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Nr. 1

THON-MI SAMBHO-ṬA'S MISSION TO INDIA  
AND SRON-BTSAN SGAM-PO'S LEGISLATION

By

Claus Vogel



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VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT IN GÖTTINGEN

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# Thon-mi Sambho-ta's Mission to India and Sron-btsan sgam-po's Legislation

Being the tenth chapter of bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan's rGyal-rabs  
gsal-bai me-loñ

Critically edited and rendered into English  
by  
Claus Vogel



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## Introduction

1. The rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ or 'Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogy,' as the commonest title of the so-called 'Royal Mirror' must be interpreted,<sup>1)</sup> is recorded in the colophon to have been compiled by the Sa-skyapa bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan in bSam-yas Monastery in an earth-male-dragon year.<sup>2)</sup> According to gZon-nu-dpal's Blue Annals and Sum-pa mkhan-po's Chronological Table, bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan, the youngest of twelve sons of the Sa-skya abbot bZaṅ-po-dpal (1262–1322) and the third of his wife Ža-lu-ma Ma-gcig gZon-nu-'bum, was born at Ža-lu Khaṅ-gsar in the water-male-mouse year of the fifth cycle, that is, in 1312, and died in the wood-female-hare year of the sixth cycle, that is, in 1375.<sup>3)</sup> Hence the earth-male-dragon year in point can only be that of the sixth cycle, which corresponds to 1328. This is the date of composition accepted by most scholars,<sup>4)</sup> though it did not remain undisputed.

1) Cf. Laufer, JAOS XXXVIII, p. 41, n. 25. The title found in the author's postscript (p. 203.12) is Chos-'byuñ gsal-bai me-loñ or 'Mirror Illuminating the History of the Doctrine'; that given in the tail-piece of the Lhasa edition (p. 204.21), rGyal-rabs chos-'byuñ gsal-bai me-loñ or 'Mirror Illuminating the Genealogy of the Kings (and) the History of the Doctrine'; that written on the front-page of the Derge edition, rGyal-rabs-rnams-kyi byuñ-thsul gsal-bai me-loñ chos-'byuñ or 'History of the Doctrine, (being) a Mirror Illuminating the Details of the Royal Genealogies'.

2) Glr. p. 203.14–16: *Sa-skyapa bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan-gyis / sa-pho-'brug-gi lo-la dpal bSam-yas-kyi gtsug-lag-khaṅ chen-por legs-par bsgrigs-pa . . .*

3) Deb-ther sñon-po, pp. 191.1–2, 191.7, and 192.1–2: *bla-ma Ye-śes 'byuñ-gnas-kyi sras bdag-ñid chen-po bZaṅ-po-dpal yab-kyi ñer-lña-pa chu-pho-khyi-la 'khruñs / bzi-bcu že-lña-pa me-pho-rta-nas lo bcu-dgu gdan-sa mdzad / re-gcig-pa chu-pho-khyi-la gśegs / bla-ma 'di-la sras bcu-gñis yod-pa-las / . . . / btsun-mo Ža-lu-ma Ma-gcig gZon-nu-'bum-la sras gsum 'khruñs-pai . . . / gcuñ bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan dpal-bzaṅ-po chu-pho-byi-ba-la Ža-lu Khaṅ-gsar-du sku 'khruñs / dguñ-lo drug-bcu rtsa bzi-pa śiñ-moyos-la gśegs / "The son of Lama Ye-śes 'byuñ-gnas, Mahatma bZaṅ-po-dpal, was born in his father's 25th, the water-male-dog (year); from his 45th, the fire-male-horse (year), he held the see for 19 years; in his 61st, the water-male-dog (year), he died. This lama had twelve sons . . . Of the three sons born to his wife Ža-lu-ma Ma-gcig gZon-nu-'bum, . . . the youngest, the holy Lama bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan dpal-bzaṅ-po, was born at Ža-lu Khaṅ-gsar in the water-male-mouse (year); he died in his 64th, the wood-female-hare year." See Roerich's translation, I, p. 213sq. — dPag-bsam ljon-bzaṅ, III, p. 32. 21–22: *chu-byi / Sa-skya bZaṅ-dpal sras bla-ma dam-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan*; pp. 39. 22–40.3: *śiñ-yos / . . . bla-ma dam-pa bSod-rgyan*. Cf. Das, JASB LVIII, pt. 1, pp. 58 and 62, whose rendering of the years and of the second entry is wrong, though.*

4) Cf. Huth, ZDMG XLIX, p. 279; Laufer, KS VIII, p. 213; id., TP II, vol. ix, pp. 18 and 38; id., bTsun-mo bkai thañ-yig, p. 5; id., TP II, vol. xiv, p. 588, and xvii,

The first to doubt the authenticity of the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ was Bell,<sup>5)</sup> who thought to have traced in it a reference to the Deb-ther sñon-po or 'Blue Annals' of gZon-nu-dpal written in 1476–78; but Vostrikov<sup>6)</sup> made it clear that the reference at issue<sup>7)</sup> rather is to the Deb-ther dmar-po or 'Red Annals' of Kun-dga rdo-rje alias Si-tu dGe-bai blo-gros dated 1346. As bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan was still alive at that time, the remaining difference of about twenty years could easily be accounted for by assuming that he revised or inserted the chapter in question after becoming acquainted with those Annals.

Incidentally, Bell was not alone in his effort to find the Deb-ther sñon-po mentioned in the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ. A similar line was followed by Thomas;<sup>8)</sup> while keeping to 1328 as its date of compilation, he nevertheless held that the Royal Mirror was later than the Blue Annals, "which it cites (fol. 33a, 5) under the title *Deb-sñon*." Again it was Vostrikov<sup>9)</sup> who could show that what Thomas took to be the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ actually is the rGyal-ba lña-pai deb-ther or 'Chronicle of the 5th Dalai Lama' written in 1643, which bears the marginal title rGyal-rabs in the Drepung xylograph he used.

The Deb-ther dmar-po is the only work quoted in the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ that is later than 1328. However, as observed by Vostrikov,<sup>10)</sup> there are at least two instances in which the presentation itself extends beyond that year, and which cannot simply be explained away as interpolations. One concerns the history of China, which is carried down to the last emperor of the Yüan dynasty, Toγon Temür alias Shun-ti (1333–68), stating the total number of years of his reign — if wrongly — as 48.<sup>11)</sup> The other pertains to the genealogy

p. 413, n. 1; id., JAOS XXXVIII, p. 41; Pelliot, AM II, p. 284; Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, II, p. 93; Thomas, Texts, I, p. 292. The date 1327 given by Huth and Laufer (in his earlier publications) is due to a mistake of one year made by Csoma, Grammar, p. 181, and Das, JASB LVIII, pt. 1, p. 40, in fixing the commencement of the first cycle (1026 instead of 1027) and rectified by Pelliot, JA XI, t. 1, p. 633sqq.

<sup>5)</sup> Religion, p. 207. Rockhill's remark (Notes, p. 671), adduced by Bell, that the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ "is of comparatively modern origin and was unquestionably compiled under Chinese influence" relates to the La-dvags rgyal-rabs.

<sup>6)</sup> Literature, p. 76sq.

<sup>7)</sup> Glr. p. 22.25–29: *Thsal-pa thams-cad mkhyen-pa Si-tu dGe-bai blo-gros-kyis deb-ther-du bsgrigs-pa-las zur tsam bsdus-pa yin-gyis / rGya-Hor-gyi yig-thsañ rgyas-par šes 'dod-na / deb-ther de-ñid-la gzigs-šig /* "(This) is only a sketch, though, abridged from what has been compiled by the omniscient Thsal-pa Si-tu dGe-bai blo-gros in his Deb-ther; if you want to know the history of China and Mongolia in detail, see this Deb-ther!"

<sup>8)</sup> Texts, I, p. 292sq.

<sup>9)</sup> Literature, p. 77sq.

<sup>10)</sup> Literature, p. 73sq.

<sup>11)</sup> Glr. p. 22.19–21: *dei mched Tho-gan Thi-mur rgyal-pos rgyal-sa lo bži-bcu že-brgyad bzun-nas / rgyal-khams-la dbañ thob-pa yin žes /* "His [i.e. Ratnaśri's] brother, King Tho-gan Thi-mur, having held the throne for forty-eight years, gained power over the (whole) kingdom."

of the kings of Gu-ge, which concludes with the second ruler of the Pu-rañs dynasty, Pri-ti-smal,<sup>12)</sup> whose name occurs elsewhere as s(P)ri-ti-rmal and Pra-ti-rmal.<sup>13)</sup> While Vostrikov ascribed this ruler to the early 15th century, Tucci<sup>14)</sup> succeeded in identifying him with the Pṛthvīmalla of the Dullu pillar inscription of 1357,<sup>15)</sup> who reigned in the mid-14th century, his dated epigraphs ranging from 1338 to 1376. Here too it could be argued that the anachronistic passages were added subsequently by the author himself, all the more so because the former is found in the same third chapter for which the Red Annals are named as the principal source.

A further argument against bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan's authorship put forward by Vostrikov is that the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ draws upon a body of literature too vast to have thoroughly been studied by a person just 16 years of age. Plausible as this argument may seem at first sight, it does not carry much weight in view of the fact that Tibetan historians make it a habit to count the number of years that have passed since a particular event, not up to the date of completion, but up to the date of commencement of their works.<sup>16)</sup> Hence Kuznetsov<sup>17)</sup> is doubtless correct in asserting that bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan began to compile the Royal Mirror in 1328, when he was 16, and that he continued his investigations over a long period.

The last scholar for the time being to question the genuineness of the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ was Tucci,<sup>18)</sup> who felt that its style and structure were

<sup>12)</sup> Glr. p. 199.20–27: *de-nas Ya-thsei rgyal-brgyud chad-nas Pu-rañs-nas mña-bdag bSod-nams-sde Ya-thser gdan drañs-nas rgyal-sa bzuñ / Pu-ñi-smal bya-bar mthsan btags / dei sras Pri-ti-smal dan / blon-po dPal-ldan-grags gñis-kyis lHa-sar bCu-gcig-žal-gyi steñ-du gser-thog phub / stod-na bžugs-pai rgyal-brgyud 'di-rnams / gSer-thog-pa Rin-rdor-gyis yig-thsan-las zur tsam bris-pa yin-gyis rgyal-po re-re bžin-gyi mdzad-pa phrin-las-rnams žib-par šes 'dod-pa de-ñid-kyi yig-thsan-la gzigs-šig /* "Then, after the dynasty of Ya-thse had ended, the sovereign bSod-nams-sde was called from Pu-rañs to Ya-thse and took the throne; he was given the name Pu-ñi-smal. His son Pri-ti-smal and the (latter's) minister dPal-ldan-grags placed a golden roof on the bCu-gcig-žal (temple) in lHa-sa. These dynasties contained in the above (account) are only a sketch, though, recorded from the History (composed) by gSer-thog-pa Rin-chen rdo-rje. He who wants accurately to know the acts (and) deeds of the individual kings shall see his History."

<sup>13)</sup> Cf. bSod-nams grags-pa, *Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma*, pp. 39 and 169; *Sum-pa mkhan-po*, dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ, II, p. 152.25.

<sup>14)</sup> Report, pp. 43sq. and 152sq. Cf. Petech, *History*, p. 113, n. 4.

<sup>15)</sup> Its date as read by Naraharinātha (see Tucci, Report, p. 153) runs thus: *graha-rṣi-sūrya-gaṇābde śāke jyesthasya mecake / rudrāhe bhānu-vāre (<')sau kirtistambho (<')dhiropitaḥ //* "In the Śāka year numbered (by the word-numerals) planet, seer, and sun [1279], in the dark half of Jyaiṣṭha, on the day (numbered by the word-numeral) Rudra [11], on a Sunday, this pillar of fame (was) set up." It is irregular, working out at Sunday, 14 May 1357, when the 11th lunar day of the dark pūrṇimānta Jyaiṣṭha of the expired Śāka year 1279 began about 8 h. after mean sunrise at Lañkā.

<sup>16)</sup> Cf. Vostrikov, *Literature*, p. 77, n. 240.

<sup>17)</sup> Glr., introd., p. ix sq.

<sup>18)</sup> *Scrolls*, I, p. 141.

incompatible with so early a date, and that its genesis as told in the colophon<sup>19)</sup> did not fit the political conditions of those days: "The fact that a Sa skya monk, who was a rDo rje ḁsin and therefore enjoyed a high rank in ecclesiastical hierarchy, was instigated to write a historical work on the advice of the prince of bSam yas, means that relations between the Sa skya abbots and that monastery in the heart of central Tibet were very intimate, implying nevertheless the decay of that abbatial clan from its ancient power; this happened in comparatively late times, at any rate when the Sa skya hegemony was over; but in 1328 it was still in full flower." Even Tucci will have to admit that his reasoning is not convincing by itself and must be substantiated by proof positive. Apart from the above references to the Red and Blue Annals, however, all he can offer in that way is the mention (at pp. 9.8 and 46.15) of Bu-ston's Chos-'byuñ, which he places in 1347 on the strength of a postscript noting the year of its composition in terms of the Indian sexagenary cycle as *khrag-skyug* (Skr. *rudhirodgārin*). This is clearly an error; for the year in point, which is the 57th of the said cycle, corresponds to 1323 and thus tallies fully with the date given by Bu-ston himself (fol. 93a 1-2):<sup>20)</sup>

*chu-pho-khyi rña-chen lo-la bla-ma ti-śri Kun-dga blo-gros rgyal-mthsan dpal-bzañ-po Bod-du bsñen-rdzogs-la byon-pai lo yan-chad-la sum-stoñ bži-brgya lña-bcu rtsa lña 'das / rtsa drug-pai steñ-na yod-pas /*

"When in the water-male-dog (or) *kettle-drum*<sup>21)</sup> year the Lama Ti-śri<sup>22)</sup> Kun-dga blo-gros rgyal-mthsan dpal-bzañ-po<sup>23)</sup> arrived in Tibet for being ordained, until that year 3455 (years) had passed (from Buddha's nirvana, and now we) are in the former part of the (345)6th."

Similarly, the epilogue of the Tashilhunpo xylograph assigns the Chos-'byuñ to the water-dog-year, 3455 years from Buddha's nirvana, and the 33rd year of the author's life,<sup>24)</sup> which is equivalent to 1322. Hence there is no real need

<sup>19)</sup> Glr. p. 202.27-30: *chos-rgyal-rnams-kyi rnam-thar mdor bsdus 'di / lha-btsun Rin-chen-dpal-gyis bskul-pai ñor / rdo-rje 'dzin-pa bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan-gyis / 'gal-'khrul spañs-te legs-par bsgrigs-pa yin //* "This abridged biography of the kings of the Doctrine has been compiled carefully and properly by the thunderbolt-bearer bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan in consequence of a summons by the monk-prince Rin-chen-dpal."

<sup>20)</sup> See Obermiller's translation, II, p. 106, and Vostrikov's remarks thereon, Literature, p. 144, n.

<sup>21)</sup> Skr. *dundubhi*, the 56th year of the Jovian cycle, corresponding to 1322.

<sup>22)</sup> Chin. 帝師 *ti-shih* "imperial master," a title and office conferred by the Mongol Khans on the abbots of Sa-skya at one stage. Cf. Tucci, Scrolls, I, p. 14sq.

<sup>23)</sup> Obviously one of the elder brothers of bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan; he lived 1299-1327. Cf. *gZon-nu-dpal*, Deb-ther sñon-po, I, p. 213sq.; *Sum-pa mkhan-po*, dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ, III, p. 31.12. For the year of his death see Tucci, Scrolls, I, p. 253, n. 51.

<sup>24)</sup> Cf. Vostrikov, Literature, p. 141, n. 405. *Sum-pa mkhan-po*, dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ, III, p. 34.3-5, has the same date: *chu-khyi / . . . Bu-ston-gyi Chos-'byuñ rin-chen-mdzod mdzad*.



to push the work down by almost a quarter of a century, and its being quoted in the Royal Mirror does not have any consequences for the age of the latter.

2. In its present form, the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ contains a good many glosses. They are readily distinguished by the use of different—either cursive or small—letters. As some of them occur in the wrong place, it may be supposed with confidence that they were marginal or interlinear notes at first and were introduced into the body of the text by not too competent a copyist. Whether they originate from the author himself—as Kuznetsov<sup>25)</sup> is inclined to believe—or from a later hand or even from more than one later hand remains an unsolved problem for the moment.

Nevertheless Kuznetsov made an interesting observation in this respect. The abstract of Chinese history in the third chapter, which reaches down to Toyon Temür (1333–68), the last Mongol emperor,<sup>26)</sup> is followed by a scholium stating (p. 22.21–22): 'di-nas rgyal-sa rGyai Dhai-min rgyal-po-la śor zer / "From him the throne is said to have passed to King Dhai-min of China." Tib. *Dhai-min* reproduces Chin. 大 明 *T'ai Ming*, which simply means "Great Ming." It is a well-known fact that the Yüan was succeeded by the Ming dynasty, and that the latter was inaugurated by T'ai-tsu (1368–98), who, however, as was the general practice, did not receive this dynastic title until his death. Now as the scholiast was aware—if by hearsay—of the change of dynasty on the one side but unaware of the posthumous official name of the new emperor on the other, it stands to reason that he lived during the rule of that emperor, and the possibility cannot altogether be excluded that he was indeed identical with the author in his last years.

After bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan's death in 1375, his rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ was handed down in manuscript form for over a century. What happened to it during that time, whether it was locked away in the archives of bSam-yas Monastery or copied and circulated among scholars, is a matter for speculation. At any rate, the first printing was undertaken, not at its place of origin, but in the 'Phrul-snañ Temple of lHa-sa; it was supervised by Legs-pai śes-rab, the keeper of the famous statue of Jo-bo there, and finished in an earth-male-dog year under the reign of Chos-rgyal dPal-'byor rgyal-po.<sup>27)</sup> According to Vostrikov,<sup>28)</sup> this king must have been Prince dPal-'byor rgyal-po of sNel, whose sons Nag-dbañ bSod-nams lhun-po and Nag-dbañ bSod-nams rnam-rgyal lost their power when Prince Don-yod rdo-rje of Rin-spuñs conquered dBus Province in the iron-ox year of the eighth cycle, that

<sup>25)</sup> Glr., introd., p. ix sq.

<sup>26)</sup> See above, n. 11.

<sup>27)</sup> Glr. p. 204 sq. On the 'Phrul-snañ Temple of lHa-sa and the statue of Jo-bo see Ferrari, *Dad-pai sa-bon*, p. 85 sq., notes 38 and 39.

<sup>28)</sup> *Literature*, p. 75.

is, in 1481.<sup>29)</sup> So the year of publication of the Lhasa xylograph too must be looked for in the eighth cycle, which lasted from 1447 to 1506; it is equal to 1478.

