Right panel empty.

BS7 Samantabhadra: white; right arm held at his side with a long white twig with jewelled ends, a *ratnamañjari*, 'bouquet of jewels',¹⁵⁶ in the right hand; left hand in *varadamudrā* in front of the knee (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 169). ()

Left panel:¹⁵⁷ Pl. 18,b

s JP1984 205, 388

(112) *byaṅ.chub* *sems.dpa'.* / *kun.tu.*

bzaṅ.po [./] // //

comparison to the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana*-root *maṇḍala* (Table 1).

¹⁵³ Just an example where it appears possible that the captions identify the wrong Bodhisattva: Bhadrāpāla's usual attribute would be the jewel (MALLMANN 1986: 116; BHATTACHARYYA 1968: 96–7), while the iconography of the depicted Bodhisattva rather would agree with the description of Amitaprabha/Amṛtaprabha, who is holding a vessel with *amṛta* (MALLMANN 1986: 96–7; BHATTACHARYYA 1968: 90–1). However, also the iconography of the different Bodhisattvas is not always as consistent in the textual sources as these two examples, thus it has to be presumed that the depiction at Tabo represents just another form of the respective Bodhisattvas.

¹⁵⁴ Both larger than at MBS2 (cf. below).

¹⁵⁵ Additional 'greṅ hu or gi gu on the sa!

¹⁵⁶ Cf. MALLMANN 1986: 133.

¹⁵⁷ In addition *byaṅ ch* is written in smaller and more cursive handwriting at the top left corner of the panel!

Right panel empty.

BS8 [Śūraṅgama, dPa' bar 'gro ba]: white; right hand with sword in front of breast; left fist on thigh.¹⁵⁸

Left panel:

s JP1984 390

(113) *byañ.chub.sems.*¹⁵⁹

Right panel empty.

Ambulatory, north wall

BS9 not preserved.

BS10 Sarvaśokatamonirghātanamati (usually Nan soñ kun 'joms): red; sword held in front of breast; left fist on thigh.¹⁶⁰

Left panel.

s JP1984 244, 394

(114) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.mya.nan.kun.*

'joms.// // //

Right panel empty.

BS11 Pratibhānakūṭa (sPobs pa brtsegs po): red; both hands in a fist side by side in front of breast (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 174).

Left panel:

s JP1984 248, 397

(115) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.spyobs.pa.*

brtsegs.pa

Right panel empty.

¹⁵⁸ This is the only Bodhisattva of the South for which the name has been lost. As his iconography conforms well to Śūraṅgama (Suraṅgama), the fourth Bodhisattva in the comparable group from the *Durgatipariśodhana*, this identification is tentatively suggested.

¹⁵⁹ After this three syllables the panel is empty!

¹⁶⁰ Sarvaśokatamonirghātanamati usually holds a stick or club (*daṇḍa*) (MALLMANN 1986: 342–3).

BS12 Akṣayamati (Blo gros mi bzad pa): red; holds a book; left fist on thigh.

Left panel:

s JP1984 253, 366

(116) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.blo.gros.*
myi.zad.pa

Right panel empty.

BS13 Maitreya: green; holding a flask in the right hand in front of the knee; left fist on thigh.

Left panel:

s JP1984 369

(117) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.byams.pa.// //*

Right panel empty.

BS14 Gandhahastin: (dark) green; conch of perfume (*gandha-śāṅkha*)¹⁶¹ in the right hand; left fist on thigh.

Left panel: **Pl. 18,c**

s JP1984 262, 372

(118) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.spos.kyi*
glañ.po.// // // //

Right panel empty.

BS15 Sarvāpāyajaha (Ñan soñ kun 'dren): dark green; holds a kind of stick (probably with a round point) in the right hand; left fist on thigh.

Left panel:¹⁶²

s JP1984 375

(119) *byañ.chub.sem[s dpa'] ? ?*
soñ.kun.'dre ?

Right panel empty.

¹⁶¹ MALLMANN 1986: 170, n.5.

¹⁶² Right side of the panel lost.

Ambulatory, east wall, north corner

BS16: green; probably an object or ornament with a *viśvavajra* as attribute in the right hand; left fist on thigh.

Remains of left panel empty; no right panel.

The Sixteen Mahābodhisattvas

The 16 Mahābodhisattvas represented in Tabo are not known from elsewhere and their names are partly unusual, too (cf. Table 2).

Ambulatory, east wall, south corner

MBS1: blue; *vitarkamudrā*; left fist on the thigh (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 180).

No panels preserved.

Ambulatory, south wall

MBS2: blue; holds a tiny lotus with a tiny crescent on it in the right hand; left fist on the thigh (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 163, 164).¹⁶³

Left panel: Pl. 19,a

s JP1984 379

(120) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.sems.dpa'.chen.*

po.kun.tu.snañ.ba.// // //

Right panel empty.

MBS3: blue; something like a flaming jewel (tripartite yellow centre with red fringes around) in the right hand; left hand rests with palm on thigh (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 165).¹⁶⁴

Left panel:

s JP1984 381

(121) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.sems.d[pa]'.chen.po.dri.ma.myed.pa.//*

chen.po.dri.ma.myed.pa.//

Right panel empty.

¹⁶³ Possibly *Samantāvabhāsa, MVy 6305.

¹⁶⁴ Possibly *Vimala.

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

Table 2: The 16 Mahābodhisattvas.

Direction Colours	The Mahābodhisattvas as mentioned in the Tabo captions	Attributes and <i>mudrās</i>
East blue	MBS1 lost	<i>vitarkamudrā</i> left fist on thigh
	MBS2 <i>kun tu snan ba</i>	lotus with crescent on it in the right hand; left fist on thigh
	MBS3 <i>dri ma myed pa</i>	flaming jewel in the right hand left hand rests palm open on thigh
	MBS4 <i>rgya mtsho'i blo gros</i>	right hand in front of breast ¹⁶⁵ left fist on thigh
South white	MBS5 <i>kun tu myed pa</i>	right arm raised at side; ¹⁶⁵ left palm on thigh, fingers towards the knee
	MBS6 <i>blo gros mtha' yas</i>	<i>vitarkamudrā</i> left fist on thigh
	MBS7 <i>thogs pa myed pa</i>	right hand in front of the knee with a small twig or bud; left palm on thigh, two middle fingers stretched
	MBS8 <i>tshon dpon</i>	object with a round bottom, flat top and balls/pearls along the edge left fist on thigh
West red	MBS9 lost	not preserved
	MBS10 <i>śes</i>	right hand in front of breast left hand on thigh
	MBS11 <i>glañ po śugs ldan</i>	<i>dhyānamudrā</i>
	MBS12 <i>dpa' bas byin</i>	holding small bunch of buds in front of the knee right; animal skin held near the thigh with left hand
North green	MBS13 <i>stobs po che</i>	holding diamond or crystal left fist on thigh
	MBS14 <i>... .. pa'i dpal //</i>	right hand at side with a trilobate leaf; left palm on thigh, fingers towards the knee
	MBS15 <i>ye śes 'od gzer</i>	right holding a coniferous twig in front of knee left fist above the thigh
	MBS16 lost	meditation

¹⁶⁵ Attribute not preserved.

MBS4 Sāgaramati: blue; right hand in front of breast, small attribute not preserved; left fist on thigh.

Left panel: **Pl. 19,b**

s JP1984 383

(122) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'*
sems.dp¹⁶⁶a'.chen.po.rgya
mtsho'i.blo.gros.//

Right panel empty.

MBS5: white; right arm raised at side, (large?) attribute not preserved; left palm on thigh, fingers towards the knee.

Left panel:

s JP1984 385

(123) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'*
chen.po.kun.tu.myed.pa./ |

Right panel empty.

MBS6: white; *vitarkamudrā*; left fist on thigh (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 166).¹⁶⁷

Left panel:

s JP1984 387

(124) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'*
chen.po.blo.gros.mtha'.yas./

Right panel empty.

MBS7: white; right arm in front of the knee with a small pearled twig or bud in the pendent hand; left palm on thigh, two middle fingers outstretched.¹⁶⁸

Left panel:

s JP1984 389

(125) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'*
chen.po.thogs.pa.myed.pa.// //

¹⁶⁶ Actually an 'a *chuñ* corrected to a *pa*.

¹⁶⁷ Possibly *Amitabuddhi.

¹⁶⁸ *Asaṅga?

Right panel empty.

MBS8: white; holds an object with a round bottom and a flat top with balls/pearls along the edge in the right hand; left fist on thigh (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 170, 171).¹⁶⁹

Left panel:

s JP1984 391

(126) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.chen.*

po.tshon.dpon.// //

Right panel empty.

Ambulatory, north wall

MBS9: not preserved.

MBS10: red; right hand in front of breast; left hand on thigh.

Left panel:

s JP1984 395¹⁷⁰

**// // ye.dha.rma*¹⁷¹

Right panel:

s JP1984 396¹⁷²

(127) *[byañ chub] sems.dpa'.sems.dpa'.chen.po.śes.*

? ? // //

MBS11: red; *dhyānamudrā*.

Left panel:

s JP1984 364

**/ / ye.dha.rma (three lines)*

Right panel:

s JP1984 365

(128) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.sems.dpa'.*

chen.po.glañ.po.śugs.ldan.// //

¹⁶⁹ *Śreṣṭhin?

¹⁷⁰ Before restoration.

¹⁷¹ Right half of the panel not preserved.

¹⁷² Before restoration.

MBS12: red; holding a bud or a small bunch of buds in front of the knee with the right hand, and an animal skin (actually looking like a fox) near the thigh in the left hand (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 172, 173).¹⁷³

Left panel: **Pl. 19,c**

s JP1984 367

ye.dha.rma.he.tu.pra.bha.ba.he.tun.te.

śan.ta.tha.ga.to.hya.bha.dad.te.śan.tsa.

yo.ni.ro.dha.e.bam.bha.ti.ma.ha.śra.ma.ṇa.

Right panel:

s JP1984 368

(129) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.[che]n.[p]o.dpa'.bas*

byin.// // //

MBS13: green; holding a diamond (*vajra*) or crystal in the right hand; left fist on thigh (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 160, 175–77).¹⁷⁴

Left panel:

s JP1984 370

ye.dha.rma.he.tu.pra.bha.ba.he.tu na.te

śan.ta.tha.ga.to.hya.bha.dad.te.śan.tsa.

yo.ni.ro.dha.e.bam.bha.ti.ma.ha.śra.ma.ṇa./

Right panel:

s JP1984 371

(130) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.sems.dpa'.*

chen.po.stobs.po.che.// // //

MBS14: green; right hand at side with a trilobate leaf (coloured inside and fringes around); left palm on thigh, fingers towards the knee.

Left panel:

s JP1984 373

ye.dha.rma (two lines and a third line of śad only)

¹⁷³ Possibly *Śūradatta.

¹⁷⁴ Possibly *Mahābala.

Right panel:

s JP1984 374

(131) *byañ.chub.se[ms dpa' sem]s.*

dpa'.chen.[po] d = b/s pa'i dpal. | |

MBS15 Jñānaprabha: green; right hand holding a coniferous twig in front of knee; left fist above the thigh (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 178, 179).

Left panel:

s JP1984 376

ye.dha.rma

Right panel:

s JP1984 377

(132) *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.sems.dpa'*

chen.po.ye.śeś.'od.gzer. | |

Ambulatory, east wall, north corner

MBS16: dark green; meditation.

No panels preserved.

THE EIGHT BUDDHAS

On the west wall of the Ambulatory a group of eight Buddhas is depicted on two levels. The group consists of the Seven Buddhas of the Past, including Śākyamuni,¹⁷⁵ and the Buddha of the Future, Maitreya. Again the arrangement has to be read along the horizontal levels in the direction of *pradakṣiṇā*. The first Buddha of each row in the south-west corner is lost because of repainting. Each of the Buddhas is seated under a different tree. In the inscriptions the Buddhas are referred to with the epithets *tathāgata* (*de bzin gśegs pa*), *arhat* (*dgra bcom pa*) and *samyaksambuddha* (*yañ dag par rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas*).

¹⁷⁵ This group is called the 'Seven Heroic Buddhas' (*sañs rgyas dpa' bo bdun*) (Tshig mdzod, 2916; WADDELL 1895: 345, n.2; according to BIT pp. 26 and 46 Tāranātha also called them this way in his *Yi dam rgya mtsho'i sgrub thabs rin chen 'byuñ gnas kyi lhan thabs*, § 150).

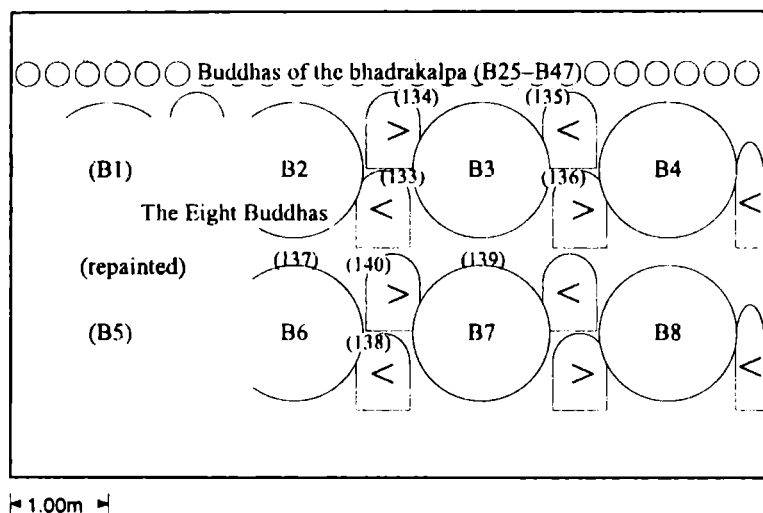


Fig. 18: Ambulatory west wall; the Eight Buddhas

The Buddhas are flanked by their respective most eminent disciples. While in the lower register the Buddhas are identified on the dividing line above their heads, the disciples have proper captions. To the proper right of the Buddha the disciple (*śiṣya*, *slob ma*) foremost among the sages (*prajñāvatām*

agryah, *śes rab can gyi mchog*) is usually placed, and to his left the disciple foremost among the ones possessing magical powers (*rddhi-matām agryah*, *rdzu 'phul gyi mchog*).

The representation of the eight Buddhas does not conform with the depictions of the same Buddhas found in later periods.¹⁷⁶

B1 [Vipaśyin, rNam par gzigs] is lost.

B2 [Śikhin, gTsub tor can]: yellow *saṃghāṭi* with folds, both hands in front of the breast with the palms towards each other, the middle fingers are bent and the outer ones straight.

The disciple Saṃbhava to the proper left of the Buddha:

(133) *slob.ma.rdzu. 'phrul.gyi.mchog. 'phags.pa.*

'byuñ.ba. // // //

¹⁷⁶ It seems that later Tibetan depictions of this group of Buddhas are not so consistent as it appears in some publications (cf. e.g. WADDELL 1895: 346; BIT 114–119, 746–752; GORDON 1978: 53–4; SCHUMANN 1986: 81–87).

The names of the seven Buddhas are consistent throughout Buddhist literature, regardless of the schools (Höbögirin III, 195–7). Thus the Buddha names, and most of the names of their disciples at Tabo do conform even with such remote texts as the *Mahāvadānasūtra* (ed. WALDSCHMIDT 1953).

B3 [Viśvabhū/Viśvabhuj, Thams cad skyob/Kun skyobs]: patchworked yellow *samghāṭi*, *dhyānamudrā*.

The disciple Śroṇa (Gro bzin skyes) to the proper right of the Buddha:

(134) *slob.ma.śes.can.gyi.mchog.'phags.pa.*
gro.zin.skyes.// //

The disciple Uttara to the proper left of the Buddha:

(135) *slob.ma.rdzu.'phrul.gyi.mchog.'phags.*
pa.bla.ma.// //

B4 [Krakucchanda, 'Khor ba 'jig¹⁷⁷]: blue and red *samghāṭi* with folds, *bhūmisparśamudrā* (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 186).

The disciple to the proper right of the Buddha:¹⁷⁸

(136) *slob.ma.śes.rab.can.gyi.mchog.'phags.*
pa.yaṅ.dag.'='^xo'.// //

The second disciple in the corner to the proper left of the Buddha is depicted standing, his right arm pendent, the thumb and index joined as in *vitarkamudrā*. There is no caption.

B5 [Kanakamuni, gSer thub] is lost.

B6 [Kāśyapa, 'Od sruṅ]: blue *samghāṭi* with folds, both hands as in *dhyānamudrā* on the lap, but a gap is left between their palms, which are directed towards each other. Most probably this is the *mudrā* of the Buddha's alms bowl (*buddhapātramudrā*).¹⁷⁹

On the dividing line above this Buddha is written:

(137) *de.bzin.gśegs.pa.dgra.bcom.ba.yaṅ.dag.par.≠gs*

¹⁷⁷ Hōbōgirin III, 196: Log pa daṅ sel.

¹⁷⁸ The *Mahāvadānasūtra* names Saṃjīva and Vidura as the most eminent disciples of Krakucchanda, both names appear not to conform with the one fragmentarily preserved at Tabo.

¹⁷⁹ SAUNDERS 1985: 113. Today the hands of the Buddha are certainly somewhat distorted by restoration and repainting.

The disciple to the proper left of the Buddha (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 189):¹⁸⁰ S CL91 51,18

- (138) *slob.ma.rdzu. 'phrul.can.gyi.*
mchog. 'phags.pa.rkañ.gñis.
spyod. // //

B7 Śākyamuni: red *saṃghāṭi*, *dharmacakrapravartanamudrā*.

On the dividing line above the Buddha is written:

- (139) *de.bzin.gśegs.pa.dgra.mcom.ba.yaṅ.dag.par.rdzogs.pa'i.*
saṅs.rgyas. \ śag.kya.thub.pa

His disciple Maudgalyāyana to the proper right of the Buddha:¹⁸¹

- (140) *slob.ma.rdzu. 'phul.gyi.mchog. 'phags.*
pa.mye. 'u. 'gal.gyi.bu.// //

His disciple Śāriputra to the proper left of the Buddha:

- (141) *slob.ma.śes.rab.can.gyi.* S CL94 67,14, 67,15
mchog. 'phags.pa.śa.ri'i
bu.// //

B8 Jina Maitreya: green *saṃghāṭi* with folds, performing a variant of the *dharmacakramudrā* and holding a *mālā* (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 181, 182).

On the dividing line above the Buddha it is written:

- (142) *de.bzin.gśegs.pa.dgra'.bcom.ba.yaṅ.dag.par.rdzogs.pa'i.*
saṅs.rgyas.rgyal.pa.byams.pa.//

The standing monk to his proper left holds a flask in the pendent hand.

¹⁸⁰ The *Mahāvadānasūtra* names Tiṣya or Bharadvāja as the most eminent disciples of Krakucchanda, both names do not conform with the name preserved at Tabo.

