

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN  
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE  
SITZUNGSBERICHTE, 856. BAND

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# Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya

Patrick Mc Allister, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub,  
and Helmut Krasser †

Verlag der  
Österreichischen Akademie  
der Wissenschaften



Wien 2015

**OAW**

Vorgelegt von k. M. HELMUT KRASSER †  
in der Sitzung vom 27. Juni 2014

Diese Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen  
Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen.

This publication has undergone the process of anonymous, international peer review.

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ISBN 978-3-7001-7585-8  
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Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien  
Druck und Bindung: Ferdinand Berger & Söhne Ges.m.b.H., 3580 Horn  
Printed and bound in the EU  
<http://hw.oeaw.ac.at/7585-8>  
<http://verlag.oeaw.ac.at>

Helmut Krasser, an exceptional scholar and a real *satpuruṣa*, met with an untimely end before this volume could be printed. He leaves a great and lasting void in the academic world and among his friends.



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# Conference “Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya”

15.-18.04.2009, IIAS, Shimla

Deborah Klimburg-Salter

A symposium entitled “Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya” was held in Shimla from 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> of April, 2009, and jointly sponsored by the Indian Institute of Advanced Study (IIAS), the University of Vienna, and the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) sponsored National Research Network (NFN) “The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya from the 8<sup>th</sup> Century (S98)”. Following high tea, the program began on Wednesday afternoon with the invocation by the Venerable Lochen Tulku Rinpoche, Rin chen bzang po. The participants were welcomed by Peter Ronald de Souza, Director of the IIAS, and the inaugural address was held by Mungekar, Member of the Planning Commission and Chairman of the IIAS, Shimla. The distinguished speakers and the important topic “Heritage Preservation in the Western Himalayas” attracted a large capacity audience and we would like to thank both the fellows and the members of the IIAS, Shimla University, and the state and local governments as well as the interested members of the community who attended this opening program.<sup>1</sup>

The deliberations, chaired by Deborah Klimburg-Salter, began with a short statement from Lochen Tulku Rinpoche regarding the importance of Buddhism and Buddhist monuments in the history of Himachal Pradesh. Deepak Sanan discussed the social and economic changes that have occurred in the last two decades in Himachal Pradesh, and how they affected Buddhist monastic life and therefore the conservation of Buddhist monuments. Laxman Thakur offered a stirring critique of the recent preservation projects undertaken by the Archaeological Survey of India (A.S.I.), and the Nako Research and Preservation Project (NRPP, <http://www.univie.ac.at/nako>), and praised a number of individual initiatives by local communities. Verena Widorn presented a very short summary of the history of the NRPP at Vienna University and introduced the

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<sup>1</sup>For a complete description of the participant’s institutional affiliation see the attached program (page xv).

extensive website which contains all the many scientific reports produced during 4 years of work at Nako. Thus Widorn was able to clarify some of the dates for structural interventions at Nako, which were discussed by Thakur and which in fact had taken place before the NRPP began.

Karel Kriz presented work in progress demonstrating “The Virtual Reconstruction of Nako”, a Google Earth based interactive online application that allows the user to explore reconstructed virtual space (CHAPTER 14).

The program held on the following three days was organized according to the structure of the trans-disciplinary research network (NFN), funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) and housed at the University of Vienna, which consists of six sub-projects, each with a distinctive disciplinary orientation (<http://www.univie.ac.at/chwh>). The NFN works closely with the Research Platform CIRDIS (Center for Interdisciplinary Research and Documentation of Inner and South Asia, <http://www.univie.ac.at/cirdis>) funded by the University of Vienna. CIRDIS has initiated the Bon manuscript research unit, the results of which were also presented at the symposium.

### **Panel 1: New Research in Geography—Mapping Cultural History**

The panel on Thursday was chaired by Karel Kriz, who is also the Speaker of the NFN sub-project “Cultural History Information System” (CHIS, <http://www.univie.ac.at/chis>). Kriz focused on the goals and objectives of the CHIS, an application that is being developed at the University of Vienna’s Department of Geography and Regional Research within the context of the NFN (see CHAPTER 1). This research comprises a collaborative spatially enabled system for archiving, analyzing, and visualizing datasets of cultural relevance. William Cartwright spoke about mapping the past and the present. He gave an overview of the development of mapping in a broader sense and then focused on the current scientific situation in the fields of cartography and geo-information science (see CHAPTER 2). Pradeep Srivastava outlined the current situation of topographic mapping and remote sensing in India.

In the afternoon a session was held on applying mapping tools in cultural history. David Schobesberger and Ben Nausner presented a GPS data acquisition tool that was specially developed for the purpose of data capture in field research related to the goals of cultural history (see CHAPTER 3). In the course of a hands-on workshop all conference participants were invited to use the acquisition devices and to capture geo-data (points,

lines and areas) of interest (FIGURE 3.3). After the field work the collected data was visualized in Google Earth, and the relevance as well as the efficiency of the tool was analyzed.

## **Panel 2: Philology and History—Manuscripts, Inscriptions, Trade**

The panel was chaired by Helmut Krasser, Speaker of the NFN sub-project on philosophy. In the paper “Manuscripts en Route” Helmut Tauscher, Speaker of the NFN’s sub-project “Tibetan Manuscripts”, discussed possible streams of interdependence between the various Tibetan traditions of manuscript transmission and routes along which manuscripts might have travelled before they formed those collections that served as bases for the compilation of the various Kanjurs (see CHAPTER 12). As a point of departure he analyzed the proto-canonical manuscript collection of Gondhla (Lahul) with regard to its contents and structure. Thus such questions were considered as which versions of the respective texts it contains, and he compared it with representatives of the two commonly accepted groups of Kanjurs, the Tshal pa and the Them spangs ma group, with the Kanjur of Phugdrag, as well as with other proto-canonical material and the catalogues from imperial Central Tibet (*IHan kar ma*, *’Phang thang ma*).

This comparison showed a strong mobility of manuscripts all over pre-14<sup>th</sup> century Tibet. However, there was a certain predominance of regional travel. Although those versions of texts are predominant at Gondhla that later served as the basis for the Kanjur of Them spangs ma, other known and hitherto unknown traditions are represented as well. A similar situation is to be expected also in other monastic or administrative centres along the main pilgrimage and trade routes, so that none of the Kanjur transmissions follows a homogeneous tradition, and it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to single out all the diverse strands of transmission that mingle in the various Kanjurs.

In the absence of Kurt Tropper, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub read the paper on epigraphic palimpsests. Both scholars participate in the sub-project on inscriptions (<http://www.univie.ac.at/Tibetan-inscriptions>), led at the time of the Shimla Conference by Ernst Steinkellner, and now by Kurt Tropper. Tropper drew attention to epigraphic palimpsests in the Tibetan cultural realm (see CHAPTER 13). Presenting clear examples from different regions and periods, he argued that such palimpsests are probably much more common than is generally assumed. The implications with

regard to dating epigraphic sources and interpreting their contents were also addressed.

**Panel 3: Places, Objects and Travellers—Art along Pilgrimage Routes**

This panel was chaired by Deborah Klimburg-Salter, who is the Speaker of the NFN sub-project on art history and is Director of the NFN. All three speakers in this panel belong to the Art History sub-project and presented the results of that aspect of their research that investigates the impact of the trade and pilgrimage routes in specific areas of the Western Himalayas. The goal was to illustrate how these long distance exchange systems affected the arts of the area. Verena Widorn focused on the ancient pilgrimage routes in Lahul used by both Buddhist and Hindu pilgrims, and demonstrated a certain tendency towards the emergence of what has been called “syncretistic ritual practises in these areas” (see CHAPTER 7). Erika Forte concentrated on pilgrimage to Khotan from China and from Khotan in the direction of India. She summarized the literary sources for this phenomenon and showed a small selection of images from her recent visit to the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg where images from Khotan could closely be identified with art works of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century coming from northern Pakistan (see CHAPTER 6). Anna Filigenzi discussed a very similar, even parallel, problem on the basis of the evidence from northern Pakistan, identified in the ancient texts as Uḍḍiyāna, the home of Padmasambhava. Filigenzi’s paper (read by Widorn) showed some images closely related to those found in Pakistan, which relate closely to those that were shown by Forte, thus drawing attention to the close connections between the Buddhist art produced in northern Pakistan and Khotan in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries (see CHAPTER 5).

**Panel 4: Buddhist Philosophy in Kashmir**

This panel was chaired by Helmut Krasser, Speaker of the NFN sub-project on philosophy. The four papers shed light on various topics related to Buddhist philosophy and Kashmir. Kashmir was especially relevant to the adoption of Indian Buddhism by the Tibetans as many of the Buddhist Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan in the country’s capital city Anupamapura, today’s Śrīnagar. The first lecture by Parul Mukherji dealt with aesthetics and its relation to philosophy in Abhinavagupta’s work *Abhinavabhāratī* (CHAPTER 8). Then Patrick McAllister explained Ratnakīrti’s theory of language as presented in his *Aphosiddhi* (see CHAPTER



10). Vincent Eltschinger presented newly discovered works of the “second Dharmakīrti,” the Kashmiri Śāṅkaranandana, and his relation to his contemporary, Abhinavagupta (see CHAPTER 11). Finally, Anne MacDonald explained the transmission and translation of Buddhist texts in Śrīnagar (see CHAPTER 9).

**Panel 5: Bon in the Western Himalaya** This panel was chaired by Charles Ramble, who is developing Bon manuscript research at CIRDIS, Vienna University. On Saturday Samten Karmay presented a paper on an unpublished edict of *lha bla ma* Ye shes ’od (947–1024) who ruled over some parts of Western Tibet in the 10<sup>th</sup> century CE (see CHAPTER 16). Later in his life the king became a Buddhist monk. The text of his edict was recently discovered in the private library of the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) in Drepung Monastery, Tibet. The edict sheds light on the history of Buddhist monastic establishments and the question of religious tolerance vis-à-vis the Bon religion in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

In the presentation “The Visual Representation of the Bon/Chos Community in Tabo in the 10<sup>th</sup> Century”, Deborah Klimburg-Salter suggests the possible presence of a Bon community in Tabo in the period in question (see CHAPTER 15). This was followed by a presentation of unknown Bon rituals: “The Real Bonpo Atmosphere: Remarks on Two Rituals for Summoning Good Fortune (*g.yang ’gug*)” by Charles Ramble (see CHAPTER 18). The presentation provided illustrations from his fieldwork together with an anthropological analysis. Phuntshog Nyima, a native of Dolpo, Nepal, then presented “Religion and Culture of the Dolpo Himalaya”, describing the religious customs and beliefs of the Dolpo people (see CHAPTER 17). The Bon panel was concluded with a presentation of “Manuscripts and Wall-Paintings from the Caves of Mustang, ca. 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> Century” by Charles Ramble. An impressive amount of Bon manuscripts were part of this discovery in Mustang.

Finally, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub shortly summarized the three days of sessions and discussions. She drew attention to the shared underlying structural and theoretical approaches in all of the presentations each of which essentially extended the boundaries of their traditional discipline. She highlighted the innovative character of terms and conclusions which could be achieved as a result of analyzing specific cultural and historical features with a transdisciplinary methodology (see her comments following CHAPTER 18).

All participants were in agreement that the success of the symposium certainly resulted in part from the very real generosity and intellectual interest of all of the staff of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study in Shimla under the direction of de Souza and with the active cooperation of Shashank Thakur. Tauscher offered a vote of thanks to the staff of the IAS, and Klimburg-Salter thanked the NFN staff from the University of Vienna, particularly Michael Zrenner, Linda Lojda, and Matthias Pfisterer, a representative of the sub-project “Pre-Islamic Numismatic History”, led by Michael Alram from the Museum of Art History, Vienna, for their support in the organisation of the conference and the seamless cooperation with the IAS during the conference. The presence of so many distinguished scholars at each and every one of the sessions enabled a very lively discussion, the benefits of which are mirrored in this publication.

The editors express their sincere thanks to the Austrian Academy of Sciences for accepting this volume.

At the last meeting of the conference, Helmut Krasser, with characteristic generosity, volunteered to edit this volume, intended to summarize the 6 years of our collaboration as a research team within the NFN, thus continuing his dynamic role as colleague and mentor in the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the University of Vienna. He possessed that rare combination of gifts—a precise and independent scholar who also took pleasure in encouraging the creative efforts of his students and colleagues. All of us who collaborated with him in the NFN and in this publication are greatly in his debt.

## Conference

# “Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya”

15.04.–19.04.2009, IIAS, Shimla

**Wednesday, 15.04.2009**

**17.00–19.00 Heritage Preservation**

Chair: Deborah Klimburg-Salter

Opening blessings by Lochen Tulku Rinpoche (Rin chen bzang po, Abbot, Kyi monastery)

Greetings by Prof. Peter Ronald de Souza, Director of the IAS

The importance of heritage conservation of Buddhist monuments in the Himalaya (Lochen Tulku Rinpoche, Kyi monastery)

Heritage preservation in context of contemporary economic and social development (Deepak Sanan, Shimla)

The Preservation of Cultural Heritage in the Western Himalaya: Current Immediate Concerns and Future Strategies (Laxman Thakur, Shimla)

Nako Research and Preservation Project (NRPP) (Verena Widorn, Vienna)

Virtual reconstruction of Nako (Karel Kriz, Vienna)

**19.30 Dinner**

**Thursday, 16.04.2009**

**PANEL 1: New Research in Geography – Mapping Cultural History**

Chair: Karel Kriz

**08.30–10.00 Panel 1, Sessions A)**

Mapping the past and the present (William Cartwright, Melbourne)

Perspective on the mapping and imaging situation in India (Pradeep Srivastava, Ahmedabad)

Goals and objectives of the Cultural History Information System (Karel Kriz, Vienna)

*jointly sponsored by:*

University of Vienna, Center for Interdisciplinary Research and Documentation,  
Austrian Science Fund / The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya,  
Indian Institute of Advanced Study Shimla

**(10.00–13.00 Radhakrishnan Memorial Lecture by Vice-President of India)**

**13.00–14.00 Lunch**

**14.00–15.30 Panel 1, Session B)**

**Applying mapping tools in Cultural History**

(Karel Kriz, David Schobesberger, Ben Nausner, Vienna)

**15.30–16.00 Tea-break**

**16.00–17.30:**

**PANEL 2: Philology and History: Manuscripts, Inscriptions, Trade**

Chair: Helmut Krasser

Kanjur Manuscripts en route (Helmut Tauscher, Vienna)

On epigraphic palimpsests and similar phenomena

(Kurt Tropper, Vienna; paper read by Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Paris)

**19.30 or 20.00 Dinner**

**Friday, 17.04.2009**

**PANEL 3: Places, objects and travellers. Art along pilgrimage routes**

Chair: Deborah Klimburg-Salter

**10.00–11.30 Panel 3, Sessions A)**

On the reconstruction of ancient Buddhist pilgrimage routes through Lahaul (Verena Widorn, Vienna)

A journey “to the land on the other side.” Pilgrims and pilgrimage in Khotan (Xinjiang, China) (Erika Forte, Vienna)

**11.30–12.00 Tea-break**

**12.00–13.30 Panel 3, Sessions B)**  
Reinvented landscapes. Art, faith and trade routes in and around Uddiyana in the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century CE (Anna Filigenzi, Vienna)

**13.30–14.30 Lunch**

**PANEL 4: Buddhist Philosophy in Kashmir**  
Chair: Helmut Krasser

**14.30–16.00 Panel 4, Sessions A)**  
Understanding *anukṛtīvāda* in Abhinavabharati (Parul Mukherji, Delhi)  
Determination in the *apoha* theory of Ratnakīrti (Patrick Mc Allister, Vienna)

**16.00–16.30 Tea-break**

**16.30–18.00 Panel 4, Sessions B)**  
Recent news from a Kashmirian Dharmakīrti (Vincent Eltschinger, Vienna)

Transmission and translation of Buddhist texts in Śrīnagar:  
A Madhyamaka example (Anne MacDonald, Vienna)

Disscussant: Lobsang Shastri (Dharamsala)

**19.30 Dinner**

**Saturday, 18.04.2009**

**PANEL 5: Bon in the Western Himalaya**  
Chair: Charles Ramble

**10.00–11.30 Panel 5, Sessions A)**  
More edicts of *Lha bla ma Ye shes 'od* (Samten Karmay, Paris)

The Visual Representation of the *Bon/Chos* community in Tabo in the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Deborah Klimburg-Salter, Vienna)

**11.30–12.00 Tea-break**

**12.00–13.30 Panel 5, Sessions B)**  
“The real Bonpo atmosphere”: remarks on two rituals for summoning good fortune (*gyang gug*) (Charles Ramble, Oxford)  
*Gangs can dol po'i chos rig* (“The religious study of snowy Dolpo”) (Phuntso Nyima, Varanasi)

**13.30–14.30 Lunch**

**14.30–15.00** Manuscripts and wall-paintings from the caves of Mustang, ca. 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century (Charles Ramble, Oxford)

Commentator: Lopon Trinley Nyima (Dholanji)

**15.00–16.30 Summary of the Symposium and final discussion, plans for publication** by  
Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (Paris)

Closing blessings by Geshe Sonam Wangdu (Abbot, Tabo monastery)

**16.30–17.00** Closing tea

**19.30 Dinner**

**Sunday, 19.04.2009** Departure



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INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON  
**Cultural Flows Across the Western Himalaya**  
15-18 April 2009  
Organized by  
at Siddharth Vihar, (IAS)  
The Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla  
University of Vienna - (CROSS) and The Institute of Science and Technology, Frankfurt





# The Cultural History Information System of the Western Himalayas

Alexander Pucher and Karel Kriz

## 1 Introduction

At the University of Vienna, Austria, an interdisciplinary research consortium, working under the auspices of the Austrian Science Fund research network, which includes cartographers, art historians, numismatists, Buddhist philosophers, and Tibetan and Sanskrit philologists, is undertaking research focusing on the Western Himalayas. The main objectives are to intensify research on the cultural history of the Western Himalayas as well as to develop an on-line cartographic information system for sharing knowledge with experts and the interested public. This region was traversed by historical trade and pilgrimage routes from the Mediterranean to the China Sea and the Indian Ocean. These corridors of communication connected far flung centers and thus, over the millennia, contributed to common cultural features despite great ethnic and linguistic diversity.

The aim of the “Cultural History Information System” (CHIS)<sup>1</sup> project is to design and build a collaborative spatially enabled system for archiving, analyzing and visualizing datasets of cultural history. Through the interdisciplinary aspects of the various partner projects involved, a more holistic view on the overall cultural history of a wide region (including

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The research described in this article was carried out within the project “Cultural History of the Western Himalaya from the 8<sup>th</sup> Century (S98)”. It is a National Research Network (NRN) funded for six years (2007–2012) by the Austrian Science Fund. It deals with the four great cultures of Asia—China, India, Persia and Tibet—which converge in the Western Himalaya.

<sup>1</sup>Cf. <http://www.univie.ac.at/chis>.

Afghanistan, Pakistan, India and China) can be achieved. The CHIS therefore serves as a communication platform for information dissemination. Research outcome of all “NRN” sub-projects lead to a wider understanding and greater publicity of the disciplines involved.

The CHIS project is based on major cartographic research topics and knowledge acquisition, focusing on the development of an online application to foster geo-communication in a broader context with special emphasis on the field of humanities.