Owing to the unclear wording of the colophon of the Lhasa edition, which speaks of him as having “properly finalized” (*legs-par bsgrubs*) the Royal Mirror, Legs-pai śes-rab is held by some native writers to be the author rather than the publisher of the book. The most prominent of these writers is the 5th Dalai Lama, Ņag-dbañ Blo-bzañ rgya-mthso (1617–82), who in his guide to the ’Phrul-snañ Temple makes a passing reference to “the sepulchre of Legs-pai śes-rab, the chief treasure-warden (and) author of the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ.”<sup>30)</sup> Similarly Kloñ-rdol bla-ma (b. 1719), while cataloguing the collected works of the bKa-gdams-pa and dGe-lugs-pa teachers, fathers the Royal Mirror upon bŽu-khañ-pa Legs-pai śes-rab.<sup>31)</sup> The true state of affairs is indicated by dKon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas (b. 1801), who says with regard to the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ that “this was carved in blocks by the chief treasure-warden Legs-pai śes-rab of lHa-sa,” and that “in the colophon Sa-skyapa bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan is named (as its author).”<sup>32)</sup>

About the middle of the 18th century, little less than three hundred years after the publication of the Lhasa xylograph, the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ was released from the famous lHun-grub-steñ Monastery of Derge in a new wood-printed edition prepared by the abbot Kun-dga phrin-las rgya-mthso at the instigation of his chaplain E-vam-pa dPal-ldan chos-skyoñ.<sup>33)</sup> Under Kun-dga phrin-las rgya-mthso alias Phun-thsogs bstan-pa, second son of bsTan-pa thse-riñ (1678–1738), the Derge recension of the Tanjur was completed in 1743 or 1744; he assumed office in 1738, the date of his death being unknown.<sup>34)</sup>

The rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ was translated twice into Mongolian under the abbreviated title Gegen toli or ‘Clear Mirror’: a first time in Eastern Mongolia between 1614 and 1624 by Sakya Dondub or Sa-skya Don-grub, a Tibetan by birth, who assumed the task by direction of the Ordos prince Bošuytu ĵinong; and a second time in South-eastern Mongolia during the first quarter of the 17th century by Toyin čorĵi Mati-bada of the Tariya mingyan of the Kharatsin, who engaged in the enterprise on instructions from the

<sup>29)</sup> rGyal-ba lña-pai deb-ther, fol. 99b3–6 (translated by Tucci, *Scrolls*, II, p. 646a); Sum-pa mkhan-po, dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ, II, p. 162.1–4.

<sup>30)</sup> dKar-chag śel-dkar me-loñ, p. 27.5–7: *dkon-gñer-dpon rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ rtsom-pa-po Legs-pai śes-rab-kyi gduñ-rten*.

<sup>31)</sup> gSuñ-’bum, p. 1407.4–5: *bŽu-khañ-pa Legs-pai śes-rab-kyis rGyal-rab(s) gsal-bai me-loñ*.

<sup>32)</sup> Deb-ther rgya-mthso, I, pp. 13.20–14.1: *rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ / ’di lHa-sai dkon-gñer-dpon Legs-pai śes-rab-kyis par-du brkos* [thus read] *-śiñ / brtsams-byañ-la Sa-skyapa bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan zer-ba yod*.

<sup>33)</sup> Glr. p. 205.

<sup>34)</sup> Cf. Kolmaš, sDe-dgei rgyal-rabs, p. 40, and *Iconography*, p. 21.

Bagharin peer Labtai qung bayatur.<sup>35</sup>) A Western Mongolian or Oirat version, entitled *Nom garqoi todorqoi toli* or 'Bright Mirror, (being) a History of the Doctrine,' was prepared shortly after 1648 by the celebrated Jaya paṇḍita; this is the oft-quoted *Bodhi mör* or 'Path of Enlightenment,' which has been known for over 150 years from Schmidt's numerous partial renderings.<sup>36</sup>)

3. As regards the primary source material, the following text witnesses of the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ have been located in Europe so far:

(a) A xylograph of the Lhasa edition in the Oriental Department of Leningrad University; 101 leaves, seven lines per page (Xyl. 1931/173, previously 25181/569).

(b) Another xylograph of the Lhasa edition in the Leningrad Branch of the Oriental Institute (the former Institute of the Peoples of Asia) of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; incomplete (Old Coll. No. 438a).<sup>37</sup>)

(c) A xylograph of the Derge edition in the British Library (the former British Museum), London, once owned by Heinrich August Jäschke; 104 leaves, six lines per page (Or. 5351).—A microfilm of this xylograph is found in the Far Eastern Library of the University of Washington, Seattle (Reel B 1-3/7).<sup>38</sup>)

(d) Another xylograph of the Derge edition in the India Office Library, London, brought from Tibet by Eric Teichman of the British Consular Service in China, who spent a few days at Derge in September 1918;<sup>39</sup>) 104 leaves, six lines per page (Teichman 1).—Xerox-copyflo copies of this xylograph are found in the Central Asiatic Institute of Bonn University and in the private library of the present writer.

(e) A further xylograph of the Derge edition in the Leningrad Branch of the Oriental Institute (the former Institute of the Peoples of Asia) of the Soviet Academy of Sciences; 104 leaves, six lines per page (Baradiin Coll.).<sup>40</sup>)

(f) A manuscript in *dbu-can* characters in the private library of Siegbert Hummel, Plohn (Vogtland, E. Germany), once owned by Heinrich August Jäschke; 125 leaves, seven lines per page.—A photographic copy of this manuscript is found in the private library of Richard Othon Meisezahl, Bonn.

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<sup>35</sup>) Part of the fourth chapter of a Mongolian version (of which could not be determined), concerning Avalokiteśvara's birth from the lotus, has been included in Kovalenskij's *Chrestomatija*, II, p. 32*sqq.*; a portion thereof has been translated into German by Schott, *Buddhismus*, p. 26*sq.*

<sup>36</sup>) *Forschungen*, p. 193*sqq. et passim*; *Erdeni-yin tobči*, p. 316*sq. et passim*. Cf. Heissig, *Familiengeschichtsschreibung*, I, p. 34*sqq.*

<sup>37</sup>) Cf. Schiefner, *BCHP IX*, col. 21; *Vostrikov, Literature*, p. 67.

<sup>38</sup>) Cf. Smith, *Catalogue*, I, p. 112*sq.*

<sup>39</sup>) Cf. Teichman, *Travels*, p. 157*sqq.*

<sup>40</sup>) Cf. *Vostrikov, Literature*, p. 68.

(g) Another manuscript in *dbu-can* characters in the private library of Giuseppe Tucci, Rome, once owned by the Nono of Spiti;<sup>41)</sup> 242 leaves,<sup>42)</sup> mostly six lines per page (No. 415).—A Xerox-copyflo copy of this manuscript is found in the private library of Helmut Eimer, Bonn.

(h) A further manuscript in *dbu-can* characters in the private library of Giuseppe Tucci, Rome, copied under his supervision in 1930 from an old manuscript of He-mis Monastery; two European notebooks of 92 and 53 leaves respectively, the former being inscribed on one side only.<sup>43)</sup>

(i) A manuscript in *dbu-med* characters in the Public Museum, Liverpool, once owned by Sir Charles Bell, who got it from the 13th Dalai Lama;<sup>44)</sup> 142 leaves, mostly six lines per page (Bell Coll. No. 5, 50.31.102b).—A Xerox-copyflo copy of this manuscript is found in the Indological Institute of Bonn University.

Philological work on the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ began as early as the late 1850s with the compilation of Jäschke's *Handwörterbuch* (published in 1871), which contains many instances marked 'Glr.;' but not until 1966 was the full text made available to a wider circle of scholars through Kuznetsov's edition (on which see below). The research done meanwhile and since is summed up chronologically in the ensuing survey:

(a) English translation of ch. 6; by Wenzel, *JRAS N.S. XX*, p. 503 *sqq.*

(b) Edition of the part of ch. 10 concerning the adoption of the script in Tibet; in *Si-tui sum-rtags*, Darjeeling, 1895, app.<sup>45)</sup>

(c) German translation of three passages from ch. 18 concerning respectively the projection (pp. 168.18–169.13), construction (pp. 169.13–175.29), and consecration (pp. 175.31–180.10) of bSam-yas Monastery; by Laufer, *TP II*, vol. ix, pp. 438 *sqq.* (with text), 19 *sqq.*, and 39 *sqq.*

(d) Edition of a passage from ch. 18 enumerating the descendants of King dPal-'khor-btsan (pp. 197.24–198.14 and 199.5–24); by Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, II, p. 88 *sqq.*

<sup>41)</sup> Cf. Tucci, *Scrolls*, I, p. 260, n. 244. This is the codex marked B by Petech, *Study*, p. 176, and Hoffmann, *Quellen*, p. 398.

<sup>42)</sup> The manuscript ends with fol. 241a but shows the following irregularities in foliation: numbers 12, 149, and 179 are repeated, numbers 37 and 38 are assigned to the same leaf, and number 156 is omitted. Folios 19 and 24–26 have been lost.

<sup>43)</sup> Cf. Petech, *Study*, p. 176. This is Petech's and Hoffmann's codex A.—According to Tucci, *Scrolls*, I, p. 140b, the He-mis manuscript is entitled rGyal-rabs chos-'byuñ gsal-bai me-loñ and derived from an exemplar written in sKyid-'sod in dBus on Chos-rgyal dPal-'byor rgyal-po's commission. As appears from these details, the exemplar concerned can only have been the Lhasa edition of 1478 or a transcript thereof (see above, n. 1 and § 2).

<sup>44)</sup> Cf. Bell, *Religion*, p. 208 (with reproduction of fol. 117a).

<sup>45)</sup> According to Laufer, *WZKM XII*, p. 291, n. 1; the book is inaccessible to the present writer.

(e) Chinese translation of all parts concerning the lives of the kings; by Wang, Shanghai, 1949 (<sup>3</sup>1955). Another Chinese translation, prepared by Liu, appeared in K'ang-tao yüeh-k'an II-IV.<sup>46</sup>)

(f) English translation of a passage from ch. 18 concerning Sino-Tibetan relations; by Tucci, Tombs, p. 24sqg.

(g) Edition and German translation of eleven passages from ch. 8, 14, and 18 concerning the Bon religion;<sup>47</sup>) by Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 398sqg. and 297sqg.

(h) German translation of various passages concerning myths and mysteries; by Hermanns, Mythen, p. 37sq. et passim.

(i) Résumé of the subject-matter of ch. 1-18; by Kuznetsov, TBKNII III, p. 44sqg.

(j) Russian translation of ch. 18, with introductory essay and comments; by Kuznetsov, Leningrad, 1961. Reviewed by Kolmaš, AO XXXI, p. 159sqg.

(k) Detailed résumé of the subject-matter of ch. 7; by Kuznetsov, DE VI, p. 26sqg.

(l) English translation of ch. 7, with introduction and notes; by Kania, FO XV, p. 247sqg. (~ TJ III, No. 3, p. 12sqg.).

Kuznetsov's editio princeps of the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ rests on the Lhasa and Derge block-prints of the Oriental Department of Leningrad University and the India Office Library, giving as a rule the text of the Lhasa edition in the body of the pages and the readings of the Derge edition in the foot-notes. Thus, while claiming to be a critical edition (p. xixsq.), it is rather a diplomatic reproduction of the Lhasa xylograph with all its numerous follies and blunders, amongst them—to quote from the tenth chapter only—such obvious errors as *ža pas kyu* (p. 58.6) for *žabs-kyu* “u sign,” *dbu la 'phoñs* (p. 59.11) for the obsolete *dbul-'phoñs* “poverty,” *šo mar ru* (p. 62.29) for *Šo-ma-ra-ru* “at Šo-ma-ra,” and *kar* (p. 63.27) for *ka-ra* “sugar.” The last instance is found in a metrical line, with the editor trying to make up for the consequent lack of one syllable by malcorrecting the obsolete *dgu-'brum* “grape” into *dgu 'bru ma!* Just as irritating is a case like the following, in which the ten word-finals are listed as *ga da ba ma da na ra la sa* (p. 57.24), with the first *da* being wrong for *na* and 'a being wanting. Similarly, the seven basic letters with subscript *ya* are specified as *gya khya sbya phya bya mya* (p. 58.7), with *gya* and *sbya* being wrong for *kya* and *gya* respectively and *pya* being

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<sup>46</sup>) According to Stein, Tribus, p. 89; both books are inaccessible to the present writer.

<sup>47</sup>) From ch. 8: pp. 46.20-29, 47.2-6, 47.13-27, 48.22-49.18, 51.5-52.2; from ch. 14: pp. 119.4-11, 120.11-14; from ch. 18: pp. 165.29-166.30, 189.24-190.24, 195.27-33, 196.6-25.

missing; here for once the accurate wording can be learned from the apparatus criticus, which otherwise is highly unreliable and incomplete, more than sixty Derge variants in the tenth chapter alone having been registered either incorrectly or not at all. Under these circumstances, a new edition would be very desirable.

The present text of the tenth chapter of the rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ has been constituted on the basis of the Derge edition (D: fol. 29b6–34a4) but with constant reference to the Lhasa edition as made known by Kuznetsov (L: fol. 27b–31b); besides these xylographic sources, two manuscripts have been utilized: Hummel's manuscript (H: fol. 34a3–39a2) and Tucci's Spiti manuscript (T: fol. 72b4–81b2). As regards their stemmatic relationship, the Derge edition is distinguished by a consequent modernization of the outdated orthography of the original, while the other witnesses reflect various intermediate stages of development, Hummel's manuscript being generally closer to the Lhasa edition than Tucci's manuscript. From the philological point of view, it would have been more appropriate to retain or restore the antiquated spelling throughout; but as not even the Lhasa edition shows consistency in this respect, and as it is sometimes difficult in the existing state of Tibetan studies to know archaic from corrupt forms, it seemed preferable to publish a standardized version and to give the certain obsolescences in a separate list.

The English rendering is meant to be literal rather than literary. Words added for a better understanding of the text have been put in round brackets. Italics have been used to mark the glosses of the original. References to Schmidt are to pp. 327–330 of his edition and translation of Sa-yang Se-čen's Erdeni-yin tobči, the notes to which quote amply—in German—from the Bodhi mör or Oirat version of the Royal Mirror. For solving—or contributing to the solution of—some problems of interpretation, this writer is indebted to Geshe Pema Tsering, Bonn, and Kachen Champa Thupten Zongtse, Göttingen.

### Text

de-nas chos<sup>1</sup> dge-ba bcu-la brten<sup>2</sup>-pai rgyal-khrims 'cha<sup>3</sup>-ba / 'dod-yon lña spel-ba / phan-thsun-du skyes skur<sup>4</sup>-ba / mña-og-gi 'bañs-rnams-la chos-kyi bka sgo<sup>5</sup>-ba-la / Bod-na yi-ge med-pas<sup>6</sup> / blon-po dbañ-po rno-ba bdun rGya[D30a1]-gar-du yi-ge slob-tu<sup>7</sup> btañ<sup>8</sup>-bas / mtha 'dre rnam-pa<sup>9</sup> gsum-la

<sup>1</sup>) T om.

<sup>2</sup>) HLT rten.

<sup>3</sup>) T ca.

<sup>4</sup>) D bskur.

<sup>5</sup>) DH bsgo; T sno.

<sup>6</sup>) T pa.

<sup>7</sup>) HL om. -tu; T -du.

<sup>8</sup>) HL gtañ.

<sup>9</sup>) T om. -pa.

thug-nas log-pas / de-nas Thon<sup>10</sup>-mi A-nui bu / [T73a] Thon-mi<sup>11</sup> Sambho<sup>12</sup>-ṭa  
 zes-pa yid gzuṅs<sup>13</sup>-pa dbaṅ-po rno-ba / yon-tan du-ma daṅ ldan-pa cig yod-  
 pa-la / gser maṅ-po bskur-nas rGya-gar-du yi-ge slob-tu<sup>14</sup> [2] btaṅ<sup>15</sup>-ṅo // der  
 blon-pos<sup>16</sup> rGya-gar lho-phyogs-su phyin-te / yi-gei sgra-la mkhas-pa bram-ze  
 Li-byin zes-bya-ba yod zer-ba thos-nas / bram-ze ga-la-ba der phyin-te /  
 gus-par phyag-btsal<sup>17</sup>-te gsol-pa /

thugs-rje rab rgyas rnam 'phrul<sup>18</sup> lha-yi<sup>19</sup> rigs //  
 yon-tan ldan-pas<sup>20</sup> bram-zei rigs-su [3] 'khruṅs<sup>21</sup> //  
 thse sṅon yon-tan sbyaṅs-pa soṅ-bai mthus<sup>22</sup> //  
 luṅ-rig<sup>23</sup> yi-gei<sup>24</sup> sgra-la phul<sup>25</sup>-du phyin //  
 mkhas<sup>26</sup>-grub rig<sup>27</sup>-dzin bram-ze<sup>28</sup> chen-po khyed<sup>29</sup> //  
 cuṅ<sup>30</sup>-zad bdag-la dgoṅs-siṅ gsan<sup>31</sup>-du gsol //  
 bdag ni mtha-'khob<sup>32</sup> Bod-kyi blon-po yin //  
 [H34b] bdag-gi rgyal-po thugs-rje chen[4]-po lags<sup>33</sup> //  
 bcu-gsum lon<sup>34</sup>-nas rgyal-sa rab bzuṅ-ste<sup>35</sup> //  
 rin-chen khri-yi<sup>36</sup> steṅ-du bzuṅs-pai dus //  
 'khor-'baṅs-rnams-la chos-kyis<sup>37</sup> thsim-pa daṅ //  
 dge-ba bcu-yi<sup>38</sup> rgyal-khrims 'cha<sup>39</sup>-ba-la //  
 [T73b] bdag-gi yul-na yi-gei srol med-pas //  
 bdag-la phyag-rten rgya<sup>40</sup> chen<sup>41</sup> bskur[5]-nas ni //  
 khyed-kyi yul-du yi-ge slob-tu<sup>42</sup> btaṅ //  
 mkhas-pa khyed-kyis<sup>43</sup> sgra-thsad yi-gei thsogs //  
 [L28a] ma-lus bdag-la gnaṅ-bar mdzad-du gsol //

zes<sup>44</sup> zus-nas / gser-rnams phyag-tu<sup>45</sup> phul-ba daṅ / bram-ze<sup>46</sup> chen-po des /  
 gser phyag-tu<sup>47</sup> bzes<sup>48</sup>-nas lan<sup>49</sup> mdzad-pa /

10) HL mThon.

11) HL mThon-mi; T Thon-mis.

12) HL Sam-bho; T bho.

13) HLT bzuṅs.

14) T du.

15) HL gtaṅ.

16) T po.

17) HT 'thsal; L stsal.

18) T sprul.

19) HT lhai.

20) T pa.

21) HL mkhruṅs.

22) HL 'thus; T thus.

23) DT rigs.

24) T ge.

25) T 'phul.

26) T khas.

27) HLT rigs.

28) T zes.

29) T khyod.

30) HL bcuṅ.

31) HLT bsan.

32) HLT khob.

33) T legs.

34) T lo.

35) HLT te.

36) HLT khrii.

37) HLT kyī.

38) HLT bcui.

39) D bca.

40) HLT rgyags.

41) H che; L che-ba; T bye(?).

42) HLT du.

43) HLT kyī.

44) HLT ces.

45) HLT du.

46) T zes.

47) HLT du.

48) H zes; L gzes.