¹⁸¹ The position of Śākyamuni's disciples is reversed, i.e. the disciple foremost among the ones possessing magical powers is placed to the proper right of the Buddha.

THE BUDDHAS OF THE BHADRAKALPA

On the outer and inner walls of the Ambulatory the Buddhas of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* are found. At least the names of the first 200 of the Buddhas mentioned in the *sūtra* have been written on the walls of the Ambulatory. The beginning of the list on the outer wall in the south-east corner is marked by a narrative scene. It shows the kneeling Bodhisattva Pramuditarāja (mChog dga' rgyal po), the interlocutor of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, questioning the Buddha Śākyamuni (of which only the halo and a part of the throne are preserved). Behind Pramuditarāja some of the closest disciples of Śākyamuni are depicted. Each figure of the scene has been identified by a caption.

Beginning in this corner, the names are arranged in the direction of *pradakṣiṇā* along the south, west, and north sides of the outer wall of the Ambulatory. The succession is then interrupted in the north part of the east wall, where the row of Buddhas is continued in a different style of painting covering the middle portion of the east wall. In this part the captions have never been filled in, although, considering the gap of eleven names between the last Buddha mentioned here and the Buddha mentioned on the inner west wall of the Ambulatory, where the list was continued, it was originally planned that they would be filled in as well.¹⁸²

The sequence was then continued only on the inner west and north walls of the Ambulatory. There the names are written on the yellow dividing line above the respective Buddha. The list of names continues in the top row of Buddhas, in the south corner of the west wall, and proceeds on the north wall. In this way the names in the first three rows were filled in. While the second row also proceeds on the north wall, the third row was only identified on the west wall. Thus on the inner walls of the Ambulatory, too, the names were arranged in the direction of *pradakṣiṇā*, but now against the direction of writing (i.e. from left to right).

The names of the Thousand Buddhas were read on different occasions either from some distance standing on a ladder or from the scaffolding erected by the A.S.I. for restoration work. In the last instance the readings are more reliable and detailed. Usually there was only one occasion to read them. Therefore most of the readings are

¹⁸² It is also possible that the row of Buddhas was continued here originally and the captions filled in, but that the section was subsequently repainted only a relatively short period later.

less reliable than almost all of the previous ones. The *tsheg* have not been recorded for the Buddhas' names.

The presentation of the captions has been arranged in the order they appear in the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, and at least for every fifth Buddha the number of the Buddha is given.¹⁸³ It appears that the captions also have been filled in this order.

Ambulatory, outer walls

Ambulatory, east wall, south side

The row of the Buddhas of the *bhadrakalpa* on the upper edge of the wall begins with a narrative scene. A kneeling red BS, with his hands raised in *añjalimudrā*, is depicted in 2/3 profile. He is turned towards a Buddha on a lion throne, of which only the edge of the mandorla and a lion of the throne are preserved. Directly behind the Bodhisattva a group of monks is depicted. To the right above the BS there is a panel containing two captions separated by a red line (left panel). To the right of this panel, between the halos of the Bodhisattva and the Buddha, is a second panel (right panel; Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 161).¹⁸⁴

Left panel:

- (143) *phags.pa. byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.mchog.*
rab.'byord. tu.dga'.ba'i.rgyal.pos./ bcom.
 // // ¹⁸⁵ *ldan.'das.la.žu.ba.//* // ¹⁸⁶

Right panel:

- (144) **/ |bcom.ldan.'das.śag.kya.thub.*
[pa].mñan.yod.na.bzugs.te./ |dge.
slon.'bum.dañ.byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.
*bye.ba.phrag.brgyad.bcu.dañ.thabs.gcig.//*¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ The number refers to the list of the Buddhas published as an appendix to the English translation of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra: The Fortunate Aeon*, Vol. IV. The names have been compared with this list and the list published in WELLER 1928.

¹⁸⁴ The whole scene is documented in s CL91 45,11.

¹⁸⁵ "The noble *Subhūti*."

¹⁸⁶ "The Bodhisattva *Pramuditarāja* asks the *Bhagavat*."

In addition there were other captions around the group of monks, of which hardly anything is legible today. It seems that they all began with 'phags pa. In the lower right corner one name is legible:

(145) ... pa. 'od.srun

// //¹⁸⁸

The captions mentioning the Bodhisattva Pramuditarāja and Śākyamuni clearly refer to the beginning of the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, while the monks named in the captions are not named in the *sūtra*. The monks depicted are the most eminent disciples of Buddha Śākyamuni. Beside the names Subhūti and (Mahā-) Kāśyapa preserved, several others of the monks, presumably Śāriputra, Ānanda, Maudgalyāyana and others,¹⁸⁹ were once identified by captions.

Ambulatory, south wall

After this initial scene the rows of Buddhas commence on the south wall.¹⁹⁰ On the outer wall of the Ambulatory the captions are placed on separate panels between the Buddhas (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 162). Judging from the beginning of this series, the caption above the proper right shoulder of a Buddha refers to this image. However, the iconographical details given below (colour and *mudrā* for the first 60 Buddhas, only colour for the rest) are actually meaningless, as they certainly do not reflect a particular iconography for the Buddhas mentioned, but are stereotype repetitions independent of the particular Buddha mentioned in the caption. On the inner walls of the Ambulatory all the Buddhas are depicted with *dhyānamudrā*. The iconographical details only have been kept as proof of this fact and as a reference for identifying the respective captions on the spot.

¹⁸⁷ "The Bhagavat Śākyamuni is residing in [the city of] Śrāvastī; together with one hundred thousand monks and eight hundred million Bodhisattvas."

¹⁸⁸ "The noble (Mahā-) Kāśyapa."

¹⁸⁹ It is quite likely that here the Ten Great Disciples, a group which mainly became popular in Central Asia and China (cf. LAMOTTE 1988: 692), were intended. This group also appears in Mahāyāna literature (e.g. the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*, transl. LAMOTTE 1975: 258–59). Cf. also the *bhadrakalpika* pantheon in BIT 1022–31, also including ten eminent disciples, but Subhūti (Rab 'byor) is not among them.

¹⁹⁰ Read in 1991.

Buddha: red, meditation, sitting under a tree

(B6)¹⁹¹ *de bzin gsegs pa \ sen ge /*
blue, *bodhyaṅgīmudrā*

(B7) *de bzin gsegs pa rab \ gsal //*
red, meditation

(B8) *de bzin gsegs pa thub pa //*
white, both hands, the fingers as in *tarjanīmudrā*, before breast; written
very small

(B9) *de bzin gsegs pa ma rtag¹⁹²*
yellow, meditation

(B10) *de bzin gsegs pa mye rtog gñis pa //*
green, *bhūmisparśamudrā* or *varadamudrā*

(B11) *de bzin gsegs pa spyān \ legs // // //*
red, meditation

(B12) Caption illegible.
green, *mudrā* beside the body

(B13) *de bzin gsegs pa lag cen¹⁹³ //*
yellow, meditation

(B14) *de bzin gsegs pa ... \ ... can //*¹⁹⁴
white, like *vitarkamudrā* but palm turned upwards

¹⁹¹ That no. 6 is already mentioned here can be easily explained. The Tathāgata Siṃha is actually the second Buddha after Śākyamuni (only Maitreya between them), while the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* actually commences with the last three predecessors of Śākyamuni (Krakucchanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa). As the introductory scene already depicts Śākyamuni, the three predecessors have been left out. The previous image, the red Buddha exceptionally depicted under a tree, is Maitreya.

¹⁹² This should presumably be *m[y]e rtog* for *Me tog*.

¹⁹³ *cen* or *can* for *chen*.

¹⁹⁴ For *sTobs chen*.

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

(B15) *[de bzin gśegs pa] ... rl de ?¹⁹⁵*
red, meditation

(B16) *de bzin gśegs pa rtsi span //¹⁹⁶*
green, *mudrā* in front of breast

(B17) Caption not preserved.
red, meditation

(B18) *de bzin gśegs pa 'od chen \ ? po //*
blue, *varadamudrā*

(B19) *de bzin gśegs pa grol ba'i \ phuñ po /*
yellow, meditation

(B20) *de bzin gśegs pa \ ... mdzad //¹⁹⁷*
¹⁹⁸white, kind of *tarjanīmudrā* at side

(B21) s CL94 91,2, 91,3
de bzin gśegs pa // \ ñi ma'i sñiñ po // //
red, *dhyānamudrā* (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 162)

(B22) s CL94 90,35, 91,1, 91,2
de bzin gśegs pa zla ba // \ // // // //
green, *abhayamudrā* at side (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 162)

(B23) s CL94 90,36, 91,1
de bzin gbzin gśegs pa 'od \ 'phro // // //
red, *dhyānamudrā*

(B24) Caption not preserved.

¹⁹⁵ This should be rGyu skar rgyal po.

¹⁹⁶ rTsi sman.

¹⁹⁷ rNam par snañ mdzad.

¹⁹⁸ From here until lHa'i dpal (no. B37) the names were also read in 1994 (south-west corner).

*Ambulatory, west wall*¹⁹⁹

First Buddha painted in the corner

(B25) *de bzin gsegs pa \ ≠a ñan ... pa //*²⁰⁰

Of the following eight Buddhas only some fragments of the names, which have not been recorded, are preserved!

orange, *dhyānamudrā*

(B34) s CL91 58,17, 58,18

de bzin gsegs pa des pa \ // // //

green, *vitarkamudrā* turned upward

(B35) s CL91 58,17, 58,18

de bzin gsegs pa mdzod \ spu // // //

red, *dhyānamudrā*

(B36) *de bzin gsegs pa brtan ldan / \ // // //*

blue, hands in the lap

(B37) *de bzin gsegs ... lha'i \ dpal // // //*

yellow, *dhyānamudrā*

(B38) *de bzin gsegs pa gdul dka' //*

white, hands at side

(B39) *de bzin gsegs pa yon \ tan ≠ ≠ mtsom //*²⁰¹

red, *dhyānamudrā*

(B40) *de bzin gsegs pa sgrags can //*²⁰²

green, *varadamudrā*

¹⁹⁹ Read in 1991.

²⁰⁰ Mya ñan med pa.

²⁰¹ For Yon tan rgyal mtshan.

²⁰² For sGra gcan!

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

- (B41) *de bzin gsegs pa tshogs can //*
red, *dhyānamudrā*
- (B42) *de bzin gsegs pa tshaṅs pa'i \ dbyaṅs //*
blue, *abhayamudrā* at side
- (B43) *[de bzin gsegs pa] ... rtan //*²⁰³
yellow, *dhyānamudrā*
- (B44) *de bzin gsegs pa myi 'gyis²⁰⁴ pa //*
white, *bhūmisparśamudrā*
- (B45) *de bzin gsegs pa 'od mdzad //*
red-green, *dhyānamudrā*
- (B46) *de bzin gsegs pa ...*
green, *dharmacakramudrā*
- (B47) *de bzin gsegs pa rdo rje //*
red, *dhyānamudrā*

*Ambulatory, north wall*²⁰⁵

Three Buddhas and their captions lost.
red, *dhyānamudrā*

- (B52) *de bzin gsegs pa stobs sde \ // // //*
green, *varadamudrā*
- (B53) Caption lost.
red, *dhyānamudrā*

²⁰³ For Tshig(s) brtan or Tshogs brtan.

²⁰⁴ Presumably misread for Mi 'gyiṅ pa.

²⁰⁵ Read in 1991.

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- (B54) *de bzin gsegs pa \ ye ses 'gyes* ²⁰⁶
blue
- (B55) *de bzin gsegs pa // // \ ? gzi cen // //*
yellow, *dhyānamudrā*
- (B56) *de bzin gsegs pa // // \ tshañs pa //*
white, *bhūmisparśamudrā*
- (B57) *de bzin gsegs pa \ 'od dpag myed //*
red, *dhyānamudrā*
- (B58) *de bzin gsegs pa \ klu sbyin //*
green, hands at side
- (B59) *de bzin gsegs pa ≠ ≠ ≠ ≠²⁰⁷ \ gsegs pa //*
red, *dhyānamudrā*
- (B60) *de bzin gsegs pa ...?... mthoñ ba //* ²⁰⁸
blue, *abhayamudrā* at the side of the body
- (B61) *de bzin gsegs pa brtson 'grus //*
yellow, *dhyānamudrā*
- (B62) *de bzin gsegs pa bzañ skyoñ //*
white, *buddhapātramudrā* ²⁰⁹
- (B63) *de bzin gsegs pa dga' p̄o ...?*
repainted, red, *dhyānamudrā*
- (B64) *de bzin gsegs pa 'chi myed //*
blue, *varadamudrā*

²⁰⁶ WELLER has *dgyes!* In another script *la phyag 'tshal* is added!

²⁰⁷ From scarce fragments I noted *śon th r* . However, it should be *brtan par*.

²⁰⁸ For Don yod *mthoñ ba*.

²⁰⁹ Cf. above p. 161.

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

The captions of three more Buddhas are lost. The last Buddha is painted around the corner.

Ambulatory, east wall, north side

white, hands in front of breast

(B69) Caption illegible.

red-green²¹⁰

(B70)

s CL91 21,7

de bzin gśegs pa dgyes par \ gśegs pa //

The following Buddhas depicted on this wall are painted in a different style with hard outlines and have not been named. They are apparently later than the Buddhas painted on the other walls of the Ambulatory.

Ambulatory, inner walls (outer walls of the Cella)

The names of the Thousand Buddhas continue in the western corridor of the Ambulatory on the inner wall. In the top two rows the names are continued on the north wall. On the south and east walls there are no names. On the inner walls of the Ambulatory the Buddhas have their captions on the dividing line directly above the respective images. Each caption is thus of one line only. All the Buddhas on the inside walls of the Ambulatory are depicted in *dhyānamudrā*.

West wall, first row²¹¹

In the top row the Buddhas are also separated by vertical lines, a feature which was given up in the lower rows. Apparently it copies the way the Buddhas were represented in the founding period as evidenced by some fragments preserved on the same walls underneath the present layer.

orange, name not preserved.

²¹⁰ Below this image there is an inscription in *dbu med*, probably belonging to the green BS below: ... ? / *gyon dkur 'dzog pa* / – “heap together on the left side” ??

²¹¹ Read in 1991.

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- (B82)²¹² green: *de bzin gsegs pa drag sug_s can* ²¹³ /
- (B83) red: *de bzin gsegs pa señ ge spags*²¹⁴ /
- (B84) blue: *de bzin gsegs pa 'o_dn pa* ²¹⁵ /
- (B85) yellow: *de bzin gsegs pa rnam par rgyal ba* /
- (B86) white: *de bzin gsegs pa ses rab rtsegs*²¹⁶ /
- (B87) yellow-orange: *de bzin gsegs pa ... ? ras* ²¹⁷ /
- (B88) green: *de bzin gsegs pa blo bros*²¹⁸ /
- (B89) red: *de bzin gsegs pa yan lag skyes* /
- (B90) blue: *de bzin gsegs pa blo mtha' yas* /
- (B91) orange: *de bzin gsegs pa gzugs bzañ* /
- (B92) white: *de bzin gsegs pa mkhyen ldan* /
- (B93) orange: *de bzin gsegs pa 'od gze* ²¹⁹ /
- (B94) green: *de bzin gsegs pa rtul sug_s brtan* ²²⁰ /
- (B95) red: *de bzin gsegs pa bkra sis* /

s CL91 58,16

²¹² From now on WELLER's numbering is one behind, however, most of the Tibetan versions he used agree with the numbering used here!

²¹³ For Drag sul can.

²¹⁴ For stabs or stobs.

²¹⁵ For lJon pa.

²¹⁶ Shes rab brtsegs.

²¹⁷ For Legs gnas.

²¹⁸ Probably misread for gros.

²¹⁹ For 'Od zer.

²²⁰ brTul žugs brtan.

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

- (B96) s CL91 58,16
blue: *de bzin gśegs pā'ī²²¹ / bden pa tog /*
- (B97) (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 155)s CL91 58,20, CL94 90,32, 90,33, 90,34
orange: *de bzin de gśegs pa pad ma /*
- (B98) s CL91 58,20, CL94 90,32, 90,33, 90,34
white: *de bzin gśegs pa sred myed kyi bu /*
- (B99) lost.
- (B100) green: *ta thā ga ta 'byuñ²²² g.ye śes 'hvun gnas /*
- (B101) lost.
- North wall, first row²²³*
- (B102) blue: *de bzin gśegs pa ? s tshañs pa'i byin /*
- (B103) yellow: *de bzin gśegs pa rin cen 'byuñ gnas /*
- (B104–107) illegible.
- (B108) blue: *de bzin gśegs pa ? rtsegs pa ²²⁴*
- (B109) yellow: *de bzin gśegs pa rdzo ... ²²⁵*
- (B110) white: *de bzin gśegs pa phan bar bzed pa /*
- (B111) yellow: *de bzin gśegs pa rnam par rol ba /*
- (B112) blue: *de bzin gśegs pa mun pan bral ba ²²⁶*
- (B113) red: *de bzin gśegs pa sgra gcan lha ≠ /*

²²¹ Written ལྷ་

²²² Written in red!

²²³ Read 1991.

²²⁴ sPobs pa brtsegs pa.

²²⁵ For rDo rje rgyal mtshan.

²²⁶ Mun pa dañ bral ba.

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(B114) green: *de bzin gsegs pa ri g ... tshan* ^{f227}

Three more illegible!

*West wall, second row*²²⁸

Now the Buddhas are not separated anymore by a vertical line.

(B134) white: *de bzin gsegs pa rdzogs pa /*

(B135) red: name lost.

(B136) green: name lost.

(B137) red: *de bzin gsegs pa bsgon*²²⁹ *ma chen po /*

(B138) blue: *[de bzin gsegs pa] ... rten 'od* ^{f230}

(B139) orange-yellow: *de bzin gsegs pa spos dri zim pa /*

(B140) white: *de bzin gsegs pa yon tan mchog mdzin /*

(B141) red-green: *de bzin gsegs pa tshun ≠ ≠ ≠ par prul pa* ^{f231}

(B142) green: *de bzin gsegs pa señ ge'i 'gram pa /*

(B143) orange: *de bzin gsegs pa rin cen grags pa /*

(B144) blue: ²³²*de bzin gsegs pa skyon rab ži ba /*

²²⁷ For Ri bo'i rgyal mtshan.

²²⁸ Read in 1991. The gap here, and from the second to the third row, is larger than could be accounted for on the basis of the missing images alone. Therefore, one has to presume that the names continue in a place which has escaped my attention.

²²⁹ Probably misread for *bsgron*.

²³⁰ For 'Jig rten 'od.

²³¹ For Mun dañ bral pa.

²³² In WELLER's list, which follows the Manchurian, Mongolian and Sanskrit versions, the following twelve names have the numbers 179 to 190. Thus, the succession of Buddhas in these versions is considerably different from the Tibetan version, which is represented at Tabo.