The system builds up on the fundamental objectives of cartographic communication, utilizing design and system architecture features as well as aspects related to data availability and accuracy. Furthermore, conceptual issues such as organizing and delivering a spatio-temporal gazetteer and the design of an appropriate cartographic visualization interface are addressed.

## **2 Methodology and Design Issues**

As a basis for the design and implementation of the CHIS, applied geographic and cartographic research is undertaken in various fields, focusing on cartographic communication, system design and evaluation, non-standard visualizations, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) analyses of geographic data, as well as research in historic maps.

The basic conception of the CHIS is to create an information system of the cultural history of the Western Himalaya from the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The main focus of the CHIS is to offer a map-centered system approach in order to locate as well as display objects by their geographical location.

The system addresses a selected subset of functionalities commonly integrated in Geographic Information Systems. Special attention is given to capturing, storing, analyzing and managing of data. The CHIS does not intend to replace or change the common and approved working methods of domain experts, coming mainly from a cultural historical background, but aims to be a platform that assists the gathering and retrieval of information by these disciplines.

To further enhance user guidance and recognition of the system design issues had to be considered. Standardized symbols are used throughout the system for re-occurring elements. Likewise, consistent symbols are employed for various system functionalities, such as the connection link between map display and data browser or the image preview.



Based on the results of detailed user testing, a series of prototypes has been designed and evaluated. The implementation of all system functionalities as well as content is based on the results of a user group definition as well as the evaluation of user group objectives. Every prototype underwent a reviewing process to identify possible usability problems and obstacles (Kinberger 2007).

The CHIS is not only a system for experts in the various disciplines of cultural history. It also has the purpose to visualize and communicate the research outcomes of the NRN to the general public, thus promoting the involved disciplines and aiding increasing public awareness about this remote area of the world.

The development of the system followed a User-Centred Design (UCD) approach with a special focus on learnability and intuitivism of the user interface. Following a UCD philosophy and evaluating usability are essential procedures during the development of web-based cartographic information systems (Norman and Draper 1986). Application design has to shift its focus from technology-driven approaches to the final users of mapping products, their requirements, wishes, context and knowledge. Following this procedure it can be assured that the system being built is useful and usable by a majority of the intended audience. Through creating an aesthetic and easy-to-use interface the user experience and satisfaction can be raised (Cartwright et al. 2001).

Nausner (2009) describes the principles of interface design that were incorporated during the development of the CHIS. A special focus of his research concentrates on the application of graphic variables (color, hue, saturation, form, size, direction) for enhancing the user interface. By facilitating user navigation within the application and utilizing rational placement of functional domains, the efficiency of user interaction and cartographic communication can be significantly increased.

### **3 Data Issues**

The acquisition of geodata for the CHIS is a demanding and time consuming task. Freely available data is oftentimes coarse and inaccurate. Such available datasets for South and Central Asia are conceptually designed for scales of 1:1 million and smaller. Names and locations of geographical features such as settlements, mountains, and passes are often imprecise and require further treatment. Therefore the refinement of geodata is

indispensable in order to achieve a sound and correct geographical base dataset.

In the monumental landscape of the Himalayan mountains, routes used by merchants and pilgrims were the main channels for the dispersion of cultures, their artefacts and religion. Therefore the course and stations of such trade and pilgrimage routes are in the main focus of interdisciplinary research within the project.

Together with the network's partners and external experts, pilgrimage and trade routes were identified and subsequently visualized in the mapping environment of the CHIS. A combination of the following methods were used to achieve these goals:

- Analyses of pilgrims diaries, texts and inscriptions
- Exploration of historical maps showing passes, tracks and paths
- Application of GIS methods and geographical analysis of areas of interest

Object data of cultural historical research (e.g., coins, inscriptions, images) that have been collected and studied in the other sub-projects of the NRN, are stored in relational databases and consequently visualized in the CHIS. The spatial reference is established by connecting these databases to a gazetteer, a dictionary of place names and their coordinates. Thus the objects and their spatial relationship to geographical realities can be visualized. Through analyzing spatial distribution patterns of objects with similar attributes, the course of cultural development lines and the routes of transport become evident.

The base maps featured in the CHIS are a combination of multiple data sources consisting of shaded relief, digital elevation data, topographic features as well as geographic textual information. Inconsistencies in the available datasets often required tedious manual correction to achieve a homogeneous rectified dataset for further processing. The shaded relief is produced from the freely available "Shuttle Radar Topography Mission 30" data (Ramirez 2009). The color overlay is based on Tom Patterson's Natural Earth II datasets (Patterson 2009). The dataset for settlements was compiled from a variety of sources including *Digital Chart of the World* (2009) and *USGS Geographic Data 2009* datasets, as well as various available local printed maps. Road and river data is derived from the *Vector Map Level 0* (2009) data of the U. S. Geological Survey.

## 4 System Architecture

The system architecture has to take account of the fact that the system is aimed at the general public as well as domain experts. To fulfill the task of being a holistic gateway to very specific information, the system has to offer several approaches to enter the information landscape. Three individual system layers—*Information*, *Map Archive* and *Special Views*—were intended to present the CHIS as a spatially enabled cultural history information portal. The user is able to access all three layers directly from the systems entry point. *Information*, *Map Archive* and *Special Views* can be seen as equal parts of the system.

**4.1 Information** The CHIS *Information* page (see FIGURE 1.1) offers the user an overview of locations of art-historical importance. The screen is separated into a map (left) and a content (right) area. On the map, thematically relevant locations are marked. The user is able to change the map scale and extent of the area of interest. In the content area, locations and their associated art-historical objects within the current map extent are shown (*In Current View*). Furthermore, results of user's search queries are displayed in *Search Results*).

Every location is associated with a series of art-historical objects. Detailed information on these objects can be retrieved via a pop-up, appearing by clicking the respective location symbol. Within the pop-up, an external link offers the possibility to retrieve further information from the objects data source (e.g., the Western Himalaya Archive Vienna, the Tibet Album of the Pitt Rivers Museum, or Inscriptions of Western Tibet).<sup>2</sup>

Within the content area, *Narratives* offer a unique form of information presentation. Experts from various fields have assembled information concerning aspects of the art-historical landscape of the Western Himalaya (e.g., *Wooden Portals*, *Historical Inscriptions*, or *Monetary History of the Iranian Huns*) into clearly arranged narrative paragraphs. These *Narratives* are compiled out of the raw content and offer non-expert users an easy and intuitive way of understanding specific thematic sections.

**4.2 Map Archive** Available printed maps covering the Western Himalaya are collected and displayed in the *Map Archive* page of the CHIS

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<sup>2</sup>See, respectively, <http://whav.aussereurop.univie.ac.at>, <http://tibet.prm.ox.ac.uk>, and <http://www.univie.ac.at/Tibetan-inscriptions>.

**CHiS** cultural history information system of the western himalaya from the 8th century

Information Map Archive Special Views

Search **Nako**

5 Objects found in 1 Locations

1. Nako
2. Nako dkar-chung lha-khang: door
3. Achi Du khang
4. Virtual Nako
5. Pa tshab nyi ma grags 1

**Narratives**

**Wooden Portals** 2 Locations with 2 Objects

The Hindu and Buddhist wooden portals of the Western Himalaya derive their artistic bases from the extensive decorated stone portals of the ... [more](#)

**In Current View**

2 Locations with 12 Objects

Location Categories Objects

1. Tabo W I S 7
2. Nako W I S 5

13 maps for current view in [Map Archive](#)

unt wien CHWi FUW

**Nako** | 5 Objects in 3 Categories

Object Name: **Virtual Nako**

Category: **Special Views**

Nako 3D is a multimedia representation of the Nako temple complex in Google Earth. It contains 3D models of the temples and buildings, map overlays from different sources, points of interest with various information and interactive panoramas.

external link 1 of 1

**Figure 1.1** The *Cultural History Information System*'s Information section

**CHIS** cultural history information system of the western himalaya from the 8<sup>th</sup> century

Information **Map Archive** Special Views

Q Search

**Browse Maps**

Bertelsmann Weltatlas

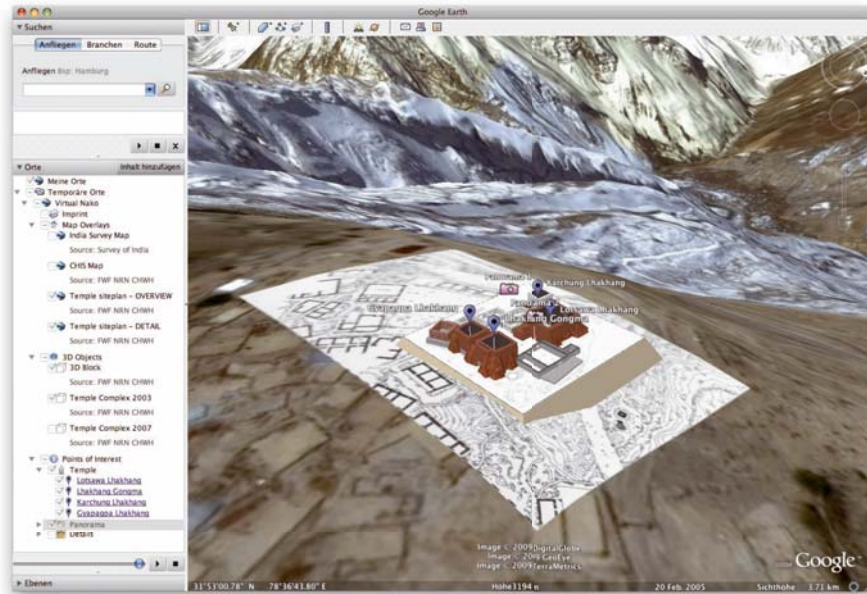
**Map Archive**

99 maps found in current view

Name	Scale	Date
7. Bertelsmann Weltatlas...	1:4.000.000	1995
8. Bertelsmann Weltatlas...	1:4.000.000	1995
9. Ladakh Zamskar Nord	1:150.000	2005
10. China -Map for Bus...	1:4.750.000	2008
11. Zentralasien	1:1.750.000	k.A.
12. Indien, Nepal, Bangl...	12.750.000	k.A.
13. Seidenstraße	13.000.000	k.A.
14. China, Mongolei	14.000.000	k.A.
15. Indien, nordwest	1:1.300.000	2006
16. Indien, nordwest	1:1.300.000	2006
17. Indian Himalaya Maps	1:200.000	1987
18. Indian Himalaya Maps	1:200.000	2005
19. Trekking Routes Hima...	1:250.000	1976
20. Trekking Routes Hima...	1:250.000	1976
21. Trekking Routes Hima...	1:250.000	1976

uni wien CHWI FUUF

Figure 1.2 The Cultural History Information System Map Archive



**Figure 1.3** 3D visualization of the Nako temple complex

(cf. FIGURE 1.2). The screen is separated into an overview map (left) and a content (right) area. All printed maps can be browsed (*Browse Map*) and displayed by clicking on the respective printed map icon. Changing the scale and content of the overview map automatically updates the list of available printed maps for the shown area of interest (*Map Archive*).

**4.3 Special Views** Besides retrieving information on art-historical objects in the *Information* page, the CHIS offers a series of *Special Views* (cf. FIGURE 1.3), providing manifold perspectives of various aspects of the art-historical landscape of the Western Himalaya. *Special Views* assemble objects of different areas of the CHIS into innovative presentation forms (e.g., Google Earth, 3D perspectives, panoramic views). These *Special Views* expand the CHIS and therefore have certain individual technical requirements (e.g., Google Earth, Flash).

*Virtual Nako* as one example is a multimedia representation of the Nako temple complex in Google Earth.<sup>3</sup> It contains 3D models of the tem-

<sup>3</sup>See CHAPTER 14 in this book.

ples and buildings, map overlays from different sources—such as the Indian Survey (*Survey of India* 2009), the CHIS application, or architectural plans (*NRPP* 2009)—, and also provides access to points of interest with various information of the temple complex and interactive panoramas.

## 5 Conclusions

The diversity of the network's partners and their differing understanding of geographic realities, of the importance of space and location per se, pose a challenge for the design of the CHIS. This challenge can be seen as a creative chance for the development of a system that fulfils a variety of needs, not only for the specialists from the disciplines involved but also for the general public. Customized narratives have to be developed to guide the users through the application, allowing them to not only identify the individual view points and contributions of the sub-projects but also showing the region's cultural history in a holistic manner.

The CHIS plays an important role when it comes to connecting domain information from the network's sub-projects: The research objects have to be brought into context with their geographical surroundings. Geography and topography are often underestimated as an important factor for the development and dispersion of cultures and, therefore, of the objects which are their evidence. By linking objects and their topographic environment, geography becomes an even more important consideration in cultural historic research. This functionality makes the preparation of very detailed, actual, complete and accurate topographic datasets a precondition.

## 6 Outlook

Within the first three year period (2007–2009) of the project, the CHIS has been planned, designed and implemented up to a stable system status.

Within the second project period (2010–2012), the further development of the CHIS focused on enhancing the personal involvement of the user. While the CHIS is still intended to remain a multidimensional, interdisciplinary cartographic information system with the ability to store, analyze and visualize spatio-temporal thematic data, additional functionalities had to be incorporated. For example, it was investigated how interactive decision-support tools provided by the CHIS could be personal-

ized and individualized, and it was explored how social semantic mapping might be employed using Web 2.0 (O'Reilly 2004).



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# Mapping the Past and the Present

William Cartwright

## Abstract

Maps, map-related objects like topographic models and geographical visualizations are employed to map three-dimensional space plus time. The artefacts from mapping are used to locate, identify and analyse information not already known, and to verify the known. Mapping provides an encapsulated representation of geography that can be used by discipline experts as research tools and by the layperson as (geo-)informing objects. In the hands of experts they become the means for the virtual exploration of places and the objects for physically recording finds, observations, and informed speculation. Mapping provides the means to geo-locate places, objects, peoples, journeys, movements, and cultures.

This article provides an overview of maps, mapping and computer-generated visualizations. It illustrates how mapping artefacts have been used to record geography and the activities that have taken place within geographies. It also shows how these artefacts can be used to illustrate past and future activities in geographies, using maps and geographical visualizations that fuse together the past and present, showing past activities or found art objects in their actual location.

## 1 Introduction — Representing the Past and Present through Cartography

At the end of the last millennium a series of articles was published in the Melbourne, Australia, newspaper, *The Age*, in its magazine *Good Weekend*, entitled: “The Best of Everything from the Past 1000 Years.” Top of the list was the humble threaded screw, which, according to journalist Rybczynski (1999), changed the world. He expounded that

Without screws, entire fields of science would have languished, navigation would have languished, navigation would have remained primitive and naval warfare as well as routine maritime commerce in the 18th and 19th centuries would have not been possible. Without screws, there would have been no machine tools, hence no industrial products and no Industrial Revolution. (Rybczynski 1999: 33)

Included in the series of articles and included in the ‘best of the last 1000 years’ was the map. Battista Agnese’s paper map of the world (FIGURE 2.1), produced in Venice in the mid-16th c. was described by Johnson (1999: 26) as something more than a beautiful and precise document, namely “a topography of the European mind in transition”.

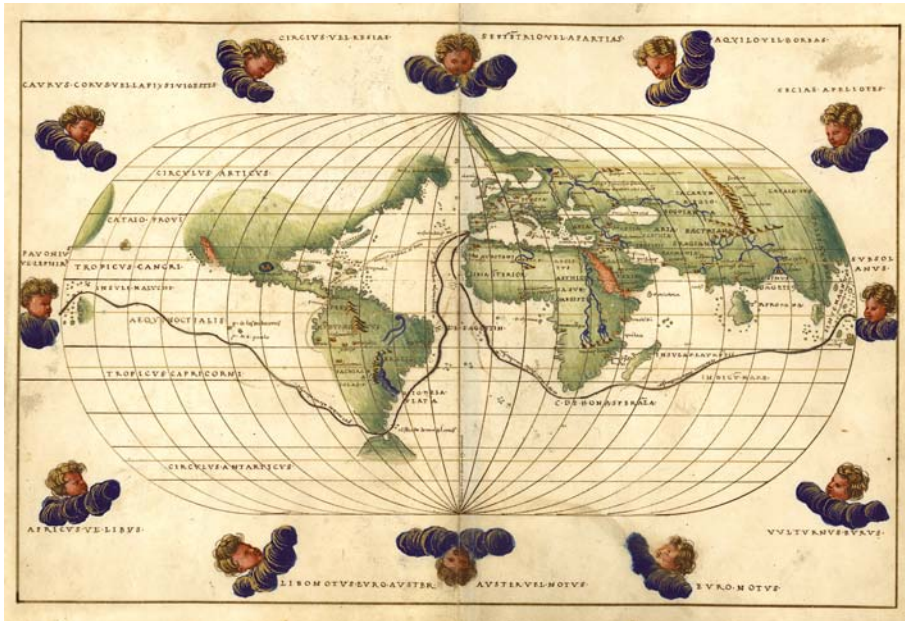
The map illustrated the new information gleaned from voyages of discovery by Columbus and Magellan, and was able to depict it more accurately due to the application of new scientific and mathematical advances and to make it more widely available with new tools provided by the newly available technologies. It was an illustration of human endeavour and revolutions in knowledge acquisition and depiction.

As well as being records of voyages of discovery, maps and nautical charts also became the tools of warfare (the very beginnings of topographic maps were as tools to assist accurate cannon fire). It is said that the English defeated the Spanish Armada not just with naval firepower, but also through better navigation, which relied on having accurate sea charts. In fact, accurate maps were deemed to be so important that they were classified as secret documents, and guarded closely by the powerful.

## **2 Using maps — ‘Being there’**

The basic premise of using maps and other (geo-)visualization artefacts is to build mental models of reality. It could be said: “It’s what cartography does”. Maps are ubiquitous. City guides are used in our cars to find streets, metro maps help us navigate through urban transportation systems, topographic maps give us an appreciation of terrain, and we draw ‘mud maps’ to explain routes or other geo-located information to others.

The maps we rely upon, use and draw are not just produced on paper. They are also produced on other media that complements printed paper maps. The following sections of this article provide an overview of how different media have been used to deliver geo-located information. The focus



**Figure 2.1** Battista Agnese’s world map from the Portolan Atlas. Dedicated to Hieronymus Ruffault, Abbot of St. Vaast. Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1544\\_Battista\\_Agnese\\_Worldmap.jpg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:1544_Battista_Agnese_Worldmap.jpg) Image is in the public domain.

on the examples provided is the delivery of information about historical information and artefacts via New Media or integrated media—CD-ROM, the Web and other computer-generated and delivered resources. But it begins with paper maps.

**2.1 Paper Maps** Paper maps could be considered to be analogue Virtual Reality (VR) tools. They have provided the means by which arm-chair travellers could ‘go’ to places from the comfort of their lounge or study. It has been claimed that maps were in fact the first multi-media products, as they contain text, diagrams, graphics (as ordered symbols) and geographical facts.