49) D len.

legs[6]-par<sup>50</sup> ñon-cig skal<sup>51</sup>-ldan rigs-kyi bu //  
 Thon<sup>52</sup>-mi zer-bai blon-po rig-pa-can //  
 bden gñis don rtogs blon-chen khyed-la<sup>53</sup> ni //  
 yi-gei sgra dañ sñan-ñag-la sogs dañ //  
 gźan yañ<sup>54</sup> yon-tan ño-mthsar-can-rnams kun //  
 blon-chen khyod-la bdag-gis bslab<sup>55</sup>-par bgyi //  
 khyod-kyis<sup>56</sup> [D30b1] mtha-'khob<sup>57</sup> Bod-kyi rgyal-khams-su //  
 'gro-ba-rnams-la yi-gei sgra-thsad dañ //  
 luñ-rig<sup>58</sup> man<sup>59</sup>-ñag-rnams-kyis<sup>60</sup> thsim-par mdzod //  
 ces smras-te<sup>61</sup> / rin-po-chei gźal-yas<sup>62</sup>-khañ-du khrid-nas yi-gei 'bru bstan<sup>63</sup>-  
 pas / der blon-po Thon-mis<sup>64</sup> [T74a] rig<sup>65</sup>-pai rtsal<sup>66</sup> phyes<sup>67</sup> / śes-rab-kyi  
 sgron[2]-me bteg<sup>68</sup>-nas yi-ge bslabs-pas<sup>69</sup> / na-ga-rai sde-thsan<sup>70</sup> / ga-tai sde-  
 thsan<sup>71</sup> / <sup>72</sup> † rnam<sup>73</sup> mañ-du <sup>74</sup>mai sde-thsan mañ-du<sup>74</sup> yod-pa / Bod-la mi  
 'gyur-bas dbyaṅs<sup>75</sup>-yig-la bkod<sup>76</sup> † / lāñthsa<sup>77</sup> lhai yi-ge / vartu-la<sup>78</sup> klui yi-ge /  
 lhun-grub thsad-ma Bod-kyi yi-ge-la bkod<sup>79</sup> /

rGya-yi<sup>80</sup> yi-ge lña-bcu ni //  
 yi-ge<sup>81</sup> gtso-bo sum-cu<sup>82</sup>-la //  
 [3] 'phul-yig bcu dañ mtha-rten bcu //  
 rGya-yi<sup>83</sup> [H35a] yi-ge re-re bźin //  
 rañ gañ<sup>84</sup> spyod-pa<sup>85</sup> ma-gtogs<sup>86</sup>-pa //  
 kun-la khyab-pa cig kyañ med //  
 de-dag thams-cad khoñ-du bsdus<sup>87</sup> //  
 de-la dpe byas bsdus-pa ni<sup>88</sup> //  
 Bod-yig sum-cu<sup>89</sup> gtan<sup>90</sup>-la phab //

50) L -por; T lags-.

51) T bka.

52) HL mThon.

53) T khyod-las.

54) HL bźan kyañ.

55) T slab.

56) T kyi.

57) HLT khob.

58) DT rigs.

59) H *add.* ñar.

60) T kyi.

61) T ste.

62) T *gyas*.

63) HL stan.

64) HLT mThon-; T -mi.

65) H rigs.

66) T stsal.

67) HLT phye.

68) HL stegs; T stag.

69) HLT slabs.

70) H sdeb-; T -mthsan.

71) T mthsan.

72) D *om.*; HT //.

73) D rnams.

74) D *om.*; T -mthsan.

75) HLT *gyaṅ*.

76) HLT skod.

77) HLT lan-thsa.

78) D va-rtu-; HLT bha-gru-; T *om.*

-la.

79) HL skod.

80) HLT rGyai.

81) T gei.

82) HLT gsum-bcu.

83) HL rGyai; T brGyai.

84) HLT goñ.

85) L *om.* -pa; T spyo-.

86) HLT rtogs.

87) L *add.* -pa ni.

88) T bdus-pai.

89) HT -bcu; L -bcu; T gsum-.

90) HL bstan; T stan.



yi-gei 'bru<sup>91</sup> ni re-re bzin //  
 bzoi<sup>92</sup> rnam-'gyur [4] legs-par bcos //  
 yi-gei gtso-bo ñi<sup>93</sup>-śu-la //  
 ka kha ca cha ja<sup>94</sup> ña ta tha<sup>94</sup> pa pha tsa thsa dza va za za ya śa ha<sup>94</sup> a /  
 med-kyañ ruñ-bai yig<sup>95</sup>-'bru gcig<sup>96</sup> //  
 va /  
 'phul<sup>97</sup>-yig lña dañ<sup>98</sup> —  
 ga da ba ma 'a /  
 — [T74b] mtha-rten bcu<sup>99</sup> //<sup>100</sup>  
 ga ña<sup>101</sup> ba ma 'a<sup>102</sup> da<sup>103</sup> na ra la sa /  
 śin-tu<sup>104</sup> gces<sup>105</sup>-pai yi-ge lña //<sup>106</sup>  
 ga da<sup>107</sup> ba ma 'a /  
 rkañ[5]-pa-can-gyi yi-ge dgu //<sup>108</sup>  
 ka ga ta da na ña<sup>109</sup> za<sup>110</sup> śa ha /  
 rGya-la<sup>111</sup> med-pai yi-ge drug //  
 ca cha ja 'a<sup>112</sup> za za<sup>113</sup> /  
 yi-ge bu<sup>114</sup> ni bcu-drug-la //<sup>115</sup>  
 ka ga ña da<sup>116</sup> ta na<sup>117</sup> pa ba ma ca ja ña<sup>118</sup> tsa dza la ha /  
 yi-ge ma ni bdun[L28b]-du bcos //<sup>119</sup>  
 ka ga ba za /  
 kun-gyi ma ni<sup>120</sup> ra la sa //<sup>121</sup>  
 'dogs<sup>122</sup> thams-cad-kyi ma gsum<sup>123</sup> /  
 124]a-la sgos<sup>125</sup>-su ma bzi yod<sup>124</sup> //<sup>126</sup>

91) T 'gru.

92) LT gzoi.

93) T ñu.

94) T om.

95) H yi-ge.

96) HLT cig.

97) T phul.

98) Codd. add. /.

99) HLT add. ni.

100) Codd. /.

101) DL da.

102) L om.

103) D ña.

104) T du.

105) HLT ces.

106) Codd. /.

107) DL ña.

108) Codd. /.

109) L om.

110) T om.

111) T na.

112) DLT pha; H om.

113) H add. 'a.

114) T 'bru.

115) Codd. /.

116) T da ña.

117) T om.

118) HLT ña ja.

119) Codd. /.

120) D add. /.

121) Codd. /.

122) T add. -pa.

123) T add. -la.

124) T utitur litteris minutioribus.

125) HLT dgos.

126) Codd. /.

[6] ka ga ba za la-yi<sup>127</sup> ma //<sup>128</sup>  
*yig*<sup>129</sup>-*'bru bzi-po 'di-la / la*<sup>130</sup> *kho*<sup>131</sup>-*na 'dogs*<sup>132</sup> /  
<sup>133</sup>la-la sgos<sup>134</sup>-su bu gñis yod<sup>133</sup> //  
<sup>135</sup>ca dañ ha gñis la-yi<sup>136</sup> bu<sup>135</sup> //  
tsa<sup>137</sup> dañ dza<sup>138</sup> gñis ra-yi<sup>139</sup> bu //  
'phul dañ mtha-rten<sup>140</sup> mi byed-ciñ //  
ma bu gñis-ka<sup>141</sup> mi byed-pai //  
rañ-sa 'dzin-pai yi-ge bcu //  
kha<sup>142</sup> cha tha pha<sup>143</sup> thsa va za ya sa a /  
ga ba [D31a1] yi-ge kun-tu rgyu<sup>144</sup> //<sup>145</sup>  
*ma*<sup>146</sup> *dañ bu gñis-ka*<sup>147</sup> *byed / 'phul dañ mtha-rten gñis-ka*<sup>148</sup> *byed /*  
sten-na zva<sup>149</sup> ltar ldiñ-ba gsum<sup>150</sup> //  
na-ro gi-gu 'gren-po-ste<sup>151</sup> //  
'di gsum yi-ge kun-la khyab //  
[T75a] og-na gdan<sup>152</sup> ltar mdzes-pa gsum //  
ya-ta ra-ta zabs-kyu-ste<sup>153</sup> //  
ya-ta<sup>154</sup> 'dogs-pai yi-ge [2] bdun //  
kya<sup>155</sup> khya<sup>156</sup> gya<sup>157</sup> pya phya bya mya<sup>158</sup> /  
ra-ta 'dogs-pai yi-ge bcu-gcig<sup>159</sup> yod //<sup>160</sup>  
kra khra gra pra phra bra mra sra dra hra /  
zabs-kyui<sup>161</sup> yi-ge kun-la khyab //<sup>162</sup>  
kyu khyu kru khru /  
[H35b] ya-ta ra-ta gñis-la'an<sup>163</sup> khyab //<sup>164</sup>  
'dogs dañ sdeb<sup>165</sup>-sbyor blo-la sar-ro //

127) Codd. lai.

128) Codd. /.

129) H yi-ge.

130) T *add.* la.

131) H lo; T khoñ.

132) T dogs.

133) T *utitur litteris minutioribus.*

134) HLT dgos.

135) L *utitur litteris cursivis.*

136) HT lai.

137) T ca.

138) DT ja.

139) HLT rai.

140) L sten.

141) HL kha.

142) T ka.

143) L *om.*; T pa.

144) T -du rgyug.

145) DHL /.

146) L la.

147) HL kha.

148) H kyañ; L kya.

149) Codd. za.

150) T gas.

151) HL(?)T 'dreñ-; T -bu-; HLT -te.

152) T bdan.

153) HL -te; T -bkyu-.

154) T te.

155) L gya.

156) T bya.

157) H spya; L sbya.

158) H phya bya mya gya; L *om.* pya.

159) HLT cig.

160) Codd. /.

161) HLT kyus.

162) DT /.

163) T 'a.

164) Codd. /.

165) HL sdebs; T bdebs.

gžan-yañ<sup>166</sup> lāñthsa<sup>167</sup> lhai yi-ge 'dra / ha dañ 'a gñis-kyi [3] yi-gei bu byed-pa  
 dañ / na-log / śa-log / tha-log byed-pa<sup>168</sup> soqs ni / sam-kri-tai<sup>169</sup> skad / Bod-du  
 gzuñs-sñags-su 'gyur<sup>170</sup> dus<sup>171</sup> / yi-gei rnam-dpyod<sup>172</sup>-la mkhas-pai pañdi-ta<sup>173</sup>-  
 rnams-kyis rtiñ<sup>174</sup>-du bcos-so // de-la dpe byas-nas yi-ge dbu-can-du byas /  
 vartu-la<sup>175</sup> klui yi-ge 'dra / de-la dpe byas-nas yi-ge zur-can-du<sup>176</sup> byas-so //  
 [4] 'di ni zur tsam<sup>177</sup> yin-gyis<sup>178</sup> /<sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup>rgyas-par 'dod-na Thon<sup>181</sup>-mis /<sup>180</sup> Dañ-  
 po yi-gei rnam-'gyur-gyi<sup>182</sup> bzo<sup>183</sup> brtsams<sup>184</sup> / Ka-smad<sup>185</sup> sum-cur<sup>186</sup> bsgyur<sup>187</sup> /  
 sDeb<sup>188</sup>-sbyor bsgrigs<sup>189</sup>-pai gzi-ma / Thon<sup>190</sup>-mi mdo-rdzii<sup>191</sup> sgra mdo bya-ba  
 [T75b] yod-kyis /<sup>192</sup> de-dag-la gzigs-śig<sup>193</sup> /

gžan-yañ<sup>194</sup> blon-po Thon<sup>195</sup>-mi des / pañdi<sup>196</sup>-ta lHa-rigs [5] señ-ge-la /  
 sgra-bstan-bcos<sup>197</sup> thams-cad bslabs<sup>198</sup>-nas / rig<sup>199</sup>-pai gnas lña-la mkhas-par  
 gyur-te / 'Dus-pa rin-po-chei tog<sup>200</sup> / mDo za-ma-tog<sup>201</sup> / sPyan-ras-gzigs-kyi  
 mdo rgyud ñi-śu-rtsa-gcig<sup>202</sup>[L29a]-rnams Bod-du bsgyur<sup>203</sup> / lo<sup>204</sup>-rgyus  
 gcig<sup>205</sup>-na / Śes-rab-kyi pha-rol-tu<sup>206</sup> phyin-pa stoñ-phrag-brgya<sup>207</sup>[6]-pa yañ<sup>208</sup>  
 bsgyur<sup>209</sup> zer-ba'añ 'dug / mdor-na blon-po Thon<sup>210</sup>-mi de / bslab<sup>211</sup>-śes-kyi  
 yon-tan du-ma-la mkhas-par gyur-to //

de-nas blon-po Bod-du 'byon<sup>212</sup>-pai dus-su / bram-ze-la gsol-pa /

thugs-la btags<sup>213</sup>-so rgyal-bai sras //

bka-drin cheo<sup>214</sup> ño-mthsar che //

byin-gyis rlobs[D31b1]-śig<sup>215</sup> thugs-rje-can //

rig-pa dri-med-kyi nam-mkha-la //

166) L kyañ.  
 167) D lā-ñthsa; HLT lan-thsa.  
 168) T om.  
 169) HLT sañ-tri-; L -taa.  
 170) HL gyur; T rgyur.  
 171) T nus dañ.  
 172) HLT spyod.  
 173) HLT pañ-di-; T om. -ta.  
 174) HLT stiñ.  
 175) H bha-gru-; L va-rtu-; T bha-kru  
 (om. -la).  
 176) HL -tu; T om. -can-.  
 177) L rtsam.  
 178) H kyis.  
 179) DT //.  
 180) T om.  
 181) HL mThon.  
 182) H kyi.  
 183) HLT gzo.  
 184) D brtsam; T rnams.  
 185) HLT mad.  
 186) HLT bcur.  
 187) L rgyur; T sgyur.  
 188) HLT sDebs.  
 189) D bsgrig; HLT sgrigs.  
 190) HLT mThon.

191) T ji.  
 192) D om.  
 193) HLT cig.  
 194) HLT kyañ.  
 195) HL 'Thon; T mThon.  
 196) H pañti.  
 197) HLT chos.  
 198) HLT slabs.  
 199) HL rigs.  
 200) HL rtogs; T rtog.  
 201) T rtog.  
 202) HT cig.  
 203) L sgyur; T rgyur.  
 204) HL lor.  
 205) Codd. cig.  
 206) T du.  
 207) HL rgya.  
 208) T 'añ.  
 209) L sgyur; T rgyur.  
 210) HLT mThon.  
 211) HLT slabs.  
 212) DT byon.  
 213) HL rtags.  
 214) T che-bo.  
 215) HL brlobs-cig; T brlabs-cig.

thabs-śes gñis-kyi rgyu-skar śar //  
 smon-lam dag-pai chu-'dzin 'khrigs //  
 sgra-thsad yi-gei ñi-zla śar //  
 'gro-bai<sup>216</sup> [T76a] ma-rig mun-pa sel //  
 bde-gsal yid-kyi rgya-mthso-la //  
 [H36a] rig-pa blo-yi<sup>217</sup> chu bran 'khor //  
 smon-lam dag-pai [2] chu-bya ldiñ<sup>218</sup> //  
 sgra-thsad yi-gei<sup>219</sup> nor-bu bźugs //  
 'gro-bai dbul-phoñs<sup>220</sup> sel-bar byed //  
 sgyu<sup>221</sup>-lus dri-med<sup>222</sup> sdoñ<sup>223</sup>-po-la //  
 thabs-śes gñis-kyi yal-ga<sup>224</sup> rgyas //  
 bslab<sup>225</sup>-śes yon-tan<sup>226</sup> me-tog śar //  
 sgra-thsad yi-gei<sup>227</sup> 'bras-bu smin //  
 bdag-cag blon-po Thon<sup>228</sup>-mi-la //  
 ma-lus gnañ-ba [3] thugs-la btags<sup>229</sup> //  
 rGya-gar yul-du phyin-pa yin //  
 mkhas-grub khyed dañ mjal<sup>230</sup>-ba yin //  
 yon-tan<sup>231</sup> gźi<sup>232</sup>-ma yi-ge yin //  
 ma-lus khoñ-du chud<sup>233</sup>-pa yin //  
 Bod-yul dbus-su 'gro-ba yin //  
 rgyal-pos dga-ston mdzad-pa yin //  
 rgyal-srid<sup>234</sup> chos bźin skyoñ-ba<sup>235</sup> yin //  
 rgyal-pos [4] dbu mdzad blon-'bañs-la //  
 sgra-thsad yi-ge spel-ba yin //  
<sup>236</sup>kun-la rgyas-par byed-pa yin //<sup>236</sup>  
 thugs-la btags-so<sup>237</sup> rgyal-bai sras //

źes<sup>238</sup> brjod-de<sup>239</sup> / źabs spyi-bor<sup>240</sup> [T76b] blañs / theg-pa chen-poi chos du-ma  
 dañ bcas-te Bod-du phebs<sup>241</sup> / bsu<sup>242</sup>-ba dga-ston bsam-gyis mi khyab-pa byas /  
 [5] rgyal-po dga-ston-gyi gdan-sar byon-pa-la / blon-po Thon<sup>243</sup>-mis / na-ro /  
 gi-gu / źabs-kyu sogs sde-thsan<sup>244</sup>-du byas-te / yi-gei phud phul<sup>245</sup>-ba /

<sup>216</sup>) D ba.

<sup>217</sup>) HLT bloi.

<sup>218</sup>) DHL 'diñ.

<sup>219</sup>) T ge.

<sup>220</sup>) HLT 'phoñs.

<sup>221</sup>) T rgyu.

<sup>222</sup>) T *add.* -kyi.

<sup>223</sup>) T ldoñ.

<sup>224</sup>) T rga.

<sup>225</sup>) HLT slabs.

<sup>226</sup>) T gñis-kyi.

<sup>227</sup>) T ge.

<sup>228</sup>) HL mThon; T mThun.

<sup>229</sup>) HL rtags.

<sup>230</sup>) HL 'jal; T 'byal.

<sup>231</sup>) T yo-btan.

<sup>232</sup>) HL bźi.

<sup>233</sup>) T phyud.

<sup>234</sup>) T khrid.

<sup>235</sup>) HL pa.

<sup>236</sup>) T *om.*

<sup>237</sup>) HL rtags-po; T rtags-so.

<sup>238</sup>) HLT ces.

<sup>239</sup>) HL rjod-; L *om.* -de.

<sup>240</sup>) D bos.

<sup>241</sup>) T 'phebs.

<sup>242</sup>) HL gsu.

<sup>243</sup>) HL mThon.

<sup>244</sup>) T mthsan.

<sup>245</sup>) T 'phul.

žal-ras gsal-la<sup>246</sup> ñañ mdañs<sup>247</sup> gañ-ba bzañ //  
 gdams<sup>248</sup>-ñag zab-la ma-chad tha-dad dañ //  
 las-ñan bag-chags thams-cad bsal<sup>249</sup> mdzad[6]-pa //  
 'phags-pa ma-pham yañ-dag dam-pa-la //  
 bde-gségs<sup>250</sup> bden[L29b]-ñes<sup>251</sup> ye-śes-te //  
 tiñ-'dzin źi-ñid rig-ciñ<sup>252</sup> gzigs //  
 ñon-moñs thsogs bcom mgon-po mchog //  
 dug gsum bDud<sup>253</sup> 'dul kun-tu<sup>254</sup> thul //

*Thon*<sup>255</sup>-*mii yi-gei*<sup>256</sup> *phud 'di* / *Dzen*<sup>257</sup>-*khog sna-rdoi*<sup>258</sup> *lha-khañ-la*<sup>259</sup> *brag*<sup>260</sup>-*la*  
*brkos-nas*<sup>261</sup> [D32a1] *yod-do*<sup>262</sup> //

sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ<sup>263</sup> [H36b] thugs-kyi sras //  
 Sroñ-btsan sgam<sup>264</sup>-por mthsan gsol-bai //  
 chos-rgyal khyed-la phyag-'thsal-lo //

[T77a] źes bstod<sup>265</sup>-pa dañ / rgyal-po śin-tu<sup>266</sup> dgyes<sup>267</sup>-nas / sañs-rgyas-kyi  
 bstan<sup>268</sup>-pa rin-po-che-la dgoñs-nas / bkur-sti<sup>269</sup> dañ / [2] phu-dud-du<sup>270</sup>  
 mdzad-do // rgyal-pos<sup>271</sup> blon-po-la yon-tan che-bai bkur-sti<sup>272</sup> mdzad-pa dañ /  
 blon-po gźan<sup>273</sup>-rnams phrag-dog-gis<sup>274</sup> kun-nas bsłañs<sup>275</sup>-te / rje-yis 'bañs-la  
 'di-lta-bui bkur-sti<sup>276</sup> mi os-so źes<sup>277</sup> dril-bsgrags<sup>278</sup>-pa dañ / blon-po Thon<sup>279</sup>-  
 mis de-dag-gi<sup>280</sup> 'gran<sup>281</sup>-sems gcog<sup>282</sup>-pai [3] phyir-du / 'di-skad zer-ro //

ña drin-chen<sup>283</sup> blon-po Thon<sup>284</sup>-mi ñas //  
 lam bgrod<sup>285</sup>-par dka-bai rGya-gar-du //  
 lus thsa-grañ che yañ dka-ba spyad //  
 khoñ mkhas-pa bram-ze<sup>286</sup> Li-byin-la //  
 yid gus-pai thsul-gyis<sup>287</sup> mos-gus byas //

246) L(?)T ba.