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

- (B145) orange: *de bzin gsegs pa bdun*²³³ *rtsi 'chan /*
- (B146) white: *de bzin gsegs pa myi'i zla ba /*
- (B147) orange: *de bzin gsegs pa sin tu gzigs pa /*
- (B148) s CL91 58,16
green: *de bzin gsegs pa rab tu brgyand pa /*
- (B149) s CL91 58,16
orange: *de bzin gsegs pa nor bu'i 'od /*
- (B150) s CL91 58,20, CL94 90,32 90,33, 90,34
blue: *de bzin gsegs pa ri bo g ...*²³⁴
- (B151) s CL91 58,20, CL94 90,32 90,33, 90,34
orange: *de bzin gsegs pa chos kyi 'byuñ gnas /*
- (B152) image lost: *[de bzin gsegs pa] na pa che spyin*²³⁵
- (B153) orange: *de bzin gsegs pa rin cen 'byuñ gnas /*
- (B154) lost.

*North wall, second row*²³⁶

First six illegible!

(B161) red: *de bzin gsegs pa rnam rol ...*²³⁷

(B162) blue: name lost.

(B163) yellow-orange: *de bzin gsegs pa mye tog ri bo /*

²³³ For *bdud*.

²³⁴ For *Ri bo brtsegs pa'i tog*.

²³⁵ For *Tshe spyin*. Possibly the *pa* before *che* (: *tshe*) already belongs to *de bzin gsegs pa*.

²³⁶ Read in 1991.

²³⁷ For *rNam rol ldan pa*.

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- (B164) white: *de bzin gsegs pa klu dga' /*
(B165) red-green: *de bzin gsegs pa spas²³⁸ kyi dbaṅ sphyug /*
(B166) green: *de bzin gsegs pa sin tu grags pa /*
(B167) red: *de bzin gsegs pa stobs kyi lha /*

The following captions are illegible!

West wall third row²³⁹

Of the first five Buddhas the names are lost.

- (B187) white: *de bzin gsegs pa don ... s²⁴⁰*
(B188) red-green: *de bzin gsegs pa grags pa mtha' yas /*
(B189) green: *de bzin gsegs pa rin cen lha /*
(B190) red: *de bzin gsegs pa don gnas mkhyend pa /*
(B191) blue: *de bzin gsegs pa blo rdzogs pa*
(B192) orange-yellow: *de bzin gsegs pa mya nan myed pa /*
(B193) white: *de bzin gsegs pa dri ma daṅ bral ba /*
(B194) red-green: *de bzin gsegs pa tshaṅs lha /*
(B195) green: *de bzin gsegs pa sa'i dbaṅ phyug /*
(B196) red: *de bzin gsegs pa me tog spyang /*
(B197) blue: *de bzin gsegs pa rnam pa 'byes pa'i sku /*
(B198) red-yellow: *de bzin gsegs pa chos kyi 'od la /*

²³⁸ For *spas*.

²³⁹ Read in 1991. Cf. above note 228.

²⁴⁰ For Don mdzad gzigs pa.

Minor Inscriptions and Captions

(B199) white: *de bzin gśegs pa kun gzigs /*

(B200) orange: *de bzin gśegs pa yon tan 'od gs'al /*

(B201) s CL91 58,20

green: *de bzin gśegs pa zla ba'i žal /*

In the fourth row on the west wall only *de bzin gśegs pa* is written above the Buddhas. This has not been continued in the fourth row of the north wall.

APPENDIX

RELATED CAPTIONS FROM THOLING PRESERVED IN THE TUCCI PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES

Three donor compositions which are very similar to the fragments depicting donors in the Tabo Assembly Hall were photographed by E. Gherzi in Tholing in a temple dedicated to the sixteen Arhats. Two of them were published by G. Tucci and E. Gherzi (1934: figs. 237, 238), the third is preserved in the Tucci Photographic Archives. In each of these compositions a central triad is sitting in front of a large curtain, surrounded by attendants.²⁴¹

Two of the three donor compositions contain captions identifying the main donors. However, Tucci did not publish the full text of the captions but only identified the figures depicted.²⁴² As the original paintings are not preserved anymore at Tholing, I attempted to decipher the captions from the photographs preserved in the Tucci Photographic Archives, IsIAO, Rome. The two triads with captions are painted side by side and the relatively large captions are placed at the upper edge of the respective composition.

In the triad of the first (right) photograph the central figures are dressed in secular dress consisting of a coat and a turban(?) with ribbons at the sides. All three figures are depicted frontally and they sit on a flat seat with their legs crossed at the ankles. Above each of them is placed an umbrella.

The original negative of the picture is not preserved in the Archives. The photograph was published in Tucci & Gherzi 1934: fig. 238 and republished in Klimburg-Salter 1985: fig. 15. As far as is legible from the photographs the captions read (from left to right):

²⁴¹ On this type of donor depiction in the kingdom of Purang-Guge cf. KLIMBURG-SALTER 1996: 325–31.

²⁴² TUCCI & GHERZI 1934: 322. In the case of the monks depicted in his fig. 237, which are not identified by captions, it is only a guess that there Ye śes 'od, Byañ chub 'od and Ži ba 'od are represented.

- (A1) *// [phyag na.rdo rje]'i.spruld.pa./ rgyal.po.chen.po.
 ? [ral.pa.ca]n.gyi.ža.sna.nas./ ²⁴³
- (A2) *// 'phags.pa.'jam.dpal.gyi.spruld.pa./ rgyal.po
chen.[po] ? ? khri.sroṅ.lde.brtsan.gyi.ža sna.nas / ²⁴⁴
- (A3) *// chos.skyoṅ.ba'i.rgyal.po.chen.po./ thug[=>4-5<=]
spruld[.pa.] ≠e ≠.sroṅ.brtsan.bsgam.p ? ?²⁴⁵

The captions identify the 'Three Religious Kings' of the Tibetan monarchy and also mention the deities these kings are believed to have incarnated, the *rigs gsum mgon po*. Sroṅ brtsan bsgam po is differentiated from the others by the epithet "great king who protects the [Buddhist] teaching".

The second photograph, **Pl. 20**, depicts a panel which is directly adjacent to the previous one. The photograph preserves the left half of the last caption on the previous photograph (no. A3), and has been used to improve the reading of that caption.

The triad represented on this photograph is only partly preserved, the last figure and its caption are hidden behind the shoulder of a sculpture and are damaged by water. The figures are now dressed in plain monk's dress, sit in *vajrāsana*, and perform *dharmacakramudrā*. The side images are facing towards the central one. Again an umbrella is placed above their heads.

As here the original negative is preserved in the Tucci Photographic Archives the inscriptions are much more legible, but the left part of the second caption has been damaged by water (from left to right).

²⁴³ Ral pa can was considered an incarnation of Vajrapāṇi (cf. e.g. Bu ston's *Chos 'byuṅ* 144b6).

"The respected emanation of [Vajrapāṇi], the great king (?) Ral pa can."

²⁴⁴ "The respected emanation of Ārya Mañjuśrī, the great king (?) Khri sroṅ lde brtsan."

²⁴⁵ Possibly *thugs rje chen po* (*mahākāruṅika*), *thugs rje dbaṅ phyug* or *thugs rje mña' bdag* (as occurring in Tabo as epithet for Avalokiteśvara with the *rigs gsum mgon po*, cf. caption no. 66) as an epithet for Avalokiteśvara, of whom Sroṅ brtsan bsgam po was considered an incarnation (e.g. Bu ston's *Chos 'byuṅ* 139a2-4).

"The respected great king who protects the [Buddhist] teaching, the emanation of the [Merciful One], Sroṅ brtsan bsgam po."

(A4) *// *lha.btsun.pa./ de.ba.pra.ba'i./*

ža.sṅa.nas. / ²⁴⁶

(A5) *// *byañ.chub.sems.dpa'.chen.po./ / cho≠ sky-[=>?*

lha.bla.ma.ye.śes.'od.kyi.že.sṅa.nas./ ²⁴⁷

Devaprabha is the ordination name of Devarāja,²⁴⁸ the son of Ye śes 'od, and one can presume that, as in Tabo, the second son Nāgarāja was depicted on the other side. In Tholing Devarāja is placed to the proper right of the king Ye śes 'od, while in the Tabo Entry Hall he is on his proper left. There, however, the composition is completely different as the secular and the monastic figures are separated and Nāgarāja is shown as a secular figure. Ye śes 'od is called a Bodhisattva and – like Sroṅ brtsan bsgam po – a protector of the Buddhist teaching.

The sculpture on the right edge of the photograph can be identified as the Arhat Abheda/Mi phyed pa, who is holding a *mchod rten* in his hands.²⁴⁹

Of the old palaeographic and orthographic features only the occurrence of one *da drag* in *spruld* can be noted. There is no reversed *gi gu*. Thus there are certainly fewer 'old' features present in these captions than evidenced in the first two phases at Tabo. Although this fact must not be overestimated, it rather points towards a later date for these captions. However, more decisive for dating the paintings and the accompanying captions is a stylistic analysis of the images.

Although the composition with the central images screened off by a curtain and the surrounding people in local West Tibetan dress are typologically similar to the depiction of the Tabo Donor Assembly and other donor depictions found throughout the Kingdom of Purang-Guge,²⁵⁰ there are some remarkable stylistical differences. It is particularly obvious that here the royal *bla ma* Ye śes od and his son are not dressed anymore in the particular West Tibetan dress as evidenced in Tabo by the image of Byañ chub 'od (cf. Klimburg-

²⁴⁶ "The respected royal monk Devaprabha."

²⁴⁷ "The respected Mahābodhisattva, protect[or] of the [Buddhist] teaching ... the royal *bla ma* Ye śes 'od."

²⁴⁸ *mNa' ris rgyal rabs* 59; cf. n.20.

²⁴⁹ Cf. DAGYAB 1977: 110.

²⁵⁰ Cf. n.241.

Salter 1997: figs. 5, 139), but they wear plain monks' dress. Seated in *vajrāsana*, performing *dharmacakramudrā*, and with the upper part of the garment virtually framing the body of the figures, these depictions are rather reminiscent of the depictions of eminent teachers on Central Tibetan *than ka* attributed to the 13th and 14th centuries²⁵¹ or to the so called Rin chen bzañ po depictions in Alchi.²⁵² This association is also confirmed by the style of the Buddhas depicted above the donor compositions (only the lower half of the figures is visible). The simple outlines and the (white) edges of the dress and the horseshoe shaped nimbus are also comparable to some paintings from the temple of Ye śes 'od in Tholing preserved only in the Tucci Photographic Archives.²⁵³ On the basis of this general analysis I would propose that these paintings and the accompanying captions are definitely not as early as the 11th century.²⁵⁴

The captions are similar to the fragmentary captions in the Tabo Assembly Hall. Besides similar titles in both cases the archaic phrase *zal sna nas*²⁵⁵ has been used. The phrase originally (in the Tibetan

²⁵¹ Most important among them, as attributable to a certain monastery, are the representations of the sTag luñ teachers and others (e.g. the hierarchs and secondary images on the *than ka* SINGER 1994: figs. 24–27).

²⁵² GOEPPER 1993: 138: fig. 14 following SNELLGROVE & SKORUPSKI 1977: 78–79, pl. xiii and fig. 67. The identification of this figure with Rin chen bzañ po has not yet been confirmed by an exhaustive analysis of these representations at Alchi and is based solely on the local tradition.

²⁵³ E.g. Neg.Dep. 6074/44, 6074/1, 6097/12, 6097/13. These paintings are not from the founding of the temple at the end of the tenth century, but from a major renovation some time later. At that time also the clay sculptures were added. Stylistically these paintings are linked rather to paintings preserved in or attributed to Central Tibet (13th to 14th) than to the West Tibetan school of painting as evidenced in Tabo, Alchi and also in the Red Temple of Tholing.

²⁵⁴ The exact period and circumstances of the occurrence of this painting style in West Tibet still needs to be analysed in detail. One line of influence comes directly from Central Tibet and is evidenced in the Alchi gSum brtsegs, where a Bri guñ pa lineage is depicted (GOEPPER 1990). It is to be assumed that the foundation of permanent establishments around 1200 by the 'Brug pa and in particular the 'Bri guñ pa schools in the region around the Kailāsa mountain (cf. PETECH 1988: 356–9) played a decisive role in the transmission of this style. It is thus quite likely that these paintings of Tholing were done sometimes in the 13th century.

²⁵⁵ The phrase *zal sna nas* occurs in different variations in colophons and letters, and its meaning has been discussed several times, e.g. DE JONG 1972: 510–1, TAKEUCHI 1990: n.14 (the variants occurring in his letters are *ža sna nas*, *ža snar nas* and *ža bsnar nas*) MALANOVA 1990 (According to MALANOVA (1990) in the Mongolian

documents of Central Asia) meant or implied that the person referred to is physically present or that he is at least still living,²⁵⁶ and it apparently was used in that way in Tabo as well. This can at least be assumed, as the persons represented are wearing the common local dress.

The Tholing captions evidence a definite shift of meaning of the phrase, as it is evidently used for historical personages who were not alive when the captions were written. The phrase is therefore to be understood in the simple sense of honouring the person mentioned.²⁵⁷

Tanjur colophons the phrase *zal sna nas [mdzad pa]* is used in the sense of “(made) from ancient oral [tradition of the text]”).

In Tabo the spelling of the phrase is rather unusual *ze sda na(s)* (the *d* being quite clear in captions no. 58 and 59). This probably evidences that the origin of the honorary phrase was not known anymore (at least not to the scribe filling in the captions). In Tholing it was presumably written *ze sna nas* (the *'gren bu* being lost or illegible in the majority of the cases).

²⁵⁶ Cf. the examples of DE JONG (1972: 511) and SCHERRER-SCHAUB (forthcoming) or the examples in TAKEUCHI (1990).

²⁵⁷ Cf. LAUFER 1914: 1135.

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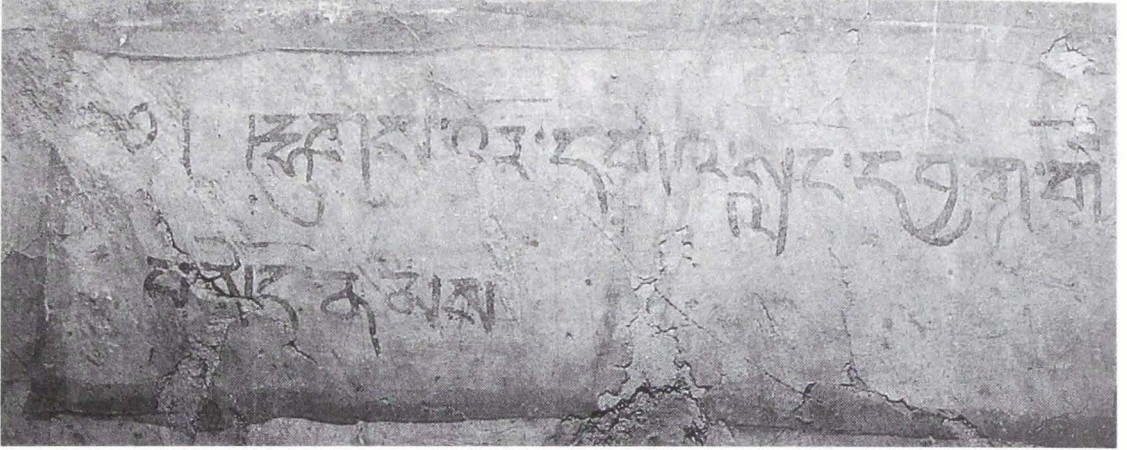


a) The caption of Ye śes 'od (detail of C. Luczanits 1991, 12, 21)

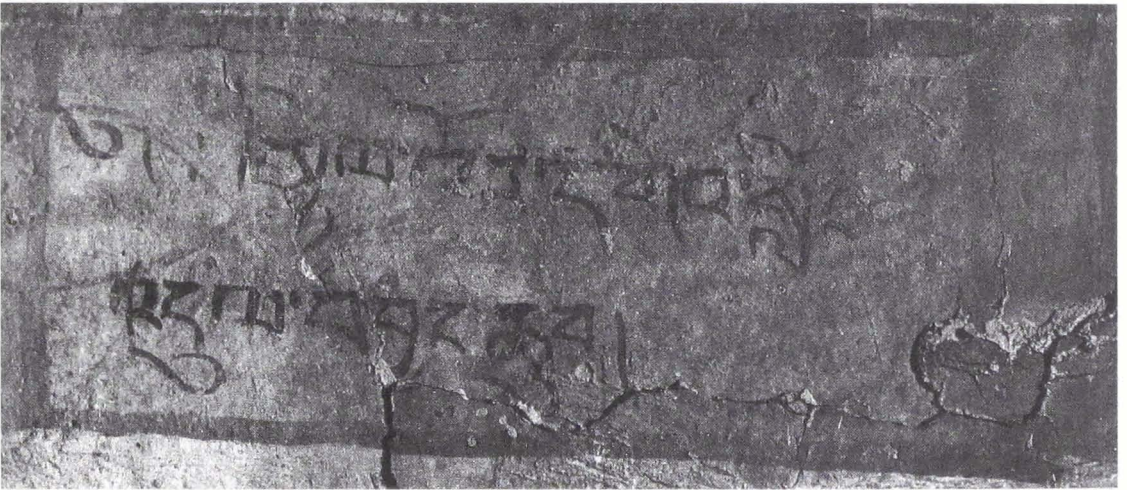


b) The caption of Devarāja (detail of C. Luczanits 1991, 12, 22)

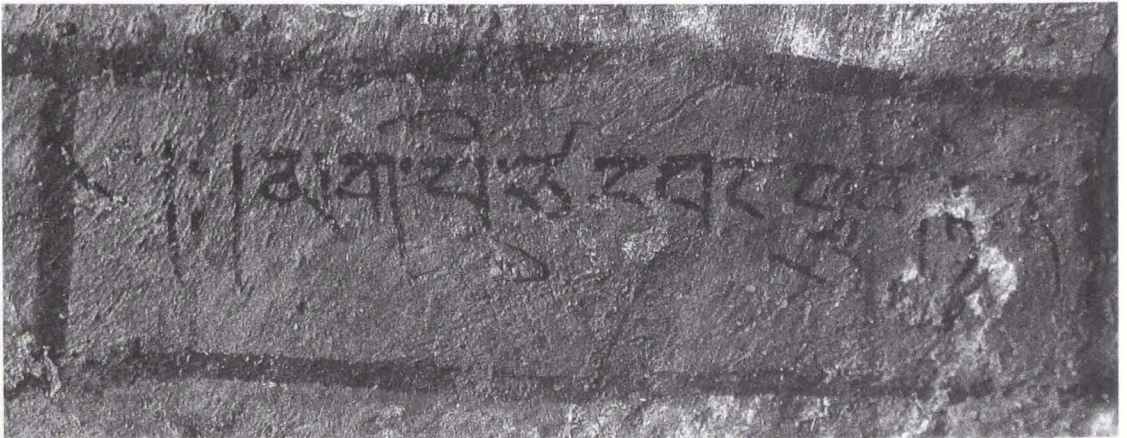
Captions of the Entry Hall south wall



a) rHugs 'or dge' sloñ dByig gñ bsod nams (C. Luczanits 1991, 12, 25)



b) sÑel 'or dge' sloñ 'Dul ba byañ chub (C. Luczanits 1991, 17, 6)



c) Mag pi tsa dBañ phyug rten (C. Luczanits 1991, 17, 13)