Historically, maps have been used to provide information to users about places recently discovered or voyages completed to unknown worlds or hitherto seemingly impossible journeys. Ptolemy believed maps to be the means to “exhibit to human understanding ... the earth through a portrait” (Crane 2003: 33). Take, for example, the map in FIGURE 2.2. It

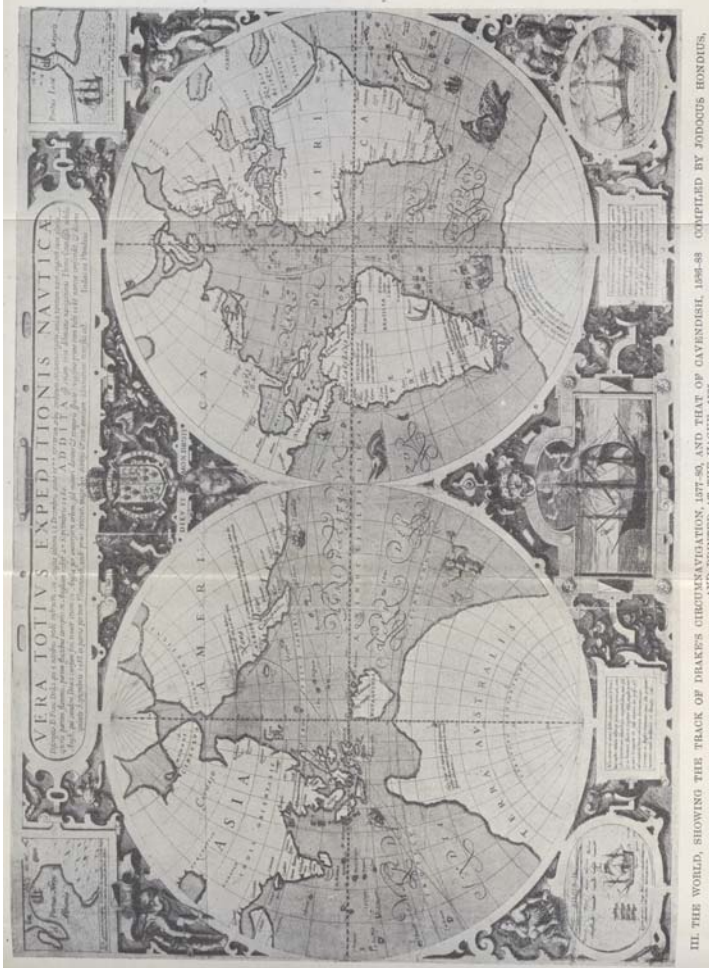
showed an eager English public the new information added to the world map after Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the world (1577–1580).

The map conveyed new information that the reader could fuse with the information already known. These paper maps, when compared with today's computerised systems, combined the database and the visualization on one document. When new lands were discovered, additional information was added to the map. The database was updated simultaneously with the addition of new graphics.

**2.2 New Media/Integrated Media and Maps** Cartography has always used and developed New Media/integrated media mapping tools. When map cartographers or publishers like Gerard Mercator applied printing to map production they used this 'New Media' (paper and the printing press) to facilitate quicker, more accurate and cheaper versions of their works. The quest for more speed, lower compilation and production costs, and an efficient communication system has led cartographers to embrace new technology. Before the application of printing to map replication, the rules that govern map design, production and consumption evolved over centuries. The methods of producing maps via the printing press have been developed by 500 years of experiment, development and application (Cartwright 1999).

Printing has been complemented and enhanced by precision machines, computers (at first for computational mapping applications and later as complete interactive publishing systems), optical storage media like videodisc, CD-ROM, DVD and their many configurations, efficient communications systems, such as intranets and the Internet, and interactive installations using hypermedia (for example Apple's *HyperCard* and the Philips/SONY interactive laserdisc). Different and innovative mapping systems have developed and products have been produced to show 2D, 2½D, 3D and 3D+time (4D), plus n-dimensional data elements. Recently there has been a digital convergence, and relatively inexpensive consumer electronics-delivered tools now provide a plethora of (geo-)information exploration, measurement and recording devices.

The following sections provide examples for the use of New Media/integrated media for recording historic information, as well as providing a tool for data access and interrogation. So as to provide a complete overview of the range of media that has been used to facilitate the storage and delivery of information and virtual artefacts, the coverage in this section includes

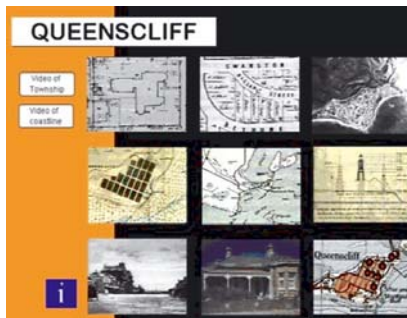


**Figure 2.2** Map showing Drake's voyage around the world, 1577–1580. Source: [https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Hondius\\_Vera\\_Totius\\_Expeditionis\\_Nauticae\\_Francis\\_Drake\\_high.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=File:Hondius_Vera_Totius_Expeditionis_Nauticae_Francis_Drake_high.jpg)



(a) *Queenscliff Video Atlas* initial interface (b) *Queenscliff Video Atlas* video ‘surrogate walk’

**Figure 2.3** The *Queenscliff Video Atlas*



**Figure 2.4** The *Queenscliff Video Atlas* CD-ROM prototype



**Figure 2.5** The *Queenscliff Video Atlas* hybrid CD-ROM/Web prototype. Source: Cartwright 1998

methods that were developed in the early days of multimedia. It begins with examples of optical media storage (videodisc and CD-ROM) and ends with Web 2.0 and computer graphics examples.

**2.3 Videodisc** The *Queenscliff Video Atlas*, which was produced in 1987 (Cartwright 1988), is one of the few interactive videodiscs produced in Australia. The videodisc formed part of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology’s display in the Science Fair, held at Melbourne’s World Convention Centre in 1993. This research prototype was formalised through the concept of a “GeoExploratorium” that enabled users to understand geography by exploring geographical space using metaphors that were user-



driven. The interactive multimedia product included surrogate walks—via still images and videos. Images from this product are provided in FIGURE 2.3.<sup>1</sup>

**2.4 CD-ROM** The *Queenscliff Video Atlas* was migrated to CD-ROM and a second prototype developed (Cartwright 2006b). At the heart of the discrete unit (FIGURE 2.4) is the access matrix. This consists of a page of images that link to specific sections of the discrete package by clicking ‘hot spots’. The nine icons lead to information as site plans/house information, cadastral maps, air photographs, historic plans, historic maps, historic artifacts, archival photographs, house photographs and videos of seven township blocks. Videos of both the township and the coastline can also be viewed. Information about the package can be accessed by clicking the information or icon.

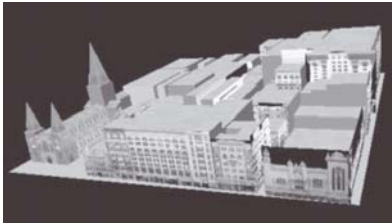
**2.5 The Web** By the mid- to late-1990s the Internet, and more particularly the use of the World Wide Web, became the focus of interactive multimedia developers. Discrete media was pushed aside somewhat in the move towards the communication system that changed forever how we access information, including geoinformation. The availability of the Web meant that the discrete CD-ROM *Queenscliff Video Atlas* could be extended as a distributed product using the World Wide Web. This is shown in FIGURE 2.5.

The discrete multimedia component, operating off a hard disk or CD-ROM was accessed by clicking the map at the centre-right of the screen. At the left of the screen are links to Internet-delivered resources that extend the discrete unit.

**2.6 3D Web** The Web can also deliver 3D products. For example, using Virtual Reality Modeling Language (VRML) products can be built and provided through a standard Web browser, with a plug-in added. The example illustrated here is *The City As It Might Be* VRML prototype, developed for appreciating ‘lost’ city buildings for the Melbourne central business district. These lost buildings were demolished in the heady redevelopment days of the 1960s and early 1970s. These buildings were iconic examples of grand buildings built in the late nineteenth c. with the wealth that

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<sup>1</sup>These images are photographs from the screen and thus are slightly distorted and show some reflections.



(a) Composite VRML world of existing and 'lost' heritage buildings in a part of Melbourne, Australia. Source: Cartwright 2006a



(b) The model—looking towards the southwest from the northeast corner of the study area. Source: Cartwright 2006a

**Figure 2.6** *The City As It Might Be*—VRML prototype

flowed from the gold discovered and mined in the State of Victoria. This golden age of building construction gave the name 'Marvellous Melbourne' to the city. Once demolished, the buildings were replaced with more contemporary buildings, which, in turn, have already been demolished and replaced in many instances.

*The City As It Might Be* prototype provides the means for surrogate travel through a cityscape that no longer exists. The prototype product combines existing heritage buildings with the 'missing' buildings of the city (FIGURE 2.6; cf. Cartwright 2006a). The initial prototype model covered two city blocks. These blocks were chosen, as they are typical insofar as they contained a number of significant buildings that had not been removed in the haste for redevelopment and had a number of 'holes' that needed to be filled with sourced, historical photographs. The model works as a tool to illustrate how the study area would look if all significant buildings remained. Whilst perhaps appearing odd initially, the black and white model allows the city buildings to be adequately visualized. Buildings still standing are easily recognised and their 'rebuilt' neighbours provide information that was hitherto unavailable in a composite model. It was evaluated to ascertain its usefulness for historians, architects and the general public.

**2.7 Earth Viewers** Earth Viewers are computer-delivered geographical exploration tools that provide information to a user via an interface that resembles a globe. The user is able to move the globe, zoom and pan and then view or interact with additional information through the



(a) State Library of Victoria model, viewed in *Google Earth*      (b) Former Queen Victoria Hospital and State Library of Victoria model, viewed in *Google Earth*

**Figure 2.7** Melbourne State Library and Queen Victoria Hospital

manipulation and interrogation of the interface, which is a virtual globe. The most popular current product is *Google Earth*.

To explore the potential of using an Earth Viewer to deliver historical information related to prominent buildings in the City of Melbourne further work on the city model was undertaken using Google *Sketch-up* and *Google Earth*. *Sketch-up* is the free software provided by Google for developing 3D models that can be ‘inserted’ into *Google Earth*. The examples in FIGURE 2.7 show the Melbourne State Library (still standing) and the former Queen Victoria Hospital (demolished in the early 2000s to make way for a multi-storey, multi-building residential/retail/business complex in the heart of Melbourne’s central business district). Models of these two buildings were developed with *Sketch-up* and subsequently imported the *Google Earth* viewer.

Another example of using the *Google Earth* viewer is the combination of historical maps ‘linked’ to the imagery in *Google Earth* to provide a composite image that allows both historical and contemporary cities—in the example shown in FIGURE 2.8, London—to be viewed simultaneously. The London example was developed by University College London’s Centre for Advanced Spatial Analysis (CASA).

**2.8 Web 2.0** Relatively recently, maps have been published on the Web by user/producers using a process called ‘mash-ups’ involving Web 2.0 and social software. Web 2.0 is the use of the Web by individuals and groups of individuals to provide and share information, including



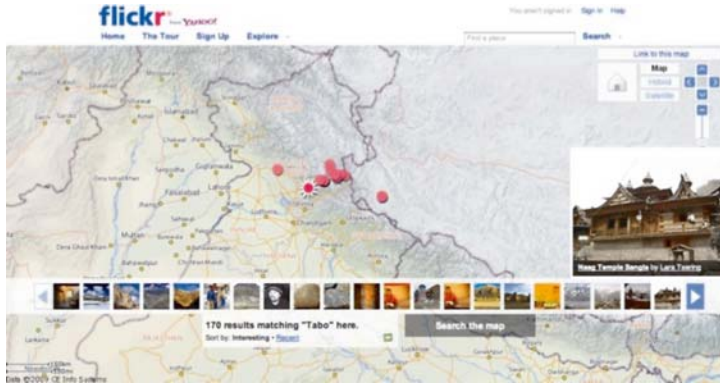
**Figure 2.8** CASA project for viewing historical maps of London in *Google Earth*



**Figure 2.9** Example of a map produced using *Google Maps*

geographical information. It provides a new model for collaborating and publishing. Users are able to develop their own ‘marked-up’ maps by appending their overlay information as an additional layer of information, usually using the default symbology provided (and usually map pins are employed), to self-publish their maps via the Web.

The example shown in FIGURE 2.9 was produced by the author in a matter of minutes using a map base provisioned by *Google Maps*. This simple procedure allows the user to become the producer. However, there is a proviso that must be noted—without real cartographic expertise awful and, in many cases, unusable maps can result. As with any mapping product good design is essential and form should not follow function.



**Figure 2.10** Map from *Flickr* showing the location of geo-tagged images (<http://www.flickr.com>)

Web 2.0 can also be used to find and view geo-tagged images. For example, the *Flickr* personal image repository Web site (<http://www.flickr.com/>) provides the ability to search for images according to their location. Where image contributors have uploaded geo-tagged images, users are able to search for images based not just on just content but also on the location of where the photograph was taken. These geo-tags can be just a place name or the actual latitude and longitude of the location of the image. For example, a simple content search for photographs using the terms ‘monastery’ and ‘India’ resulted in the delivery of a selection of images. But, by adding the place name ‘Tabo’ a map illustrating the locations of available imagery was provided (FIGURE 2.10).

### 3 Conventional Approaches vs. Ideas (from Outside Cartography)

The examples shown thus far have basically been developed in the ‘world’ of cartography. The tools used have come from outside the discipline area, but they were still influenced by cartographic practices. It is worth considering other products that have been developed to show reconstructions of ancient worlds and buildings. In many cases innovative products have been developed for museum installations, usually atop of a precise cartographic foundation, which is the result of rigorous surveying, photogrammetric or remote sensing data collection, analysis and model derivation. The imagery development relies entirely on the innovative and accurate



**Figure 2.11** Virtual reconstruction of the Temple of Zeus. From the CD-ROM for the exhibition *A Virtual Tour of the Ancient City of Olympia*. Image © Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, Australia. Source: <http://www.osmosis.com.au>

representations that can be generated through the endeavours of these professions.

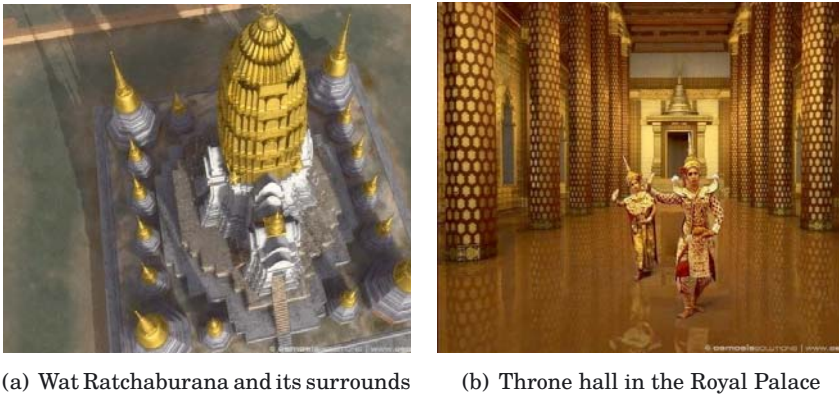
The results of these reconstructions form the basis of many museum installations, discrete media products (CD-ROM or DVD) and presentations. In many cases museum attendees are offered companion media products that can be used later, after the formal viewing in the museum has taken place. The three examples outlined in the following sections illustrate the potential of such systems to inform.

### **3.1 1000 Years of the Olympic Games: Treasures of Ancient Greece**

To coincide with the Sydney Olympics in 2000, Sydney's Powerhouse Museum commissioned an exhibition—*1000 Years of the Olympic Games: Treasures of Ancient Greece*. The exhibition included a historically accurate 3D model of Olympia as it was in 200 B.C. As well as the exhibition a Web site (<http://www.phm.gov.au/>) and a companion CD-ROM was produced.

The image shown in FIGURE 2.11 is from the CD-ROM developed as a companion to the exhibition “A Virtual Tour of the Ancient City of Olympia”, developed for the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney, Australia. The CD-ROM was produced for distribution to Australian secondary schools. It contains the museum exhibit and the research documentation and reference material (Osmosis Solutions 2009a).

**3.2 Virtual Ayutthaya** Another product from Osmosis Solutions produced through collaboration between the company Osmosis and Cliff



(a) Wat Ratchaburana and its surrounds      (b) Throne hall in the Royal Palace

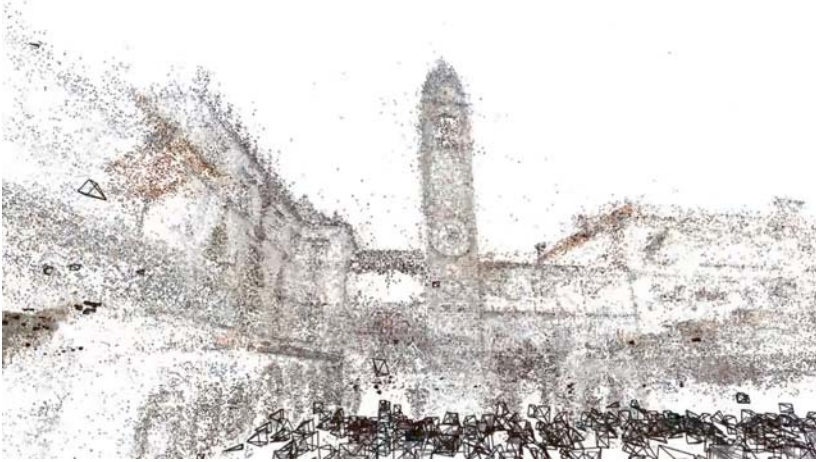
**Figure 2.12** Wat Ratchaburana. Source: <http://www.osmosis.com.au>

Ogleby at the University of Melbourne was *Virtual Ayutthaya*. This computer graphics solution reconstructs the ancient Thai capital of Ayutthaya, the Golden City. Accurate stereo photographs were taken at the site and these images, plus written records, were used to reconstruct Wat Ratchaburana and its surrounds (figure 2.12(a)). The great Throne hall in the Royal Palace (figure 2.12(b)), which was destroyed by fire, was also reconstructed. The Throne Hall images are also augmented with ‘live’ footage of traditional dancers (Osmosis Solutions 2009b).

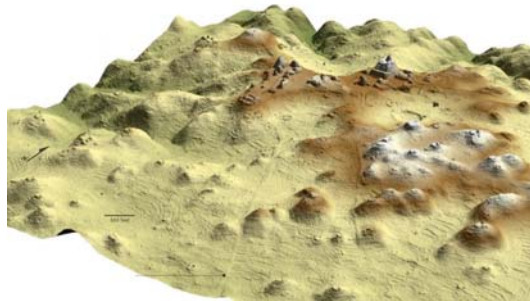
**3.3 Dubrovnik in 3D** Dubrovnik in 3D was produced at the University of Washington. It used the software package PhotoSynth, which stitches together images sourced from many Web repositories. The outline of the buildings is used to identify the locations where each contributed image to the montage should be placed. FIGURE 2.13 shows a frame grab from a YouTube video that illustrates the project.

## 4 Imagery Generated from Remote Scanning

In many instances buildings and monuments are hidden by dense vegetation that has engulfed the constructions of ancient civilizations. This is especially true in tropical climates, where the jungle quickly reestablishes itself. This makes it almost impossible for archaeologists to uncover large tracts of land without extensive and intensive ground clearing, which can be economically not viable. 3D images of one of the largest Maya cities, in



**Figure 2.13** Dubrovnik in 3D: University of Washington. Source: <http://youtu.be/sQegEro5Bfo>



**Figure 2.14** 3D image generated from LIDAR—the site of the ancient Mayan city of Caracol, Belize. Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/11/science/11maya.html>

Central America—the city of Caracol, in Belize—were developed using the light detection and ranging (LIDAR) scanning system. This system uses airborne laser that can penetrate jungle cover and then is reflected from the ground beneath the jungle cover (Wilford 2010). This method of image generation has been acknowledged by Parcak (2009) as a most useful tool for archaeology in the rainforest areas. An example of the results of this process is shown in FIGURE 2.14.