247) HLT 'dañs.

248) HLT gdam.

249) LT gsal.

250) HL -śégs; T bder bśégs.

251) H bde-; T -des.

252) T riñ.

253) L bsDud.

254) DT du.

255) HL mThon.

256) HLT yig.

257) T rJen.

258) HT snañ-; T -sdei.

259) HL na; T nas.

260) T grag.

261) HL(?)T skos-; T -na.

262) HLT om. -do.

263) T add. -phyug.

264) T rgam.

265) LT stod.

266) T du.

267) T dges.

268) T stan.

269) HL bskur-; T -ti.

270) LT phud-; T om. -dud-.

271) T po.

272) HLT skur-; T -ti.

273) HL bźan.

274) HL 'phra-; T phra-; T -gi.

275) HLT blañs.

276) HLT skur-; T -ti.

277) HLT ces.

278) HLT sgrags.

279) HL mThon.

280) D gis; T ni.

281) HL 'dran.

282) T bcog.

283) HLT can; codd. add. -gyi.

284) HL mThon.

285) HL bsgrid; T sgrid.

286) T zes.

287) T gyi.

nor rin-chen gser-gyi<sup>288</sup> phyag-rten phul<sup>289</sup> //  
 don rñed<sup>290</sup>-par [4] dka-bai yig<sup>291</sup>-'bru bstan<sup>292</sup> //  
 blo the-thsom sel-bai mdzub<sup>293</sup>-khrīd byas //  
 thsig dbyañs<sup>294</sup>-yig-rnams-la mkhas[T77b]-par bslabs<sup>295</sup> //  
 rGya-yig lña-bcu tham<sup>296</sup>-pa de<sup>297</sup> //  
 Bod-yig sum-cur<sup>298</sup> gtan<sup>299</sup>-la phab<sup>300</sup> //  
 rañ mkhas-pai ñes<sup>301</sup>-śes blo-la śar //  
 'phral<sup>302</sup> yon-tan thams-cad khoñ-du<sup>303</sup> chud //  
 [5] dus<sup>304</sup> da<sup>305</sup>-lta dga-la phyi-ma skyid<sup>306</sup> //  
 yul-mtha-'khob<sup>307</sup> Bod-kyi rgyal-khams<sup>308</sup> 'dir //  
 mi mkhas-pa<sup>309</sup> sleb-pai sña-ma yin //  
 ña mun-pa sel-bai sgron-me yin //  
 rje-rgyal-po<sup>310</sup> ñi-zlai thsul-du bźugs //  
 grogs-blon-poi khrod-na ña tsam med //  
 Bod kha-ba-can-pai mi-rnams-la //  
 ña Thon<sup>311</sup>[6]-mi bka-drin mi che'am //

*Thon-mi*<sup>312</sup> ña<sup>313</sup>-rgyal zer / <sup>314</sup>zes<sup>315</sup> zer-bas<sup>314</sup> / blon-po-rnams gcig-la gcig<sup>316</sup>  
 [H37a] lta-ziñ / 'gran<sup>317</sup>-sems med-par gyur-to //

dus de-tsa<sup>318</sup>-na / yañ<sup>319</sup>-grags-kyi blon-po [L30a] sum<sup>320</sup>-brgya-la / *phyi-*  
*nañ-bar*<sup>321</sup> gsum-gyi blon-po 'di-rnams-kyi miñ *Thañ-yig chen-mo-nas bsdus*<sup>322</sup> /  
 miñ-chen<sup>323</sup>-gyi blon-po bcu-drug [D32b1] yod / med-thabs-med-pai blon-  
 chen<sup>324</sup> bzi / *zes-pa*<sup>325</sup> / [T78a] rgyal-poi sku-gsuñ-thugs-kyi<sup>326</sup> žabs-tog<sup>327</sup> /  
*phyi-nañ-bar gsum-gyi bya-ba byed-pai*<sup>328</sup> blon-po / byañ-chub-sems-dpai<sup>329</sup>

288) T ser-kyi.

289) T 'bul.

290) HLT sñed.

291) T yi.

292) LT stan.

293) H 'dzug; LT 'dzub.

294) HLT gyañ.

295) HLT slabs.

296) HL them; T theg.

297) T des.

298) HL -bcu; T gsum-bcu.

299) HL stan; T bstan.

300) T 'phab.

301) T ñe.

302) T phran.

303) T blo-la.

304) T du.

305) L de.

306) T ma phyi kyid.

307) HL(?)T -khob; T -tha-.

308) HL 'khams.

309) DHL pas.

310) T om. -po.

311) HL mThon.

312) HLT mThon-; T -mi.

313) HT ñar.

314) L *utitur litteris cursivis*.

315) HLT ces.

316) HL cig-la cig; T cig cig.

317) HLT 'dran.

318) T tsam.

319) HLT yoñs.

320) T gsum.

321) T gsañ.

322) T stus.

323) HLT can.

324) T po.

325) Codd. ces-; T -pas. HLT *utuntur litteris grandibus*.

326) T om. -kyi.

327) L rtog.

328) T om. -pai.

329) T pai.

gduñ-brgyud<sup>330</sup> blon-po<sup>331</sup> beu-drug-gi<sup>332</sup> thog-drañs<sup>333</sup>-pai blon-po sum<sup>334</sup>-brgya yod-do<sup>335</sup> // de'añ<sup>336</sup> phyi-blon btsan-po drug / nañ-blon [2] bzañ-po drug / <sup>337</sup>bkai 'phrul<sup>338</sup>-blon bzio //<sup>337</sup>

de-la nañ-blon bzañ-po drug ni / 'Phrul<sup>339</sup>-gyi sNa-chen rigs-bzañ<sup>340</sup> / *Khra-brug*<sup>341</sup> / Žañ-po rGyal-gyi<sup>342</sup> khram-bzañ<sup>343</sup> / *Hor yin*<sup>344</sup> / Cog<sup>345</sup>-ro Rig-pai skad<sup>346</sup>-bzañ / *Cog-ro*<sup>347</sup> / lHar<sup>348</sup>-gzigs Šog-po bstan<sup>349</sup>-bzañ / *Khams-pa* / Kai gÑags<sup>350</sup>-ston [3] 'phel-bzañ / *rGya-ma Yar-ston*<sup>351</sup> / sBas<sup>352</sup>-lcañ dPal-gyi legs<sup>353</sup>-bzañ / <sup>354</sup>sBas-kyi sKyed<sup>355</sup> thag<sup>356</sup> rin-mo'an<sup>357</sup> zer<sup>354</sup> / <sup>358</sup>la sogs-te<sup>358</sup> / blon-po brgya<sup>359</sup> tham<sup>360</sup>-pas / rgyal-poi<sup>361</sup> skui žabs-tog<sup>362</sup> dañ / nañ-gi bya-ba thams-cad byed-do //

phyi-blon btsan-po drug ni / *byañ-gi Khyuñ-po yin*<sup>363</sup> / Khyuñ-po sPun bzañ<sup>364</sup>-btsan / [4] *Yar-stod-pa*<sup>365</sup> / Lam-khri bDe-lhag khri-btsan / [T78b] 'Phan<sup>366</sup>-yul rgyal-ba<sup>367</sup> / Mu-khri rDo-rje gnam<sup>368</sup>-btsan / 'Jañ-pa<sup>369</sup> / mThiñ-gi Byañ-chub mehog-btsan / *mChon-rgyas-pa*<sup>370</sup> / Thar-pa Klui dpal-btsan / *Yar-luñ son-pa*<sup>371</sup> / Roñ-po 'Phrul-gyi sde<sup>372</sup>-btsan-la sogs-pai blon-po brgya<sup>373</sup> tham<sup>374</sup>-pas phyi-bya<sup>375</sup> byed-de<sup>376</sup> / śar [5] rGya dañ / Mi-ñag-gi yul-nas bzo<sup>377</sup> dañ rtsis-kyi dpe blañs / lho-phyogs rGya-gar-gyi yul-nas<sup>378</sup> dam-pa chos-kyi sgra bsgyur<sup>379</sup> / nub-phyogs Svog<sup>380</sup>-po dañ / Bal-poi yul-nas zas nor loñs-spyod-kyi gter mdzad<sup>381</sup> / byañ-phyogs Hor dañ Yu-ge-rai<sup>382</sup> [H37b]

- 330) HL rgyud; T gyud.  
 331) T om.  
 332) T gis.  
 333) T grañs.  
 334) HT gsum.  
 335) T om. -do.  
 336) T de yañ.  
 337) T om.  
 338) L phul.  
 339) L 'Phral.  
 340) T bzañs.  
 341) T Phra-, *utens litteris grandibus*.  
 342) H po.  
 343) HLT khrom-; T -bzañs.  
 344) T *utitur litteris grandibus*.  
 345) T bCog.  
 346) H skod; L skoñ; T skor.  
 347) HLT lCog-; T *utitur litteris grandibus*.  
 348) T lTar.  
 349) HLT stan.  
 350) HLT sÑag.  
 351) T rGyal dMar-ston.  
 352) T sBal.  
 353) T lags.  
 354) T *utitur litteris grandibus*.  
 355) H sKyid; T sGyid.  
 356) T cag.  
 357) T mo yañ.  
 358) H *utitur litteris minutioribus*.  
 359) T rgya.  
 360) HL them.  
 361) HL po.  
 362) HL rtog.  
 363) T cig, *utens litteris grandibus*.  
 364) HLT bzuñ.  
 365) T Mar- et -la, *utens litteris grandibus*.  
 366) T Phan.  
 367) H sa.  
 368) HLT rnam.  
 369) L 'Jad-, *utens litteris grandibus*;  
 T 'Dzañ-.  
 370) HT 'Phyoñ-; L mChod-; T -rgya-.  
 371) HLT -luñs; T soñ-.  
 372) T bde.  
 373) T rgya-la.  
 374) HL them.  
 375) Codd. -blon; T 'phyi-.  
 376) D om. -de.  
 377) HLT gzo.  
 378) T na.  
 379) T sgyur.  
 380) HLT Sog.  
 381) HLT 'jed.  
 382) L Yi-; T -gyi pro -ge-rai.

yul-nas khrims dañ<sup>383</sup> las<sup>384</sup>-kyi dpe<sup>385</sup> blañs<sup>386</sup> / [6] mdor-na phyogs bzi-la  
dbañ-bsgyur<sup>387</sup>-ziñ loñs-spyad<sup>388</sup>-nas / 'dzam-gliñ phyed-kyi kha-lo sgyur<sup>389</sup>.  
bai rgyal-po mdzad-do<sup>390</sup> //

Thon<sup>391</sup>-mi Sambho<sup>392</sup>-ta / *Thod-lur Ra-ga-pa*<sup>393</sup> / mGar<sup>394</sup> Srañ-btsan<sup>395</sup>  
yul-bzuñ<sup>396</sup> / *sTod-luñ*<sup>397</sup> *Ram-pa-ba* / 'Bri Se-ru<sup>398</sup> goñ-ston / 'Bri-khuñ-pa<sup>399</sup> /  
Ñañ Khri-bzañ<sup>400</sup> / *Ñañ-ser-ba* / yañ<sup>401</sup>-ston-la [D33a1] sog-s-pa [L30b] blon-po  
brgya<sup>402</sup> tham-pas<sup>403</sup> bar-gyi khod sñoms / rgyal-pos bka[T79a]-stsal-pa bzin /  
dge-ba<sup>404</sup> bcui khrims<sup>405</sup> bca-ba-ste<sup>406</sup> / bzañ-ba<sup>407</sup>-la bya-dga ster<sup>408</sup> / ñan-  
pa<sup>409</sup>-la chad<sup>410</sup>-pa gcod<sup>411</sup> / mtho<sup>412</sup>-ba khrims-kyis gnon<sup>413</sup> / dma-ba<sup>414</sup> thabs-  
kyis skyoñ<sup>415</sup> / sku[2]-bsruñ<sup>416</sup> sde bzir spyad / phu-chu rdziñ-du bskiyil<sup>417</sup> /  
mda<sup>418</sup>-chu yur-bar<sup>419</sup> drañs / bre-srañ<sup>420</sup> gtan<sup>421</sup>-la phab / ziñ-la lhu-ru spyad /  
mi-la yi-ge bslabs<sup>422</sup> / rta-la mdoñs-su bris / legs-pai dpe-srol btsugs-te<sup>423</sup> /  
'thab-mo byas-pa-la chad<sup>424</sup>-pa / bsad<sup>425</sup>-pa-la che-chuñ-gi<sup>426</sup> stoñ byed-pa / [3]  
brkus<sup>427</sup>-pa-la brgyad<sup>428</sup> 'jal ños<sup>429</sup> dañ dgu / byi byas-pai yan-lag-gi phran<sup>430</sup>  
bcad<sup>431</sup>-nas yul gžan<sup>432</sup>-du spyugs<sup>433</sup>-pa / rdzun byas<sup>434</sup>-pai lce gcod-pao<sup>435</sup> //  
gžan<sup>436</sup>-yañ dkon-mchog gsum-la skyabs-su soñ-ziñ / dad-pa dañ<sup>437</sup> mos-gus  
bya-ba / pha-ma-la drin-du<sup>438</sup> gzo-ziñ bkur-sti<sup>439</sup> bya[4]-ba / mi drin-chen<sup>440</sup>

- 383) T om.  
384) T les.  
385) T pe.  
386) D blañ.  
387) T sgyur.  
388) L -spyod; T loñ-.  
389) HL bsgyur.  
390) T om. -do.  
391) HLT mThon.  
392) HL Sam-bho; T Sa-bho.  
393) H mThon-lu Ra-kha-pa; T mThon-  
luñs 'ba-ba, *utens litteris grandibus*.  
394) HLT 'Gar.  
395) HLT Sroñ-; T -tsan.  
396) HLT bzuñs.  
397) HLT luñs.  
398) T ro.  
399) D -ba; T -luñ-, *utens litteris gran-  
dibus*.  
400) HLT bzañs.  
401) T sañ.  
402) HLT rgya.  
403) HL them-; T -pa.  
404) T om. -ba.  
405) T 'khrims.  
406) HL 'cha-ba-te; T bca-te.  
407) Codd. om. -ba.  
408) HLT gter.  
409) T om. -pa.  
410) HL 'chad.

- 411) HL bcod.  
412) T tho.  
413) L snon; T non.  
414) HL sma-; T om. -ba.  
415) T -kyi kyoñ.  
416) HL bsruñs; T sruñs.  
417) HL dkiyl; T skyil.  
418) T mdo.  
419) T ba.  
420) T sreñ.  
421) HL brtan; T bstan.  
422) HLT slabs.  
423) D btsug-ste; T btsugs-ste.  
424) H 'chad; L mchad.  
425) HLT gsad.  
426) T om. -gi.  
427) T rkus.  
428) T rgyad.  
429) HLT dños.  
430) T 'phran.  
431) HL gcod.  
432) HL bžan.  
433) HLT beugs.  
434) T byed.  
435) H -pa; T bcad-.  
436) HL bžan.  
437) T om.  
438) L tu.  
439) H skur-ti; L skur-sti; T mos-gus.  
440) HLT can.



dañ pha-khu<sup>441</sup>-rgan gsum-gyi<sup>442</sup> yi mi geod<sup>443</sup>-ciñ / bzañ-poi lan<sup>444</sup> byed-pa / mi ya-rabs dañ rigs btsun-pa [T79b]-la<sup>445</sup> mi rgol-ciñ<sup>446</sup> dañ-du len-pa / las dañ spyod<sup>447</sup>-pa thams-cad<sup>448</sup> ya-rabs-kyi rjes-su 'brañ<sup>449</sup>-ba / lha-chos dañ yi-ge-la blo 'jug-ciñ don śes-par bya-ba<sup>450</sup> / las-rgyu<sup>451</sup>-'bras[5]-la yid-ches-śiñ<sup>452</sup> / mi-dge-ba 'ba-żig-la 'dzem-pa / mdza-bśes<sup>453</sup> dañ khyim-mthsēs<sup>454</sup>-la phan-'dogs-śiñ<sup>455</sup> gnod-sems mi bya-ba<sup>456</sup> / gzi<sup>457</sup> drañ[H38a]-por<sup>458</sup> bya-żiñ blo-sems dpañ<sup>459</sup>-du 'jog-pa / zas-chañ-la thsod 'dzin-ciñ khrel-yod-par bya-ba / bu-lon dus-su 'jal-ciñ / bre-srañ-la gyo-zol<sup>460</sup> [6] mi bya-ba<sup>461</sup> / ma bskos-śiñ<sup>462</sup> ma bcol-bai bya-ba-la rtog<sup>463</sup>-'jug mi bya-ba dañ / gros-kyi<sup>464</sup> nañ-du bud-med-kyi<sup>465</sup> kha-la mi ñan-ciñ<sup>466</sup> rañ-thsugs 'dzin-pa / yin-min-gyis<sup>467</sup> ma-thsañ-ba<sup>468</sup> byuñ-na / yul-lha bstan-sruñ<sup>469</sup> dpañ<sup>470</sup>-du btsugs-nas mna byed-pa-la sogs-te / dge-ba bcu-la dpe byas-nas / Bod<sup>471</sup>-khrims [D33b1] ñi-śu / sKyī-śod<sup>472</sup> / Śo-ma-ra-ru<sup>473</sup> gtan<sup>474</sup>-la phab-ste<sup>475</sup> / rje-blon kun-gyi<sup>476</sup> phyag<sup>477</sup>-rgyas btab<sup>478</sup>-ste / ñi-zlai od [T80a] lta-bur khyab-par mdzad-do //

de-ltar mdzad-pas<sup>479</sup> rje-btsan 'bañs-rnams skyid<sup>480</sup> //  
 bstan-pa rgyas-śiñ rgyal-srid phyogs beur 'phel //  
 chos-kyi bka-khrims mdzad[L31a]-pas 'bañs-rnams bka[2]-la ñan //  
 mi-rje lha-yis<sup>481</sup> mdzad-pas rgyal-khams thams-cad skyid<sup>482</sup> //  
 pho dpa<sup>483</sup> rta mgyogs<sup>484</sup> loñs-spyod lha dañ mñam //  
 blo-gtad chos-la byas-pas 'di-phyi gñis-kar<sup>485</sup> skyid<sup>486</sup> //  
 'thab<sup>487</sup> dañ rtsod<sup>488</sup>-pa spañs-pas thams-cad pha-mar śes //

441) T gu.  
 442) H kyi.  
 443) HL bcod; T bcom.

444) D len.  
 445) T om. -la.

446) T žiñ.  
 447) T spyo.

448) T add. -la.  
 449) L 'breñ.

450) T add. -la.  
 451) T om. -rgyu.

452) HL ciñ.  
 453) HLT -śes; T 'dza-.

454) HLT mdzes.  
 455) Codd. -ciñ; D -'dog-.

456) T om. -ba.  
 457) HL bži.

458) T brañ-po.  
 459) HLT spañ.