The caption identifying the protectress Wi ñu myin (detail of C. Luczanits 1991, 12, 26)



The quotation from the *Pratimokṣasūtra* above the Wheel of Life
(detail of C. Luczanits 1991, 18, 3)



Detail of the Donor Assoc. with the remains of captions below the seats of the donors (detail of C. Luczanits 1991, 34, 28)

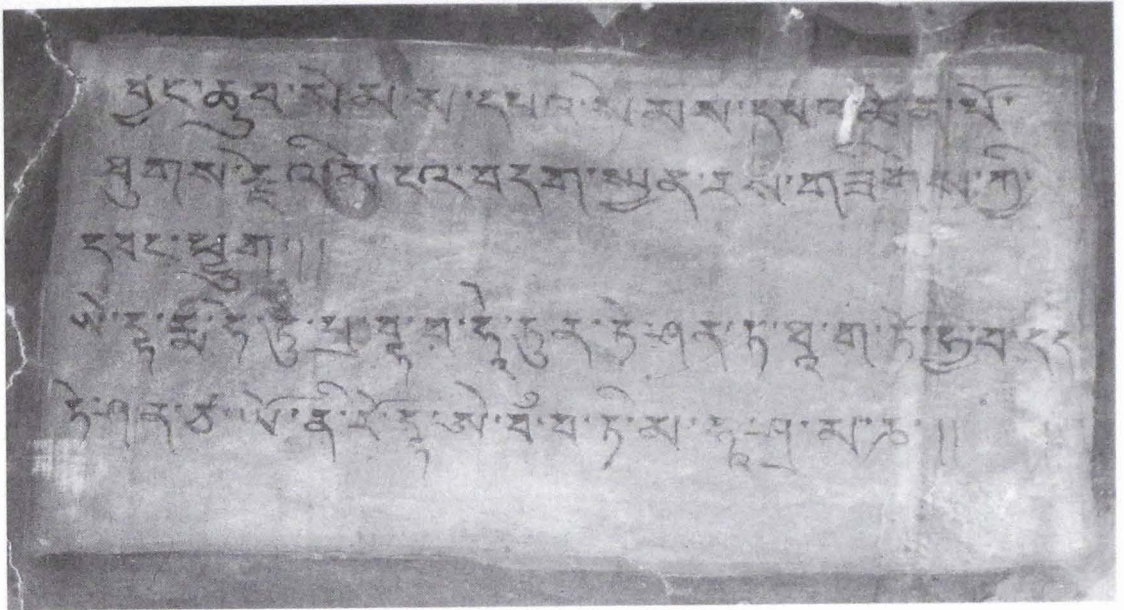


a) *gnas brtan chen po* 'Dul ba chän chub and Gunavarma[n] (detail of C. Luczanits 1991, 34, 25)

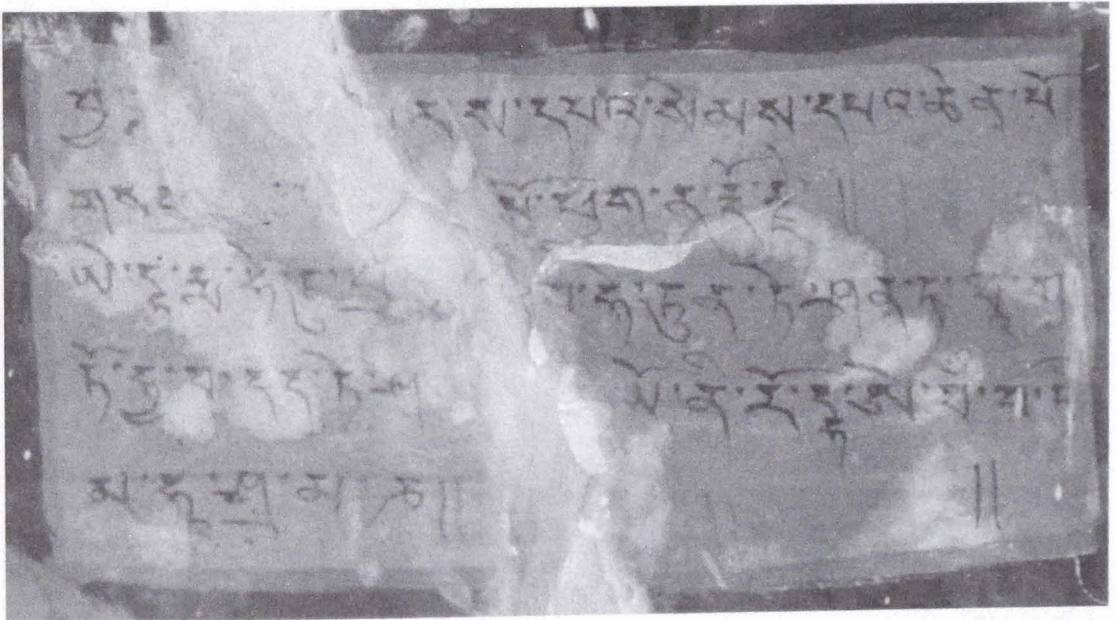


b) lCog la'i sde *dge sloñ* Mos pa bsod nams brag and [Gu] ge'i sde *sman pa brTson* (...) rin cen Man 'or (detail of C. Luczanits 1991, 34, 27)

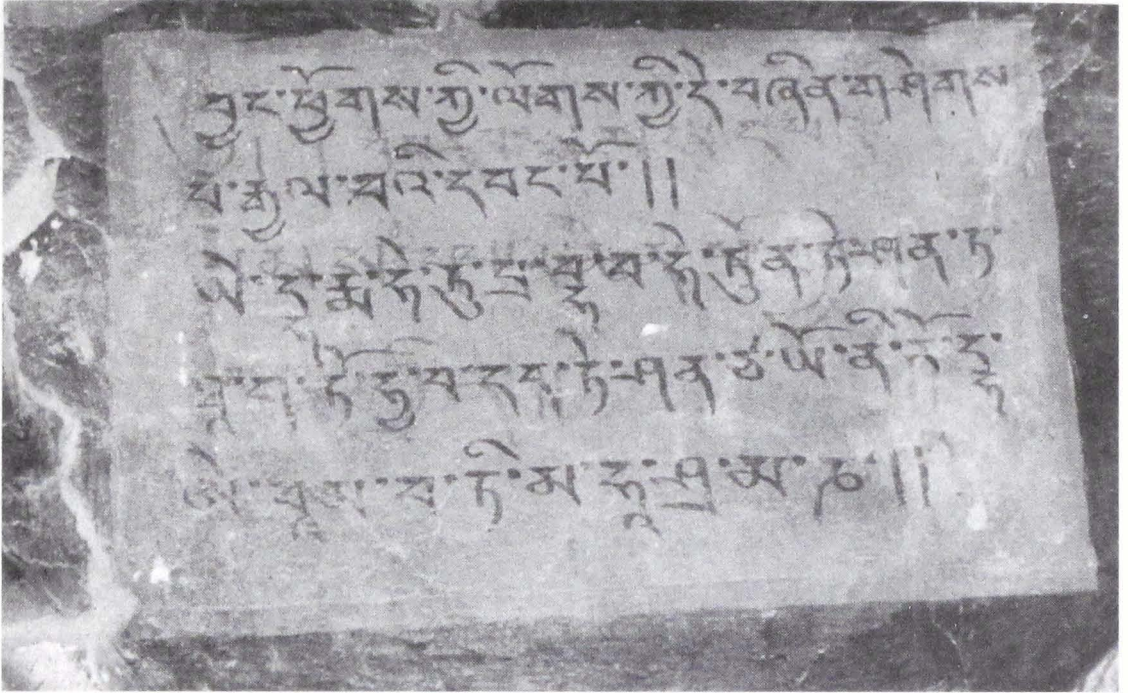
Historical captions in the Assembly Hall



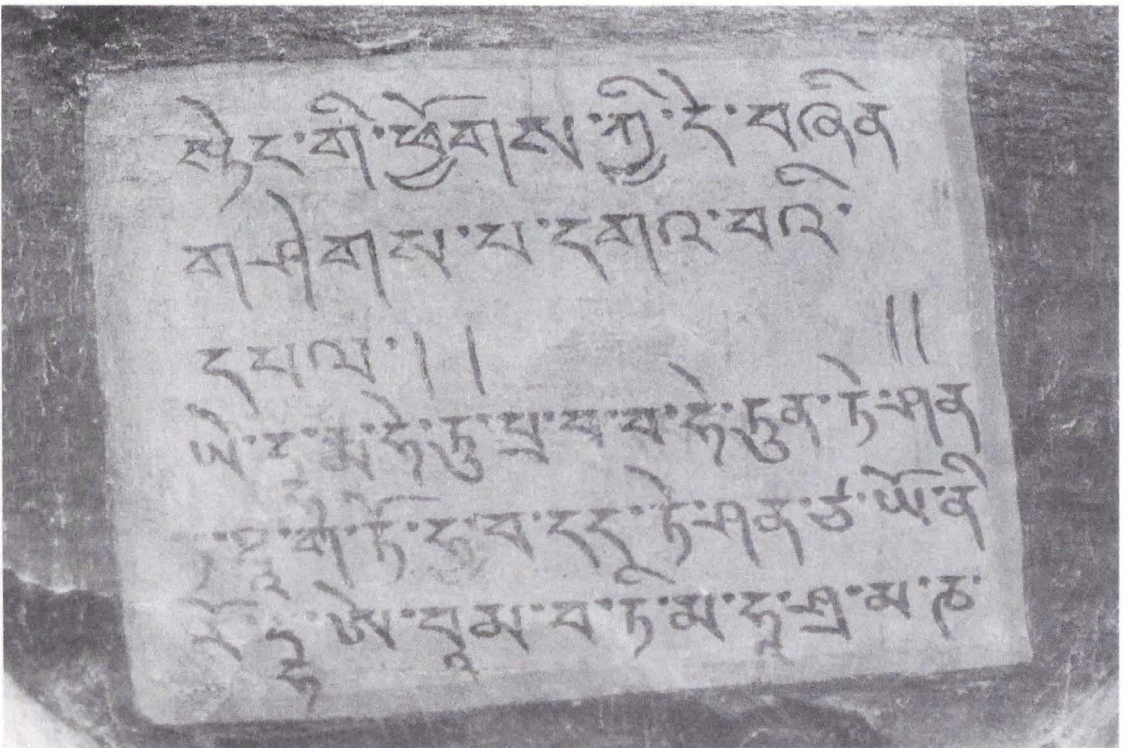
a) Avalokiteśvara (C. Luczanits 1994, 84, 7)



b) Vajrapāṇi (J. Poncar 1984, 472)



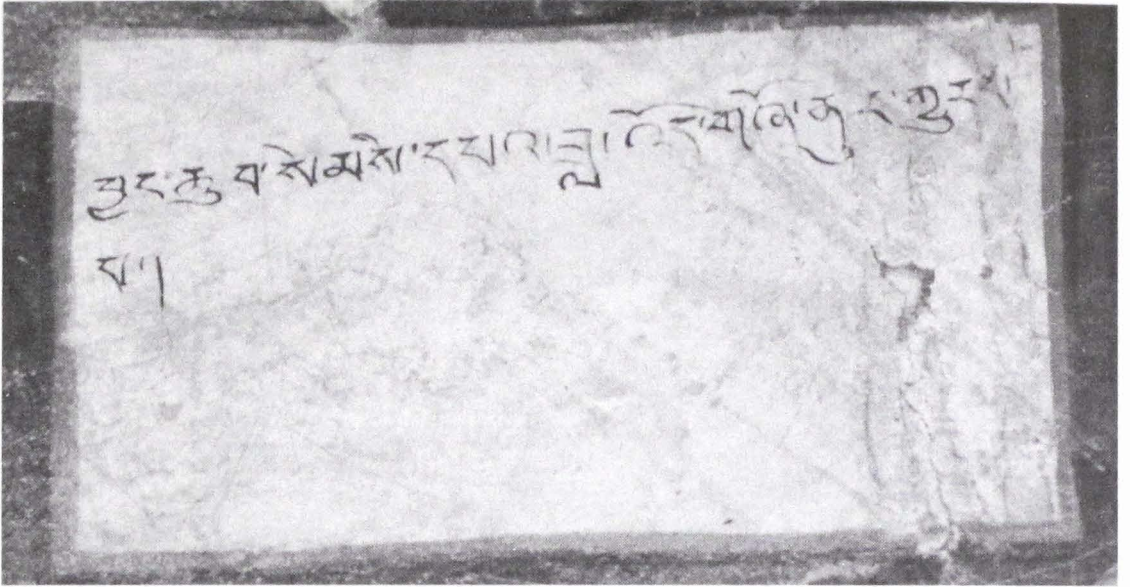
a) The Buddha of the North, Jayendra; with traces of a previous inscription underneath (J. Poncar 1984, 559)



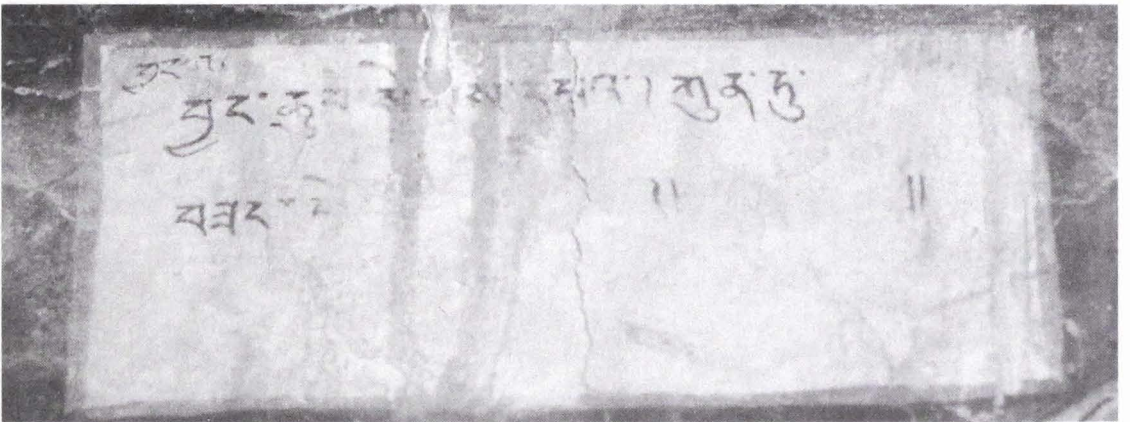
b) The Buddha of the Zenith, Nandaśrī (J. Poncar 1984, 548)



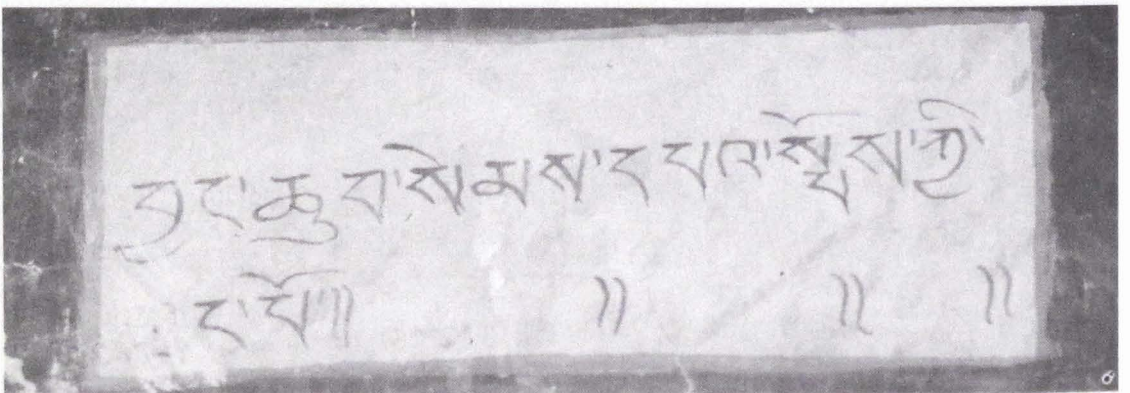
Caption of 'Dul ba byañ chub and the Tabo *saigha* (J. Poncar 1984, 279)



a) Candraprabha, BS6 (J. Poncar 1984, 386)

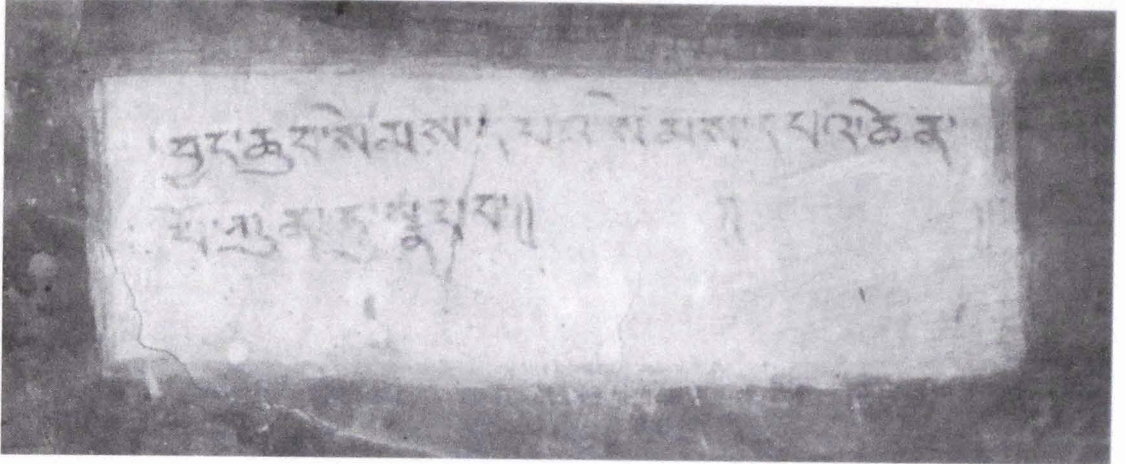


b) Samantabhadra, BS7 (J. Poncar 1984, 388)