**Figure 2.15** Virtual landscape created in *Half Life*. Source: <http://www.wiiwii.tv/wp-content/uploads/2007/04/garrysmo.d.jpg>



**Figure 2.16** Detail from *Virtual Queenscliff* (Germanchis and Cartwright 2003)

## 5 Computer games software

Landscapes can be developed using ‘Serious Games’ software like *Half Life* (FIGURE 2.15). If the weapons are removed from the package the virtual landscapes can be used to illustrate real geographies. As computer games software can be purchased relatively cheaply and subsequently developed imagery can be navigated using computer games controllers, they offer the opportunity to create impressive and navigable terrains.

Another example of the use of computer games was the development of *Virtual Queenscliff* by (Germanchis and Cartwright 2003). The township of Queenscliff, the focus of previous CD-ROM and Web applications by Cartwright (1988, 2006a). Germanchis used a games package and 3D software to develop a virtual landscape using the game *Unreal Tournament*. An example of the package is shown in FIGURE 2.16.

## 6 Conclusion

This article has provided a synopsis of how technology, communication systems and computer graphics have been employed to represent and visualize geography. Cartographic representations have their roots in paper maps and non-map representations like topographic models. These precise scientific documents provide the tools for exploration and discovery, are accurate tools of warfare, as well as records of new lands and settlements, depictions of communications and national development and artefacts for tourists and conveyances for armchair travellers. They are useful, accurate, and powerful information provision tools.

The examples provided in the article were chosen to illustrate the development of cartographic representations through the application of technology—from optical media like videodisc and CD-ROM, to the Web and Web 2.0 applications, to 3D computer graphics simulations and computer games virtual landscapes. Cartography is able to provision discipline experts undertaking explorations and assessing collections with powerful tools that are underpinned with geo-located information.

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# **GDAT — A GPS Data Acquisition Tool for Cultural History**

David Schobesberger

## **Abstract**

This article discusses the design and implementation of a GPS based data acquisition tool for scholars in cultural history at the University of Vienna's Department of Geography and Regional Research. This endeavour is part of an interdisciplinary research network in Vienna that is funded by the Austrian Science Fund. The article gives a short historical overview of techniques of cartographic data acquisition and mapping, and then describes the basic principles of GPS before introducing the concepts behind the GDAT software.

## **1 Introduction**

Throughout recorded history, maps have been the major vehicle for the assembly, storage and display of geographic information. A long time before the development of geographic information systems (GIS), scholars engaged in cartography were dealing with the collection, manipulation and graphic display of geographic information in maps (Kimerling 1996).

Johnson (2002: 7) says that “geography is not only a fundamental factor in the patterning of human activities, but also a powerful and widely understood method of indexing information.” By storing coordinates (place names) with the collected datasets, a valuable spatial index can be added to the archives of research groups, thus helping to make the data collections more sustainable.

## 2 Background

The *Cultural History Information System* (CHIS), a sub-project of the Austrian National Research Network “The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya from the 8<sup>th</sup> Century”, seeks to compile, homogenize, manage, analyze, query, compare, and visualize cultural-history data from different disciplines in a comprehensive and user-friendly way. A prerequisite for this holistic compilation, as well as a connecting element, is the spatial component of the data. The exact localization of objects of cultural history and the subsequent integration into a *Geographic Information System* (GIS) pose a challenge to the CHIS group: in the majority of cases, coordinates of objects are retrieved by locating the associated place names. With this procedure, the coordinates for the objects are only as accurate as the underlying sources for place names. Errors can be caused by ambiguous place notations or the wrong allocation of objects. Furthermore, objects can only be mapped in smaller scale levels giving a regional overview, since the localization takes place on the level of settlements and dismisses more detailed information.

By simultaneously capturing exact coordinates with the aid of *Global Positioning System* (GPS) devices together with the object information such as images and descriptions, the archives can be made more valuable and sustainable and the work of the CHIS group can be greatly facilitated. Mobile consumer electronic devices with built-in GPS receivers such as PDAs, smart phones and recently tablet computers have become increasingly popular and affordable in the past years. Against this background, and with the need of the collection of detailed spatial information in mind, the CHIS sub-project group has decided to design and develop an easy-to-use *GPS Data Acquisition Tool* (GDAT) for mobile devices. The software for project partners and scholars in the fields of cultural history was designed to work on all GPS-enabled windows mobile devices, thus guaranteeing a wide availability of the service.

## 3 Mapping Places

Maps are graphic representations of space, generalized to such an extent that they give the map users an adequate picture of the characteristics of an area, for specific use contexts in predefined scale levels. Besides topographic reference layers which are necessary for orientation, they can

feature all kinds of thematic information. This information must contain an indication of location before it can be depicted as points, lines, areas, or raster cells in maps.

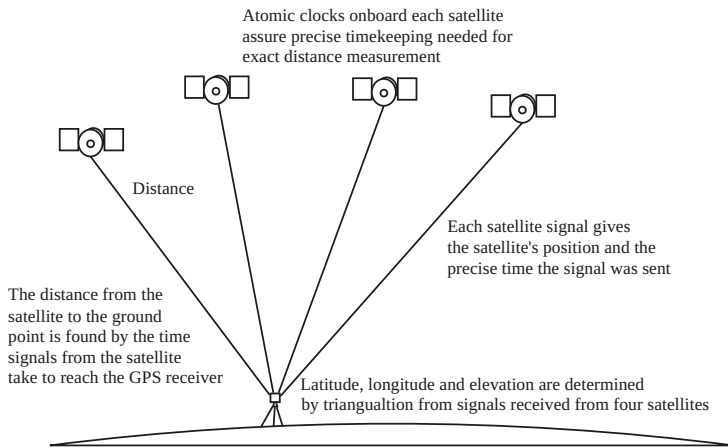
The spatial component that is recorded with cultural-history data is often rather vague and mostly exists in the form of place names on the level of settlements, regions or countries. For mapping, these place descriptions need to be translated into coordinates with the aid of other sources. The spatial extent of map features is encoded in geographical coordinates, that is, in degrees of latitude and longitude, or geodetic coordinates within specified coordinate systems. Once points, lines, polygons and pixel cells of raster images (e.g., satellite imagery) are assigned coordinates in a process called georeferencing, they can be combined in layers with other features or surfaces that are registered to the same locations. Layering can be used for simple visual comparison and is also a prerequisite for advanced spatial analysis in geographic information systems.

## 4 Surveying

Surveying primarily deals with geometric measurements on the earth's surface, the computation of derived quantities, e.g., coordinates, areas, etc., and the representation of this numerical data in graphical form, such as in plans or maps (Kahmen and Faig 1988).

Ancient cultures like that of the Egyptians used very simple geometrical methods such as pegs and ropes for demarcating land. Throughout history the surveying instruments improved. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century within European countries, triangulation was used to build a hierarchy of fixed point networks which allowed surveying point positions with the aid of trigonometry. The first complete surveys of European countries were executed mainly for military purposes. Over time the triangulation networks became more refined, the instruments (such as plane tables, later theodolites and nowadays laser scanning) developed and with them the maps became more accurate.

Soon after the advent of aviation, air-borne remote sensing was a central focus of interest for surveyors. New methods of stereographic analysis enabled a very detailed depiction of terrain and the maps derived from remote sensing imagery became very accurate. Today, space-borne remote sensing facilitates a high frequency of image delivery and thus allows the economical surveying even of vast uninhabited areas. For very detailed



**Figure 3.1** Principle of GPS positioning (Kimerling 1996)

mapping tasks, aerial photogrammetry is still preferred, because of the higher resolution that the imagery offers.

Another surveying technique that has become popular over the last decades also depends on satellites orbiting the earth: GPS, the Global Positioning System, is used in combination with mobile devices to record three-dimensional spatial positions for small (e.g., archaeological surveys) or large (collaborative) mapping endeavours (e.g., *Open Street Map*).

## 5 Basic Principles of GPS

GPS is a satellite-supported system for position finding as well as recording and navigation. The complete and accurate denomination is NAVSTAR-GPS which is an abbreviation for Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging Global Positioning System. A minimum of twenty-four operational satellites in six orbits at a height of 20,200 kilometers guarantee global availability of the service at all times.

GPS satellites transmit a time signal and their actual position which can be received by all GPS enabled devices. By calculating the duration the signal needs to travel to the receiver, the distance to the satellite can be calculated. By utilizing the distance from three satellites and a fourth satellite for eliminating time errors, the actual latitude, longitude and height of the current receiver's position can be calculated.

GPS accuracy is affected by different factors, including the number of satellite signals, the satellite dispersion over the horizon, atmospheric



effects and natural as well as artificial barriers to the signal. In most occasions the accuracy is superior to 10 meters, which is sufficient for determining the absolute position of objects in a wider area, but may lead to problems when attempting to capture the relative positions of objects close to each other (e.g., statues in a small courtyard). Accuracy can be increased up to a few centimeters by utilizing differential measurements, which is sufficient even for large scale archaeological surveys.

GPS satellites are permanently orbiting the globe and the signals can be received free of charge. Thus GPS has become a wide-spread and powerful tool that allows even non-expert users to find and record their positions, respectively to track their movements, regardless of weather conditions and their whereabouts.

## **6 GPS on Consumer Devices**

Compared to the technology which is in use nowadays, the first receivers for GPS signals were rather large, featured poorer accuracy and required a long duration until satellite signals were captured and full operation capability was established. These devices could only receive few—typically four to five—channels and had heavy battery consumption. A miniaturization was first noticeable in the group of receivers for outdoor activities. Such equipment became smaller and more battery efficient, strongly reducing the size and weight of the devices. Still, the usage of these devices required expert knowledge.

Nowadays GPS chipsets are very small and efficient. They can be built into every kind of mobile consumer electronic device and offer excellent reception, while little battery power is needed for capturing and computing satellite signals. This low priced and efficient technology is to a great part responsible for the boom in the sector of car navigation devices. Over the last years GPS chipsets also increasingly found their way into everyday consumer electronics like PDAs, smart phones, or tablet computers—devices which are practically omnipresent in modern households.

## **7 Using GPS and Consumer Electronics for Fieldwork**

Most consumer electronic GPS-enabled devices can be used to record X,Y, and Z coordinates of points (waypoints) and line data (tracks) in the field.



**Figure 3.2** Start-up screen and interface of GDAT

Some equipment even features the capability to record and/or calculate areas.

Many fieldwork tasks require that some kind of diary or log, within which the object information (e.g., descriptions, related photo numbers) is stored, is maintained parallel to the coordinates. PDAs and smart phones can be a very practical solution for such fieldwork tasks, since they combine the ability to record photos (with the respective coordinates stored alongside the photograph) and to keep an electronic log/diary for the according descriptions. The advantages of this approach are obvious: when the data is already completely stored in digital format, digitization processes for later archiving purposes are superseded.

## 8 GDAT Concept

The GPS data acquisition tool (GDAT) was developed for scholars from the humanities as an instrument for quick and easy GPS recording. The software works in the Windows Mobile environment, which makes it widely applicable on a variety of smart phones and PDAs with built-in GPS antenna. The acquisition of costly GPS equipment therefore becomes unnecessary for those who possess such devices.

An intuitive and easily manageable interface (cf. FIGURE 3.2) allows users to quickly employ the system and to acquire data in the field. The system allows the capturing of point data (single objects), line data (e.g., *mani* walls, routes of pilgrimage), and area data (large objects like the layouts of temple compounds). Through the utilization on PDAs and smart

phones, which come along with full (touch-screen) keyboards, metadata about the captured objects can easily be stored and edited.

## 9 Data Formats and Application

Standard GPS devices are capable of recording point (waypoints) and line data (tracks). GDAT additionally offers the possibility of capturing area polygons. The common format for data acquired with GPS devices is the GPS exchange format (GPX). The GPX format uses an XML schema for storing waypoint and track data. The main advantage of this format is the high degree of interoperability: GPX data can be handled with most standard GIS software packages as well as with earth browsers like *Google Earth* or *Nasa World Wind*. Hence, recorded data can not only be utilized by GIS-experts but can also be visualized in freely available browsers for verification purposes by everyone.

GDAT stores the captured GPS coordinates and metadata are simultaneously in the interoperable GPX format as well as in KML files, the native format for *Google Earth* data which allows the immediate setting of parameters for a later visualization. The *Keyhole Markup Language* (KML) is also based on XML and became a standard format for all geobrowsers in 2008 (Open Geospatial Consortium 2008)

## 10 GDAT Workshop

In April 2009 during the conference “Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya” at the Indian Institute of Advanced Studies (IIAS), Shimla, India, the GDAT software was presented at a hands-on workshop (see FIGURE 3.3). An international group of 15 scholars from various disciplines of the humanities were utilizing the system to capture objects on the grounds of the IIAS and could assure themselves of the usability of the system. Immediately after the workshop the data was visualized using Google Earth.

The GDAT software proved to be an easy-to-use application for acquiring and visualizing geographic data with mobile devices. One of the main issues remains the availability of hardware devices. Although Windows Mobile based devices such as smart phones are already widely spread, not everyone has access to such hardware. One option that is currently under assessment at the Department of Geography of the University of Vienna



(a) Hands-on workshop at Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla (b) Captured data in Google Earth

**Figure 3.3**

is an extension of the service. Making the system available for other environments (e.g., Apple iPhone, Google Android) would strongly increase the availability of the service.

## 11 From ‘Mapping Location’ to ‘At-Location Mapping’

The latest advancements in technology make it clear that the usage of GPS for data capture in the field is no longer a task for experts only. GPS technology permeates the smart phone market and is increasingly popular with tablet computers like the Apple iPad. This trend has already influenced the way everyday consumers deal with spatial information and will completely change the approaches to capturing data in the field. In well developed areas where constant access to the internet is a matter of course, the acquired data can be transferred to online databases instantaneously. The consecutive visualization in maps can be generated automatically in real-time. Thus map makers and experts from other domains will be able to create maps at their current location. However, in remote regions where a connection to the internet is not ubiquitous (e.g., the Himalayan mountains) it will still be necessary to store acquired data offline and to transfer the data to the servers later, when a suitable internet connection is available.

## Abbreviations

**CHIS** *Cultural History Information System*. See also CHAPTER 1 in this volume. Department of Geography and Regional Research, University of Vienna. URL: <http://www.univie.ac.at/chis/> (retrieved 19/05/2010).

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## Coinage of the Nezak Shah

### A Perspective from the Hoard Evidence

Matthias Pfisterer and Katharina Uhlir

Amongst the four discernible main groups of Huna coinages in the Indo-Iranian borderlands—the “Kidarites”, the “Alkhan”, the “Nezak” and the so-called “genuine Hephthalites”—the Nezak coinage is one of the most frequent, with a large number of extant specimens. Nevertheless, the internal order of this group still poses major problems. In contrast to the other three Hunnic groups mentioned above, the originators of the Nezak coinage used a highly standardised type that remained virtually unchanged over a long period, showing on the obverse the bust of a ruler wearing a winged crown surmounted by a bull’s head. The legend also invariably refers to a certain *nyčky MLK’*, thus to someone calling himself *Nezak Shah*. It is evident that the latter name or appellation cannot refer just to a single person because the coin series extends over too long a period of time, as will be demonstrated below. Since there are two variants of the legend, one of them written correctly as cited above and the other one written in the form *nyčky MLDš*, each variant correlating with minor differences in typology and style, Robert Göbl concluded that the series should be divided into two subseries originating from different mints. According to him, the š-type belongs to Ghazni<sup>1</sup> and the ā-type to Kabul,<sup>2</sup>

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The numismatic analysis and discussion is by M. Pfisterer, while the metal analyses were evaluated and interpreted by K. Uhlir, Conservation Science Department, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. We thank Marta Anghelone, Conservation Science Department, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, for agreeing to undertake metallurgical analysis of the coins at the IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency), Laboratories Seibersdorf. We also thank M. Redl, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, for taking the photographs of the “Kandahar” hoard, C. Krüger for the layout of the tables and plates and S. Kidd for revising the English.

<sup>1</sup>NumH 217: Göbl 1967: I, 150 f., and related types.

<sup>2</sup>NumH 198: Göbl 1967: I, 132–136, and related types.

the mint attributions being based on provenances known to him. More cautiously, Michael Alram used the neutral terms “group I” and “group II”, eschewing direct mint attributions.<sup>3</sup> In a recent re-evaluation of the Nezak coinage and its connections with the later, so-called Western Turkic coinages that evolved from it, Klaus Vondrovec follows this rather cautious approach;<sup>4</sup> his results will be discussed below.

A recent opportunity to examine a coherent group of Nezak coins originating from a larger hoard has provided an occasion for taking a new look at the series.

## Nezak in History

Following the publication of A. Cunningham’s article on the “Later Indo-Scythians: Ephtalites, or White Huns”, the Pehlevi inscription on the coins was for a long time read as *Napki Malka*.<sup>5</sup> In 1967 Robert Göbl stated that this reading could not be correct. He demonstrated that the second part of the legend must be the ideogram *MLK’*, standing for “*Shah*”. He transliterated the first part as “*Nspk*”, though admitting that he had no plausible interpretation for this.<sup>6</sup> Finally, in 1969 Janos Harmatta presented the correct reading *nyčky MLK’*, equivalent to *Nezak Shah* in Middle Persian.<sup>7</sup> Richard N. Frye came to the same conclusion independently in 1974.<sup>8</sup> As regards the portrait, Cunningham had already noted a correspondence with a number of Chinese sources stating that the ruler of *Kipin* wore a crown in the form of a bull’s head.<sup>9</sup> *Kipin* or *Jibin* in the Tang records, called *Cao* in older records from the Sui period, can be identified with *Kapisa/Begram*,<sup>10</sup> and there is a possibility that the term

<sup>3</sup>Alram 1996: 529. Robert Göbl had already used the terms “Gruppe I” and “Gruppe II”, but, rather confusingly, he used “I” for the ā-type and “II” for the š-type, thereby inverting his own sequence; see Göbl 1967: II, 72. Michael Alram, loc. cit., amended this transposition, albeit without any further comment.

<sup>4</sup>Vondrovec 2010.

<sup>5</sup>Cunningham 1894: 267.

<sup>6</sup>Göbl 1967: I, 134 f.

<sup>7</sup>Harmatta 1969: 407 f.

<sup>8</sup>Frye 1974: 116 f.

<sup>9</sup>Cunningham 1894: loc. cit., Kuwayama 2002b.