460) T zog.  
 461) T om. -ba.

462) HL skos-; T sgos-; HLT -ciñ.  
 463) HL rtogs.

464) HLT grogs-; H -gi.  
 465) H gi.

466) T žiñ.

467) T gyi.

468) H -thsuñs-pa; LT -thsañs-pa.

469) HL -bsruñs; T stan-sruñs.

470) HLT spañ.

471) H add. -kyi.

472) H Gyi-; LT Kyi-. HT *utuntur literis grandibus*.

473) L -mar-ru; T -mar-du.

474) HL bstan; T stan.

475) HLT te.

476) HL gyis.

477) T phyā.

478) HL gtab.

479) T byas-na.

480) T add. -do.

481) T lhai.

482) T kyid.

483) T pa.

484) HLT 'gyogs.

485) HT ka; L kha.

486) T kyid.

487) T thab.

488) HT brtsod.

kun-la yi-ge bslabs<sup>489</sup>-pas sañs-rgyas bstan<sup>490</sup>[3]-pa dar //  
 mi-dgei bśes-gñen<sup>491</sup> med-pas dge bcui nor-bu rñed<sup>492</sup> //  
 kun-gyi gtsug-tu<sup>493</sup> khur-bas<sup>494</sup> skyid<sup>495</sup>-pai ñi-ma śar //  
 thams-cad sprul<sup>496</sup>-pa yin-pas khral dañ u-lag med //  
 nam-mkhai<sup>497</sup> mthoñs<sup>498</sup>-la 'khor-lo rtsibs brgyad<sup>499</sup> śar //  
 dog-moi sa-la<sup>500</sup> padma<sup>501</sup> 'dab brgyad skyes<sup>502</sup> //  
 [4] bar-gyi ri-la bkra-śis rtags brgyad<sup>503</sup> thsañ //  
 ljon-śiñ thams-cad dga-bai<sup>504</sup> thsal<sup>505</sup>[T80b]-du 'thibs<sup>506</sup> //  
 bya-rnams kun kyañ ca-co du-ma sgrog<sup>507</sup> //  
 sa-rnams kun kyañ rnam<sup>508</sup>-pa drug-tu<sup>509</sup> gyos //  
 lha[H38b]-rnams kun-gyis<sup>510</sup> me-tog char-pa phab //  
 bkra-śis ñams-su dga-bai brag lhai thsal<sup>511</sup> //  
 [5] ljon-śiñ star<sup>512</sup>-kha sdoñ-poi<sup>513</sup> bsil grib-la //  
 chos-rgyal chen-po<sup>514</sup> khri-yi<sup>515</sup> steñ-na<sup>516</sup> bźugs //  
 dpa mdzañs<sup>517</sup> 'phrul<sup>518</sup>-ldan blon-poi thsogs dañ beas //  
 Bod-'bañs 'khor dañ beas<sup>519</sup>-pas mtha-ma bskor<sup>520</sup> //  
 kha-dog sna-thsogs ldan-pai<sup>521</sup> 'ja-yi<sup>522</sup> gur //  
 rgyal-po bźugs-pai mkha[6]-la gdugs ltar 'khyil<sup>523</sup> //  
 bu-ram rgun<sup>524</sup>-'brum ka-ra<sup>525</sup> źal-zas sogs //  
 ro brgya<sup>526</sup> ldan-pai zas<sup>527</sup>-kyi thsogs-rnams kyañ //  
 rgyal-pos<sup>528</sup> gsol-źiñ<sup>529</sup> 'khor-rnams<sup>530</sup> thsim<sup>531</sup>-par byed //  
 chos-rgyal chen-poi<sup>532</sup> sku-yi<sup>533</sup> skyo-sañs-la //

489) HLT slabs.

490) T stan.

491) HL gśes-; T śis-sñen.

492) L sñed.

493) L du.

494) H -bai; T bkur-.

495) T kyid.

496) T grub.

497) T khai.

498) T thoñs.

499) T rgyad.

500) T om. -la.

501) HL pad-ma.

502) T rgyad kyes.

503) T rgyad.

504) L dgai.

505) HLT thsul.

506) HT thibs.

507) DHT sgrogs.

508) T rnams.

509) L du.

510) HL gyi.

511) HL 'thsal.

512) HLT rtar.

513) T ldoñ-pai.

514) HL pos.

515) HLT khrii.

516) HLT du.

517) HLT 'dzañs.

518) T 'khrul.

519) T byas.

520) L skor.

521) DT pa.

522) HLT 'jai.

523) HL mkhyil; T khyil.

524) HLT dgu.

525) LT kar.

526) LT rgya.

527) T zes.

528) H poi.

529) T ciñ.

530) L rnam.

531) T źim.

532) T po.

533) HLT skui.

'bag dañ señ-ge gyag-señ<sup>534</sup> stag<sup>535</sup>-señ dañ //  
 rña bro-mkhan [D34a1] dañ gar-mkhan[T81a]-la sog-skyis<sup>536</sup> //  
 re-re bzin-du gar dañ rtsed<sup>537</sup>-mo 'bul<sup>538</sup> //  
 lha-yi<sup>539</sup> rña-bo<sup>540</sup>-che dañ pi-vañ<sup>541</sup> dañ //  
 rol-mo sil<sup>542</sup>-sñan-rnams-kyis<sup>543</sup> mchod-pa dañ //  
 sman mchog a-ga<sup>544</sup>-ru dañ tsandan<sup>545</sup> dañ //  
 dri-żim bdug<sup>546</sup>-spos-rnams ni rluñ ltar gyo<sup>547</sup> //  
 gdugs dañ rgyal[2]-mthsan ba-dan lhab<sup>548</sup>-lhub dañ //  
 sna-thsogs<sup>549</sup> dar-gyis<sup>550</sup> nam-mkha gañ-bar mchod //  
 yid<sup>551</sup>-oñ mdzes-pai bu-mo bcu-drug-gis //  
 mdzes-pai rgyan<sup>552</sup> bcas me-tog [L31b] 'thogs<sup>553</sup>-nas ni //  
 glu<sup>554</sup> dañ gar-gyis<sup>555</sup> rna<sup>556</sup>-bai dga-ston 'gyed<sup>557</sup> //  
 dga-bde skyid<sup>558</sup>-pai bka-khrims mdzad-pai thse //  
 [3] Bod-'bañs mi res<sup>559</sup> rta re żon-nas rgyug<sup>560</sup> //  
 śiñ rei<sup>561</sup> rtse-la dar re 'phyar-gyin<sup>562</sup> bżag //  
 dam-pa chos-kyi rña-chen dam-pa brduñs<sup>563</sup> //  
 dge-ba bcu-la stun<sup>564</sup>-pai rgyal-khrims bcas //  
 'dod-yon lña dañ stun<sup>564</sup>-pai loñs-spyod spel<sup>565</sup> //  
 [H39a] kha-ba-can-pai<sup>566</sup> rgyal-khams 'di-ñid-du //  
 [T81b] dge bcui [4] rgyal-khrims mkha-la ñi-zla bzin //  
 Bod-yul gañs-can khrod 'dir khyab-par mdzad //

blon-po Thon-mis<sup>567</sup> rGya-gar-nas yi-ge bsgyur-ba-las<sup>568</sup> / rgyal-pos<sup>569</sup> dge-  
 ba<sup>570</sup> bcui khrims bcas<sup>571</sup>-pai leu-ste<sup>572</sup> bcu-pao // //

534) T gseñ.

535) H steg.

536) T kyi.

537) T rtsen.

538) T 'phul.

539) HLT lhai.

540) T rñao.

541) T va.

542) HLT bsil.

543) HT kyi.

544) HLT ka.

545) H tsan; L tsan-dan; T tsan-ldan.

546) L sdu; T sdug.

547) T gyoo.

548) L lhub.

549) H mthsogs.

550) HLT gyi.

551) T yi.

552) HLT brgyan.

553) Codd. thogs.

554) T klu.

555) HLT gyi.

556) T om.

557) T -ton byed.

558) T kyid.

559) T re.

560) HL rgyugs; T sgyugs.

561) H dei.

562) DHL phyar-gin; T char-.

563) D brduñ; T rduñs.

564) D bstun.

565) HT dpel.

566) T gyi.

567) HLT mThon-; T -mi.

568) T sgyur-ba-la.

569) H poi.

570) T om. -ba.

571) HL 'chas.

572) T te.

## Translation

Then, since there was no script in Tibet for enacting the laws based on the doctrinal ten virtues,<sup>1)</sup> increasing the five qualities of desire,<sup>2)</sup> sending presents to and fro, (and) imparting the precepts of the Doctrine to the subjects under his power, he<sup>3)</sup> dispatched seven keen-witted ministers [30a] to India to learn the script; (but) they returned after encountering three kinds of demons<sup>4)</sup> on the border. Thereupon he dispatched the son of Thon-mi A-nu, named Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa, who was a shrewd-minded (and) keen-witted man possessed of many qualities, to India to learn the script, having consigned to him much gold. There the minister, after reaching the southern region (of) India,<sup>5)</sup> heard that there was a brahmin named Li-byin, (who was) an expert in the literary language.<sup>6)</sup> Having come to the brahmin's place, he greeted (him) reverentially and said:

“Abounding in mercy; performing miracles; possessed of the qualities of the race of gods; descended from a family of brahmins; accomplished in scripture, lore, (and) literary language by dint of talents cultivated in a former life: you great scholar, savant, (and) brahmin—pray think of, and listen to, me a little! I am a minister of the barbarous borderland Tibet. My king is rich in mercy. He mounted the royal seat at the age of thirteen.”<sup>7)</sup>

1) Skr. *kuśala*. At Mvy. 1685sqg., these are defined as abstention from —

- (1) destruction of life (*prāṇātighāta*, *srog gcod-pa*);
- (2) taking of what has not been given (*adattādāna*, *ma byin-par len-pa*);
- (3) misconduct in love (*kāmamithyācāra*, *'dod-pas log-par gyem-pa*);
- (4) deceitful speech (*mṛṣāvāda*, *rdzun-du smra-ba*);
- (5) abuse (*pārusya*, *thsig rtsub-mo* [v. l. -po] *smra-ba*);
- (6) slander (*paiśunya*, *phra-mar smra-ba*);
- (7) incoherent talk (*sambhinnapralāpa*, *thsig* [v. l. *ṅag*] *bkyal-* [v. l. *'khyal-*] *ba*);
- (8) covetousness (*abhidhyā*, *brnab-sems*);
- (9) malevolence (*vyāpāda*, *gnod-sems*);
- (10) heretic doctrine (*mithyādr̥ṣṭi*, *log-par lta-ba*).

2) Skr. *kāmaguṇa*. These are commonly understood as the objects of the five senses: form, sound, smell, taste, and touch.

3) I. e. King Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po.

4) Tib. *'dre*, evil spirits said to bring about fatal illness, of whom at least five different classes are known: those corrupting food (*za-'dre*), those effecting loss (*god-'dre*), those exacting vengeance (*gsed-'dre*), those polluting water (*chu-'dre*), and those destroying life (*gson-'dre*). Cf. Tucci, *Scrolls*, II, p. 721.

5) Southern, that is, in relation to Tibet.

6) Tib. *yi-gei sgra*, meaning Sanskrit; Schmidt: “Schrift und Sprache.”

7) Cf. Glr. p. 54.26–27. According to p. 54.4–6, Sroṅ-btsan sgam-po was born in the fire-female-ox year, i. e. 617 A. D., and hence ascended the throne in 629 A. D. This is also the view taken by Bu-ston (Chos-'byun, II, p. 183) and Saṅg Seṅen (Erdeni-yin tobči, pp. 28–29) and shared by noted modern scholars. On a different set of dates and its far-reaching consequences for the later Tibetan historiography see Roerich, *Deb-ther sñon-po*, I, pp. ix–xiii. For a list of relevant literature see Schulemann, *Geschichte*, p. 70, n. 83.

When he had settled down on the jewel throne, there being no use of letters in my country for contenting his subjects with the Doctrine and enacting the laws of the ten virtues, he consigned to me copious gifts and dispatched (me) to your country to learn the script. You, as the expert (in this field), pray impart to me the whole mass of writings on language and logic<sup>8)</sup>!”

Thus having begged, he placed the gold into (Li-byin's) hands, and the great brahmin, having taken the gold into his hands, answered:

“Listen well, O son of a blessed family! To you, the knowledgeable minister named Thon-mi, the chief minister understanding the meaning of the two truths,<sup>9)</sup>—to you, the chief minister, I shall teach literary language, poetry, etc. and moreover all the wonderful achievements. Do you [30b] content the people in the kingdom of the barbarous borderland Tibet with literary language and logic as well as scripture, lore, (and) homilies!”

Thus having spoken, he led (him) into his jewel palace and taught (him) the alphabetic characters. There the minister Thon-mi developed<sup>10)</sup> his talent for knowledge. He held up the burning lamp of wisdom and learned the script. Whereas the manifold Na-ga-ra<sup>11)</sup> class (and) Ga-ta<sup>12)</sup> class (of letters) were inadaptable to the Tibetan (language), the manifold Mātrkā<sup>13)</sup> class (of letters) he fashioned into the vowel signs.<sup>14)</sup> The Lāñtṣa<sup>15)</sup> (or) gods' script<sup>16)</sup> (and)

<sup>8)</sup> Tib. *sgra-thsad yi-ge*.

<sup>9)</sup> Skr. *dve satye*. These are exoteric truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*, *kun-rdzob-kyi bden-pa*) and esoteric truth (*paramārthasatya*, *don dam-pai bden-pa*); cf. Dharmas. § 95 and Mvy. 6544sq. A sūtra on the two truths, entitled *Samvṛtiparamārthasatyanirdeśa*, occurs in the Kanjur.

<sup>10)</sup> Lit. “opened.”

<sup>11)</sup> The Nāgara alphabet mentioned by al-Bīrūnī (Ta'riḥ al-Hind, p. 82) as being used in Mālava and differing from the Siddhamātrkā alphabet only in the shape of the characters. Cf. Dani, Palaeography, p. 112sq.

<sup>12)</sup> According to Das (Dict., p. 204), the Gāthā or Kaithī alphabet employed for the original Magadhī (called *magadhalipi* at Lalit. p. 125.20); cf. LSI V 2, p. 35. Perhaps also the *kutalipi* of Mv. I, p. 135.6, which Edgerton (Dict., p. 186) equates to the *kirātalipi* of Lalit. p. 125.21.

<sup>13)</sup> Lit. “mother,” name of certain diagrams written in characters to which a magical power is attributed, and hence of the alphabet so employed.

<sup>14)</sup> Rendering of the whole passage doubtful. The words *mai sde-thsan mañ-du*, which are missing both in the Derge text and in the Bodhi mör, cannot, as the sentence stands, be in the right place. Since probably only the fourteen vowels with Anusvāra and Visarga were originally called *mātrkā* in Sanskrit (PW V, 704), we propose to read: *na-ga-rai sde-thsan / ga-tai sde-thsan / rnam(-pa) mañ-du yod-pa / Bod-la mi 'gyur-bas / mai sde-thsan mañ-du dbyañs-yig-la bkod /*

<sup>15)</sup> A sort of Devanāgarī Gothic prevalent among the Buddhists of Nepal; according to Hodgson (JASB IV, p. 197), the name is corrupted from Skr. *rañjā*.

<sup>16)</sup> Skr. *devalipi* at Lalit. p. 126.2.

the Vartu-la<sup>17)</sup> (or) serpent-demons' script,<sup>18)</sup> the(se) self-created models,<sup>19)</sup> he fashioned into the Tibetan script.

The fifty Indian letters<sup>20)</sup> (comprise, in addition) to thirty principal letters,<sup>21)</sup> ten prefixal letters<sup>22)</sup> and ten finals.<sup>23)</sup> Not even a single Indian letter, except those which may be used by themselves,<sup>24)</sup> is joinable to every (letter). All these he collected in his mind. Having taken them as patterns, he condensed (them and) reduced (them) to the system (of) the thirty Tibetan letters. Every single alphabetic character he designed beautifully as regards the form of execution. (Going into details), he designed twenty principal letters: ka kha ca cha ja ña ta tha pa pha tsa tsa dza va za za ya sa ha a; one alphabetic character fit to be spared as well: va; five prefixal letters: ga da ba ma 'a; ten finals: ga ña ba ma 'a da na ra la sa; five very important letters:<sup>25)</sup> ga da ba ma 'a; nine footed letters:<sup>26)</sup> ka ga ta da na ña za sa ha; six letters not existing in the Indian (language): ca cha ja<sup>27)</sup> 'a za za; sixteen affiliated letters:<sup>28)</sup> ka ga ña da ta na pa ba ma ca ja ña tsa dza la ha; (and) seven parent letters:<sup>29)</sup> ka ga ba za (with) the universal parent (letters) ra la sa—*the three parent (letters) of all subscripts.*<sup>30)</sup> For la in especial there are four parent (letters): ka ga ba za (are) the parent (letters) of la—to these four alphabetic characters only la can be subscribed. For la in especial there are two affiliated (letters): ca and ha (are) the affiliated (letters) of la, (whereas)

17) A variation of the Lāñtṣa script originally domiciled in Magadha and characterized by "roundish" (Skr. *vartula*) letters.

18) Skr. *nāgalipi* at Lalit. p. 126.2.

19) Laufer's text (WZKM XII, p. 291, n. 1) has *thsan-ma* "perfect, perfectly developed" instead of *thsad-ma* "model."

20) Viz. ten vowel signs: a ā i i u ū ṛ ṛ ḷ ḷ; four diphthong signs: e ai o au; thirty-three consonant signs: ka kha ga gha ña, ca cha ja jha ña, ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa, ta tha da dha na, pa pha ba bha ma, ya ra la va, sa sa sa, ha; and three secondary signs: ṃ ~ ḥ.

21) I.e. all consonant signs (with the exception of superscript r) found as the first element of ligatures: ka kha ga gha ña ca cha ja ña ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha na pa ba bha ma ya la va sa sa sa ha.

22) I.e. all consonant signs occurring at the beginning of actual words as the first component of ligatures (with the exception of purely Vedic words and conjunct letters having a semivowel as second element): ka gha ja ta dha pa sa sa sa ha.

23) Viz. ka ña ṭa ṇa ta na pa ma la ḥ.

24) I.e. the fourteen vowel and diphthong signs.

25) I.e. letters which can be used both as prefixes and as finals.

26) I.e. letters ending in an elongated down-stroke; kha, which starts with such a stroke, does not belong here (despite Jäschke, Dict., p. 15).

27) The palatals belong here inasmuch as the Indian palatals correspond to the Tibetan palatal sibilants.

28) Lit. "letter-sons," i.e. letters which can be written below other letters (with the exception of the subscripts proper).

29) Lit. "letter-mothers," i.e. letters which can be written above other letters (including the superscript r).

30) In the non-technical sense of the word.

tsa and dza (are) the affiliated (letters) of ra. (There are) ten letters holding a place of their own, neither forming prefixes and finals nor forming parent (letters and) affiliated (letters): kha cha tha pha thsa va za ya sa a. The letters ga (and) ba [31 a] go everywhere—forming parent (letters and) affiliated (letters and) forming prefixes and finals. (There are) three (signs), soaring like hats, at the top (of a letter): o i e; these three are joinable to every letter. (There are) three (signs), beautiful like bolsters, at the bottom (of a letter): ya ra u; there are seven letters with ya subscribed (to them): kya khya gya pya phya bya mya, (and) eleven letters with ra subscribed (to them): kra khra gra pra phra bra mra sra dra hra, (whereas) u may be joined to every letter, also to subscript ya (and) ra: kyu khyu kru khru (etc.)—

the (various ways of) subscribing and combining will (easily) come to your mind. *As regards such things as the creation of the affiliated letters ha and 'a<sup>31</sup> and the creation of the inverted na, the inverted sa, (and) the inverted tha,—(these characters) were contrived later by pundits expert at the discrimination of letters when they transformed the Sanskrit language into magic formulas<sup>32</sup> (written) in Tibetan.<sup>33</sup>*

Further, the Lāñthsa (or) likeness of the gods' script, having taken it as pattern, he made into the headed<sup>34</sup> script; the Vartu-la (or) likeness of the serpent-demons' script, having taken it as pattern, he made into the cornered<sup>35</sup> script. This is only a sketch, though; if you want (to know it) in detail—from Thon-mi's pen<sup>36</sup> being (the works) entitled Dañ-po yi-gei rnam-'gyur-gyi bzo

<sup>31</sup>) Used in writing sonant aspirates and long vowels respectively.