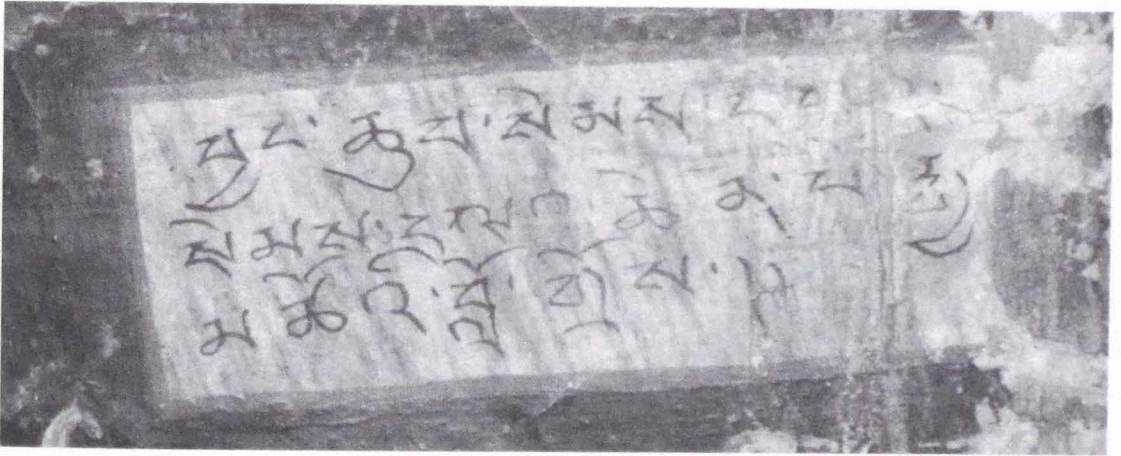


c) Gandhahastin, BS14 (J. Poncar 1984, 372)

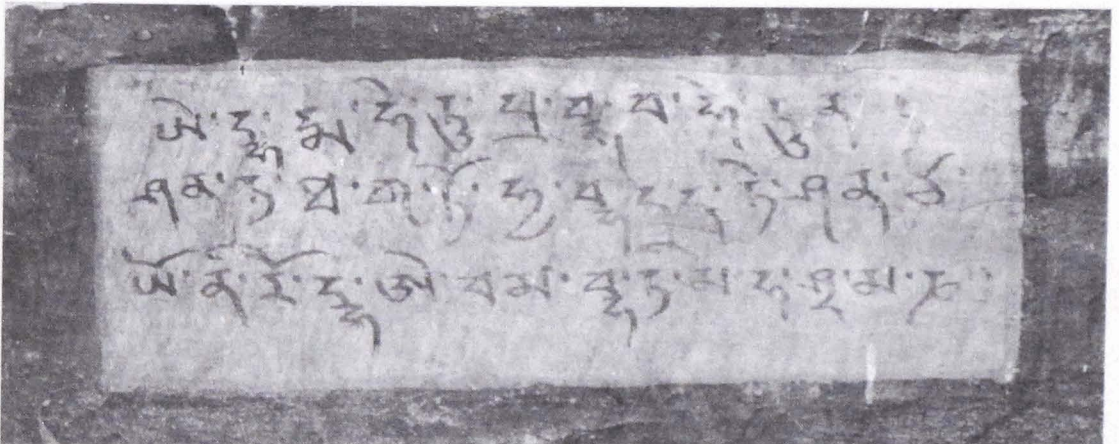
Three captions of the 16 Bodhisattvas



a) *Samantāvabhāsa , MBS2 (J. Poncar 1984, 379)



b) Sāgaramati, MBS4 (J. Poncar 1984, 383)



c) The *ye dharma*-verse, left panel of MBS12 (J. Poncar 1984, 370)

Three captions of the 16 Mahābodhisattvas



Ye sées 'od and his sons, Temple of 16 Arhats, Tholing (Tucci Photographic Archives, IsIAO, Neg. Dep. 6571/03)

LATER INSCRIPTIONS IN THE TABO GTSUG LAG KHAÑ

by Elena De Rossi Filibeck

Inscriptions dating to periods later than the 11th century were found in three different parts of the Tabo monastery: 1) in the 'Du khañ of the gTsug lag khañ, 2) in the dKyil khañ, and 3) in the Byams pa lha khañ.

These inscriptions are of two different kinds: those of the gTsug lag khañ found on the north wall and the east wall to the right of the entrance to the 'Du khañ are on paper, while those in the dKyil khañ and Byams pa lha khañ are written directly on the wall.

Besides the type of material on which they are written, the two types of inscription also differ in content. The former, three sheets in all, recall the restorations made to the temple, mentioning the donors (*sbyin bdag*) and the offerings made in favour of the work.

The inscriptions of the dKyil khañ and the Byams pa lha khañ are illustrative in the sense that, placed as they are below or beside the fresco to which they refer, they illustrate its content as though they were captions. The present article deals only with the three inscriptions on paper found in the Tabo Main Temple.

Concerning the locations of the three paper inscriptions of the 'Du khañ (Pls. 21–26) they may be said to be respectively:

Proceeding in the direction of *pradakṣiṇā*, the first paper inscription (Paper Inscription 1), the longest, lies on the north wall of the 'Du khañ between the sculptures of Amitābha and Vajrahetu¹ (cf. Fig. 19

¹ Concerning the identification of the sculptures cf. LUCZANITS 1997.

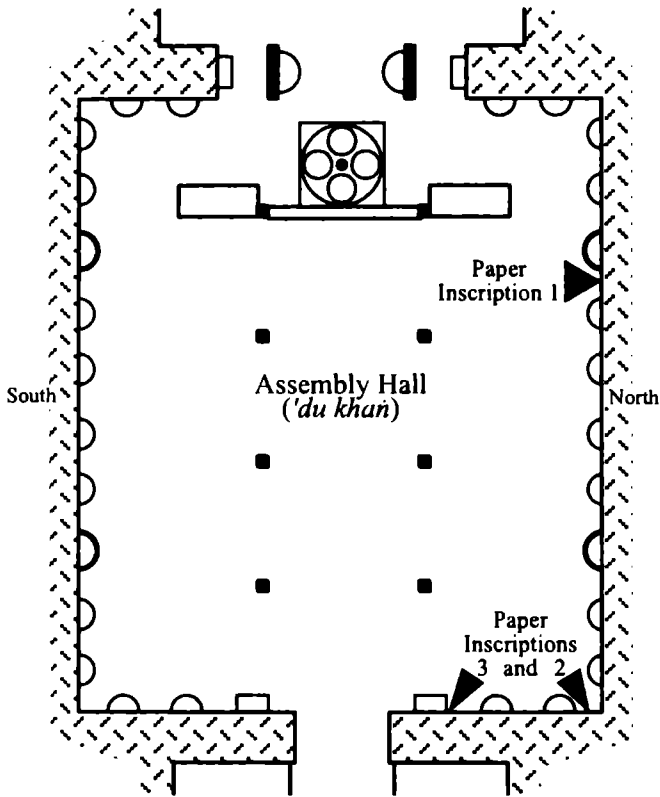


Fig. 19: The locations of the three paper inscriptions

and Fig. 20). The latter sculpture is the only one which has once been completely restored, most probably in the course of the events described in the inscription.² The position of this inscription is visible in Handa 1994: photos nos. 29 and 30.

The second inscription (Paper Inscription 2) is found in the north-east corner of the 'Du khañ, above the mural painting depicting Śākyamuni's descent from the Heaven of the thirty-three gods and beside the sculpture of the blue-coloured female divinity identifiable as Vajra-*nṛtyā* (cf. Fig. 19 and Fig. 21). The position of this

inscription is clearly visible in Klimburg-Salter 1987: pl. III.

On the same wall, placed below a sculpture depicting the figure of a blue-painted guardian, the gate-keeper Vajrāveśa, and above a fresco containing the images of donors, lies the third paper inscription (Paper Inscription 3; cf. Fig. 19 and Fig. 21). The position of this inscription is visible also in Klimburg-Salter 1987: pl. I and pl. II,a.

It is difficult to establish if this group of paper inscriptions attached to the wall were, as is most likely, copies of wall inscriptions transcribed on to paper at a later date, either because the originals were badly damaged or else because time and other factors had ultimately rendered them illegible.

This could account for the frequent spelling mistakes that make a correct and certain literal translation of these inscriptions somewhat problematic. This hypothesis is supported by observations in Klim-

² Cf. LUCZANITS 1997: 192.

burg-Salter (1987: 687) that the inscriptions are associated with the donors depicted in the wall painting and that they therefore had the same illustrative value as the legends to the other wall paintings. Furthermore, the use of paper which is then pasted onto the temple wall and contains inscriptions, is quite common.³

The historical evidence emerging from this group of inscriptions refers to both local history, as mention is made of figures who contributed to the restoration of the temple and whose importance does not extend beyond this function (this is the case in the third inscription in particular, but also in the first inscription), and to history in general, as some of the events and figures mentioned have an importance extending beyond the local scene of Spiti (this is certainly the case of the first paper inscription and perhaps of the second).

PAPER INSCRIPTION 1

In the first inscription votive greetings are addressed to *mi dbaṅ chen po sa skyoṅ rje btsun na dbaṅ* 'Jam dpal tshul khrims rgya mtsho, i.e. mTsho smon gliṅ sprul sku Nag dbaṅ 'jam dpal tshul khrims (1792–1854), regent of Tibet 1819–1844,⁴ for his health and his political activity. Mention is made of the devastating troops of Lal(a) Singh (*la la sin*) who descended upon the temple on the 16th day of the ninth month of the year 1837 (*me bya zla ba dgu pa'i tshes bcu drug*).

Judging by the state of the library of Tabo⁵ the temple must have suffered frequent destructions and fires in the course of time. During the 19th-century, when Spiti was still part of the Ladakh kingdom and when the Dogra forces of Raja Gulab Singh conquered Ladakh, many such raids may have occurred in Spiti from 1834 to 1839.⁶ A raid in the Tabo monastery which took place in 1837 has been also noted down by Hutton (1840: 493), where it is said that the troops of Ranjit Singh (1799–1839) “Ranjeet’s troops” sacked the area. According to

³ Cf. SNELGROVE & SKORUPSKI 1980: 118 et passim.

⁴ PETECH 1988: 141–42.

⁵ Cf. STEINKELLNER 1994: 122.

⁶ SINGH CHARAK 1979: 284.

this account it was not very clear if the damage to the Tabo monastery was perpetrated by the “Singa”, as the monks called the Sikhs, or by the Ladakh king’s soldiers retreating into Bashahr to escape Ranjit’s troops. The latter opinion seems to be highly unlikely.

During the historical period in question, I have found no references to any of the various military operations carried out by Ranjit Singh or by a general of his troops in the area of Tabo.⁷ The hilltop principalities were not annexed by Ranjit but were forced to pay him a tribute through a kind of policy which was termed: “tip and run” in order to keep those people in awe by sending occasional and powerful expeditions but never attempting to bring them under regular governmental control.⁸ So, even allowing for the possibility that the reference to Sikh troops is accurate, and it could be confirmed by the fact that at the time there was a Lal Singh, a Sikh chief who was later to become the lover of Rani Jindan, the widow of Ranjit,⁹ (but it is to be noted that Lal is very common as proper name) it must nevertheless be related to local raids that were not part of an overall plan of conquest.

In the inscription it is recalled that the *sbyin bdag*¹⁰ of Spiti were the main donors of all the things necessary for the restoration. The place names of origin, the title and the qualification precede the proper names of the donors. With the exception of rGyu pa and Tshu rub the place names have been identified. rGyu pa and Tshu rub are probably place names of hamlets that could refer to no longer extant places or to places which changed name.

The following donors are mentioned in the inscription:

1. Kyid gliñ¹¹ na no no bsKal bzañ
2. rGyu pa’i no no¹²

⁷ Cf. GREWAL 1963: Vol. II and Kushwant SINGH 1963: Vol. I.

⁸ CHHAABRA 1960: Vol. II, 76.

⁹ CHOPRA 1973: Vol. II, 517, and BEALE 1894: 226.

¹⁰ It is to be noted that in West Tibet each monastery (*dgon pa*) has patron villages also called *sbyin bdag* and that the unit may consist of only one or more hamlets (AZIZ 1978: 85).

¹¹ Kyid gliñ is to identify with Kyuling (sKyu gliñ, sKyid gliñ) in TUCCI & GHERSI 1934: 107, a place opposite Kaza, on the Spiti river, the residence of the hereditary *no no*. In PETER 1977: 17, the spelling of *kyid* as *kyi*, *dkyil*, and *skyid* is also found. According to information kindly given me by C. Luczanits, the modern Indian spelling is Kewling, too.

¹² For “*rgyu pa’i no no*” I limit myself to note that there exists a sGyu man, rGyu lan in the list of the places of Rin chen bzañ po (TUCCI 1933: 72), and to note also the

3. Tshu rub *no no*¹³
4. Brañ khar¹⁴ *khar #s*¹⁵
5. sPogs¹⁶ *na mtsho byed*¹⁷ Dar rgyas
6. *du 'grub*¹⁸ Tshe dbaṅ
7. Ta po *na dpon po* rDo rje so nams
8. *dpon po* Rig 'dzin rdo rje
9. La ri *ba mtsho byed* sGrab 'dul
10. Tshe dbaṅ rdo rje
11. bKra śis tshe riṅ

Also two craftsmen, the monk(s) Blo bzaṅ rdzod pa and bKra śis so nams, are mentioned.¹⁹

From the inscription we thus glean the following data: 1) the monastery of Tabo was attacked by Sikhs even prior to the 1841 attack during the Dogra war.²⁰ 2) The inscription gives a picture of the social situation of Tabo in the early 19th century. The *no no*, governor of Spiti, dwelt at Kyid gliṅ as during the time of Tucci,²¹ when it was noted that the *no no* lived in the family house and not at Draṅ mkhar, the capital of Spiti. In all likelihood, therefore, the *no no* came from

existence of rGyu dñul in GERGAN 1976: 326, corresponding to the Gienmull in HAY 1850: 450.

¹³ For Tshu rub I merely note the existence of a place: Chu rup, located to the north-east of Tabo on the map of Chandra-Spiti in TUCCI & GHERSI 1934.

¹⁴ Braṅ khar khar is Dankhar castle in Spiti, the Draṅ mkhar of the place list of Rin chen bzaṅ po in TUCCI 1933: 72 also spelled Graṅ mkhar (TUCCI & GHERSI 1934: 107).

¹⁵ The term *khar #s* which follows Braṅ kar/Draṅ mkhar is probably a title; *khar* certainly refers to the castle (*mkhar*) but the second part of the compound is unclear. It may refer to *mkhar dpon*, an official known in Spiti (see CARRASCO 1959: 165).

¹⁶ sPogs is Po in TUCCI & GHERSI 1934: 114, a village in Spiti close to Tabo on the northern bank of the Spiti river, and Phog in PETER 1977: 23. According to the local people Po, Lari and Tabo are the three places jointly called Chog la (*lcog la*).

¹⁷ The term *mtsho byed* may be corrected to *'tsho byed*, which means physician (JÄSCHKE 1968: 460).

¹⁸ In respect of the term *du 'grub* it is to be referred to "*do tu*", literally smoke makers, which indicates the farm workers (cf. CARRASCO 1959: 32).

¹⁹ For the proper names I propose the following corrections according to LINDEGGER 1976 (n.6, 63, 53): rDo rje so nams and bKra śis so nams are rDo rje bsod nams and bKra śis bsod nams; La ri ba mtsho byed sGrab dul is La ri ba 'tsho byed dGra 'dul and Blo bzaṅ rdzod pa is Blo bzaṅ bzod pa.

²⁰ Cf. PETECH 1977: 143–152.

²¹ TUCCI & GHERSI 1934: 107.

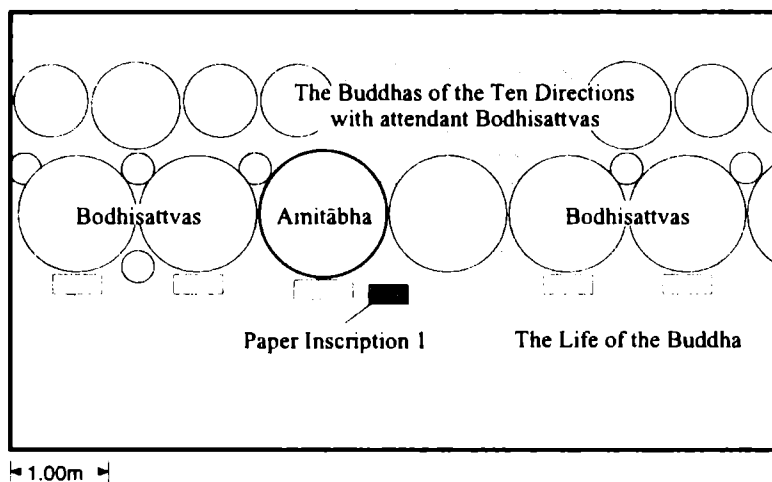


Fig. 20: Western section of the Assembly Hall north wall with the location of Paper Inscription 1 (cf. Fig. 13).

the same family of Kyid gliñ as the *no no* was an hereditary office.²² Furthermore, the inscription gives us part of the name: *no no bsKal bzañ*, which is to be compared with “Kuiling in Jagir to Nu nu Kulzung, the vizir” of Hay (1850: 450). A name-list of the *no no* of Spiti during the second half

of the nineteenth century is found in Singh Charak (1979: 285).

Mention is made in the inscription of two other *no no* who are listed immediately after that of Kyid gliñ; they were possibly part of the same family and were called *no no* as a courtesy title. A possible explanation is that *no no* was a title for headmen or noblemen (a *no no* of Pin is also mentioned in Carrasco 1959: 176), but only the *no no* of Kyid gliñ held the actual office of governor or Wazir of Spiti. In fact, there is evidence of the existence of only one *no no* as governor of Spiti. Furthermore, mention is made in the inscription also of two officers *dpon po* and a *mkhar dpon(?)* two physicians and a farm worker.

TEXT (Pls. 21–24)²³

{1} */ / *Om sva ti*²⁴ *siddham*/

sku gsum mñon du gyur pa'i ston pa sañs rgyas dan/

sde gnod gsum gyi phyug pa'i dam chos dan/

²² CARRASCO 1959: 174; GERGAN 1976: 322; HAY 1850: 432–450; SHUTTLEWORTH 1922: 257.

²³ Photographs: C. Luczanits 1994 93,14–18.

²⁴ Read: *sti*.