<sup>10</sup>Chavannes 1903a: 52, n. 1; Göbl 1967: II, 69; Kuwayama 1999: 29–32; Kuwayama 2002b: 210.



might also refer to Kabul, at least from the end of the seventh century onwards.<sup>11</sup> Another Chinese term that has been connected with Kapisa appears in the *Ts'ö fou yuan kouei*, compiled in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, where it is stated that *Na-sai*, King of *Ho-p'i-che*, in 719 CE sent a Tokharian dignitary as envoy to China to take a lion and an exotic bird as gifts to the Tang court.<sup>12</sup> *Ho-p'i-che* was identified as Kapisa and *Na-sai* as “*Nazuk*” by Harmatta and Litvinsky.<sup>13</sup> If this interpretation is correct, it confirms the connection described above linking the bull’s head crown and the name or appellation *Nezak* with Kapisa. However, F. Grenet rejects the identification of the place name with Kapisa because, as said above, most of the other sources of the time use the term *Kipin / Jibin* for it, and furthermore because a Tokharian—someone from north of the Hindukush—played the role of the middleman. On the other hand, Grenet accepts the equation of *Na-sai* with *Nezak*.<sup>14</sup> The problem of *Ho-p'i-che* must be left to the linguists for the time being, though Chavannes’ interpretation still sounds quite plausible, and it fits the other evidence. Moreover, a Tokharian could well have been the perfect intermediary between Kapisa and China, as he would have originated from an area situated on the route between both countries and was therefore possibly capable of translating between the two languages.<sup>15</sup>

The earliest mention of *Nezak* in the Chinese sources occurs in connection with a Tang victory over the Eastern Turks in 630 CE. Minoru Inaba lists fourteen further appearances of the term *Nezak* in Chinese sources up to the early eighth century, including that mentioned above. Most of the later appearances are in a Turkic context.<sup>16</sup> The Arab sources also mention several individuals called *Nezak*, starting in 651 CE—here as a “*Hephthalite*” leader; later appearances of the term, again more in a Turkic context, occur well into the ninth century.<sup>17</sup> In general, it can be stated with certainty that *Nezak* refers to a number of different persons. As Minoru Inaba demonstrates, the term sometimes appears as a proper name

<sup>11</sup>Kuwayama 2002c: 198; Inaba 2010.

<sup>12</sup>Chavannes 1903b: 40.

<sup>13</sup>Harmatta and Litvinsky 1996: 374; also Kuwayama 1999: 60.

<sup>14</sup>Grenet 2002: 215 f., n. 21. See also Inaba 2010: 192.

<sup>15</sup>For example, the same source states that in the same year the King of *Fou-lin* (Rome) also sent a Tokharian to take two lions and two antelopes: Chavannes 1903b: 37 f.

<sup>16</sup>Inaba 2010.

<sup>17</sup>Frye 1974: 117 f.; Harmatta 1969: 406–409; Inaba 2010.

but is also used as a title.<sup>18</sup> The *Nezak* who sent the Tokharian envoy in 719 CE seems to have been a ruler of Kapisa.

The identity of the ruling dynasty is rather difficult to define. As the Chinese sources state, in the year 658 CE Kapisa was ruled by a certain *Hejiezhi*, a descendant in the twelfth generation of a dynastic founder named *Xingnie*.<sup>19</sup> The latter name has been convincingly interpreted as the Chinese version of *Khingila*.<sup>20</sup> Shōshin Kuwayama argues that this dynastic founder should be dated to the middle of the sixth century, which would give an average of less than ten years for each ruler. Further he states that the dynasty could not be “*Hepthalite*” — here to be understood as “*Hunnic*” — because Xuanzang reports for the year 629 CE that the king of Kapisa belonged to a family of *Chali*, the term used by Chinese sources for the *kṣatriya* class.<sup>21</sup>

As regards the coin evidence, the skull of the depicted ruler might be artificially deformed, even if not to the extent seen in the Alkhan coin portraits.<sup>22</sup> This would be a display of a Hunnic habitus, although it should be said that at least in early medieval Europe, where this practice was imported by the Attilanic Huns, people of indigenous origin also seem to have adopted artificial skull deformation as an attribute of nobility at times.<sup>23</sup> The affiliation with the *kṣatriya* class is, in my eyes, not necessarily a decisive criterion, seen in the light of the integrative character of Indian society. For example, the *Mahābhārata* states that “*it is in consequence of the absence of Brahmanas from among them that the Sakas, the Yavanas, the Kamvojas and other Kshatriya tribes have become fallen and degraded into the status of Shudras.*” (Rāy 1893: 13.33) This passage demonstrates clearly that immigrated people, even Greeks (*Yavanas*), could very well be regarded as fitting into the *varṇa* system.

The name *Khingila* is also attested for later rulers of the Kapisa-Kabul kingdom, so the reference to this lineage seems to have carried some importance. For the eighth century, a Turkic Kabulshah named *Khingila*

<sup>18</sup>Inaba 2010.

<sup>19</sup>Chavannes 1903a: 131.

<sup>20</sup>Kuwayama 1999: 41.

<sup>21</sup>Kuwayama 1999: 42–45, 55; see also Inaba 2010: 193.

<sup>22</sup>See esp. Göbl 1967: II, 242 f. with strong arguments in favour of artificial head deformation.

<sup>23</sup>For examples see Czarnetzki, Uhlig and Wolf 1983: 100 f.; Timpel 1999: 146 f.

is attested by Arabic sources, and the *Khingila* in the inscription of the marble Gaṇeśa from Gardez also dates to the eighth century, when the Kabulshahs were Turks.<sup>24</sup> Thus, the tradition of this name evidently survived a change of dynasty, an event that might have occurred in the second half of the seventh or the first years of the eighth century.<sup>25</sup> Now, the most notable bearer of the name *Khingila* belongs to the Alkhan Huns who had ruled the region from the fifth into the sixth century, after which they seem to have moved their focus of power further eastwards and were succeeded in Kapisa-Kabul by the originators of the Nezak coinage.<sup>26</sup> As will be shown below, elements of the Nezak coinage are derived from Alkhan coin typology, although this of course has little significance. Nevertheless, the Nezak dynasty may originally have been related to the Alkhan dynasty, and may have obtained the name tradition in this way, rather than from another person called Khingila in the sixth century, as proposed by Kuwayama. Moreover, as the name tradition obviously continued through a change of dynasty in the seventh or early eighth century as stated above, the same might apply to the change from the Alkhan to the Nezak dynasty around 500 CE.

## The Nezak Coinage

The most remarkable trait of the Nezak coinage, the š-type (group I) as well as the ā-type (group II), is its uniformity, adhering to the same basic type with only minor alterations although it seems to cover more than a century:

### Obverse

Bust r., wearing a winged bull's head crown with crescent in front. On good specimens there is a bridle visible on the nose of the bull. The depicted person wears an earring with two beads, a necklace with flying ribbons at the neck and a garment with beaded decorative stripes. Under the bust is an ornament resembling twigs or wings.

Pehlevi legend *nyčky MLD-š* (FIGURE 4.1(a)) or *nyčky MLK-ā* (FIGURE 4.1(b)).

<sup>24</sup>Kuwayama 1999: 44.

<sup>25</sup>Kuwayama 1999: 55; Inaba 2010: p. 192.

<sup>26</sup>Göbl 1967: II, 71 f.; Alram 1996; Vondrovec 2008: 276–278.



**Figure 4.1**

Sometimes a Brāhmī *akṣara* to l. of bust under the ribbons.

#### Reverse

Fire altar with ribbons and flames on top. To l. and r. a figure in a long garment, holding a tall staff vertically. Behind each figure a row of dots, sometimes positioned like wings or a mantle, sometimes without connection to the figures. Over each figure a wheel.

To l. and r. the Brāhmī *akṣaras* NA and RI.

According to Robert Göbl<sup>27</sup> the š-type (group I according to Alram's terminology, see FOOTNOTE 3), which he attributes to Ghazni, is the earlier one and starts some time after 460 CE. Around 515 CE, after the death of Toramana and in a time when the Alkhan are directing the focus of their activities towards India, the latter lose Kapisa-Kabul to the Nezak rulers who start minting the ā-type (group II) there. Around 560 CE, together with the Hephthalites north of the Hindukush, the "Ghazni" branch comes to an end as a result of Sasanian military action, while the "Kabul" branch (Göbl's type 198) continues, according to Göbl's model, up to the beginning of the eighth century, with a steady decline in silver content until the coins

<sup>27</sup>Göbl 1967: 72–74.

are nearly pure copper. An important event in this history is the “remigration” of the Alkhan from India. In Göbl’s model they reach Zabulistan around 590/600 CE and start a new coinage there that mixes Alkhan and Nezak elements,<sup>28</sup> but the development of the ā-type is unaffected by these events until it is followed by Göbl’s types 200ff., exhibiting an altered style and restored silver content. In its rough outlines this model is still valid, although in particular Göbl’s absolute dates might benefit from revision.

In his recent re-evaluation of the Nezak coinage Klaus Vondrovec proposes the third crown of Peroz as the model for the Nezak crown, which would mean a more probable *terminus post quem* of 474 CE for the start of this coinage.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, he confirms Göbl’s view that the š-type (group I) is the earlier one, starting with types 217 and 221, while positing some time after 500 as the start of the ā-type/type 198 (group II), in parallel with type 222 of the š-type. In contrast to Göbl, he does not believe in a continuation of the ā-type/type 198 far into the seventh century, despite the fact that in this group the silver content seems to have decreased further than in the š-type.

On the other hand, it is precisely this decline in silver content of the Nezak coinage that parallels that in the Alkhan coinage. Although there are as yet no metallurgical analyses of Alkhan drachms that could be used for the purpose of direct comparison, the outer appearance of the coins from different stages gives us a rough idea. Here it is obvious that in particular the latest Alkhan issues display a massive drop in the silver content, leading to Göbl’s type 150 which seems to contain only very little silver, if any. For this latest phase we can safely assume the death of Mihirakula in ca. 540 CE as the *terminus post quem*.<sup>30</sup> This corresponds with the development of the Nezak ā-type/type 198 (group II), while even the latest stages of the š-type (group I) still seem to be made from comparatively good metal.<sup>31</sup>

After the period of low silver, a “relaunch” of the ā-type seems to have taken place. These “reformed” types are Göbl’s type 200 and the following

<sup>28</sup>The *Alkhan-Nezak crossover coinage* as Klaus Vondrovec has recently dubbed it; see Vondrovec 2010: 182–184.

<sup>29</sup>Vondrovec 2010: 171; Schindel 2004: 395–398. The similarity with the third crown of Peroz had already been noted by Robert Göbl, but he rejected this idea for other reasons; see Göbl 1967: I, 134.

<sup>30</sup>Aram 1999/2000: 132.

<sup>31</sup>Vondrovec 2010: 178.

numbers, and they display an ostensibly improved silver content. At first they copy type 198, with a different style and a few typological alterations; eventually, however, the typology starts to change, leading into new types that go beyond the scope of this article.

Nevertheless, the development of style and iconography constitutes the main criterion for the internal arrangement of this vast coinage. As the reverses are frequently misstruck and, moreover, were apparently not made with the same care by the die-cutters as the obverses, the latter must be our main guideline. Nevertheless, the reverses sometimes also give us criteria on which to base the arrangement. This concerns for example the position of the *akṣaras* on either side of the image. In some cases also a dot is visible on the altar shaft. The question of whether this dot was intended as a regular feature of the picture or had some administrative significance—like the symbols on Sasanian coins—cannot be answered at present. In many cases the reverses are so badly struck that it is impossible to decide whether there originally was a dot on the die or not.

## The “Gardez” Hoard

During his stay at Kabul in 1962 Robert Göbl purchased a portion of a hoard, according to him around eighty coins, all belonging to the  $\bar{a}$ -type/type 198. Later he was able to acquire further specimens which in his opinion also had the same provenance. The hoard had allegedly been found at Gardez, to the east of Ghazni.<sup>32</sup> Today, forty-nine coins from the hoard are preserved at the Bernisches Historisches Museum in Bern, Switzerland, and with the inclusion of Göbl’s documentation which is preserved at the Numismatic Institute of Vienna University the number of documented coins amounts to a total of around seventy specimens. The hoard will be separately published in a sylloge of Huna coins in Swiss collections which is currently in preparation. The present contribution will confine itself to discussion of the broad characteristics of the hoard and their implications for the internal arrangement of the  $\bar{a}$ -type/type 198. In general, the coins from the “Gardez” hoard can be arranged into four major style variants (see also FIGURE 4.2):

1. The bust is low and triangular and the face has a sharp profile with a very prominent nose. The chin is flat and not very fleshy. The ends

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<sup>32</sup>Cf. Göbl 1967: 36–38.

of the necklace ribbons, especially the upper one, are often curved with a wave in the middle and only in a few cases simply rounded, while the base of the ribbon ends is indented, a feature shared by the following groups. On good specimens the twig or wing ornament under the bust is slightly curved in the center.

2. The bust is high and triangular and the face is less bony. The chin is rounded and rather fleshy. The end of the upper necklace ribbon is regularly curved with a wave in the middle. Here, too, on better examples the twig or wing ornament under the bust is slightly curved in the center.
3. The bust is asymmetric, as the right shoulder still points downwards while the left shoulder tends to be more horizontal and considerably longer than the right one. The end of the upper necklace ribbon is normally rounded; the “wave” as in the previous groups is visible only sometimes, but is not very prominent. The twig or wing ornament under the bust is shaped almost like the segment of a circle, either without a curve or only a slight curve in the center.
4. The bust is asymmetric as in group 3. The right shoulder points downwards while the left shoulder tends to be horizontal or even points slightly upwards. The ends of the necklace ribbons are invariably rounded without a “wave”. The face appears rather young and fleshy, and the hair behind the ears is more prominent. The twig or wing ornament under the bust is invariably shaped like the segment of a circle with no curve in the center.

The four groups in the hoard seem to display more or less continuous development, as is demonstrated in FIGURE 4.2. From the material in the “Gardez” hoard, the transition between groups 1 and 2 is less easy to demonstrate, as group 1 is represented in only a few examples, while there are several coins displaying traits of both group 2 and 3, and even more specimens that have traits of both group 3 and 4.

Göbl noted that coins featuring the characteristics described for variants 1, 2 and 3 tend to be made of better silver—to judge from their outward appearance—while the coins of variant 4 seem to have a considerably lower silver content. His conclusion that this is a chronological argument for placing the coins with better silver earlier and those with low or no silver content later is still valid.<sup>33</sup> Further arguments that we can

<sup>33</sup>Göbl 1967: 36 f. and 74.



(a) Group 1



(b) Intermediate between groups 1 and 2



(c) Group 2



(d) Intermediate between groups 2 and 3



(e) Group 3

**Figure 4.2** Style groups represented in the “Gardez” hoard





(f) Intermediate between groups 3 and 4

(g) Group 4

**Figure 4.2** Style groups represented in the “Gardez” hoard (contd.)

extract from the evidence of this hoard for the arrangement of the coinage are:

- the shape of the bust
- the facial features of the portrait
- the shape of the necklace ribbons
- the shape of the twig or wing ornament under the bust.

## The “Kandahar” Hoard

Recently, we have been given access to 125 Nezak coins, all of the ā-type/type 198 and nearly all from the period of low silver content, originating from a large hoard dispersed on the coin market. The hoard is said to have been found near Kandahar and to have originally contained 1,600 or 1,700 coins. Stylistic analysis allowed us to divide these 125 coins into six different stylistic groups. The argument relies mainly on the obverses, as the reverses are frequently misstruck, and because they are stylistically very inconsistent. All in all, the “Kandahar” hoard displays wider stylistic diversity than the “Gardez” hoard, containing obverse style varieties that do not appear among the specimens of type 198 published by Göbl in 1967. Generally the spectrum seems to be somewhat later than that of the “Gardez” hoard. Moreover, it has been possible to analyze the metal composition of thirty-four coins by X-ray fluorescence analysis. This technology does not give absolute data as it does not penetrate the surface of the coins, but it does at least indicate significant trends.



Figure 4.3



Figure 4.4

### Group A (FIGURE 4.3)

- 1 specimen
- Die position: 4

Represented by only one specimen in our sample, this group corresponds with what we called style variant 1 in the “Gardez” hoard: low, triangular bust and beardless, sharp facial profile with a prominent nose. The ribbons of the necklace are rounded at the end on this specimen and indented at the base. The shape of the ornament under the bust is not readily recognizable due to the wear of the coin, as is also the case with the Brāhmī *akṣara* which should be behind the neck. The reverse die is neatly cut, with triangular flames on the altar. The coin has a notably higher silver content than the other coins in the sample (see below). In addition, it shows considerably more traces of wear than the other coins, leading to the conclusion that it is the earliest coin in the sample.

### Group B (FIGURE 4.4)

- 44 specimens
- Die positions: 2 (1x), 3 (16x), 4 (22x), 5 (5x)

This group fits what we called variety 4 in the “Gardez” hoard: the bust is asymmetric with the left shoulder close to horizontal or pointing



**Figure 4.5**

upwards. The face appears to be rather “young”, with a rounded, full chin, on some dies displaying an underbite. The beard is absent but in some specimens there is a faint moustache. The ribbons of the necklace are rounded at the end and indented at the base. The twig or wing ornament under the bust is invariably shaped like the segment of a circle with no curve in the center. To the left of the bust, beneath the ribbons, there is a small Brāhmī *akṣara*, most probably an A or NA. The reverses are accurately cut but poorly struck and blurred in many cases. On some reverse dies there is a dot on the altar shaft. The flames on the altar are normally bushy and rounded at the top.

Despite the consistent style, the size of the portraits varies considerably, a feature which may constitute a criterion for the internal arrangement of the group. Therefore the coins of group B are arranged in the catalogue with three further subdivisions according to the size and features of the head. Those termed “big head” have rather rounded and soft features, while the other extreme (“small head”) includes examples that are smaller, slimmer and often have a somewhat protruding chin. “Medium head” describes those with intermediate features. These distinctions will become clear with reference to the coins themselves (FIGURES 4.18 to 4.23).

### **Group C (FIGURE 4.5)**

- 28 specimens
- Die positions: 3 (24x), 4 (2x), 9 (2x)

The bust is asymmetric, the left shoulder being longer and more horizontal than the right one. The face appears comparatively “old” on most of the dies, exhibiting a prominent nose, strongly marked, high eyebrows and a distinct moustache, while the skullcap is notably small in this group. The indentation at the back of the head is particularly clear, indicating artificial head deformation. The wings are small and on some dies the wing at the back appears not to be connected to the head. In most cases the



**Figure 4.6**

bridle on the bull's head, which is prominent in the previous groups, is omitted. The ribbons of the necklace are triangular with no indentation at the base and have concave or straight ends, only in a few cases with a small protrusion in the middle that may reflect the “wave” design characteristic of groups 1 and 2 of the “Gardez” hoard. The *akṣara* behind the neck is always omitted. The twig or wing ornament under the bust is curved. One very prominent feature is the blundered Pehlevi legend: the first letter is often so small that it is barely visible. The reverses are generally rather coarsely cut but, interestingly, the minting quality and legibility of the reverses is far better than in group B, a feature that also applies to the following groups. Characteristically the Brāhmī *akṣaras* to the left and right are inverted, as is their position. On two reverse dies there is a dot on the altar shaft. The altar flame is shaped like a feather on most of the dies. Only on a few specimens is the flame rather bushy; interestingly, on these the obverse bust has a somewhat “younger” appearance. Possibly these specimens represent another phase inside the same style group. On average, coins belonging to this group have a somewhat smaller diameter than those from the other groups.

#### **Group D (FIGURE 4.6)**

- 2 specimens
- Die positions: 3 (2x)

This “group” is represented by only two specimens from the same obverse die. The style closely resembles group C, but is nevertheless too distinct to be simply incorporated into the latter. The outline of the bust in particular is different, as well as the treatment of the face and a number of other details. Behind the neck there is a single stroke in the place that is occupied by the *akṣara* in other groups, constituting a clear difference to group C which always omits the *akṣara*. On the reverse, the altar flame is shaped like a feather and the *akṣaras* are inverted as in group C.