<sup>32</sup>) Skr. *dhāranī*.

<sup>33</sup>) Mechanical translation of the clause as it stands. Perhaps, however, we should amend: *sañ-kri-tai skad(-las) Bod-du gzuñs-sñags[-su] 'gyur-du[s]* "in order to transliterate magic formulas from the Sanskrit language into Tibetan." Schmidt: "um die Sangkrida-Sprache (Sanskrit) und Dhāranis aus derselben ihrem vollen Gehalte nach in töbötischer Schrift wiedergeben zu können."

<sup>34</sup>) I. e. uncial, so named after the thick horizontal stroke (Skr. *mātrā*) which most of the printed characters show at the top; also called *gzab-pa* "fair."

<sup>35</sup>) I. e. cursive; also called *dbu-med* "headless," *byad-med* "shapeless," or *gśar-ba* (~ *gśor-ba* "rough"?).

<sup>36</sup>) Lit. "by Thon-mi."—Bu-ston (Chos-'byuñ, fol. 238b) mentions eight works of Thon-mi's on language, but he knows merely two of them by title and content: the Sum-cu-pa and the rTags-kyi 'jug-pa. We tend to think with Kuznetsov (Glr. index, s. vv.) that what follows are the names of four other treatises of his, taking them to mean —

- (1) the enterprise of working out the shape of the letters for the first time;
- (2) the transformation (of the fifty Indian letters) into the thirty (Tibetan letters) ka etc.;
- (3) the fundamentals of writing poetry;
- (4) the grammatical sūtras of Thon-mi the Sūtra Vessel [?].—For *rdzi-ma* "pot, vessel" (~ Skr. *kumbha*) see Das, Dict., p. 1058; the same noun is possibly found in *dpe-rdzi* "index, register" (lit. "book vessel" [?]).

brtsams, Ka-smad sum-cur bsgyur, sDeb-sbyor bsgrigs-pai gzi-ma, (and) Thon-mi mdo-rdzii sgra-mdo—see these!

Further, the minister Thon-mi studied with the pundit lHa-rigs señ-ge all treatises on grammar<sup>37)</sup> and became expert in the five subjects of knowledge.<sup>38)</sup> He translated the (Mahā)saṃnipātaratnaketu(dhāraṇīsūtra), the Karaṇḍa-(vyūha)sūtra, the Avalokanasūtra, (and) twenty-one tantras into Tibetan; in one chronicle is even found the statement that he also translated the Śata-sāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā.<sup>39)</sup> In short, the minister Thon-mi became expert in the many achievements of learning.<sup>40)</sup>

A different view is held by Inaba, who (according to Miller, Studies, p. 92) refers the whole passage to one work only: “Now this is a brief sketch, but if one wishes [to know the subject] fully, since there is the [text] called *Thon-mi mdo rdzihi sgra mdo*, which is the basis [*gzi-ma*, *mūla*] for the compilation of composition [or, of orthography], the appearance of the shape of the letters having first been drawn up by Thon-mi, and [the letters] from *k* on having been revised into thirty [or, having been revised in the text called *Sum-cu?*], let him consult those [texts].” In dealing with Inaba’s interpretation, Miller has already pointed out that the final clause *de-dag-la gzigs-śig* “let him consult those [texts]” makes sense only if at least two works are spoken of here. He might have added that *Thon-mis* cannot easily be connected with *brtsams* because of the intervening punctuation, and that *brtsams* and *bsgyur* cannot readily be translated as so-called gerunds because of the lacking suffixes. Miller’s own paraphrase is also liable to doubt, however; he renders the words from *gzi-ma* onwards alternatively as “the ‘basic’ (*mūla*) grammatical treatise[s] arranged in succinct form by Thon-mi” (p. 98) and as “the *sgra mdo* ‘grammatical treatises,’ *mūla* texts, arranged in succinct form by Thon-mi” (p. 99). While agreeing with Miller that *Thon-mi mdo-rdzii sgra-mdo* need not necessarily be the title of any special book, though it is treated as such by mKhas-pai dga-ston, we are unable to see how the collocation *Thon-mi mdo-rdzi* can be understood to signify “arranged in succinct form by Thon-mi” without doing violence to the rules of Tibetan grammar; we would rather expect something like *Thon-mis mdor rdzi-ba* in that case!

<sup>37)</sup> Skr. *śabdaśāstra*.

<sup>38)</sup> Skr. *vidyāsthāna*. According to Mvy. 1554sqq., these are:

- (1) knowledge of words (*śabdavidyā*, *sgrai rig-pa*);
- (2) knowledge of causes (*hetuvidyā*, *gtan-thsigs-kyi rig-pa*);
- (3) knowledge relative to one’s self (*adhyātmavidyā*, *nañ-gi rig-pa*);
- (4) knowledge of healing (*cikitsāvidyā*, *gso-bai rig-pa*);
- (5) knowledge of skill in the arts and crafts (*śilpa[karma]sthānavidyā*, *bzoi gnas-kyi rig-pa*).

Cf. Sūtrāl. XI 60, schol.

<sup>39)</sup> All these works form part of the Kanjur, but none in Thon-mi’s rendering. According to Bu-ston (Chos-’byuñ, II, p. 184), gZon-nu-dpal (Deb-ther sñon-po, I, p. 40), and Sum-pa mkhan-po (dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ, II, p. 169), Thon-mi translated the Ratna-meghasūtra too, while Bu-ston and Sum-pa mkhan-po credit him in addition with the dPañ-skoñ-phyag-brgya-pa, a translation of one hundred penitential and complimentary formulas also contained in the Kanjur and actually ascribed to Thu-mi Saṃ-bho-ṭa there (see Ui, Catalogue, No. 267).

<sup>40)</sup> For the meaning of the unrecorded *bslab-śes* see (besides Das, Dict., p. 1323) Sum. II, p. 1289, where *bslab-śes-can* is said to be a synonym of *śes-rab-can* “wise.”



Then, when the minister was setting out (again) for Tibet, he said to the brahmin:

“You have obliged (us),<sup>41)</sup> O son of the Victor!<sup>42)</sup> You are great in kindness. Many thanks! Provide (us) with your blessing, [31 b] O merciful one! In the spotless sky of knowledge, the constellation of art and science is up, the pure clouds of prayer have gathered, the sun and moon of writings on language and logic have risen, (and) the darkness of man's ignorance has been dissipated. In the pleasant and clear ocean of the mind, the poured-out water of knowledge (and) understanding is spreading, the pure water-bird of prayer is swimming, (and) the jewel of writings on language and logic is resting, making away with man's poverty. On the spotless tree of the phantom body,<sup>43)</sup> the branches of art and science have grown, the flowers of the achievements of learning have blossomed, (and) the fruits of writings on language and logic have ripened. You have obliged us, the minister Thon-mi, in that you have granted all (our wishes). You have obliged (us), O son of the Victor, who we have come to the country of India, who we have gained access to you—the scholar, who we have fixed in our mind all the letters—the roots of achievement,<sup>44)</sup> who we shall go (back) to the central province of the country of Tibet, who we shall be given a festival by the king, who we shall govern the kingdom according to the Doctrine, who we shall promulgate the writings on language and logic to the ministers and subalterns appointed as instructors by the king, who we shall set forth (these writings) in detail to everyone.”

Thus having spoken, he placed the (brahmin's) foot on the crown of his head and, equipped with many Mahāyāna scriptures, went (back) to Tibet, (where) an unimaginably big<sup>45)</sup> welcome celebration was held (in his honour). The king (himself) had come to the place of the celebration, and the minister Thon-mi, after putting the superscript o, superscript i, subscript u, etc. into classes, gave (him)<sup>46)</sup> a specimen of his writing (that ran)<sup>47)</sup>—

<sup>41)</sup> Lit. “You have bound (us) to your heart.”

<sup>42)</sup> Skr. *jina*, i.e. the Buddha. This does not, however, imply that Li-byin was a Buddhist, but is simply intended to be a respectful address.

<sup>43)</sup> I.e. the human body, which is only an apparition from the Tantric point of view. For details see Guenther, *Nā-ro-pai rnam-thar*, p. 174sqg.

<sup>44)</sup> Lit. “who we have fixed in our mind entirely what are the letters—the roots of achievement.”

<sup>45)</sup> Lit. “not to be penetrated by thought.”

<sup>46)</sup> Syntactically, the participial clause *rgyal-po dga-ston-gyi gdan-sar byon-pa-la* is the indirect object of *phul-ba*.

<sup>47)</sup> Lines 1–4 of this verse contain only words with an *a* vowel (which is not written), whereas lines 5–8 consist only of words with an *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* vowel respectively.

“Bright of complexion<sup>48)</sup> and beautiful as to the intense refulgence of his character;<sup>49)</sup> profound, incessant, (and) discriminate in his advice; having freed himself from all tendencies to mean action; noble, unsurpassed, truly holy, well gone,<sup>50)</sup> steadfast to the truth, wise, aware and appreciative of the quietude of meditation,<sup>51)</sup> (and) triumphant over the host of impurities:<sup>52)</sup> the sovereign lord<sup>53)</sup> has utterly vanquished the three poisons<sup>54)</sup> by vanquishing Māra.”

*This specimen of Thon-mi's writing, having been engraved upon stone, (still) exists in the temple of Dzen-khog sna-rdo.<sup>55)</sup>*

[32a] “Reverence to you, the spiritual son of Avalokiteśvara,<sup>56)</sup> the righteous king<sup>57)</sup> having taken the name of Sroñ-btsan sgam-po!”

The king was very pleased with this praise; he pondered on the doctrine-jewel of the Buddha and paid honour and deference (to Thon-mi). When the king paid high-grade honour to the minister, the other ministers were quite upset with envy and publicly announced that such honour (paid) by a monarch to

<sup>48)</sup> Tib. *zal-ras*, lit. “brightness of face;” cf. *spyan-ras* “brightness of eyes.”

<sup>49)</sup> LdGlr. p. 31.11 has *g'zal-ras gsal-la 'nad mdañs* [v.l. *no-mdañs*] *gañ-ba bzañ*, which Francke (p. 83) mistranslates: “A good and full [offering of] fresh scent to G'zal-ras-gsal (Avalokita).” The true meaning of the line as it stands is: “Bright of complexion and beautiful as to his scent (and) full appearance [v.l. as to his full appearance].”

<sup>50)</sup> I.e. having attained bliss (Skr. *sugata*).

<sup>51)</sup> I.e. the final step in the eightfold path to Enlightenment (Skr. *samādhi*).

<sup>52)</sup> Skr. *kleśa*. While Pali texts know of ten or eight such impurities (see Rhys Davids and Stede, Diet., p. 217), Sanskrit texts mention only six, viz. —

- (1) passion (*rāga*, 'dod-chags);
- (2) loathing (*pratigha*, khoñ-khro-ba);
- (3) arrogance (*māna*, 'na-rgyal);
- (4) ignorance (*avidyā*, ma-rig-pa);
- (5) heresy ([*ku*]drṣṭi, lta-ba);
- (6) doubt (*vicikitsā*, the-thsom).

Cf. Dharmas. § 67, Mvy. 1944sqq.

<sup>53)</sup> I.e. Avalokiteśvara.

<sup>54)</sup> Skr. *viṣa*. These include passion (*rāga*, 'dod-chags), hatred (*dveṣa*, 'ze-sdañ), and ignorance (*moha*, gñi-mug) and are symbolized by a dove, serpent, and pig respectively in the nave of the wheel of life. See (besides Mvy. 168sqq. and 7264sqq.) Waddell, Buddhism, p. 105sqq.

<sup>55)</sup> Called Byin-gyi khod-mar rdo or Byin-gyis thog-mar rdo at LdGlr. p. 31.12 but unidentified so far. — Richardson (Dad-pai sa-bon, p. 102) makes mention of a slab with the *Oṃ mañi padme hūṃ* formula on it, found in the verandah of a Rigs gsum mgon-po temple at Pha-boñ-kha (north of lHa-sa), which is also said to be the first writing shown to Sroñ-btsan sgam-po by Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa.

<sup>56)</sup> Sroñ-btsan sgam-po is considered by the Tibetans to be an incarnation of Avalokiteśvara. — Tib. *sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ* is metrically short for *sPyan-ras-gzigs-dbañ-phyug*.

<sup>57)</sup> Skr. *dharmarāja*, standing epithet of a Cakravartin or universal ruler.

his subject was inappropriate; whereupon the minister Thon-mi, in order to stop their jealousy, spoke as follows:

“I (am) the gracious minister Thon-mi. I suffered<sup>58)</sup> in India, where roads are difficult to travel, still more bodily hardships than great heat and cold. To him, the learned brahmin Li-byin, I paid homage with a pious mind and gave presents of valuable jewels (and) gold. He taught (me) the alphabetic characters, whose meaning is difficult to find out, made hints that drove (all) doubts from my heart, and trained (me) to be an expert in the syllable<sup>59)</sup> and vowel signs. These fifty Indian letters I reduced to the system of the thirty Tibetan letters. The certain knowledge of my own learnedness rose in my heart. Forthwith I impressed all achievements on my memory. I am glad of the present and happy about the future. In this kingdom of the barbarous borderland Tibet, I am the first learned man to arrive. I am the burning lamp that dissipates the darkness. I live in the guise of sun and moon, (that is), lord and king. Among my fellow ministers, there is no one like me. Am I, Thon-mi, not great in kindness towards the people of the snowland Tibet?”

When he had spoken these (words) *expressing Thon-mi's pride*, the ministers looked at one another and became unjealous.

At that time there were, (in addition) to three hundred ministers of lesser fame,<sup>60)</sup>—*the names of the following ministers of the exterior, the interior, and social relations*<sup>61)</sup> *have been compiled from the Than-yig chen-mo*,<sup>62)</sup>—sixteen

<sup>58)</sup> Or: mastered.

<sup>59)</sup> I. e. consonant.

<sup>60)</sup> Tib. *yañ-grags-kyi blon-po*.

<sup>61)</sup> Free rendering of *bar* “interval,” which here signifies social differences. The *bar-blon* was responsible, among other things, for abolishing class distinctions.

<sup>62)</sup> Probably the rGyal-po bkai than-yig, the second part of the bKa-than sde lña, which is so called in the colophon (see Tucci, *Scrolls*, I, p. 113). This work being inaccessible to us, we are not unfortunately in a position to check the reference with the original. The apposite passage is, however, repeated verbatim in the Chos-'byun mkhas-pai dga-ston (vol. ja [7], fol. 18a 1–6). As the names found there are spelt in part somewhat differently, they are given below for the sake of comparison:

- (1) 'Phrul gNa-chen rigs-bzañ,
- (2) Žañ-po rGyal-gyi khrom-bzañ,
- (3) Cog-ro Rig-pai koñ-bzañ,
- (4) lHa-gzigs Šog-po bstan-bzañ,
- (5) Ka sÑag-ston 'phel-bzañ,
- (6) sBas-cañ dPal-gyi legs-bzañ;
- (7) Byañ-gi Khyuñ-po Pun zuñ-btsan,
- (8) Lam-khri bDe-blag khri-btsan,
- (9) Mu-khri rDo-rje rnam-btsan,
- (10) Thiñ Byañ-chub mchog-btsan,
- (11) Thar-pa Klu-yi dpal-btsan,
- (12) Roñ-po 'Phrul-gyi lde-btsan;

ministers of great reputation.<sup>63</sup>) [32b] (In other words), there were three hundred ministers directed by sixteen ministers of Bodhisattva lineage, (among them) four grand ministers who could not be spared:<sup>64</sup>) viz., (one) servant of the king's body, speech, and mind (and one) minister (each) conducting the external, internal, and social affairs. Specifically, there were six powerful ministers of the exterior,<sup>65</sup>) six excellent ministers of the interior,<sup>66</sup>) (and) four magic ministers of council.<sup>67</sup>)

Of these, the six excellent ministers of the interior: 'Phrul sNa-chen rigs-bzañ of *Khra-'brug*,<sup>68</sup>) Žaṅ-po rGyal-gyi khram-bzañ of *Hor*,<sup>69</sup>) Cog-ro Rig-pai skad-bzañ of *Cog-ro*,<sup>70</sup>) lHar-gzigs Śog-po bstan-bzañ of *Khams*,<sup>71</sup>) Ka gÑags-ston 'phel-bzañ of *rGya-ma Yar-ston*,<sup>72</sup>) and sBas-lcañ dPal-gyi legs-bzañ of *the distant sBas sKyed*<sup>73</sup>) by name, and one hundred other

(13) mKhas-pa Thon-mi Sambho-dra,

(14) mGar sTon-btsan yul-bzuñ,

(15) 'Bri Si-ru guñ-ston,

(16) Ņaṅ Khri-bzañ yañ-ston.

The (b)Kai thañ-yig chen-mo quoted at Glr. p. 175.30 is according to Laufer (bTsun-mo bkai thañ-yig, p. 5sq.) also the bKa-thañ sde lña but according to Tucci (Scrolls, I, p. 114) rather the Pad-ma thañ-yig, which is mentioned in O-rgyan gliñ-pa's biography under the title of Pad-ma bka-yi thañ-yig chen-mo.

<sup>63</sup>) Tib. *min-chen-gyi blon-po*.

<sup>64</sup>) Tib. *med-thabs-med-pai blon-chen*, lit. "grand ministers whom there was no way of not having."

<sup>65</sup>) Tib. *phyi-blon btsan-po*. <sup>66</sup>) Tib. *nañ-blon bzañ-po*. <sup>67</sup>) Tib. *bkai 'phrul-blon*.

<sup>68</sup>) A famous temple in the Yar-kluñs valley of dBus, situated on the east bank of the Yar-kluñs river about five miles south of sNe-gdoñ. According to tradition, the temple was founded by Sroñ-btsan sgam-po and burnt down by the Dzungars; the 13th Dalai Lama had it rebuilt. There is a guide to it by Thsul-khrims chos-'byor. Cf. Tucci, Tombs, p. 70, and Lhasa, p. 136; Wylie, 'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bśad, p. 168, n. 503.

<sup>69</sup>) One of the seven provinces of Tibet, lying to the north-east of Lake gNam-mthso (Tengri Nor); it is bounded on the south by the mountain range north of the River Tsañ-po (Brahmaputra) whose best-known elevation is the 16,570-ft. Ri-bo bkra-bzañ, on the west by the tribal territory of A-mdo mthso-nag, on the north by the River 'Bri-chu (Yangtse), and on the east and north-east by the areas of bKra-śis dgon-pa and Nañ-chen. Cf. Roerich, Trails, p. 333sqq.

<sup>70</sup>) There are several places of this name (variously spelt Cog-gru, Cog-ro, and lCog-ro), e.g. in dBus, in the Śaṅs valley of gTsañ, and in the lower Ņaṅ-chu valley of gTsañ; the last-mentioned one, situated on the road from rGyal-rtse to gŽis-kha-rtse, is probably the home of the celebrated Cog lo-tsā-ba Klui rgyal-mthsan. Cf. Tucci, Indo-Tibetica, IV 1, p. 68, and Tombs, p. 67.