Later Inscriptions

bslab pa gsum kyi mdzes pa'i dge 'dun ste/
skyabs gnas dkon mchog gsum la gus phyag 'tshal/ (1)

kyai lag[s] {2} mkha' mñam 'gro la mkhyen rtse rab dgoñs nas/
grañs med gsum du tshogs gñi[s] rab rdzogs nas/

ston gsum mi mjed žiñ gi dpal gyur pa/
'dren mchog śā kya'i rtog la gus phyag 'tshal/ | (2)

kyai: lags| mthun pa'i smon lam dge tshog[s] {3} smad 'byuñ žiñ/
spyad pa spyod che nam yañ mi 'dral žiñ/

bskal bza[ñ] gcig la mdzad pa mthar phyin nas/
rdzogs pa'i sañs rgyas ston la gus phyag 'tshal/ (3)

kyai: lags/ gliñ gi mchog gyur 'dzam gliñ lho yi phyogs/ dgra bcom
bžugs {4} gnas ti se gañs kyi mgul/ ma gros²⁵ bžugs gnas ma spañ
g.yu'i m[tsh]o/ ta²⁶ [m]chog mkha' 'babs 'brug pa'i 'dun phyogs 'dir/
pho brañ chen po gžuñ yul lha sa 'dir/ sa la 'bur du mthon pa gnas
chen po sta²⁷ la/ mi dbañ {5} chen po sa skyoñ rje brtsun ña dbañ
'jam dpal tshul khrims rgya mtsho['i sku] tshe bstan žiñ 'phrin las
rgyas [gy]ur gcig/ ža pa pad dkal pa'i bar du bstan gyur gcig/ khoñ gi
mña' žabs bzañ po spyi ti? zer/ {6} dge bcu 'dzom²⁸ pa yul cuñ sta po
'dir/ dgon pa khyad du 'phags pa sta [po] tag²⁹ chen chos gliñ zer/
dge 'dun thugs [m]thun khrims gtsañ śad bsgrub dar žiñ rgyas/ me bya

²⁵ Read: *ma dros*.

²⁶ Read: *rta*.

²⁷ Read: *ste*.

²⁸ It seems to be a usual rhetoric expression related to place-names, cf. PETECH 1980: 105, n.88.

²⁹ Read: *theg*.

zla ba dgu pa'i tshes bcu drug la la siñ gi {7} smag thon nas/ sprul
 pa'i gtsug lag khañ 'di yi sten sku rnams³⁰ [ši]g nas/ de_{la} 'byol sos³¹
 dge 'dun rnams kyi sa khyi zla ba zi pa'i tshes lña la 'byol sos kyi mgo
 tsugs³² pa yin/ gnas gañ la gags med lhun gyi {8} 'grub pa yin/ sku
 rten 'di la dge rtsi³³ 'byuñ grañs la/ ³⁴< {8a} kyid gliñ na no no bskal
 bzañ thun rkyen byuñ/ rgyu pa'i no no thun rken byuñ/ tshu rub no no
 thun rkyen byuñ/ brañ khar khar #s thun kyen byuñ/ >³⁴ spogs na
 mtsho byed³⁵ dar rgyas chañ tshos gñis dañ gsol bya gro dkar³⁶ [du
 'grub tshe dbañ chañ tshos cig dañ gsol bya [gr]o dkar/ ta po na dpon
 po rdo rje {9} so nams gsol bya yañ yañ byuñ/ dpon po rig 'dzin rdo
 rje chañ tshos cig dañ gsol bya yañ yañ byuñ/ sru nu mar po re gañ
 byuñ/ khu sto=^xs pa mar po r[e] gañ byuñ/ la ri ba mtsho byed {10}
 sgrab 'dul chañ tshos cig dañ gsol bya/ tshe dbañ rdo rje chañ tshos
 cig byuñ/ bkra śis tshe riñ chañ tshos cig dañ gsol bya byuñ/ 'dor na
 min pa'i sbyin bdag gtso byas pa'i spyi ti sbyin bdag rnams kyi mthun
 {11} kyen³⁷ byuñ/ rgyu dge ba'i rtsa ba 'di bžeñs _{pa'i} phan yon gyi/
 rge rtsa byuñ ba'i dad ldan rnams kyi tshe 'dir sde kyid³⁸ tshe riñ žiñ
 phyi ma bla med rdzogs sañs rgyas par śog | lha gzo ba 'di ni dge sloñ

³⁰ Read: *lthams*?

³¹ Read: *hyon soñ*?

³² Read: *htsugs*.

³³ Read: *dge rtsis*.

³⁴ Insert written between the lines eight and nine with a cross showing the point of insertion at line 8.

³⁵ Read: *'byed*.

³⁶ Read: *gsol ja spro dkar*.

³⁷ Read: *mthun rkyen*.

³⁸ Read: *skyid*.

*blo bzañ rdzod pa dan/ bkra śis {12} so nams dan gñis brtsun 'brus
bskyed nas gags med lhun gyi 'grub pa yin/ bkra śis /*

TRANSLATION

{1} Om may all be auspicious.³⁹

Homage to Buddha who is manifest in the three bodies, (i.e. *dharmakāya*, *saṃbhogakāya* and *nirmāṇakāya*), to the holy doctrine which is enriched by the three baskets (i.e. the Tripitaka), to the assembly of monks which is embellished by the three moral trainings (i.e. higher conduct, higher meditation, higher wisdom), to the three gems, place of refuge (i.e. Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha).

Oh reverence, {2} homage to the cognition of Śākya, superior guide, glory of the three-thousand worlds,⁴⁰ Buddha who has achieved the twofold accumulation (of learning and of moral merits), in the three countless [eons],⁴¹ who has realised omniscient mercy to the living creatures.

Oh reverence, {3} infinite homage to the one thousand perfect Buddhas gone to the limit of acting in the *bhadrakalpa* only⁴² without ever the action being violated and without the vows and the accumulation of merits ever being diminished.

Oh reverence, in this region, Jambudvīpa of the south, the foremost residence of Arhats, {4} the slope of snowy Ti se, the lake of turquoise, the invincible place of Ma gros (Ma dros), the meeting place

³⁹ TSEPAK RIGZIN 1993: 306.

⁴⁰ TSEPAK RIGZIN 1993: 114.

⁴¹ Cf. in THARCHIN 1988: 138 the explanation of the term: *grans med gsum*.

⁴² I found the same phrase in a text of collected prayers from sutras with the title: "Der gshegs bdun gyi mchog pa'i cho ga sgrigs yid bzhin dbang rgyal" 1a-95b, 3b.

of thunders, the river from a mouth horse-faced spring,⁴³ (and) in this lHa sa great palace, seat of government, a place rising high above the earth, may the life of *mi dbaṅ {5} chen po sa skyoṅ rje btsun na dbaṅ* 'Jam dpal tshul khriṃs rgya mtsho be safe and may his activity spread, may this lotus-footed man last during the *kalpa*, may his good power increase {6} and spread in this sTa po, little place where the ten virtues approach⁴⁴ together called sPyi ti which is under his benevolent rule, particularly holy monastery called sTa po Theg chen chos gliṅ, may increase and spread explanations and realisations, pure rules according to the mind of the monks.

After the arrival of Lal(a) Singh's troops on the 16th day of the ninth month 1837 {7} and after the holy objects of this temple had been destroyed, the monks fled⁴⁵ and, after their return, began the restoration work on the 5th day of the fourth month 1838. {8} In that place, in which the implementation was achieved without impediment, numerous were the good actions⁴⁶ to worship the statues. {8a} The Kyid gliṅ *no no* bsKal bzaṅ donated necessary things (*mthun rkyen*⁴⁷), and the rGyu pa'i *no no*, the Tshu rub *no no* and the *khar #s(?)* from Braṅ khar did so; the physician Dar rgyas from sPogs granted two *chaṅ tshos*,⁴⁸ tea and food,⁴⁹ the farmer Tshe dbaṅ one *chaṅ tshos*, tea and food.

⁴³ On this standard description of Tibet see TUCCI 1935: 8–10, 177–178; RICHARDSON 1962: 3; KARMAY 1972: xxix; DE ROSSI FILIBECK (in press).

⁴⁴ It is to note, too, that 'Dzom pa is a mountain pass on the road from Lahaul to Spiti (CHANDRA DAS 1969: 1056).

⁴⁵ This seems to be the usual custom of people in Spiti (see SINGH CHARAK 1979: 285, and *The Imperial Gazetteer*: 93).

⁴⁶ *dge rtsi* may be read *dge ba'i rtsa ba* or *dge rtsis* (see Tshig mdzod 453 and JÄSCHKE 1968: 86).

⁴⁷ Read: *mthun rkyen* in the meaning of necessary things to restore buildings, (CHANDRA DAS 1969: 601).

⁴⁸ *chaṅ tshos* can be translated 'drink and food'. According to information kindly supplied by Dr Jampa L. Panglung *chaṅ tshos* is an indirect offering since it is

Later Inscriptions

The Ta po *dpon po* rDo rje {9} bsod nams granted offerings of tea, more and more, the *dpon po* Rig 'dzin rdo rje donated one *chañ tshos* and offerings of tea (*gsol bya*),⁵⁰ (*sru nu mar po re gañ byuñ/ khu sto=^xs pa mar po r[e] gañ byuñ/ ?*)⁵¹ the physician {10} sGrab 'dul from La ri one *chañ tshos* and offerings of tea, Tshe dbañ rdo rje donated one *chañ tshos* and bKra śis tshe riñ donated one *chañ tshos* and offerings of tea. In short, the main donors of the things necessary for the restoration were those of sPyi ti, {11} may they obtain illumination and happiness in this life who, having a happy destiny, have been useful to the construction of this place of blessing!

The two craftsmen, the monk(s) Blo bzañ bzod pa and bKra śis {12} bsod nams diligently completed the restorations without impediment. Blessing and happiness!

PAPER INSCRIPTION 2

In the second paper inscription mention is made of Nag dbañ blo gros as donor for the restoration of the temple. This figure is indicated as a *sbyin bdag*.⁵² Before the appellative come the words “*sa khyi li pa*” which raises problems of interpretation. The possible solutions may be as follows:

intended for the payment or nourishment of the artisans. This is practical usage even nowadays. It is therefore no doubt that *chañ* is beer. *tshos* may be a misspelling for *tshod* measure or *tshod ma* cooked vegetables (CHANDRA DAS 1969: 1035).

⁴⁹ Read: *spro dkar* in the meaning of food and drink offered in the banquets (see DE ROSSI FILIBECK 1977: 12).

⁵⁰ Read: *gsol ja*, ‘offering tea’ (see CHANDRA DAS 1969: 1315).

⁵¹ I propose the following translation: ‘the aunt(s), the brother(s), the uncle(s) (*sru mo, nu bo, khu bo* CHANDRA DAS 1969: 1292, 741, 145), each of them granted some butter.’

⁵² As is well known in Buddhism, the figure of the donor is always significant from both the historical and the religious points of view: on the term see RUEGG 1991: 441–554; see also KLIMBURG-SALTER 1987: 683–702.

a) “*sa khyi li pa*” is an incorrect copy of “*sa khyi lo pa*” and so can be translated as: “the donor Ṅag dbaṅ blo gros born in the year earth-dog ...” which would be grammatically correct, although an unusual expression.

b) “*sa khyi li pa*” has been correctly copied and the phrase may be translated as: “in the year earth-dog the donor of Li, Ṅag dbaṅ blo gros ...”. Li is situated in the south of what was then a state of Bashahr on the road to Nako, and was visited by Francke, who reports that the locality was inhabited prior to 1654, a ruined castle now stood there, as well as an ancient monastery bKra śis lhun grub, the foundation of which was believed to date back to Padmasambhava.⁵³ The description of Li given by F.A. Peter⁵⁴ who visited the place in the years 1930–1940, during his stay in the area, is very similar to that made by Francke. Furthermore, the incipit with the two elements of the year “*sa khyi*” is possible.⁵⁵

In the light of these remarks it is possible to opt for solution b) as the most probable: “in the year earth-dog (1838?) the donor of Li, Ṅag dbaṅ blo gros ...”. The Ṅag dbaṅ blo gros in question was probably a fairly important person and certainly a *dge lugs pa*. His offering for the restoration was substantial and the style of the inscription seems to suggest a cultivated person. Two stylistic considerations lead me to this conclusion. The first is the mention made of gratitude towards the parents: in addition to appearing in a certain number of colophons,⁵⁶ it is also contained in another inscription.⁵⁷ This indicates a knowledge of stylistic norms and therefore a literary standard. The second concerns the phrase addressed to the Dalai Lama and his tutors. As well as telling us that we are dealing with a *dge lugs pa*, it informs us that the person also uses phrases that recur frequently in religious literature.⁵⁸

⁵³ FRANCKE 1914: 30, 41.

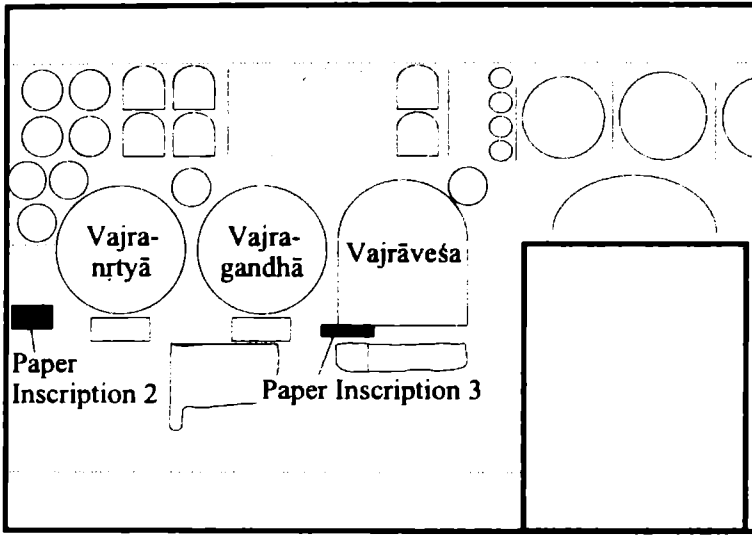
⁵⁴ PETER 1977: 19.

⁵⁵ See SCHUH 1976: 19, 26, 33.

⁵⁶ I found this expression several times during my work of cataloguing the texts in the IsIAO Tucci Fund, but unfortunately I did not write the complete list down: see, for example, the colophon in the following text: “*mTsho skyes gsang gsum chos 'hyung padma'i rgyal tshab*” 1a–25a, where we read the final invocation: “*bla ma'i dgoṅs rdzogs / pha ma'i drin lan sogs / 'jal ba'i ded dpon dam pa thob par śog f'*” 23a.

⁵⁷ GOEPPER 1993: 114, 142.

⁵⁸ BEYER 1992: 367.



If the year “*sa khyi*” is the earth-dog year in which also the restoration work mentioned in the first paper inscription was carried out (1838) because of the damages of a Sikh raid (1837), the time is that of the XI Dalai Lama mKhas grub rgya mtsho (1838–1856)⁵⁹ and the regent mTsho smon gliñ sprul sku Nāg

Fig. 21: The locations of Paper Inscriptions 2 and 3, Assembly Hall east wall (cf. Fig. 11).

dbañ ’jam dpal tshul khriṃs (1819–1844), the regent mentioned in the first paper inscription. But it is well known that in 1838 the XI Dalai Lama was not yet enthroned in the Potala, so the years could be 1778 or 1898 too.

TEXT (Pl. 25)⁶⁰

{1} / *sa khyi li pa sbyin bdag nāg dbañ blo gros kyis/ drin can pha ma’i drin lan ’khor* {2} *phyir dan/ rañ gi ’gal rkyen sdig sgrib bag chags sbyañ phyir du/ *⁶¹lta pho dgon pa bkra śis* {3} *bde gnas⁶² su/ zo drug phul nas žiñ mañ liñ ños/ lo rer bon khal bcu gñis re byas na*

⁵⁹ PETECH 1988: 131.

⁶⁰ Also photograph: Klimburg-Salter 1978: B/W VII, 2, 26.

⁶¹ A sign or ornament before *lta* is common in xylographs: in my experience it is used to indicate a proper noun; see for instance LOKESH CHANDRA 1961: 250. According to CSOMA DE KÖRÖS (1834: 30) this sign is an initial mark of minor divisions and is called *mgo yig bsdus pa’i rnam grañs so*.

⁶² In the Renovation Inscription the Tabo main temple is called dPal ldan bkra’ śis bde gnas gTsub lag khañ (cf. STEINKELLNER & LUCZANITS in this volume: v. 4c). Thus the name of the temple was still known to the author of this inscription or else he had read the Renovation Inscription.

{4} *bskal pa nam gnas par la rgyal ba yab sras kyi žabs brtan dan/*
brtan bžugs su phul ba yin/ {5}

bstan pa'i dpal gyur bla ma'i žabs pad brtan/

bstan 'dzin skyes bu sa steñ yoñs la khyab//

{6} *bstan pa'i sbyin bdag mña' thañ 'byor pa rgyas/*

bstan pa yun riñ gnas pa'i bkra śis śog/

TRANSLATION

{1} The donor of Li, Nag dbañ blo gros in the year earth-dog (1838?), in order to reciprocate the affection of his parents {2} and to purify his own impediments, evil actions and latent instincts, in favour of lTa pho monastery, a place of benediction {3} and happiness, has bought whole lots of various fields of farmland, having given for the price of six pieces of silver. The revenue of some twelve *khal* of *bon*⁶³ yearly {4} has been donated as a prayer for the good health and long life of the Dalai Lama and his tutors.

{5} May the lotus of the feet of the Lama, glory of teaching, remain firm and the surface of the earth be filled with champions of the Doctrine.⁶⁴ {6} May the power and the

⁶³ *khal* is a measure of volume: bushel/load, (BEYER 1992: 228). It is also indicated as a dry measure of variable value (CARRASCO 1959: 281). In particular, it is to note that in Spiti, according to SHUTTLEWORTH (1922: 255), the local seed measure is the *khal*. For the meaning of “*bon*”, in this case, it may be referred to “*sa bon*” in the meaning of seed, corn, corn-grain, grain (JÄSCHKE 1968: 570). It should be noted that according to the report of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, vol. XXIII: 94, in Spiti the tithes of grain to the monasteries are called *pun* (*sic*). This term is very similar to the one found in CARRASCO 1959: 177 where it is said that in Spiti the monastery dues are paid in grain (*bun*). I think that *bon* may be translated as grain even if the two terms *pun* and *bun* may be referred to the Tibetan word *bun* (and not *bon*) which means bond (CHANDRA DAS 1969: 874). It is important as evidence that the offerings, dues etc. to the monasteries were in grain. See also the term: *'bru bun* in Tshing mdzod 1999.

⁶⁴ BEYER 1992: 367.

wealth of the donor of the doctrine increase and may the doctrine be long-lasting!

PAPER INSCRIPTION 3

In the third paper inscription some donors may be noted who made contributions to the restoration of what had been damaged by fire, and rendered service to the temple. Contrary to the second inscription, this inscription contains many spelling mistakes or may be written in a local dialect (e.g. the expressions *dge'u byuñ, me mas*). In addition parts of the inscription are illegible.

Therefore, only a partial literary translation could be attempted. Nevertheless, the following proper names (or parts of names) may be noted: Ye śes pa, the monk bKra śis, *jo mo* Slob bzañ, Chos 'phel, who have not been identified, and two place names: La ri and lTa po sa drug.⁶⁵ It is uncertain what damaged parts were restored after the fire.⁶⁶

TEXT (Pl. 26)⁶⁷

{1} * # p⁶⁸ lu =^f l/pa dkon mchog phug sgral ma me/i zig sos la_{ri} me
mas d/ñad/ñ chol ldan bla ma mi tho d/ñad/ñ pogs kyis d/ñad/ñ chuñ

{2} rgya # go yi tho dañ tshogs pa kyi zabs stog lags kyañ | du
druñ⁶⁹ yin kyañ zabs rtogs lags par bgyis | {3} # # #⁷⁰ rtsi rnams -r #

⁶⁵ As for “*lta po sa drug*” I do not know if it means: “the six places in lTa po” or if it is an incorrect spelling of *lta po bsam grub*.