Figure 4.7



Figure 4.8

**Group E (FIGURE 4.7)**

- 1 specimen
- Die position: 9

The iconography of this single coin is clearly connected with groups C and D, and the reverse also exhibits the typical inversion of the *akṣaras*. Nevertheless, the quality of the die cutting is so inferior that this is likely to be a contemporary copy rather than an officially issued coin.

**Group F (FIGURE 4.8)**

- 49 specimens
- Die positions: 2 (5x), 3 (42x), 4 (2x)

















While the style groups described above form homogenous, clearly definable complexes within the hoard, a considerable number of remaining coins defy any attempt to reduce them either to a common denominator in terms of style or to divide them into further subgroups. Nevertheless, they all share certain iconographic features, so we must assume that they belong to more or less the same phase. First of all, most of them are poorly made and seem to have extremely low or no silver content. Furthermore, all of them have necklace ribbons of the triangular shape with no indentation at the base, as described above for group C. Moreover, the bull's head never seems to wear a bridle, another argument for the vicinity of these stylistically inconsistent coins to group C. The wing ornament beneath the bust is crescent-shaped, a feature that they share with group B. The *akṣara* behind the neck is sometimes present but sometimes omitted. The dot on the altar shaft mentioned above appears on some reverses but not on others, although it must be said that in the case of a considerable number of reverses there is no way of telling whether there was in fact a dot on the die or not. The shape of the flames on the altar varies considerably within group F. Sometimes they are bent outwards at a marked angle. The feather-like flames as exhibited by group C never appear in this group. The style of the portraits displays a wide range, extending from “fleshy” faces with a prominent nose and almond-shaped eyes (FIGURE 4.8(a)) to others which have rather slender and delicate features (FIGURE 4.8(b)).

## Die Identities and Die Positions

True die linkages—overlapping series of obverse and reverse dies—are not found in the “Kandahar” hoard, although this is possibly also due to the poor legibility of so many reverse dies. Nevertheless, the hoard contains multiple occurrences of obverse dies and in some cases also of die-pairs:

- Group B:
  - Catalogue numbers 2–3: same obverse die
  - Cat. nos. 4–6: same obverse die
  - Cat. nos. 30–31: same obverse die
- Group C:
  - Cat. nos. 46–49: same obverse die
  - Cat. nos. 50–51: same obverse die

**Table 4.1** Summary of iconographic details of the style groups in the “Gardez” hoard and in the “Kandahar” hoard

Style Group	Ribbons (upper ribbon)	Wing ornament	Other typological features
1/A			Triangular bust, sharp profile
2			Triangular bust
3			Asymmetric bust
4/B			Asymmetric bust, “young” face
C			Asymmetric bust, “old” face; often no bridle on bull’s nose. Rev.: <i>akṣaras</i> on inverted position; flames on altar often shaped like a feather
D			Like C, but other style
E			Like C and D, but blundered style
F			

- Cat. nos. 52–56: same obverse die, 52–53 also from the same reverse die
- Cat. nos. 57–58: same obverse die
- Cat. nos. 59–63: same obverse die, 59–60 also from the same reverse die
- Cat. nos. 64–65: same pair of dies
- Cat. nos. 66–68: same pair of dies
- Group D:
  - Both coins from this “group” share the same obverse die
- Group F:
  - Cat. nos. 77–79: same obverse die

While die identities are rather scarce in the other groups, the pattern of group C is strikingly different: a comparatively small number of dies were used to strike a large number of coins, a ratio that possibly points to huge production volumes over a relatively short period of time resulting from an increased need for coinage. In any case, the coins of group C seem to be the result of a different method of production than those of the other groups.

Like most of the other Hunnic coinages, the Nezak coinage also follows the Sasanian model of positioning the dies principally at 3 o'clock. However, the precision of the die position varies considerably between the different groups in the “Kandahar” hoard. Little can be said about those groups that are represented by just one or only a few specimens, namely groups A, D and E. However, in the latter case it is interesting that the inverted die position at 9 o'clock corresponds with the blundered style, a further argument for classifying this coin as an unofficial contemporary copy.

Although all die positions in group B are on the correct side, the tolerance is quite high, oscillating between 2 and 5 o'clock with more examples in the lower positions towards 4 o'clock. By contrast, group C displays a much higher degree of precision, even if there are two specimens with an inverted die position. The same applies to group F in which the positioning of the dies is also very accurate. Altogether one gets the impression that these findings might be due to technical differences in the striking process. The pattern of group B gives the impression that the reverse dies were held freely when applied to the blank; by contrast, the high degree of



precision in groups C and F might be due to some technical device which helped to keep the reverse dies in the correct position.

The implications from these findings are rather interesting in the light of the fact that until now the coins of the  $\bar{a}$ -type/type 198 were commonly thought to come from one and the same mint, and that this mint was Kabul, if we follow Robert Göbl. However, when we compare the technical patterns visible here we can see at least three different modes of operation behind the coins in the “Kandahar” hoard:

**Group B** balanced ratio between dies and coins, low degree of precision in positioning of dies.

**Group C** unbalanced ratio between dies and coins, high degree of precision in positioning of dies.

**Group F** balanced ratio between dies and coins, high degree of precision in positioning of dies.

Moreover, the coins from group C additionally have a somewhat smaller average diameter than the coins from the other groups (see catalogue).

Each of the described peculiarities is insufficient to be significant *per se*, but taken as a whole the technical differences between the groups might suggest that—at least in the period represented by the coins in the hoard—coins of the  $\bar{a}$ -type were not produced by just one single mint. Moreover, it is striking that coins displaying the characteristics of group C, so strongly represented here, are completely absent from the material used by Robert Göbl in 1967 to illustrate the stylistic range of type 198, as can be seen from his plates. The reason for this must lie in the material sources he had to hand. This raises the question of whether the different style groups also have different geographic distribution patterns, which would provide a further argument for the assumption of more than one mint. On the other hand, as additional material from other phases of the  $\bar{a}$ -type still remains to be investigated, including a more thorough examination of the “Gardez” hoard, this interpretation—striking as it may be—should be treated with caution for the time being.

## Metal Analyses

Thirty-four coins from the “Kandahar” hoard were investigated using x-ray fluorescence (XRF) analysis<sup>34</sup> (see TABLE 4.4). Within these coins, six groups (A–F) can be observed. Group A consists of only one coin (coin 1), which is the earliest in the “Kandahar” hoard. Twelve coins belong to group B (“big head”: coins 4, 5, 6, 17; “medium head”: coins 21, 25, 28, 29; “small head”: coins 34, 35, 36, 42), eight coins to group C (coins 46, 48, 52, 56, 59, 60, 64, 65), two coins to group D (coins 74, 75), again only one coin to group E (coin 76), and ten coins to group F (coins 81, 84, 86, 87, 89, 94, 96, 100, 115, 117). Additionally, six selected  $\bar{a}$ -type coins from phases not represented in the “Kandahar” hoard were analysed in order to obtain data for comparison (see TABLE 4.5). Four of these coins (A1–A4) are from the “reform” period, being later than the material represented in the “Gardez” and “Kandahar” hoards, while the two others fall within the scope of investigation: coin A5 lies between groups 2 and 3 of the “Gardez” hoard, and coin A6 between groups 3 and 4 (the latter referred to as group B in the “Kandahar” hoard).

XRF analysis<sup>35</sup> was chosen for performing the measurements on the coins because it is a non-destructive method allowing quantitative measurements of the composition of the coins. Nevertheless, as XRF analysis is only surface-sensitive, corrosion and any kind of surface treatment affects the results. The results obtained (TABLES 4.4 and 4.5) can therefore only be seen as indicating general trends in the material composition. Moreover, the comparability of the thirty-four “Kandahar” hoard coins to the six coins measured for comparison is somewhat problematic because of the different cleaning methods initially employed: in the first case the coins were cleaned mechanically whereas the six additional pieces were cleaned chemically. This means that the “Kandahar” hoard coins still have a lot of corrosion products on their surface, while on the surface of the six coins measured for comparison the silver component may be distorted in another direction.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>See Müller 1967, Jenkins 1977 and Janssens 2004.

<sup>35</sup>The measurements were performed using a portable XRF instrument provided by the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), Laboratories Seibersdorf/Austria. For this opportunity we gratefully thank Ernesto Chinea-Cano, Andrzej Markowicz and Roman Padilla-Alvarez; cf. Buzanich et al. 2007.

<sup>36</sup>For the phenomenon of surface enrichment on silver coins and the resulting problems with XRF analysis see Gitler and Ponting 2003.

Among the thirty-four analysed coins from the “Kandahar” hoard the highest silver content (41%) was found in the only coin belonging to group A. The gold detected in the same coin is a natural trace element observable with XRF in objects with a higher silver content. In group B, the percentage of silver is distinctly lower, mostly oscillating around 10%; in some specimens (coins 34 and 36) slightly less silver (around 4–5%) was detected. Here again, the problem inherent in surface analysis should be taken into consideration, as it implies a relatively high uncertainty in the absolute values of the concentrations. It is nevertheless interesting to note that the two lowest silver contents inside group B can be found in the “small head” variety. If we assume that the silver content has a tendency to decrease, this diagnosis may give us the direction of the internal development of this group. To arrive at secure conclusions in respect of this theory, a further scientific investigation of a broader sample is necessary. Moreover, there is one specimen (coin 35) in group B (“small head”) that stands out in terms of its composition, with tin instead of silver being detected, making it very likely that it is an unofficial contemporary copy.<sup>37</sup>

The coins of group C contain no silver at all, nor do those of the associated groups D and E. Almost the same is true for group F. However, a considerable number of specimens from this group contain very faint traces of silver. These traces are far too small to be intentional. The question of why they appear in some specimens has yet to be considered. Moreover, several coins belonging to group F contain traces or considerable amounts of tin, like the single curious exception in group B (coin 35, as discussed above). The reason for this phenomenon in group F might be a different source of metal than that used for groups C, D and E. In any case, the metallurgical difference supports the assumption that there was more than one mint in operation.

The coins A1–A4 from the “reform” period again contain a considerable amount of silver (16–24%) with observable traces of gold and again some tin. Nevertheless, the highest proportion of silver is found in coin A5 (38%), the second highest in coin A6 (28%), but neither contain any tin. This would supply a match to the analyzed coins of group B, although the silver content is too high for this group; however, here again the different surface treatment should be taken into consideration. Moreover, according to the

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<sup>37</sup>Tin was frequently used, at least in a Roman context, to give bronze forgeries of silver coins a silver-like appearance; see Peter 2001: p. 239, n. 801; Pfisterer 2005; Pfisterer 2007.

**Table 4.2** Proportions of both hoards in comparison

“Gardez” hoard		“Kandahar” hoard	
Group	Quantity	Group	Quantity
1	3	A	1
2	23		
3	21		
4	20	B	44
		C	28
		D	2
		E	1
		F	49

model of the chronology outlined above, both of these coins are earlier than the material represented in the “Kandahar” hoard.

## Relation between the “Gardez” Hoard and the “Kandahar” Hoard

TABLE 4.2 gives an overview of the distribution of the different style groups in the “Gardez” hoard and the “Kandahar” hoard.<sup>38</sup> As both hoards together only represent a limited segment of the Nezak coinage as a whole, the labeling of the style groups must remain provisional for the time being. Therefore, in the present paper the sequence of the style groups in the “Gardez” hoard has been assigned numbers, while letters have been given to that in the “Kandahar” hoard. Nevertheless, group 1 of the “Gardez” hoard seems to correspond to group A of the “Kandahar” hoard, and group B of the latter matches, at least in part, group 4 of the “Gardez” hoard. However, this latter style group seems to be represented by a wider spectrum in the “Kandahar” hoard than in the “Gardez” hoard. The latter contains almost exclusively specimens of the “big head” variety, so those dies with a smaller and slimmer head as represented in the “Kandahar” hoard (“small head”) are probably a little later than the others. To sum up, the two hoards obviously represent two different stages in the development of the ā-type, the “Gardez” hoard ending with group 4/B, the “Kandahar”

<sup>38</sup>In order to simplify the account of the style groups in the “Gardez” hoard, any coins lying between two style groups have been added to the prior group.

hoard starting at this point. Additionally, both hoards contain a few specimens of group 1/A, which should be regarded as the earliest coins in each case.

While it seems quite evident that the style groups in the “Gardez” hoard represent a chronological sequence, the interrelation between the groups in the “Kandahar” hoard is not as clear, because the material might have been produced by more than one mint, as mentioned above. In order to examine this question more closely, we must extend the context of the discussion a little further.

## The Overstrikes by the “Remigrating Alkhan”

At some point in the second half of the sixth century, the Alkhan Huns, who had extended and finally shifted their focus of power into Northern India, launched an action westwards against the Nezak dynasty. First postulated by Robert Göbl in 1967 who assumed a “remigration” of the Alkhan “people” as a whole—a model that has been abandoned meanwhile—these events can only be reconstructed on the basis of the numismatic evidence and have since been extensively discussed.<sup>39</sup> According to the current model, the military defeat of Mihirakula in India in around 530 CE forms a first *terminus post quem*. As the coins which were struck by them in the course of these events can safely be connected with one of Mihirakula’s successors named Toramana (II.)<sup>40</sup>, the death of Mihirakula in around 540 CE forms a further *terminus post quem*. Göbl dated the events to within a timeframe of c. 570/580–600 CE, a dating that stands undisputed for the time being.

The coin type struck by the Alkhan Huns in the course of this operation, probably in the area of Kabul, is Göbl’s type 150.<sup>41</sup> The type underwent a development in itself: the first variant shows on the obverse the bust of a king wearing a crown with two crescents which contain a blossom or trident. In his extended right arm, on which a bracelet is visible,

<sup>39</sup>Göbl 1967: II, 70 f.; Alram 1996: 528–532; Alram 1999/2000; Vondrovec 2010: 174–180; Pfisterer 2014.

<sup>40</sup>The reading of the name by Göbl as “Narana/Narendra” has recently been corrected on the basis of new, well-preserved specimens to “Tora(mana)” who must be a second Alkhan ruler bearing this name for chronological reasons, see Pfisterer 2014.

<sup>41</sup> For the discussion of this type and the Kabul hoard confined exclusively to these coins, see in particular Alram 1999/2000.



**Figure 4.9**

the king holds a bunch of three plants. The reverse is poorly legible on all known specimens; it seems to show a fire altar with two attendants above whose heads there might be a wheel or circle as on the Nezak coins.<sup>42</sup> The second variant shows the same iconographic features on the obverse, but the reverse is completely blank and was probably never intended to bear any motif. On the third variant the king holds only two plants; here again, the reverse is blank.

It is this third variant of type 150 (FIGURE 4.9) which has special importance for the evaluation of the Nezak coinage because some specimens are overstrikes on Nezak coins of the *ā*-type. The first of these overstrikes came to light in the so-called Kabul hoard,<sup>43</sup> and further examples have come to light in the meantime.<sup>44</sup> Hitherto it has only been clear that the undertypes must belong to the period of low or no silver, but their position in the sequence of the Nezak coinage has always been rather vague. The “Kandahar” hoard now gives us the opportunity of establishing a sounder classification of the undertypes in order to define the relative position of the two coinages. In the Coin Cabinet at the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, there are three overstrikes which will be discussed here (FIGURE 4.10).

While on two examples (FIGURE 4.10(b) and FIGURE 4.10(c)) the new obverse is overstruck onto the obverse of the undertype, more or less obliterating it, on one example (FIGURE 4.10(a)) it is overstruck onto the reverse. Therefore, thanks to the blank reverse of the third variant of type 150, the portrait of the Nezak coin has survived the overstriking process quite well. A comparison with the coins extant in the “Kandahar” hoard has now brought a close parallel (Cat. no. 96; FIGURE 4.11). As the different positions of the wings and of the letters in the legend show, it is not from the

<sup>42</sup>Vondrovec 2010: 174.

<sup>43</sup>Alram 1996: 530–532; Alram 1999/2000: 133 f.

<sup>44</sup>Vondrovec 2010: 176 f.



**Figure 4.10**



**Figure 4.11 (2:1)**

same die, but the portrait clearly belongs to group F, namely the “fleshy” faces with a prominent nose and almond-shaped eyes as described above. Unfortunately the necklace ribbons are largely obliterated, but it can at least be stated that they have a triangular base, and the wing ornament is shaped like a crescent.

The reverse of the undertype is not as well preserved. In any case, the *akṣaras* are in the regular position, safely excluding attribution to group C.

The second overstrike (FIGURE 4.10(b)) is far less informative. On the obverse, no diagnostic features have been preserved, while on the reverse

it is obvious that here too the *akṣaras* are in the regular position. The third overstrike (FIGURE 4.10(c)) likewise shows only faint traces of the undertype, but here, fortunately, the necklace ribbons can be made out, which clearly belong to the triangular variant and therefore correspond to groups C–F. The traces of the reverse are too few to be of any use. Nevertheless, the relatively secure match of one of the overstrikes with group F is relevant enough to suggest that coins belonging to this group were already in circulation when the “Remigrating Alkhan” minted their type 150.

## Conclusions: Reconstructing the Bigger Picture

The most important lesson that can be learned from the analysis of the “Gardez” hoard and the “Kandahar” hoard is the fact that the development of style might very well be roughly linear, as to be observed from group 1/A to group 4/B, but that the iconography does not necessarily display a similarly predictable behaviour. Particular shapes of iconographic elements such as the necklace ribbons or the wing ornament are initially connected with certain stages of the coinage, but they can also reappear rather unpredictably at a much later stage. Therefore the development of isolated iconographic elements should not be taken as absolute evidence for the relative chronology. The best example of this is the wing ornament: in its curved shape it originates from Alkhan coinage in the 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> century CE; in later stages the curved shape is replaced by the crescent shape. Moreover, most of the later successor coinages such as the “Alkhan-Nezak crossover coinage” and the “reform” coinage of the ā-type invariably display the wing ornament as a crescent shape. But our group C, which definitely belongs to a very late stratum in the material covered by our two hoards,<sup>45</sup> being at least parallel with or rather later than group 4/B, which consistently features the crescent shape, suddenly restores the curved shape of the wing ornament. In respect of style, however, group C is not part of the tradition of groups 1/A–4/B and appears to be some kind of a late “start-up” in its own right. If the technical peculiarities described above are as significant as they seem, this could well have occurred at a

<sup>45</sup>See also Alram 1999/2000: The coin he presents on p. 133 and in pl. 7, 120 as representing the latest stage of type 198 clearly belongs to group C.





**Figure 4.12**

different mint than that which produced the “mainstream” of the ā-type coinage.

Obviously, the die-cutters did not necessarily use the latest coins to hand as a model when preparing the dies for a new issue, but they could equally borrow elements from much older stages of this long coinage, making the iconographic development rather confusing. Nevertheless, a preliminary if rather broad outline for the history of the ā-type can be postulated.

There is no room within the scope of this article to discuss at length the beginning of the ā-type (see FIGURE 4.12(a)) and its relation in respect to its antecessor, the š-type.<sup>46</sup> In any case, the earliest style group which is represented in our two hoards (group 1/A, FIGURE 4.12(b)) still seems to follow the stylistic tradition of the very earliest issues of this type, even though a number of changes in the iconography had already occurred: on the earliest examples of the ā-type the necklace ribbons have an angular shape that does not recur in the period of our hoards, and the bull’s head points downwards into the crescent, while it already points out across the latter in group 1/A.

The development from group 1/A to group 4/B is fairly consistent, and most probably takes place at a single mint, even if there is already a tendency towards a decline in silver content in this (probably rather extended)

<sup>46</sup>Vondrovec 2010, esp. p. 173.