<sup>71</sup>) The easternmost province of Tibet.

<sup>72</sup>) Unidentified but probably a monastery in the rGya-ma-ziñ valley of dBus. Cf. Ferrari, Dad-pai sa-bon, p. 109, n. 112.

<sup>73</sup>) Unidentified. There are at least two places named sBas: one in the 'Phan-yul valley of dBus and one (properly sBas-luñ) in the central Ņaṅ-chu valley of gTsañ, on the road from rGyal-rtse to gŽis-kha-rtse, near 'Dul-chuñ; cf. Deb-ther sñon-po, II, p. 1000, and Tucci, Tombs, p. 66. A sBas-yul of unknown whereabouts is mentioned at Dad-pai sa-bon, p. 17.4.

ministers conduct(ed)<sup>74</sup>) all personal services to the king and (all) internal affairs.

The six powerful ministers of the exterior: Khyuñ-po sPun bzañ-btsan<sup>76</sup>) of northern Khyuñ-po,<sup>76</sup>) Lam-khri bDe-lhag khri-btsan of Yar-stod,<sup>77</sup>) Mu-khri rDo-rje gnam-btsan—a 'Phan-yul personage,<sup>78</sup>) mThiñ Byañ-chub mchog-btsan of 'Jañ,<sup>79</sup>) Thar-pa Klui dpal-btsan of mChoñ-rgyas,<sup>80</sup>) (and) Roñ-po 'Phrul-gyi sde-btsan of Yar-luñ,<sup>81</sup>) and one hundred other ministers conduct(ed) the external affairs.<sup>82</sup>) By having (through their instrumentality) appropriated the methods of handicraft and calculation from the countries of China and Tangut in the east, adopted the word of the holy Doctrine from the country of India in the south, imported large quantities of<sup>83</sup>) victuals, goods, (and) luxuries from the countries of Sogdiana<sup>84</sup>) and Nepal in the west, (and)

<sup>74</sup>) The strange fluctuation of tenses noticeable in this and the following paragraphs is obviously due to the fact that the corresponding passage in the *Thañ-yig chen-mo*, on which bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan heavily draws for his narrative, is written in the present throughout.

<sup>75</sup>) The well-known favourite of King gNam-ri sroñ-btsan, called (Khyuñ-po) sPuñ-sad zu-tse in the Tun-huang Chronicle, who rose to be grand minister under Sroñ-btsan sgam-po but fell into disgrace after making an attempt on the king's life and committed suicide. Cf. Bacot, Documents, pp. 101, 106sq., 111sq.

<sup>76</sup>) A district of Kham whose capital is Khyuñ-po steñ-chen in the upper dÑul-chu (Salween) valley. Cf. Petech, Dad-pai sa-bon, p. 122, n. 213.

<sup>77</sup>) A region of dBus mentioned several times in the *Deb-ther sñon-po*. Perhaps identical with Byar-stod, the upper part of the Byar valley, whose river is a tributary of the Bya-yul-chu (Subansiri); cf. Ferrari, Dad-pai sa-bon, p. 127, n. 261. It may be noted *en passant* that Mount Srin-po-ri, at the confluence of the Tsañ-po and the sKyid-chu, is called by another name Yar-stod-brag; cf. Tucci, Lhasa, p. 118.

<sup>78</sup>) 'Phan-yul is a large valley of dBus formed by the 'Phan-yul river, which rises in the mountains to the east of sTod-luñ bDe-chen district and flows eastward, entering the sKyid-chu near dGa-ldan Monastery. Cf. Wylie, 'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bśad, p. 162, n. 442.

<sup>79</sup>) Either a village half a day's journey to the east of the confluence of the Tsañ-po and the sKyid-chu, or the region south of the area of Mu-li between Tibet and the Chinese province of Yün-nan. Cf. Wylie, 'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bśad, pp. 75 and 119, n. 50.

<sup>80</sup>) Obviously 'Phyoñ-rgyas in the Yar-kluñs valley of dBus, where the 5th Dalai Lama was born in 1617. In its neighbourhood are found the tombs of the early kings. Cf. Wylie, 'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bśad, p. 170, n. 510.

<sup>81</sup>) Also spelt Yar-kluñs; the famous valley of dBus formed by the Yar-kluñs-chu, which rises in the mountains to the north-east of Lake Gri-gu, is joined by the 'Phyoñ-rgyas-chu near Ras-chuñ-phug Monastery, and flows northward into the Tsañ-po near rTse-thañ. Cf. Wylie, 'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bśad, p. 168, n. 498.

<sup>82</sup>) We read *phyi-bya* instead of *phyi-blön*; the *Thañ-yig chen-mo* has *phyi-yi bya-ba*, Schmidt renders "die auswärtigen Angelegenheiten."

<sup>83</sup>) Lit. "made treasures of;" the *Thañ-yig chen-mo* has *gter-kha 'byed* "open up mines of."

<sup>84</sup>) Tentative rendering of *Svog-poi yul*, which cannot have its usual meaning "Mongolia" in this context; see Pad-ma thañ-yig fol. 294a1 (Hoffmann, Quellen, pp. 358sq. and 263), where it is translated by Mong. *Sartaqçin-u yaǰar*, with which compare

appropriated the methods of jurisdiction and labour from the countries of Mongolia and Uighuria in the north: in short, by having had the control and enjoyment of the four quarters, he was a king turning the helm of half the world.

Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa of *Thod-lur Ra-ga*,<sup>85</sup>) mGar Srañ-btsan yul-bzuñ<sup>86</sup>)—*a sTod-luñ Ram-pa-ba*,<sup>87</sup>) 'Bri Se-ru goñ-ston of 'Bri-khuñ,<sup>88</sup>) Ñañ Khri-bzañ yañ-ston—*a Ñañ Ser-ba*,<sup>89</sup>) [33a] and one hundred other ministers abolish(ed social) differences<sup>90</sup>) (and), as commanded by the king, enact(ed) the laws of the ten virtues. They bestow(ed) presents on the good (and) inflict(ed) punishments on the bad, restrain(ed) the high by laws (and) support(ed) the low by (various) means, divided the body-guard into four units, collected highland waters into ponds (and) conducted lowland waters into channels, reduced measures and weights to a system, divided fields into plots, instructed men in writing, distinguished horses by blaze(-like mark)s,<sup>91</sup>) (and) initiated good customs for imitation. They impose(d) punishments on those who picked quarrels (and) fines of (various) sizes<sup>92</sup>) on murderers, replace(d) stolen (property) eightfold—with the (stolen) object itself ninefold—, expelled those who committed adultery into other countries after maiming parts of their members,<sup>93</sup>) (and) cut off the tongues of those who told lies.

*Sartayul*—the ancient name of the Sogdian city of Bukhara. The Sogdians were in fact known as shrewd traders.

<sup>85</sup>) Unidentified. According to Petech, *Aristocracy*, p. 64, the estate of the Thon family was Kha-rag in the lower sÑe-mo valley of gTsañ.

<sup>86</sup>) The leading statesman under Sroñ-btsan sgam-po and Mañ-sroñ mañ-btsan, known as (mGar) sToñ-rtsan yul-zuñ in the Tun-huang documents and as (薛) 祿東贊 (Hsieh) Lu-tung-tsan in the T'ang Annals; cf. Bacot, *Documents*, pp. 13sq., 101, 112, 117sq., and Pelliot, *Histoire*, pp. 4sq., 83sq. According to the Tun-huang Annals, he died at Ris-pu in 667 A. D.; see also Deb-ther sñon-po, I, p. 49.

<sup>87</sup>) sTod-luñ is a large valley west of lHa-sa whose river falls into the sKyid-chu near 'Bras-spuñs Monastery; cf. Wylie, 'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bśad, p. 149, n. 321. On the later Ram-pa family see Petech, *Aristocracy*, p. 154sq.

<sup>88</sup>) Also spelt 'Bri-guñ; the upper part of the gŽo-roñ valley of dBus, about 100 miles north-west of lHa-sa, where the famous (m)Thil or Thel Monastery was founded by sGom-rins of Mi-ñag in the 12th century. Cf. Ferrari, *Dad-pai sa-bon*, p. 111/112, n. 116, and Wylie, 'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bśad, p. 165, n. 469.

<sup>89</sup>) Ñañ is the valley of the Ñañ-chu, which rises in the eastern part of gTsañ called Ñañ-stod and flows westwardly, entering the Tsañ-po (Brahmaputra) near gŽis-kha-rtse. Cf. Wylie, 'Dzam-gliñ rgyas-bśad, p. 115, n. 11.

<sup>90</sup>) Lit. "level(led) the surface of (social) intervals."

<sup>91</sup>) I.e. introduced horse-breeding. For the uncommon construction of 'bri-ba with the terminative instead of the instrumental see *Suv.* p. 75.16 (~ p. 99.17), where the foot of the Buddha is stated to be 'khor-lor [v.l. -los] bris-pa "marked by a wheel" (~ Skr. *cakracitra*).

<sup>92</sup>) Depending on the rank of the person killed.

<sup>93</sup>) Indo-Tibetan medicine distinguishes between members (*aṅga*, *yan-lag*) and parts of members (*pratyaṅga*, *ñiñ-lag*), here called *yan-lag-gi phran*. The former are head, trunk,

Further, (men were) to go to the three jewels<sup>94</sup>) for refuge and to pay devotion and respect (to them); to be grateful to their parents and to do honour (to them); not to forget their benefactors and their fathers, uncles, and elders but to recompense (them) for their goodness; not to quarrel with upper-class people and noblemen but to yield (to them); to adapt themselves to the upper class in all their deeds and actions; to fix their minds on the Doctrine of the (true) god<sup>95</sup>) and the (art of) writing and to understand their meaning; to believe in the (principle of the) cause and effect of their deeds and to avoid all sins; to be of use to their friends and neighbours and not to harbour mischievous thoughts (against them); to act straight-heartedly and to set up their souls as witnesses;<sup>96</sup>) to observe moderation in (the use of) food and liquor and to behave chastely; to pay debts in time and not to perpetrate frauds in (the use of) measures and weights; not to indulge in reflections on affairs with which they were not entrusted and commissioned; not to listen to the words of women in a conference<sup>97</sup>) but to maintain their independence; to swear oaths by calling the deities of the place (and) guardians of the Doctrine to witness if the facts should be incomplete; etc. With the ten virtues taken as patterns, [33b] (these rules of conduct) were reduced to the system of the twenty state-laws of Tibet at Śo-ma-ra in *sKyi-sod*<sup>98</sup>) and affixed with the seals of the king and all his ministers.

(His majesty) let (them) be propagated like the light of the sun and the moon. By his doing so, the king's<sup>99</sup>) subjects (became) happy, the Doctrine disseminated, and the realm extend(ed) to the ten quarters.<sup>100</sup>) As he exercised the law of the Doctrine, his subjects heeded the (royal) orders. All citizens were happy at the king-god's actions. In their wealth of brave men

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arms, and legs; the latter are (according to Suśr. III 5.4 and 10) skull, belly, back, navel, forehead, nose, chin, pelvis, neck, ears, eyes, eyebrows, temples, shoulders, cheeks, armpits, breasts, groins, testicles, flanks, buttocks, knees, elbows, forearms, thighs, fingers, toes, ear-holes, eye-sockets, mouth-aperture, nostrils, anus, urethra, milk-ducts, and vagina.—Cf. Hsin T'ang-shu, chüan 216A, fol. 1b10–11: 其刑雖小罪必抉目或剜鼻 *ch'i hsing sui hsiao tsui pi chüeh mu huo yüeh i* "As to their punishments, even in case of a small fault they must put out the eyes or cut off the feet or the nose."

<sup>94</sup>) Skr. *triratna*, i.e. the Buddha, the Doctrine (*dharmā*), and the Clergy (*saṃgha*).

<sup>95</sup>) I.e. the Buddha.

<sup>96</sup>) I.e. be without guile.

<sup>97</sup>) Tib. *gros-kyi nan-du*; Schmidt: "und den Ehemännern wurde empfohlen, die Herrschaft in ihren Häusern selbst auszuüben, und solche nicht den Weibern zu überlassen."

<sup>98</sup>) The ancient name of the district of lHa-sa, which in historical works often stands for lHa-sa proper. Cf. Roerich, *Deb-ther sñon-po*, II, p. 912.

<sup>99</sup>) We take *rje-btsan* for a synonym compound; cf. Das, *Dict.*, p. 1003sq. (s.v. *btsan-po*).

<sup>100</sup>) I.e. the four cardinal points, the four intermediate points, and the two celestial poles.

(and) swift horses they were like gods. As they placed their hopes in the Doctrine, they were happy in both this and the next (world). As they shunned fighting and bickering, they knew all for their parents. As (the art of) writing was taught to everybody, the Doctrine of the Buddha spread. As there were no counsellors of sin,<sup>101)</sup> the jewel of the ten virtues was found. As (this) was carried on the crown of everybody's head, the sun of happiness rose. As all were phantoms,<sup>102)</sup> there were no taxes and forced services.<sup>103)</sup> In the vault of heaven rose an eight-spoked wheel,<sup>104)</sup> on the cloddy earth<sup>105)</sup> grew an eight-petaled lotus,<sup>106)</sup> and on the mountains in between were (seen) all eight auspicious symbols.<sup>107)</sup> All trees afford(ed) shade in the pleasure-groves.<sup>108)</sup> All birds sent forth their various cries, and all places moved in six ways.<sup>109)</sup> All gods sent down a rain of flowers. In a celestial

<sup>101)</sup> Skr. *pāpamitra* (as opposed to *kalyānamitra* "counsellor of virtue"), a person who obstructs conversion or religious progress.

<sup>102)</sup> See above, note 43.

<sup>103)</sup> Tib. *u-lag*, a word of Turkish origin meaning socage. These services consisted in the gratuitous conveyance of travelling officials and government despatches by supplying porters, drivers, and beasts of burden and draught; they also included construction work on civil, military, or religious buildings. Cf. Tucci, *Scrolls*, I, p. 36, and Petech, *China*, p. 251 sq.

<sup>104)</sup> "Having an eight-spoked wheel" (*aṣṭāraca*) is according to Trik. I 1.20 an appellation of Mañjuśrī, the Bodhisattva of wisdom and literature, one of whose incarnations is known to be Thon-mi Sambho-ṭa. Cf. Hoffmann, *Symbolik*, p. 18.

<sup>105)</sup> Tib. *dog-moi sa*, *dog-mo* "dense, thick, cloddy" being nothing but an ornamental epithet. The shorter *dog-sa* is according to Sum. I, p. 1017, a honorific word for *sa*; it renders Skr. *pāṃśu* "dust" at Udr. pp. 38.8, 38.10, 47.17 (~ Divy. pp. 575.4, 575.6, 584.12) and Skr. *dharanī* "earth" at Suv. p. 180.3 (~ p. 248.13; v.l. *dogs-sa*).

<sup>106)</sup> Skr. *aṣṭadalapadma*. The emergence from the earth, rather than from the water, of a lotus is one of the miraculous phenomena that attend, according to Buddhist belief, any religiously significant event such as the Buddha's conception (Lalit. p. 64.11-13), birth (*ib.* p. 83.19-21), etc.

<sup>107)</sup> Skr. *aṣṭamaṅgala*. These are the parasol (*chattra*, *ātapatra*; *gdugs*), the two golden fishes (*suvarṇamatsya*; *gser-ña*), the holy-water jar (*kalaśa*; *bum-pa*), the lotus flower (*padma*), the conch (*śaṅkha*; *duñ*), the endless knot (*śrīvatsa*; *dpal-beu*), the standard (*dhvaja*; *rgyal-mthsan*), and the golden wheel (*suvarṇacakra*; *gser-gyi 'khor-lo*). Cf. Hoffmann, *Symbolik*, p. 54 sqq.

<sup>108)</sup> Skr. *nandanavana* (Mvy. 4194, Bodhic. X 6), the heavenly or royal gardens.

<sup>109)</sup> Skr. *ṣaḍvikāram* at Kāraṇḍ. pp. 17.23 and 83.7, Lalit. p. 81.6 (*°rām*), Suv. pp. 204.2 and 214.1, *et alibi*. The six earth tremors are enumerated at Mvy. 3000 sqq. and (with the help of the Chiao-shêng fa-shu, chüan 6, fol. 14a) may be interpreted somewhat as follows:

- (1) moving to and fro, quaking (*kampita*, 'gul, 動 *tung*);
- (2) moving upward, rising (*calita*, *gyos*, 起 *ch'i*);
- (3) moving up and down, heaving (*vedhita*, *ldog*, 涌 *yung*);
- (4) moving noisily, rumbling (*kṣubhita*, 'khrugs, 震 *chên*);
- (5) roaring (*raṇita*, *ur-ur*, 吼 *hou*);
- (6) clapping (*garjita*, *chem-chem*, 擊 *chi*).



grove with auspicious (and) delightful rocks, in the cool shadow of a walnut-tree stem, the great righteous king was seated on a throne. Accompanied by the host of his brave, wise, (and) magically powerful ministers, escorted by the Tibetan people (and) his retinue, he went round the confines (of his realm). The tent of the varicoloured rainbow fell in folds like a canopy (hung) from the sky under which a king is seated. Also, large quantities of treacle, grapes, sugar, pastry, and other food possessed of a hundred flavours<sup>110</sup>) were served by the king and render(ed) his retinue satisfied. For the great righteous king's physical recreation masqueraders, lion trainers, yak and lion<sup>111</sup>) trainers, tiger and lion<sup>111</sup>) trainers, drummers, caperers, [34a] dancers, etc. severally perform(ed) dances and games. While he was entertained with heavenly kettle-drums,<sup>112</sup>) lutes,<sup>113</sup>) songs,<sup>114</sup>) (and) cymbals,<sup>115</sup>) the scent of choice herbs, aloe, and sandal (as well as) incense move(d) along like the wind. The heavens were filled in his honour<sup>116</sup>) with canopies, standards, banners, ornaments,<sup>117</sup>) and various flags. Sixteen charming (and) beautiful girls, wearing beautiful trinkets (and) carrying flowers, furnish(ed) a treat for the ears by their ditties and dances.<sup>118</sup>) At the time he made the laws of joy (and) happiness, every man of the Tibetan people rode his horse full speed<sup>119</sup>) and flew<sup>120</sup>) his flag in the crown of every tree. Having beaten the holy kettle-drum of the holy Doctrine, enacted the laws agreeing with the ten virtues, and increased the pleasures agreeing with the five qualities of desire: he let the laws of the ten virtues be propagated in precisely this snowy realm, in this icy mass of the country of Tibet, like (the light of) the sun and the moon in the sky.

The tenth chapter on (how) the minister Thon-mi adopted the script from India and (how) the king enacted the laws of the ten virtues.

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(Each term of this list recurs prefixed with *pra* ~ *rab-tu* and *sampra* ~ *kun-tu rab-tu*.) Cf. Nobel, Suv. (transl.), p. 334, n. 2. See also Soothill, Dict., p. 137 (s.v. *liu chung chên-tung*).

<sup>110</sup>) I.e. delicious.

<sup>111</sup>) On the analogy of Skr. *simha* at the end of appositional compounds, *gyag-señ* and *stag-señ* might also be interpreted to denote an excellent yak and an excellent tiger.

<sup>112</sup>) Skr. *bheri*, *dundubhi* (Mvy. 5010, 5012).

<sup>113</sup>) Skr. *vinā* (Mvy. 5025).

<sup>114</sup>) Tib. *rol-mo* usually signifies instrumental music (as opposed to *dbyañs* "vocal music"); but see Lañk. fol. 83b ~ p. 3.9 *et passim* (Suzuki, Index, p. 64), where it renders Skr. *gīta* "song."