⁶⁶ The reading could also be: “*dkon mchog gu ge sgral ma*”.

⁶⁷ Also photograph: Klimburg-Salter 1978, B/W VII, 29, 2.

⁶⁸ The first two letters appear to be small and have a vocal sign above.

⁶⁹ Probably a mistake for *da druñ* or *da duñ*, see JÄSCHKE 1968: 247.

⁷⁰ Probably *gi*.

#⁷¹ l # -in⁷² ye śes pa dge 'u byuñ jo mo =^x slob_{bzañ} dge 'u byuñ pogs
na chos phel d/ñad/ñ d/ñad/ñ pa {4} 'byor gñis kyi dge'u 'byuñ/ dge
sloñ d/ñ ? kra śis dge 'u byuñ me ? mas bla ma spon la sol ja chañ śa
gañ {5} # # =^xg yag byuñ lha khañ 'di la žabs rtog lags_{par} bgyis kra
śis/ lta po sa drug dar rgyas dge 'u byuñ

TRANSLATION

{1} ... the dKon mchog cave cut into small pieces was restored after the damage caused by fire ... Even if the La ri ... bla ma ... {2} ... rendered the service of the assembled ... they did it again and again ... Ye śes pa, jo mo Slob bzañ, Chos 'phel ... the monk bKra śis granted tea, beer, meat ... and yaks (gsol ja, chañ, śa, ... yag) ... in this temple may the service be rendered. Happiness!

... may spread and increase in the six places of lTa po!

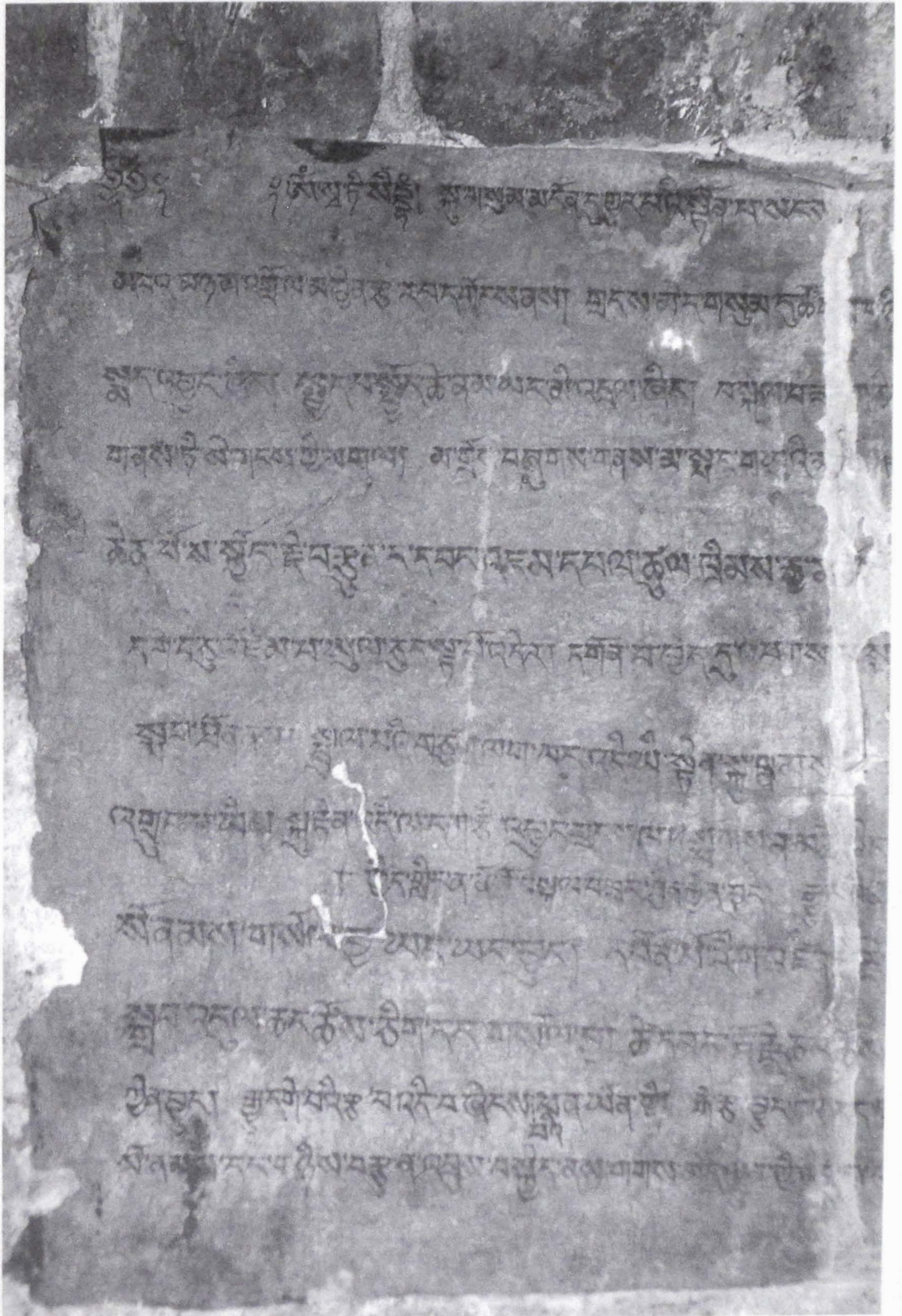
⁷¹ Probably *s*.

⁷² Possibly *'dzin*.

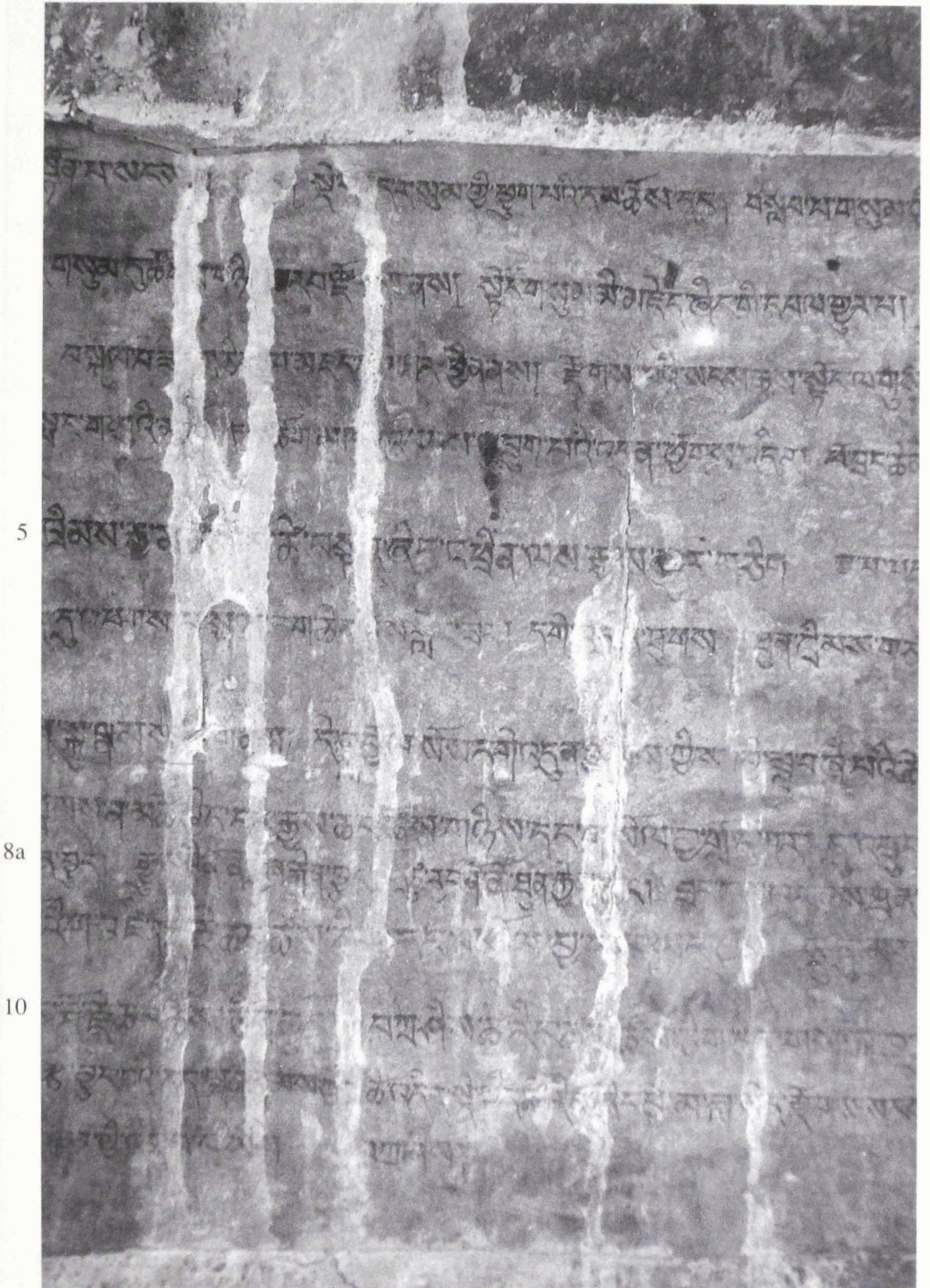
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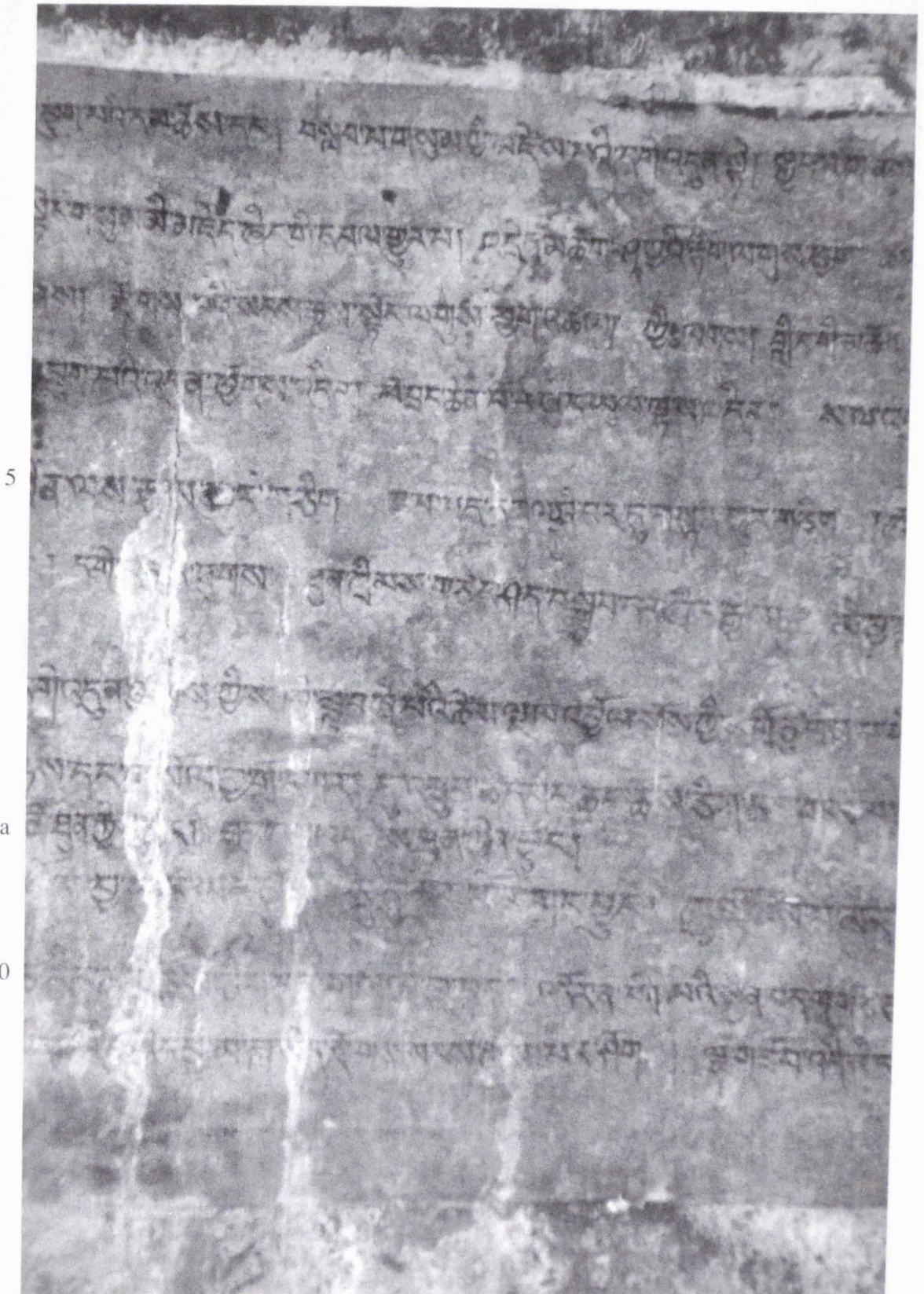
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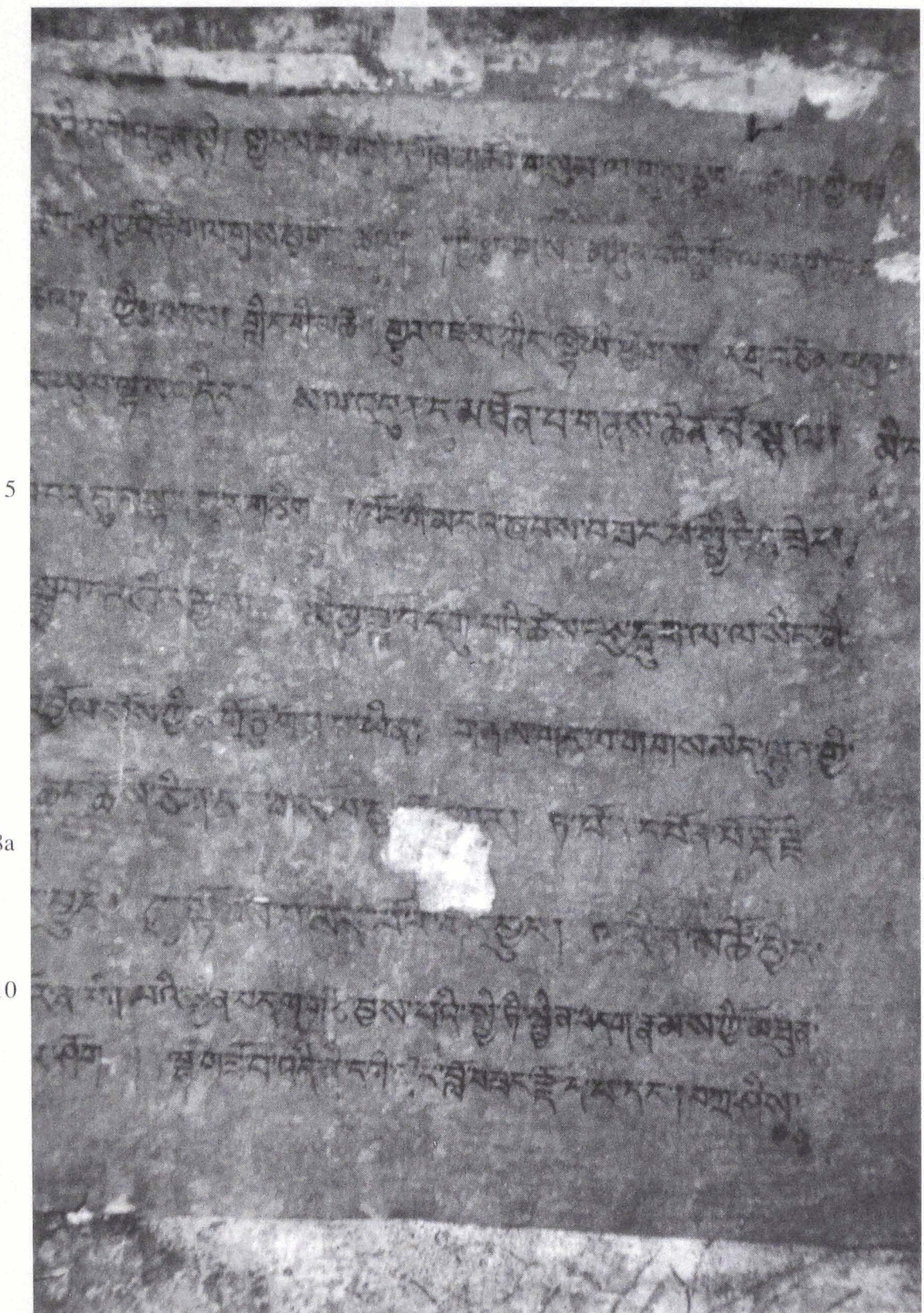
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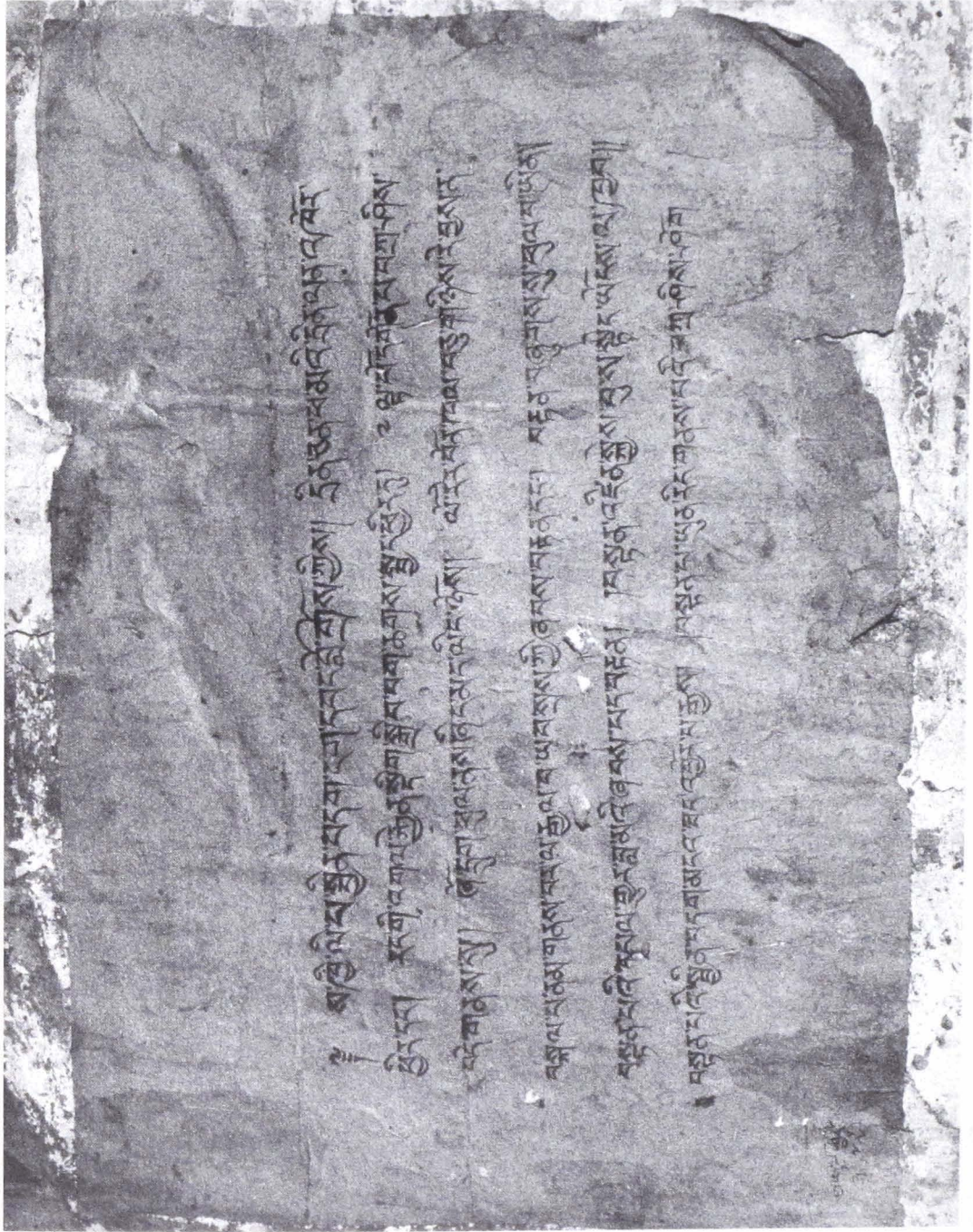
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Paper Inscription 2 (C. Luczanits 1994, 88, 32)



Paper Inscription 3 (C. Luczanits 1994, 85, 5)

INDICES

In the indices, *italics* is used to indicate the spelling as it occurs in the inscriptions.