**Figure 4.13**

period. Then, at a certain point, one or possibly more new mints seem to appear suddenly, if our interpretation of the technical peculiarities described above is correct. This is combined with a sharp drop in silver content and, at least in the case of group C, with increased production, if the unbalanced ratio between dies and coins in this group permits this interpretation. Taken as a whole, these new developments convey the impression of a crisis, and quite fittingly the overstrikes by the “Remigrating Alkhan” appear to date to or directly after this period.<sup>47</sup> At the moment it cannot be ascertained whether the overstrikes mark the very end of this last phase of type 198, or if the coinage continued for a further period.

However, after the definitive discontinuation of type 198 there might have been a shorter or longer hiatus before the  $\bar{a}$ -type was re-launched with the “reform” coinage, but at the moment this cannot be determined with any certainty. In any case, the next younger phase in the development of the  $\bar{a}$ -type is probably represented by a coin classified by Robert Göbl as belonging to type 198 and depicted in his plates as No. 198/45 (FIGURE 4.13).<sup>48</sup> Göbl’s classification is disputable in this case; the coin is a much better match with his type 202, and it also displays the same Z-like sign at the position of the *akṣara* on the obverse as type 202. Nevertheless, at least visually<sup>49</sup> the coin still seems to contain no or nearly no silver, while many other coins of type 202 do indeed display a clearly silver-like color. It is unfortunate that no metal analyses are available at present. In any case, the style of the portrait has changed distinctly, and as a comparison with later examples of the “reformed”  $\bar{a}$ -type demonstrates, it is this late style which appears here for the first time. There are also a number of

<sup>47</sup>Cf. Vondrovec 2010: 178.

<sup>48</sup>Göbl 1967: III, pl. 44.

<sup>49</sup>All remarks concerning the color of the coins mentioned here rely on autopsy or on digital color photographs; for the locations of the coins see the illustration credits.



**Figure 4.14**

iconographic changes visible. The necklace ribbons have rounded ends, as was typical of group 4/B, for example, but all in all their shape is much more oblong and graceful. Even more important, the direction of the bull's head on the crown has changed: it points downwards into the crescent, thereby copying an iconographic feature typical of the š-type. On the ā-type it is only present in the very first stages that antedate the horizon represented in the “Gardez” and “Kandahar” hoards, as stated above. The coin is poorly preserved; nevertheless, another diagnostic feature is visible that constitutes a connection with the next types to be discussed: directly above the bull's head, it seems as if one of the dots of the dotted rim of the picture had a small protrusion downwards. This protrusion is in fact a small globe placed on top of the bull's head, as the coin in FIGURE 4.14 demonstrates.

The latter coin clearly belongs to Göbl's type 202. The mix of the iconographic elements is also interesting here: the bull's head again points downwards into the crescent, but the necklace ribbons this time display a “wave” as found in group 1/A to 3. As can be seen from Göbl's plates,<sup>50</sup> the graceful oblong shape as described for the previous coin appears here on other specimens. The reverse displays another typological connection as the flames on the altar have a feather-like shape that to a certain extent recalls those on some reverses in group C. The feather-like flames later become a standard feature in the development of the ā-type, namely for type 200. We do not have any metal analysis for this coin, but to judge from the color of the coin, the silver content would now seem to be considerably higher.

Finally, another type belonging to this initial period of the “reformed” ā-type coinage is type 201 (FIGURE 4.15). The necklace ribbons display the graceful oblong shape, and the bull's head points downwards and is

<sup>50</sup>Göbl 1967: pl. 45, 202.1–2.



**Figure 4.15**

surmounted by a globe. However, the sign behind the neck, which appears in the form of a “Z” on the types just described, is replaced on this type by a small version of tamgha S2 which we know from Alkhan coins on the one hand and Hephthalite coins on the other.<sup>51</sup> There is an additional new element in the form of a small star on the left shoulder of the bust. The two analyzed coins of this type (A3 and A4)<sup>52</sup> display a silver content of 23.7% and 18.4% respectively.

The coin types mentioned here are all rather rare and form a bridge with the developed “reform” coinage chiefly represented by the more frequent type 200<sup>53</sup> (FIGURE 4.16(a)), which was usually struck on broad, thin flans of relatively good silver (see the XRF analysis for coins A1 and A2). In the case of this type, the globe on the bull’s head is dropped again and the *akṣara* behind the neck reappears in the usual form, or in some cases is completely omitted. Many examples still display the bull’s head pointing downwards into the crescent accompanied by necklace ribbons that are mostly narrow and angular. In later stages, the flans of type 200 decrease in size again, and the dotted decoration of the garment is replaced by continuous lines (FIGURE 4.16(b)). While on early specimens the wing ornament appears in the crescent shape, on late examples it has mutated into a row of small waves; evidently it was no longer understood after a time. A detailed analysis of the development of the “reformed” ā-type still remains to be carried out.

Finally, the general direction of the relative chronology in this period is also attested by an overstrike in an American private collection (FIGURE

<sup>51</sup>Cf. Alam and Pfisterer 2010: 36. Confusingly, Robert Göbl listed this version of tamgha S2 under a different number. He named it S101 although it is obviously the same symbol; see Göbl 1967: IV, pl. 16.

<sup>52</sup>See list below and the chapter on the analyses above.

<sup>53</sup>Together with Göbl’s type 200A, which is basically a preliminary stage of type 200, but still struck on flans in the smaller format of the preceding emissions.



Figure 4.16



Figure 4.17

4.17).<sup>54</sup> It is a late type 200 coin overstruck on a specimen of type 201: to the left the typical graceful necklace ribbons with rounded ends are visible, and underneath them the outer contour of tamgha S2 (= S101).

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<sup>54</sup>The picture is oriented according to the traces of the undertype. We thank Thomas K. Mallon-McCorgray for allowing us to publish his picture of the coin.

Table 4.3 Catalogue of the "Kandahar" hoard

No.	Weight (gm)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	Metal analysis	<i>akṣara</i> on obv.	Dot on rev.	Inv. No.
<b>Group A</b>							
1	2,94	25	4	X	X		125
<b>Group B</b>							
<i>Big head</i>							
2	3,47	26	4		X		124
3	3,30	26	3		X		1
4	3,55	27	5	X	X		4
5	3,54	25	4	X	X		5
6	3,42	26	4	X	X		3
7	3,99	26	3		X		7
8	3,61	27	4		X		12
9	3,51	27	4		X		11
10	3,48	27	4		X	X	6
11	3,48	26	4		X		13
12	3,37	27	4		X		15
13	3,32	27	3		X		10
14	3,28	26	5		X		2
15	3,25	28	3		X		8
16	3,23	27	4		X		9
17	3,10	26	4	X	X	X	14
<i>Medium head</i>							
18	3,84	27	4		X		23
19	3,79	27	4		X		26
20	3,76	27	4		X		17

**Table 4.3** Catalogue of the “Kandahar” hoard (cont.)

No.	Weight (gm)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	Metal analysis	<i>akšara</i> on obv.	Dot on rev.	Inv. No.
21	3,67	25	3	X	X		21
22	3,62	28	3		X		18
23	3,60	25	3		X		24
24	3,46	27	4		X	X	25
25	3,40	26	5	X	X		16
26	3,40	27	3		X		27
27	3,22	27	3		X	X	20
28	3,04	27	5	X	X		22
29	2,59	27	4	X	X		19
<i>Small head</i>							
30	3,62	26	3		X	X	35
31	3,61	27	3		X		34
32	3,80	26	3		X		32
33	3,79	28	3		X		37
34	3,70	26	3		X		30
35	3,60	28	3	X	X		40
36	3,46	29	4	X	X		28
37	3,46	26	3		X		31
38	3,45	27	4		X		36
39	3,45	28	4		X		41
40	3,42	25	4		X		29
41	3,42	26	2		X		43
42	3,41	27	4	X	X		33
43	3,39	27	4		X		38
44	3,37	27	4		X		39
45	3,10	27	5		X		42



**Table 4.3** Catalogue of the "Kandahar" hoard (cont.)

No.	Weight (gm)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	Metal analysis	<i>akṣara</i> on obv.	Dot on rev.	Inv. No.
<b>Group C</b>							
46	4,00	25	3	X			46
47	3,93	25	3				47
48	3,51	25	3	X			44
49	3,47	25	3				45
50	3,13	26	3				48
51	2,68	26	3				49
52	3,86	25	3	X			53
53	2,63	25	3				54
54	4,82	26	3				50
55	3,52	25	3				51
56	2,75	25	3	X			52
57	3,41	25	9				55
58	2,85	26	3				56
59	5,03	26	3	X			62
60	2,77	25	3	X			61
61	4,12	26	3				63
62	3,27	26	3				64
63	2,55	26	4				65
64	3,97	26	3	X		X	67
65	3,70	25	3	X		X	66
66	4,40	25	3				69
67	3,93	26	3				70
68	2,94	24	3				71
69	3,52	25	4				58
70	3,33	26	3				57
71	3,30	25	3				68

**Table 4.3** Catalogue of the “Kandahar” hoard (cont.)

No.	Weight (gm)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	Metal analysis	<i>akṣara</i> on obv.	Dot on rev.	Inv. No.
72	3,24	26	3				60
73	3,11	25	9			X	59
<b>Group D</b>							
74	4,13	26	3	X	?		72
75	3,53	28	3	X	?		73
<b>Group E</b>							
76	2,35	25	9	X	X		78
<b>Group F</b>							
77	3,71	26	3		X	X	105
78	3,56	29	3		X		81
79	3,56	27	3		X		93
80	4,10	27	3		X		77
81	4,04	26	3	X	X	X	102
82	4,01	25	3		X		116
83	3,97	26	3		X		113
84	3,97	25	3	X	?	X	100
85	3,89	27	3		X	X	109
86	3,85	26	3	X	?	X	101
87	3,81	25	2	X	?	X	121
88	3,79	25	3		X		89
89	3,78	27	4	X	X		79
90	3,72	26	3			X	107
91	3,70	26	3		?		98
92	3,67	26	3		?		117

**Table 4.3** Catalogue of the "Kandahar" hoard (cont.)

No.	Weight (gm)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	Metal analysis	<i>akṣara</i> on obv.	Dot on rev.	Inv. No.
93	3,67	26	3		X		97
94	3,67	25	2	X	?		120
95	3,66	25	3		?		119
96	3,64	25	3	X			86
97	3,63	27	3				94
98	3,62	28	2		X		88
99	3,62	26	3		?		115
100	3,60	25	3	X	?		99
101	3,59	26	2		?		122
102	3,57	25	3		?		92
103	3,57	27	4				123
104	3,52	25	3		X	X	106
105	3,50	27	3		X		118
106	3,48	26	3		X	X	108
107	3,47	25	3		X		75
108	3,46	26	3		X		87
109	3,41	29	3		?		112
110	3,41	26	3		X		80
111	3,39	26	3				91
112	3,38	27	2		X	X	104
113	3,36	27	3				111
114	3,35	27	3		X		114
115	3,31	26	3	X	?		74
116	3,31	28	3		?		82
117	3,31	26	3	X	X	X	103
118	3,29	27	3		?		85
119	3,26	26	3				84

**Table 4.3** Catalogue of the “Kandahar” hoard (cont.)

No.	Weight (gm)	Diam. (mm)	Die axis	Metal analysis	<i>akṣara</i> on obv.	Dot on rev.	Inv. No.
120	3,25	25	3		?		95
121	3,24	26	3		X		110
122	3,14	25	3				90
123	3,14	27	3		X		96
124	3,11	27	3		X		83
125	2,85	27	3		X		76

**Table 4.4** Results (weight %) of the x-ray fluorescence analysis of coins from the “Kandahar” hoard

No.		Ag	Cu	Fe	Zn	Au	Pb	Sn
Group A								
1	<i>Mean</i> <sup>55</sup>	41.0	56.5	0.84		0.48	0.31	
	Std. dev.	4.3	4.8	0.22		0.10	0.11	
Group B								
4	<i>Mean</i>	10.8	85.9	0.71	2.04		0.25	
	Std. dev.	4.8	2.8	0.24	1.81		0.10	
5	<i>Mean</i>	10.3	86.1	0.72	0.33		2.30	
	Std. dev.	1.4	3.1	0.11	0.09		3.83	
6	<i>Mean</i>	12.7	85.9	0.60	0.26		0.16	
	Std. dev.	1.2	1.2	0.05	0.02		0.07	
17	<i>Mean</i>	10.8	87.6	0.69	0.34		0.19	
	Std. dev.	1.8	1.9	0.07	0.11		0.07	
21	<i>Mean</i>	13.1	85.3	0.62	0.27		0.28	
	Std. dev.	1.3	1.3	0.13	0.03		0.07	
25	<i>Mean</i>	13.2	85.2	0.80			0.13	
	Std. dev.	4.3	4.5	0.20			0.05	
28	<i>Mean</i>	6.8	91.7	0.83	0.26		0.15	
	Std. dev.	0.9	1.3	0.34	0.01		0.05	
29	<i>Mean</i>	8.6	90.1	0.59			0.21	
	Std. dev.	1.2	1.4	0.16			0.08	
34	<i>Mean</i>	4.2	94.5	0.50	0.29		0.17	
	Std. dev.	2.3	2.6	0.07	0.05		0.04	
35	<i>Mean</i>		95.1	0.90			0.13	3.33
	Std. dev.	0.8	0.58			0.02	0.23	
36	<i>Mean</i>	4.9	93.3	0.54			0.63	
	Std. dev.	1.1	1.2	0.09			0.13	
42	<i>Mean</i>	9.3	88.8	0.82	0.26		0.31	
	Std. dev.	0.8	0.9	0.49	0.04		0.11	
Group C								
46	<i>Mean</i>		98.5	0.95	0.27			
	Std. dev.		0.3	0.24	0.01			
48	<i>Mean</i>		99.0	0.54	0.25			
	Std. dev.		0.1	0.05	0.03			
52	<i>Mean</i>		97.8	1.66				
	Std. dev.		0.7	0.62				
56	<i>Mean</i>		98.3	1.08			0.17	
	Std. dev.		0.3	0.20			0.03	

<sup>55</sup>The results given are the mean values out of 5 measurements with the according standard deviation (std. dev.)

**Table 4.4** Results (weight %) of the x-ray fluorescence analysis of coins from the “Kandahar” hoard (cont.)

No.		Ag	Cu	Fe	Zn	Au	Pb	Sn
59	<i>Mean</i>		98.0	1.38	0.25		0.10	
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.3	0.34	0.05		0.03	
60	<i>Mean</i>		98.6	0.89	0.26			
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.3	0.22	0.01			
64	<i>Mean</i>		98.4	1.13				
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.2	0.11				
65	<i>Mean</i>		98.8	0.70				
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.2	0.15				
Group D								
74	<i>Mean</i>		98.6	0.84	0.32			
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.5	0.43	0.03			
75	<i>Mean</i>		98.5	0.70	0.43		0.15	
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.2	0.16	0.03		0.04	
Group E								
76	<i>Mean</i>		98.5	0.98	0.25			
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.1	0.05	0.01			
Group F								
81	<i>Mean</i>		97.5	0.67	0.28		0.25	1.04
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.0	0.06	0.01		0.07	0.07
84	<i>Mean</i>		98.1	0.79	0.26			0.51
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.4	0.36	0.01			0.10
86	<i>Mean</i>		98.8	0.71				
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.1	0.05				
87	<i>Mean</i>		90.7	1.71			0.30	6.79
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		1.4	1.55			0.11	0.95
89	<i>Mean</i>	0.5	98.2	0.93	0.25			
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	0.1	0.2	0.15	0.06			
94	<i>Mean</i>		95.9	0.57			0.26	2.75
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.3	0.07			0.03	0.19
96	<i>Mean</i>	0.3	98.3	0.88	0.26			
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	0.0	0.2	0.19	0.02			
100	<i>Mean</i>		98.1	0.67	0.26			0.69
	<i>Std. dev.</i>		0.3	0.14	0.01			0.20
115	<i>Mean</i>	0.7	98.0	0.85	0.26			
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	0.1	0.5	0.46	0.01			
117	<i>Mean</i>	2.1	95.0	1.42				0.97
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	0.1	0.9	0.75				0.31

**Table 4.5** Results (weight %) of the x-ray fluorescence analysis of selected types not in the “Kandahar” hoard

No.		Ag	Cu	Fe	Zn	Au	Pb	Sn	Type
A1	<i>Mean</i>	24.6	72.4		0.28	0.58	0.42	1.13	Göbl 1967, type 200
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	4.9	5.6		0.03	0.09	0.29	0.40	
A2	<i>Mean</i>	16.5	81.7			0.41	0.19	0.52	Göbl 1967, type 200
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	1.3	1.6			0.08	0.02	0.26	
A3	<i>Mean</i>	23.7	73.3		0.34	0.33	0.53	1.29	Göbl 1967, type 201
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	3.6	4.0		0.05	0.10	0.10	0.72	
A4	<i>Mean</i>	18.4	79.6		0.24	0.40	0.25	0.56	Göbl 1967, type 201
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	1.0	1.2		0.01	0.04	0.07	0.13	
A5	<i>Mean</i>	38.2	59.0		0.33	0.79	0.76		Göbl 1967, type 198, group 2 or 3
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	9.4	10.0		0.07	0.22	0.37		
A6	<i>Mean</i>	28.2	69.9		0.31	0.53	0.27		Göbl 1967, type 198, group 4/B
	<i>Std. dev.</i>	7.6	7.7		0.04	0.08	0.10		



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Figure 4.18 Group A



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Figure 4.19 Group B





**Figure 4.19** Group B (contd.)



**Figure 4.19** Group B (contd.)



Figure 4.19 Group B (contd.)