<sup>115</sup>) Skr. *tūrya* (Mvy. 5021).

<sup>116</sup>) Lit. "he was honoured in that the heavens were filled."

<sup>117</sup>) Skr. *vibhūṣaṇa* (Mvy. 6003).

<sup>118</sup>) By their dances in so far as the girls' bracelets, anklets, necklaces, etc. were caused to jingle by the rhythmic motions.

<sup>119</sup>) Lit. "mounted and galloped his horse."

<sup>120</sup>) Lit. "hoisted and set up."

## Select Vocabulary

- bkai 'phrul-blon, *magic minister of council* (four in number), 32b2.
- rgyal-khams, *kingdom dweller, citizen*, 33b2.
- sgra, *word*: yi-gei sgra, *written words, literary language* (said of Sanskrit), 30a2, 3, 6.
- sgra-thsad, *language and logic*: sgra-thsad yi-ge, *writings on language and logic*, 30a5, 31b1, 2, 4; yi-gei sgra-thsad, *literary language and logic*, 30b1.
- rña-chen, short for rña-bo-che (q.v.), 34a3.
- rña-bo-che [bherī, dundubhi], *kettle-drum*, 34a1.—Cf. rña-chen.
- rje-btsan, “powerful master,” *king*, 33b1.
- gtan-la 'bebs-pa, pf. phab, with accusative or terminative, *to reduce to the system of*: Bod-yig sum-cu(r), *of the thirty Tibetan letters*, 30b3, 32a4; Bod-khrims ñi-śu, *of the twenty state-laws of Tibet*, 33a6/b1.
- gter mdzad-pa, with genitive, “to make treasures of,” *to import large quantities of*: zas nor loñs-spyod-kyi, *of victuals, goods, and luxuries*, 32b5.
- mtha-rten, “keeping to, standing at, the end (of a word),” *final letter* (in India 10: ka ña ta ña ta na pa ma la ḥ; in Tibet 10: ga ña ba ma 'a da na ra la sa), 30b3, 4, 6, 31a1.
- dog-moi sa, usually shortened to dog-sa, *cloddy earth* (see Transl., n. 105), 33b3.
- mdoñs, *blaze*: rta-la mdoñs-su bris, “marked horses with blazes,” *distinguished horses by blaze-like marks* (i.e. introduced horse-breeding; for the construction see Transl., n. 91), 33a2.
- nañ-blon bzañ-po, *excellent minister of the interior* (six in number), 32b1/2.
- nam-mkhai mthoñs, *vault of heaven*, 33b3.
- rnam<-pa> mañ-du, *manifold*, 30b2.
- rnam 'phrul, metrically short for rnam-par 'phrul-ba [vikṛ], *to perform miracles*, 30a2.
- pi-vañ [viñā], *lute*, 34a1.
- phyi-blon btsan-po, *powerful minister of the exterior* (six in number), 32b1, 3.
- 'phul, *prefix*, 30b6, 31a1.
- 'phul-yig, *prefixal letter* (in India 10: ka gha ja ta dha pa śa ṣa sa ha; in Tibet 5: ga da ba ma 'a), 30b3, 4.
- bar, “interval,” *social difference*: bar-gyi khod sñoms, “level(led) the surface of (social) intervals,” *abolished social differences*, 33a1; bar...-gyi bya-ba byed-pai blon-po, “minister doing business (apropos) of (social) intervals,” roughly, *minister conducting social affairs*, 32b1; bar...-gyi blon-po, “minister (in charge) of (social) intervals,” roughly, *minister of social relations*, 32a6.
- bu, “son,” short for yi-ge(i) bu (q.v.), 30b6, 31a1.
- bya-ba, *business, state affair*: phyi-nañ-bar gsum-gyi bya-ba, *external, internal, and social affairs* (on bar see s.v.), 32b1.

blon-chen, *grand minister* (four in number: one each for royal, external, internal, and social affairs), 32b1.

blon-po, *minister*: phyi-nañ-bar gsum-gyi blon-po, *ministers of the exterior, the interior, and social relations* (on bar see s. v.), 32a6; miñ-chen-gyi blon-po, *minister of great reputation* (i.e. of leading position; 16 in number), 32a6; yañ-grags-kyi blon-po, *minister of lesser fame* (i.e. of subordinate position; 300 in number), 32a6.

'ba-ṣig [kevala], *sole, whole, all*: mi-dge-ba 'ba-ṣig-la 'dzem-pa, *to avoid all sins*, 33a5.

ma, "mother:" (i) māṭṛkā (a kind of script), 30b2; (ii) short for yi-ge ma (q. v.), 30b5, 6, 31a1; kun-gyi ma, "mother of all," *universal parent letter* (one that can be written above any other: ra la sa), explained as 'dogs thams-cad-kyi ma, *mother, parent letter, of all subscripts*, 30b5.

man-ñag [upadeśa], *religious instruction, homily*, 30b1.

med-thabs-med-pa, "whom there is no way of not having," *who cannot be spared* (epithet of the four grand ministers), 32b1.

thsim-pa, v. t., *to content somebody* (dat.) with something (instr.): 'khor-'bañs-rnams-la chos-kyis, *the king's subjects with the Doctrine*, 30a4.

ṣabs-tog, *servant*: rgyal-poi sku-gsuñ-thugs-kyi ṣabs-tog, *servant of the king's body, speech, and mind* (one of the four grand ministers), 32b1.

ṣal-ras, "brightness of face," *complexion*, 31b5.

gṣi drañ-po, *straight-hearted*, 33a5.

yan-lag-gi phran, *part of a member* (synonymous with ñiñ-lag [pratyāṅga], *secondary member*, on which see Transl., n. 93), 33a3.

yi-ge, (i) *letter*: rkañ-pa-can-gyi yi-ge, *footed letter* (ending in an elongated down-stroke: ka ga ta da na ña ṣa ha), 30b4/5; rGya-la med-pai yi-ge, *letter not existing in the Indian language* (ca cha ja 'a ṣa za), 30b5; sin-tu gces-pai yi-ge, *very important letter* (one that can be used both as prefix and as final: ga da ba ma 'a), 30b4; yi-ge(i) bu, "letter-son," *affiliated letter* (one that can be written below another: ka ga ña da ta na pa ba ma ca ja ña tsa dza la ha), 30b5, 31a3; yi-ge ma, "letter-mother," *parent letter* (one that can be written above another: ka ga ba za ra la sa), 30b5; yi-ge(i) gtso-bo, *principal letter* (in India 30: ka kha ga gha ña ca cha ja ña ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa ta tha da dha na pa ba bha ma ya la va ṣa ṣa sa ha; in Tibet 20: ka kha ca cha ja ña ta tha pa pha tsa thsa dza va ṣa za ya ṣa ha a), 30b2, 4; (ii) *letters, script*: yi-gei 'bru, "grain of script," *alphabetic character*, 30b1, 3; cf. yig-'bru; (iii) *letters, literature*: sgra-thsad yi-ge, *writings on language and logic*, 30a5, 31b1, 2, 4; yi-gei sgra-thsad, *literary language and logic*, 30b1.

yig-'bru, short for yi-gei 'bru (q. v.), 30b4, 6; med-kyañ ruñ-bai yig-'bru, *alphabetic character fit to be spared as well* (said of the dispensable letter va), 30b4.

yid gṣuñs-pa [medhāvin], *shrewd-minded*, 30a1.

Yu-ge-ra, *Uighuria*, 32b5.

- rañ-thsugs, “set up by oneself,” *independent, independence*, 33a6.  
 rig-pa, “knowledge,” used metonymically for *traditional literature, lore*, as the subject of learning (opposed to, and usually combined with, luñ [q.v.]), 30a3, 30b1.  
 rol-mo [gīta], *song* (see Transl., n. 114), 34a1.  
 luñ [āgama], *canonical text, scripture* (opposed to, and usually combined with, rig-pa [q.v.]), 30a3, 30b1.  
 sil-sñan [tūrya], *cymbal*, 34a1.  
 Svog-poi yul, *Sogdiana*[?] (see Transl., n. 84), 32b5.  
 bslab-śes, *learning*, 31a6, 31b2.

### Obsolete Spellings

contained in the Lhasa xylograph (according to Kuznetsov) and corroborated by Hummel’s and/or Tucci’s manuscript

- ka-mad : ka-smad, 31a4.  
 kyañ : yañ (after n); gźan-kyañ, 31a4; bźan-kyañ, 30a6.  
 dkyil : bskyil, 33a2.  
 sku-bsruñs : sku-bsruñ, 33a1/2. — Cf. bstan-bsruñs.  
 skur-sti : bkur-sti, 32a2, 33a3. — Cf. bskur-sti.  
 skod : bkod, 30b2.  
 skos (1) : brkos, 31b6 [L sgos].  
 skos (2) : bskos, 33a6.  
 bskur-sti : bkur-sti, 32a1.  
 -kha : -ka (after a numeral); gñis-kha, 30b6, 31a1.  
 khyim-mdzes : khyim-mthses, 33a5.  
 mkhyil(-ba) : ’khyil(-ba), 33b6.  
 mkhruñs : ’khruñs, 30a3.  
 goñ : gañ, 30b3.  
 dgu-’brum : rgun-’brum, 33b6.  
 dgos : sgos, 30b5, 6.  
 ’gyogs(-pa) : mgyogs(-pa), 33b2.  
 rgya : brgya, 31a5, 33a1, 33b6.  
 rgyal-’khams : rgyal-khams, 32a5.  
 sgrigs : bsgrigs, 31a4.  
 brgyan : rgyan, 34a2.  
 bsgrod-pa : bgrod-pa, 32a3.  
 dños : ños, 33a3.  
 cig : gcig, 30b4, 32a6. — Cf. bcu-cig.  
 -cig : -śig (after s); gźigs-cig, 31a4; brlobs-cig, 31a6/b1.  
 -ciñ : -śiñ (after s); skos-ciñ, 33a6; phan-’dogs-ciñ, 33a5; yid-ches-ciñ, 33a5.  
 ces : źes (after a vowel); bźi / ces, 32b1; os-so ces, 32a2.  
 ces-pa : gces-pa, 30b4.

- gcad : bcad, 33a3.  
 bcu-cig : bcu-geig, 31a2.  
 bcugs : spyugs, 33a3.  
 bcuñ-zad : cuñ-zad, 30a3.  
 bcod(-pa) : gcod(-pa), 33a1, 4.  
 'chad-pa : chad-pa, 33a1.  
 'chas : bcas, 34a4.  
 'jal-ba : mjal-ba, 31b3.  
 rjod : brjod, 31b4.  
 gñis-kha : gñis-ka, 30b6, 31a1.  
 sñed-pa : rñed-pa, 32a3, 33b3.  
 -tu : -du (after n); zur-can-tu, 31a3.  
 -te : -ste (after ñ, b, or a vowel); bzuñ-te, 30a4; phab-te, 33b1; 'cha-ba-te, 33a1; 'dren-po-te, 31a1; 'zabs-kyu-te, 31a1.  
 gtañ : btañ, 30a1, 2.  
 gtab : btab, 33b1.  
 gter(-ba) : ster(-ba), 33a1.  
 rtags : btags, 31a6, 31b3, 4.  
 rtar-kha : star-kha, 33b5.  
 rtogs : tog, 31a5.  
 rtogs-'jug : rtog-'jug, 33a6.  
 rtogs-pa : gtogs-pa, 30b3.  
 stan (1) : gtan, 32a4. — Cf. brtan, bstan.  
 stan (2) : bstan, 30b1, 32a4.  
 stiñ : rtiñ, 31a3.  
 stegs : bteg, 30b2.  
 stod : bstod, 32a1.  
 brtan : gtan, 33a2. — Cf. stan (1), bstan.  
 bstan : gtan, 30b3, 33b1. — Cf. stan (1), brtan.  
 bstan-chos : bstan-bcos, 31a5.  
 bstan-bsruñs : bstan-sruñ, 33a6. — Cf. sku-bsruñs.  
 them-pa : tham-pa, 32a4, 32b4, 33a1. — Cf. them-pa.  
 them-pa : tham-pa, 32b3. — Cf. them-pa.  
 mtha-khob : mtha-'khob, 30a3, 30b1, 32a5 [L -'khob].  
 'thu : mthu, 30a3.  
 -du : -tu (after g or b); phyag-du, 30a5; slob-du, 30a5.  
 dril-sgrags-pa : dril-bsgrags-pa, 32a2.  
 gdam-ñag : gdams-ñag, 31b5.  
 gduñ-rgyud : gduñ-brgyud, 32b1.  
 bde-śegs : bde-gśegs, 31b6.  
 'dañs : mdañs, 31b5.  
 'dran-sems : 'gran-sems, 32a2, 6.  
 'dren-po : 'greñ-po, 31a1 [L 'dren-po].

- sdebs-sbyor : sdeb-sbyor, 31a2, 4.  
 rnam-spyod : rnam-dpyod, 31a3.  
 spañ : dpañ, 33a5, 6.  
 phud-dud : phu-dud, 32a2.  
 phye : phyes, 30b1.  
 'phra-dog : phrag-dog, 32a2.  
 blañs : bsłañs, 32a2.  
 dbul-'phoñs : dbul-phoñs, 31b2.  
 sma-ba : dma-ba, 33a1.  
 thsañs-pa : thsañ-ba, 33a6.  
 'thsal : thsal, 33b4.  
 mdza-śes : mdza-bśes, 33a5.  
 'dzañs(-pa) : mdzañs(-pa), 33b5.  
 'dzub-khrid : mdzub-khrid, 32a4.  
 źabs-rtog : źabs-tog, 32b1, 3.  
 bźan : gźan, 32a2, 33a3.  
 bźan-(k)yañ : gźan-yañ, 30a6, 33a3.  
 bźi : gźi, 33a5.  
 bźi-ma : gźi-ma, 31b3.  
 bźuñs-pa : gźuñs-pa, 30a1.  
 gzo : bzo, 30b3, 31a4, 32b5.  
 gyañ-yig : dbyañs-yig, 30b2, 32a4.  
 rigs-pa : rig-pa, 31a5.  
 rigs-'dzin : rig-'dzin, 30a3.  
 lor-rgyus : lo-rgyus, 31a5.  
 brlobs : rlobs, 31a6.  
 gśes-gñen : bśes-gñen, 33b3.  
 sum-bcu : sum-cu, 30b3, 31a4, 32a4. — Cf. gsum-bcu.  
 Sog-po : Svog-po, 32b5.  
 slabs : bsłabs, 30b2, 31a5, 32a4, 33a2, 33b2.  
 slabs-śes : bsłab-śes, 31a6, 31b2.  
 gsad : bsad, 33a2.  
 gsal : bsal, 31b5.  
 gsu-ba : bsu-ba, 31b4.  
 gsum-bcu : sum-cu, 30b2. — Cf. sum-bcu.  
 bsan(-pa) : gsan(-pa), 30a3.  
 bsil-sñan : sil-sñan, 34a1.

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- bSod-nams grags-pa: *Deb-ther dmar-po gsar-ma*, Tibetan and English (Tucci, Roma, 1971)
- bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan: *rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ*, Tibetan (Kuznetsov, Leiden, 1966) and Chinese (Liu, *K'ang-tao yüeh-k'an II-IV*; Wang, Shanghai, 1949 [31955])
- bTsun-mo bkai thañ-yig, Tibetan and German (Laufer, Leipzig, 1911)
- Bu-ston: *Chos-'byuñ*, Tibetan (Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1971) and English (Obermiller, Heidelberg, 1931–32)<sup>1)</sup>
- Chiao-shêng fa-shu, Chinese
- dKon-mchog bstan-pa rab-rgyas: *Deb-ther rgya-mthso*, Tibetan (Dharamsala, 1972)
- dPa-bo gtsug-lag: *Chos-'byuñ mkhas-pai dga-ston*, Tibetan (Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1959–62)
- gŽon-nu-dpal: *Deb-ther sñon-po*, Tibetan (Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1974) and English (Roerich, Calcutta, 1949–53)
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- Pad-ma thañ-yig, French (Toussaint, Paris, 1933)
- Rin-chen rnam-rgyal: *Nā-ro-pai rnam-thar*, English (Guenther, Oxford, 1963)
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- Si-tu pañdi-ta: *Si-tui sum-rtags*, Tibetan (Darjeeling, 1895)
- Sum-pa mkhan-po: *dPag-bsam ljon-bzañ*, Tibetan (pts. 1–2: Das, Calcutta, 1908; pt. 3: Lokesh Chandra, New Delhi, 1959)

### Abbreviations

- Bodhic. = Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, Sanskrit and Tibetan (Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1960)
- Dharmas. = *Dharmasaṃgraha*, Sanskrit (Kasawara-Müller-Wenzel, Oxford, 1885)
- Divy. = *Divyāvadāna*, Sanskrit (Cowell-Neil, Cambridge, 1886)
- Glr. = *bSod-nams rgyal-mthsan's rGyal-rabs gsal-bai me-loñ*, Tibetan (Kuznetsov, Leiden, 1966)

<sup>1)</sup> Folio numbers refer to the Tibetan text, page numbers to the English translation.

Kāraṇḍ.	= Kāraṇḍavyūha, Sanskrit (Samasrami, Calcutta, 1873)
Lalit.	= Lalitavistara, Sanskrit (Lefmann, Halle, 1902-08)
Laṅk.	= Laṅkāvatārasūtra, Sanskrit (Nanjio, Kyoto, 1923)
LdGlr.	= La-dvags rgyal-rabs, Tibetan and English (Francke-Thomas, Calcutta, 1926)
Mv.	= Mahāvastu, Sanskrit (Senart, Paris, 1882-97)
Mvy.	= Mahāvuyutpatti, Sanskrit-Tibetan-Chinese-Japanese (Sakaki, Kyōto, 1916-25)
Sum.	= Sumatiratna's Mun-sel sgron-me, Tibetan-Mongol (Ulaanbaatar, 1959)
Suśr.	= Suśrutasaṃhitā, Sanskrit (Āchārya, Bombay, 1938)
Sūtrāl.	= Asaṅga's Mahāyāna-Sūtrālamkāra, Sanskrit and French (Lévi, Paris, 1907-11)
Suv.	= Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra, Sanskrit (Nobel, Leipzig, 1937); Tibetan I and II (Nobel, Leiden-Stuttgart, 1944-50); German and Tibetan III (Nobel, Leiden, 1958)
Trik.	= Puruṣottamadeva's Trikāṇḍaśeṣa (Durgāprasād-Parab-Śivadatta, Bombay, 1889)
Udr.	= Udrāyaṇāvadāna (Nobel, Wiesbaden, 1955)

### Sigla

AM	= Asia Major
AO	= Archiv orientální
BCHP	= Bulletin de la classe historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg
DE	= (Geografičeskoe Obsčestvo SSSR.) Doklady po étnografii
FO	= Folia Orientalia
JA	= Journal asiatique
JAOS	= Journal of the American Oriental Society
JASB	= Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
KS	= Keleti Szemle
LSI	= Linguistic Survey of India
PW	= Petersburger Wörterbuch (large edition)
TBKNII	= Trudy burjatskogo kompleksnogo naučno-issledovatel'skogo instituta
TJ	= Tibet Journal
TP	= T'oung Pao
WZKM	= Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
ZDMG	= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

### Postscript

This treatise was written as part of the Bonn University Special Research Programme on Central Asia sponsored by the German Association for the Encouragement of Research.

While reading the proofs (with the unfailing assistance of Dr. Helmut Eimer, Bonn), the present writer came to know of the title of another edition of the Royal Mirror, to be added to the list on p. 10 *sq.*; the edition in point, which is not available to him, was made by Thu-ma Thse-riñs rgyal-mthsan and published at Dolanji in 1973.

Saarbrücken, March 9, 1981

Claus Vogel

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