INDEX OF HISTORICAL PERSONAL NAMES

- Antonio de Andrade 7
 Atiśa 3, 4, 47
 bKra śis cf. *kra śis*
 bKra śis mam rgyal 8
 bKra śis rtse 4
bkra śis so nams / bKra śis bsod nams
 193, 197, 199
bkra śis tshe rin 193, 196, 199
 Blo bzañ Chos kyi rgyal mtshan (First
 Pañ chen) 7
blo bzañ rdzod pa / Blo bzañ bzod pa
 193, 197, 199
bo di ba dra 112
 Bodhisattva (Ye śes 'od) 21
brden brtsan 112
brtson # # =^x rin.cen 122
brug dpal 110
bsam tan byañ chub 113
bskal bzañ 192, 196, 198
 bSod nams lde 5, 6
byañ chub brde 112
byañ chub ldan 109
byañ chub 'od 3, 12, 16, 17, 18, 21,
 23, 47, 48, 49, 143
byañ chub sems dpal'] (Ye śes 'od)
 16
byañ tshul 113
chos kyi sñiñ po 112
chos phel / Chos 'phel 203, 204
dad pa brtson grus 109
dar rgyas 193, 196, 198
dbañ phyug ... 143
dbañ phyug rten 111
dbyig gi bsod nams 106
de ba pra ba 180
de ba ra dza 105
 Devaprabha 180
 Devarāja 105, 180
dge' ba skyoñ 107
dran ba śes rab 108
dri'ed'o's 107
dul ba bsom nams 109
'dul ba byañ chub 106, 121, 145
?dul ba yon tan 109
gi gi dad pa 110
grags pa bśes gñen 106
gu na bar ma 121
 Gulab Singh 191
guñ che skyan bu 113
guñ sum 111
 Hsüan-tsang 42
 Ho/Hwa śañ zab mo 42
 Hülegü 5
 Indrabodhi 7
'jam dpal tshul khrims rgya mtsho
 (cf. Nag dbañ 'jam dpal tshul
 khrims) 191, 195, 198
'jig rten mgon 112
'Jigs med dbañ phyug 7
 Jñānaśrī 4
 Khor re 3
khri mchog 113
khri sroñ lde brtsan 179
kra śis 203, 204
 Lal(a) Singh 191, 192
 lHa dbañ blo gros 6
lha' i g-yuñ druñ 108
 mKhas grub rgya mtsho 201

Indices

- Mōngke 5
mo=^x*pa* 109
mos pa bsod nams g/brag/s 122
mos pa śes rab 107
na ga ra dza 105
ñag dbaṅ blo gros 199–202
 Nag dbaṅ grags pa 6
 Nag dbaṅ 'jam dpal tshul khriṃs
 mTsho smon gliṅ sprul sku-
 (cf. 'jam dpal tshul khriṃs rgya
 mtsho) 191, 201
 Nāgarāja 105
 Nam mkha' dbaṅ po Phun tshogs lde
 6
 Nor Kun dga' bzaṅ po 6
 'Od lde 3
 'od 'phro 112
 Pheś(?) kha rgyu bdag 11, 21
 Phun tshogs lde
 Nam mkha' dbaṅ po- 6
 Qubilai 5
rad na gar ba 106
 Raja Gulab Singh 191
[ral pa c]an 48, 179
 Rani Jindan 192
 Ranjit (Singh) 191, 192
rdo rje so nams / rDo rje bsod nams
 196, 193, 199
rgyal ba bsod nams 109
rig 'dzin rdo rje 193, 196, 199
riḡ pa 'byuṅ gnas 106
rin can rgyal 113
rīn cen brtson grus 108

 Rin chen bzaṅ po 3, 48
 rNam par mi rtog (Lotsāba) 42
 rNam rgyal lde 5, 6
 rTse lde 4
 Sa skya Paṇḍita 48
 Śānti pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan 7
 Śāntideva 42
 Seṅ ge mam rgyal 7
śes rab sñiṅ po 107
śes ≠ ≠ 111
sgrab 'dul 193, 196, 199
 sKyid lde Ñi ma mgon 2, 3
skyid mchog 113
slob bzaṅ 203, 204
sod nams rīn cen 108
sroṅ brtsan bsgam p[o] 179
 Sroṅ ñe 3
tshe dbaṅ 193, 196, 198
tshe dbaṅ rdo rje 193, 196, 199
 Tshe dbaṅ mam rgyal 7
tshul khriṃs ... 112
tshul khriṃs dblo' gros 109
tshul khriṃs legs pa 113
ye śes 'od 3, 12, 17, 21n, 22, 49, 97,
 105, 109, 180, 181
 Ye śes pa 203, 204
yon ? ? nams 109
yon tan bla ma 109
[yon?] tan dad pa 122
yon tan go cha 108
 Źi ba 'od 3, 4
 Zorawar Singh 8

INDEX OF PLACE-NAMES, CLAN-NAMES, AND
GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

- bkra śis bde gnas* (name of Tabo monastery, cf. *dpal ldan bkra' śis bde gnas*) 201
- bKra śis lhun grub* 200
- bod* 109
- bodhimaṇḍala* 25
- brañ khar* 193, 196, 198
- byañ chub dkyil 'khor* (cf. also *bodhimaṇḍala*) 20
- dpal ldan bkra' śis bde gnas* (name of the Tabo Main Temple) 17, 22
- Drañ mkhar* cf. *brañ khar*
- 'dzam (bu) gliñ / Jambudvīpa* 90, 117, 195, 197
- Glo bo / Mustang* 5, 6
- grañ la* 106
- gu ge'i sde* 122, 123, 143, 144, 145
- gzi' mal ba* 143
- hrugs wer* (cf. *rhugs°*) 107n, 111
- Jambudvīpa / 'dzam (bu) gliñ* 90, 117, 195, 197
- ka śa* cf. *Kāśi*
- Kāśi / ka śa* (ga śi, ka śi) 39, 58, 81
- Kha char / Khojarnath* 3, 6
- kha lam pa* (burial ground) 67, 86
- kyid gliñ* 192–94, 196, 198
- la ri* 193, 196, 203, 204
- lcog la* 122
- lcog la'i sde* 122
- lha sa* 195, 198
- li* 200, 201, 202
- lta pho* 201, 202
- lta po (sa drug)* 203, 204
- ma gros / Ma dros* 195, 197
- ma spañ g.yu'i m[tsh]o* 195
- ma toñ* 108
- mag pi tsa* 107, 108, 109, 111
- mañ 'er* 108
- mañ 'or* 122
- mañ wer* 108
- Mañ yul Guñ thañ* 5
- Mar yul* 2, 3
- mÑa' ris (skor gsum)* 2, 5, 47
- mÑa' ris Grwa tshañ* 7
- mñān yod / Śrāvastī* 164
- mo lo* 107
- mu druñ yar* 109
- Mustang / Glo bo* 5
- Nako* 200
- Nālandā* 47
- nam bu śud/ñ* 109
- Ñar ma* 3
- ñi ma* 106
- Pa na tsa la* 40, 67n, 86
- Po* cf. *spogs*
- rgyu pa* 192, 196, 198
- rhugs 'er* 107
- rhugs 'or* 106, 146
- rum* 108, 143, 146n
- Señjā* 4
- sgye śni* 113
- sna ro* 112
- sñam wer* 113
- sñel 'or* 106, 109, 112, 113, 121
- sñel wer* 107
- sñes wer* 110
- spogs* 193, 196, 198
- spyi ti* 195, 196, 198
- Śrāvastī / mñān yod* 165n
- sta po* 195, 198
- stag lo* 112
- ta po* 145, 193, 196, 199
- Tabo* cf. *lta pho*, *lta po*, *sta po*, *ta po*
- tag chen chos gliñ / Theg chen chos gliñ* (name of Tabo monastery) 195, 198
- Taklakoṭh* 8
- te 'or* 121
- Theg chen chos gliñ / tag chen chos gliñ* (name of Tabo monastery) 195, 198
- Tholing* 3
- ti se* 195, 197
- Tsaparang* 6
- tshu rub* 193, 196, 198
- Ya tshe* 4, 5

INDEX OF DEITIES, NON-HISTORICAL NAMES AND
NAMES OCCURRING IN THE CANONICAL LITERATURE

- Abheda 180
 Akṣayamati 153
 *Amitabuddhi 156n
 Aśoka (Vigat-) 130
 Aśoka-? 141
 Aśokaśrī 130, 141n
 Avalokiteśvara 124, 179n
 Karuneśvara(?) 125
 Ārya- 132
 *Āyudhā°/ Praharaṇākṣi 86
 *Āyudha°/ Praharaṇamukhī 89
 Bhadrāpāla 151
 Bhaiṣajyaguru 138
 bla ma 161
 blo gros mtha' yas 156
 blo gros myi zad pa 153
 Boṅ bu so / Boṅ chuñ nu (female
 demon) 88
 Brahmādatta (king) 39, 81
 byams pa 153
 rgyal pa- 162
 'byuñ ba 160
 bzans skyoñ 151
 Candanaśrī 140
 Cāritramati 132
 Chandraprabhakumārabhūta 151
 *Devagarbha (mahābrahman) 36, 75
 dga' ba'i dpal 135, 140
 dga' bas byin pa 135
 dGra las rgyal ba (king) 40, 86
 dkon mchog 'byuñ gna's 129
 dPa' bar 'gro ba 152
 dpa' bas byin 158
 dpa' po 140
 dri ma myed pa 141, 154
 Ekacchattra 132
 Gaganagañja 150
 Gandhahastin 153
 gDugs dam pa 132
 glañ po śugs ldan 157
 'gro ba thams cad yoñs su spyañ ba
 139
 gro žiñ skyes 161
 gSer thub 161
 gTsuḡ tor can 160
 g.Yul las (śin tu rnam par) rgyal ba
 141
 'jam dpal 134, 179
 'Jam pa'i dbyañ 126
 Jayadatta 134
 Jayendra 133
 Jitaśatru/Jitāri (king) 86, 40
 Jñānaprabha 159
 'jogs pa thams cad rab du ži bar
 mdzad pa 139
 Kanakamuni 161
 Kāśyapa 140, 161
 (Mahā-) 165
 Kaunḍinya 38
 'Khor ba 'jig 161
 Krakucchanda 161
 Kṣitigarbha 41
 Kun skyobs 161
 kun tu bzañ po 151
 kun tu myed pa 156
 kun tu snañ ba 154
 lag na pad mo 130
 lha'i sñiñ po (mahābrahman) 52
 *Mahābala 158n
 Maitreya 153, 159, 166
 Jina- 162
 Mañjuḡhoṣa
 Ārya- 125
 Mañjuśrī 124, 125n, 134, 179n
 Maudgalyāyana 162
 mChog dga' rgyal po 163
 mchog tu dga' ba'i rgyal po 164
 Mi phyed pa 180
 mTshan dpal [śin tu] yoñs bsgrags
 141
 mtshon ca'i myig 68, 71
 mya nan kun 'joms 152
 mya nan myed pa 130
 [mya] nan myed pa'i ? 141
 mya nan myed pa'i dpal 130, 141n
 mye 'u 'gal gyi bu 162

Indices

- nam ka mdzod* 150
[nan] soñ kun 'dre[n] 153
 Nan soñ kun 'joms 152
 Nandadatta 135
 Nandaśrī 135, 140
 Ņi ma rab tu snañ ba 131
*ñi ma'i dkyil 'khor snañ ba d[am
 pa]i dpal* 131
'od gzer kun gzer kun nas 'byuñ ba
 129
'od sruñ 140, 161, 165
pad mo dam pa 135
pad mo dam pa'i ? 131
pad mo dam pa'i dpal 130
 Padmahasta 129
 Padmasaṃbhava 200
 Padmaśrī 131
 Padmottara 132
 Padmottaraśrī 130
phyag na rdo rje 126, 179
 *Praharaṇa°/Āyudhākṣi 86
 *Praharaṇa°/Āyudhamukhī 89
 Pramuditarāja 163, 164n, 165
 Pratibhānakūṭa 152
rab 'byord 164
 Ratnākara 129, 130n
 Ratnārcis 132
 Ratnottama 132
rdo rje sñiñ po 150
rgya mtsho'i blo gros 156
rgyal ba'i dbaṅ po 133
 rGyal bas byin 133n, 134
rin cen 'od 'phro 132
 Rin chen mchog 132
rkañ gñis spyod 162
 rNam par gzigs 160
*rnam par rgyal bas rnam par gnond
 pa* 134
śa ri'i bu 162
śad ma myed par sgyur ba 139
śag kya thub pa 162, 164
 Sāgaramati 156
 Śākyamuni 159, 162, 163, 165
 Samādhīhastyuttaraśrī 134
 Samantabhadra 151
 Samantaraśmi 128
 *Samantāvabhāsa 154n
 Saṃbhava 160
 Śāriputra 162
 Sarvāpāyajaha 153
 Sarvaśokatamonirghātanamati 152
śes 157
 Śikhin 160
sman gyi bla 138
spos kyi glaṅ po 153
*spyan ras gzigs (kyi) dbaṅ phyug
 'phags pa-* 132
thugs rje'i mña' bdag- 125
spyobs pa brtsegs pa 152
 sPyod pa'i blo gros 132
 Śroṇa 161
stobs po che 158
 Subhūti 164n, 165
 Suparikīrtitanāmaśrī 141
 *Sūradatta 158n
 Sūraṃgama 152
 Sūryamaṇḍalaprabhāsottamaśrī 131
 Sūryaprabhāsa 131
thams cad skyob 140, 161
thogs pa myed pa 156
[ti]ñ 'dzind kyi glaṅ po dam pa'i dpal
 134
tsan dan gyi dpal 140
tshañs pa chen po lha'i sñiñ po 52
tshañs pas byin (king) 58
tshoñ dpon 157
 *Utpalākṣa / U pa la'i/li'i mig / Ud pa
 la'i myig (elephant-king) 39, 81
 Uttara 161
 Vajragarbha 150
 Vajrapāṇi 124, 126, 179n
 Vijayavikrāmin 134
 Vimala 140, 154n
 Vipāśyin 160
 *Vīra 140
 Viśvabhū / Viśvabhuj 140, 161
wi ñu myin 114
yañ dag '=o' 161
ye śes 'od gzer 159
 Yuddhajaya 141
zla 'od gzo nur gyurd pa 151

Indices

INDEX OF TITLES

- blon po* 34, 56–58, 64, 73
chos rgyal 18
chos rgyal rje btsun 18
chos sg?a'i slob chen po 121, 122
d-l^x chen po 105
dbañ po 34, 52
dge' tshul ma 110
dpon po 193, 194, 196, 199
'dul ba 'dzin pa 109
gnas brtan chen po 121, 145
khar #s 193, 196, 198
lha bla ma 105, 180
lha btsun (pa) 7, 16, 17, 21, 23, 105, 120, 180
lha lcam 112
lha sras 105, 111, 112
mi dbañ chen po 191, 195, 198
mtsho byed 193, 196
ña dbañ 191, 195, 198
no no 7, 192–94, 196, 198
qaghan 5
rgyal po 6, 34, 52, 56–63, 72
rgyal po chen po 179
rje b(r)tsun 18, 23, 191, 195, 198
rje lha btsun (pa) 120
rje rgyal lha btsun 17
sa skyoñ 191, 195, 198
slob chen po 121
slob dpon 109
sman pa 122

- XXXVIII. — BOYCE M., *The Letter of Tansar (Literary and Historical Texts from Iran, 1)*.
- XXXIX. — *Orientalia Romana*. 3, *Ghalib*. Two essays by AHMED ALI and A. BAUSANI.
- XL. — ZAHIRUDDIN AHMAD. *Sino-Tibetan relations in the seventeenth century*.
- XLI. — MOLÈ G., *The T'u-yü-hun from the Northern Wei to the time of the Five Dynasties*.
- XLII. — WYLIE T.V., *A Tibetan religious Geography of Nepal*.
- XLIII. — TUCCI G., *Minor Buddhist Texts*. Part III: *Third Bhāvanākrama*.
- XLIV. — *Orientalia Romana*. 4, Essays by W. HEISSIG, A. TAMBURELLO, R. BEVIGLIA, L.P. MISHR
- XLV. — PETECH L., *Aristocracy and Government in Tibet (1728-1959)*.
- XLVI. — CONZE E., *The Gilgit manuscript of the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā. Chapters 70-82 corresponding to the 6th, 7th and 8th Abhisamayās*.
- XLVII. — RICHARDSON H.E., *Ch'ing Dynasty Inscriptions at Lhasa*.
- XLVIII. — *The Tārīkh-e Sistān*. Translated by MILTON GOLD (*Literary and Historical Texts from Iran, 1*).
- XLIX, 1-2 — GNOLI R., *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu (2 vols.)*.
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