**Figure 4.19** Group B (contd.)



**Figure 4.19** Group B (contd.)



**Figure 4.20** Group C



**Figure 4.20** Group C (contd.)



**Figure 4.20** Group C (contd.)





**Figure 4.20** Group C (contd.)



**Figure 4.21** Group D



**Figure 4.22** Group E



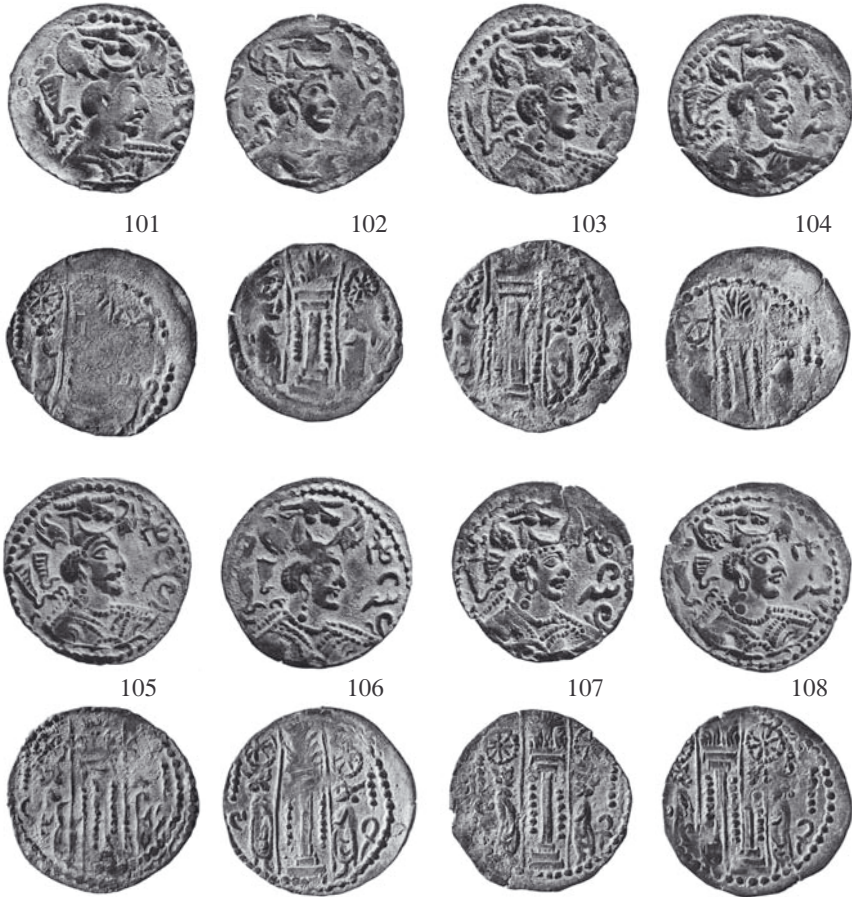
**Figure 4.23** Group F



**Figure 4.23** Group F (contd.)



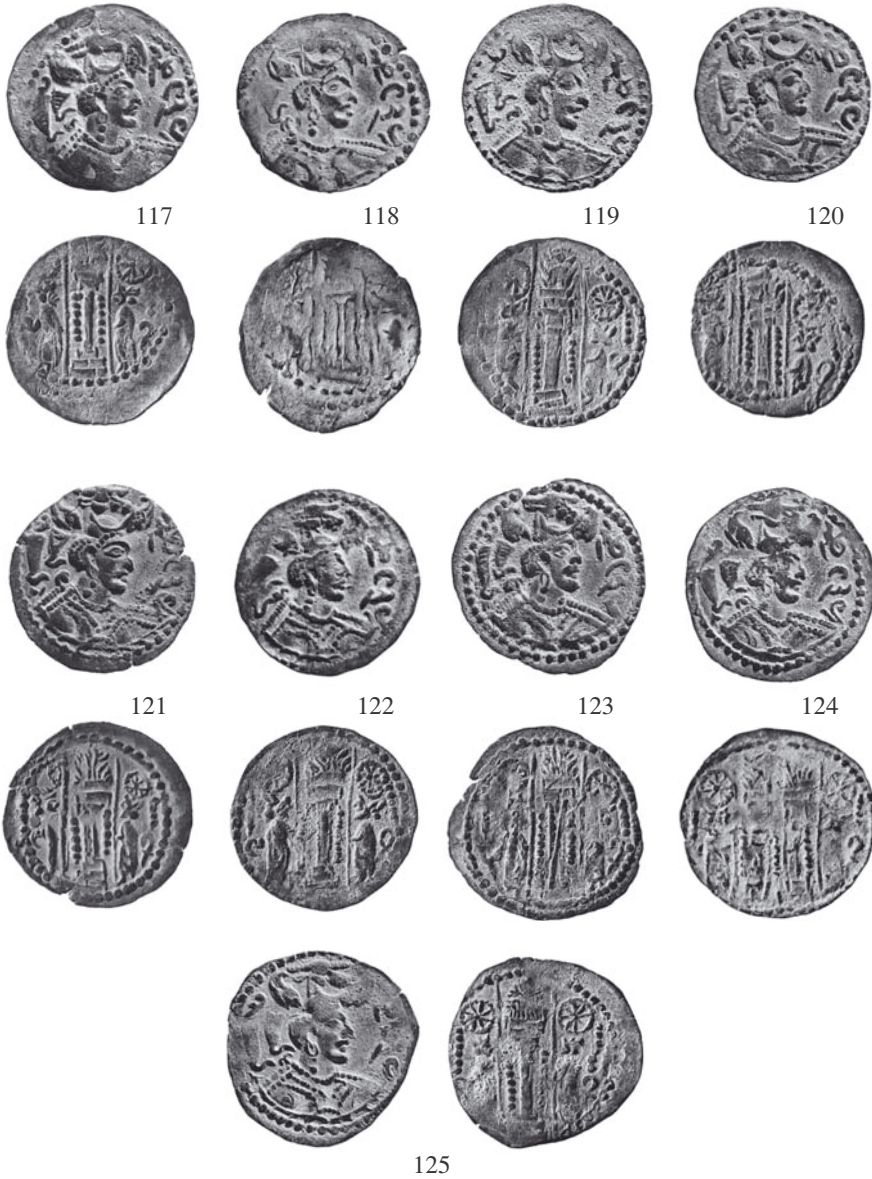
**Figure 4.23** Group F (contd.)



**Figure 4.23** Group F (contd.)



**Figure 4.23** Group F (contd.)



**Figure 4.23** Group F (contd.)



**Figure 4.24** Coins analysed for comparison



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## **Coins Illustrated in the Text (“Kandahar” hoard abbreviated as “K”)**

**FIGURE 4.1(a):** Jean-Pierre Righetti, 225.

**FIGURE 4.1(b):** Paris, 1986.148.

**FIGURE 4.2(a):** Numismatische Zentralkartei, Institut für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte, Vienna University.

**FIGURE 4.2(b):** Bernisches Historisches Museum, BHM 68.1255.

**FIGURE 4.2(c):** Bernisches Historisches Museum, BHM 68.1236.

**FIGURE 4.2(d):** Bernisches Historisches Museum, BHM 68.1207.

**FIGURE 4.2(e):** Bernisches Historisches Museum, BHM 68.1227.

**FIGURE 4.2(f):** Bernisches Historisches Museum, BHM 68.1250.

**FIGURE 4.2(g):** Bernisches Historisches Museum, BHM 68.1240.

**FIGURE 4.3:** K, Cat. no. 1.

**FIGURE 4.4:** K, Cat. no. 9.

**FIGURE 4.5:** K, Cat. no. 46.

**FIGURE 4.6:** K, Cat. no. 75.

**FIGURE 4.7:** K, Cat. no. 76.

**FIGURE 4.8(a):** K, Cat. no. 88.

**FIGURE 4.8(b):** K, Cat. no. 89.

**FIGURE 4.9:** Wien KHM, MK GR 42.336.

**FIGURE 4.10(a):** Wien KHM, MK GR 42.337.

**FIGURE 4.10(b):** Wien KHM, MK GR 43.240.

**FIGURE 4.10(c):** Wien KHM, MK GR 43.241.

**FIGURE 4.11 left:** Wien KHM, MK GR 42.337.

**FIGURE 4.11 right:** K, Cat. no. 96.

**FIGURE 4.12(a):** Bern, ex coll. Göbl 1968.1274.

**FIGURE 4.12(b):** Aman ur Rahman, 140.

**FIGURE 4.13:** Berlin, Hunnen 22.

**FIGURE 4.14:** Jean-Pierre Righetti, 146.

**FIGURE 4.15:** Jean-Pierre Righetti, 190.

**FIGURE 4.16(a):** Jean-Pierre Righetti, 181.

**FIGURE 4.16(b):** Jean-Pierre Righetti, 176.

**FIGURE 4.17:** Private coll., USA.



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## Reinvented Landscapes

### Art, Faith and Trade Routes in and around Uḍḍiyāna in the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> Century CE

Anna Filigenzi

The work presented here is part of a larger research project currently in progress on the Buddhist rock sculptures of Swat and, through a reassessment of the available archaeological evidence, on their historical, cultural and social background. Long before they became the object of a focussed study, these sculptures—together with many other artefacts of different kinds—were documented during the course of archaeological surveys carried out by various members of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan of the IsIAO, the Italian Institute for Africa and the Orient (formerly IsMEO, Italian Institute for Middle and Far East), which, after more than fifty years of scientific activity and field research, has been suppressed by legislative decree in November 2011 in the framework of a drastic spending review process. Some of these colleagues walked far and wide in Swat, much further than I ever did, thus providing the rich repository of data from which my research has largely drawn.

I gratefully acknowledge their contribution, in the hope that my use of this data is in some way worthy of the work they did before me.

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Research on the Buddhist rock sculptures of Swat is currently part of the FWF Stand-alone Project P21902 “The Cultural History of Uddiyana 4<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> Century CE” (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Numismatic Commission). A less comprehensive version of this paper was presented, however, at the conference within the framework of the NFN project “The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya from the 8<sup>th</sup> Century”, led by Univ.-Prof. Deborah Klimburg-Salter. I took part in this NFN project from 2007 to 2012 as a member of its Art History sub-project. This research, which is based on activities undertaken by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan of the IsIAO, was promoted by Domenico Faccenna. I carried out only a few of the surveys personally; most of the documentation used for this analytical study was collected over a longer period of time by Giuseppe Tucci, Maurizio Taddei, P. Gui, E. Cimmino, Pierfrancesco Callieri, and especially by Luca M. Olivieri. A complete catalogue and critical analysis of the Buddhist rock

## **The Buddhist Rock Sculptures of Swat: A Glimpse into Their Nature, Setting and Significance**

The landscape of Swat, ancient Uḍḍiyāna, still bears conspicuous traces of its Buddhist past, particularly in the area beyond the left bank of the Swat River. To the eyes of visitors today, it requires no great effort of imagination to conjure up from the ruins the profusion and magnificence of the monuments that once stood here. Together with the luxuriant beauty of the surrounding scenery, it is clear that ancient Uḍḍiyāna held a strong fascination for the entire Buddhist world of its time. The subject of the present work is related to the end of this “golden age”, when, in the last centuries of the first millennium CE, the ancient splendour of Buddhism was apparently on the wane before being irrevocably eclipsed by Islam. Nevertheless, in this period Uḍḍiyāna saw a last flowering of Buddhist art, in the form of sculptures carved in relief on rock walls, isolated boulders, and steles set in the ground (FIGURE 5.1). Not situated in formal and structured sacred areas, they are found scattered in the countryside around these areas, camouflaged and nearly hidden in the natural landscape.

Based on comparisons with other objects (especially bronze and terracotta sculptures demonstrably belonging to the same cultural environment) we can date the full flowering of this artistic production to sometime in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, with possible extensions before or after (FIGURE 5.2). The iconographic consistency and stylistic uniformity, the large number, and the location in space and time of these sculptures make them a phenomenon of distinctive artistic value. In addition, their historical significance can hardly be overestimated, since they open a unique window into a time about which we still know all too little.

After the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE the cultural history of Swat enters one of its most obscure phases. The archaeological investigations carried out over the last fifty years by the Italian Archaeological Mission of the IsIAO as well as teams from the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan and the University of Peshawar have yielded evidence of a remarkable deterioration of the Buddhist settlements, together with a general decay of the social, economic and territorial system supporting them.

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sculptures of Swat are in preparation (Filigenzi forthcoming). Several articles dealing with particular aspects of the sculptures have already been published. I refer the reader to the complete bibliography of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Olivieri 2006: 299 ff. An additional bibliography can be found in Filigenzi 2006.





**Figure 5.1** Pensive Avalokiteśvara/Padmapāṇi; Arabkhan-china (Swat, Pakistan). Photo by Matteo De Chiara; © IsIAO.



**Figure 5.2** Pensive Avalokiteśvara/Padmapāni on rocky throne. Karachi, National Museum (Courtesy Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale "Giuseppe Tucci", Roma, Photo Neg. 1862).



**Figure 5.3** Isolated boulder with different subjects; Arabkhan-china (Swat, Pakistan). After Tucci 1958: fig. 18.

This evidence apparently contradicts the persistent fame of Uḍḍiyāna (which may have stretched over an area larger than modern-day Swat) as a source of teachings and teachers for Tibetan Buddhism and Bon. These teachers include revered personalities such as Padmasaṃbhava (to whom the tradition attributes the first diffusion of Buddhism in Tibet), his legendary predecessor Garab Dorje, and other masters coming from Gilgit—a region lying very close to Upper Swat—who are credited with having contributed greatly to the transformation of the primitive Tibetan Bon into a codified system (Tucci 1958: 282).

## Formal and Semantic Features of the Rock Sculptures

When the initial research was done on these rock sculptures, no special significance was attached to the chronological concurrence of the appearance of these sculptures and the diffusion of Buddhism in the Himalayan countries. The few scholars who had incidentally dealt with the rock sculptures long considered them to have been an expression of popular faith rather than the offspring of doctrinal speculations. This impression was aroused

by a number of odd characteristics in the sculptures, such as the repetitiveness of their subjects or the apparent lack of consistent spatial rules. This was attributed either to clumsy craftsmanship or a disordered, progressive juxtaposition of the figures (FIGURE 5.3). In addition, the state of preservation of most of the sculptures was so poor that, at first sight, identifying the subjects was often impossible.

This initial view underwent a profound change after systematic surveys and analytical studies showed that the apparent incongruities were actually the expression of a highly sophisticated formal language. The internal consistency even allows the inference to a strict conformity to prescriptive rules. A related literature, if any ever existed, did not survive, but one cannot fail to recognise the contribution of this artistic experience to later and better-documented traditions.

Generally speaking, the bond between these sculptures and the formal rules of Gandharan origin that had dominated this area for centuries appears quite weak; the artistic current of “Gupta” origin seems to have made a larger contribution.<sup>1</sup> In addition, the Indic world may well have supplied inspiration, providing various motives that influenced how the divine was conceived and represented. However that may be, the result as a whole can be seen as a stage in the development of new formal patterns in Buddhist art that would be amply developed in the Himalayan regions.

In some cases, the reliefs may have been associated with special pilgrimage spots, as for example the big image of Padmapāṇi at Jare. Besides keeping watch over an ancient ford in the Swat River (where, by the way, the currents are particularly strong), the sculpture must have also marked the scene of a miraculous event—identified by Aurel Stein on the basis of evidence offered by Songyun—that was evidently well known in local folklore (Filigenzi 2010a: 188).

However, as a general rule the sculptures are clustered around sacred areas that, in many cases, were already in ruins at the time the sculptures were executed. From this we can argue that despite the ravages of time

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<sup>1</sup>I use the term Gupta for the sake of convenience, although as generally accepted this wrongly includes periods and areas that did not belong to the Gupta Empire. Moreover, we have by now enough evidence to recognise the specific identity of the artistic trends that developed in the post-Kushan period in the North-West of the Subcontinent. A praiseworthy step in this direction is the recent coinage of “Gandhāra-Nagara” for the temple architecture along the Indus (Meister 1997–98).



**Figure 5.4** Avalokiteśvara/Padmapāṇi with minor figures; Gogdara (Swat, Pakistan). Photo Neg. IsMEO CS L 4337/4.

the ancient monuments, whether restored or not, were still perceived as imbued with some sort of sacral power, and that they were connected to each other in a network of pilgrimage routes.

A close association with pilgrimage practices and their metaphorical re-enactment of a spiritual journey is suggested by the strong geomantic character of the sculptures (Filigenzi 2010a: 190 and fn. 9). As a matter of fact, the relationship between sculptures and local topography is not confined to their physical proximity to holy monuments, but also encompasses the landscape around them and the material support itself. The placement of the sculptures, their subjects, the physical shape of the figures and of the surfaces they were carved on are all constrained by the desire to keep the manipulation of the medium to a minimum. Clearly, the intent of the artists was to create the illusion of the images being *svayambhū*: a self-existent, spontaneous manifestation of the numinous in the world (FIGURE 5.4).<sup>2</sup>

Seen from this perspective, the rock sculptures certainly do not evoke extemporaneous, random proliferation, as has been earlier supposed;

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<sup>2</sup>On this aspect of the sculptures, cf. earlier studies, especially Filigenzi 1997 and 2010a.

rather, they reveal a specific inspirational motive, an artistic and conceptual plan that was undertaken to re-establish the earlier sacred topography through a sort of “revelation” or “rediscovery” of its immanent sacredness. We can only imagine the monastic community being behind such a project. It may well have directed the process, from the general conception to the specific selection of sites and subjects, and might perhaps have even undertaken the actual execution of the reliefs.

Indeed, one must wonder whether the underlying concept of these sculptures represents a mere—albeit insightful—interpretation of the notion of *svayambhū*, or rather a conscious and congruent visual counterpart to doctrinal issues connected with the “revealed” nature of Tantric texts.<sup>3</sup> Such a conceptual coincidence appears even more likely—and significant as well—in the light of the particular role played by Uḍḍiyāna in the genesis of Vajrayāna and its textual elaboration. According to the tradition, the *Guhyasamājatantra*, the king—and earliest—of all Tantras, was *revealed* to the king of Uḍḍiyāna, Indrabhūti, by Śākyamuni himself or, in a different version of the story, passed on to Indrabhūti by Vajrapāṇi, who had heard the revelation when travelling in Uḍḍiyāna with Śākyamuni (Tucci 1949: I, 121, 212–215; 1977: 68–69; Roerich 1988: 359).<sup>4</sup>

Thus, speaking in broad terms—but with reference to this particular cultural and geographic environment—a common background must have existed between the rock sculptures and the textual tradition. If this is the case (whatever the linguistic expression in the semantic memory of these places), we might dare to consider the intertwined phenomenon of literary and artistic experience as a sort of forerunner to the *rang byung* and *gter ma* traditions, i.e., the visionary revelation so deeply embedded in Tibetan mysticism.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>I am grateful to Giacomella Orofino for this suggestion and, in general, for being unconditionally available for exchanging ideas and viewpoints.

<sup>4</sup>Scholars do not unanimously agree on the identification of Uḍḍiyāna with modern-day Swat and, consequently, on the close connection of Swat with the emergence of Vajrayāna. For an overview of the different hypotheses see for instance Donaldson 2001: 8 ff. Nevertheless, most of the contrasting opinions are mainly based on textual evidence, and do not take archaeological sources into account.

<sup>5</sup>Famous *rang byung* (self-existent) images on rock surfaces are venerated at Dentig, where there is also a cave blessed by Padmasambhava (Ricard 1994: 35, n. 5); another famous image of miraculous self-formation is that of Hayagrīva in the Agang Monastery (ibid. 35, n. 7). For a summary, mainly focused on textual materials, of the *gter ma*

## Swat and Beyond: Communication Routes and Pilgrimage Practice in the Late Antique Period

The topographical and iconographical uniformity of the sculptures opens a number of general questions about how to read their physical environment. First of all, as stated above, they must have been related to pilgrimage routes whose existence and dimension can only be inferred through archaeological data, not any direct textual evidence or surviving tradition. One might imagine a local road network serving marginalised Buddhist communities of the Swat valley and leading to dilapidated sacred areas. However, one wonders whether our perception of things might be misled by the deceptive appearance of macroscopic data. In fact, if one begins to question what seems obvious, alternative hypotheses take shape that fit the sparse and apparently conflicting pieces of evidence even better.

Tibetan and Chinese sources of the 8<sup>th</sup> century attest to the strategic importance of Uḍḍiyāna for controlling the routes that connected Central Asia and northern India (Tucci 1958: fn. 1; 1977: 75 ff.).

Notwithstanding the fact that our archaeological map is still uneven, evidence has surfaced here and there indicating that these routes were a vital economic and cultural asset, as is also indirectly suggested by the historical sources. The huge number of petroglyphs documented in the last decades by the Pakistani-German teams in the Upper Indus regions has clearly substantiated the primary role of these cross-cultural communication corridors, which seem to have thrived particularly in the second half of the first millennium CE (FIGURE 5.5).<sup>6</sup> The accurate mapping of the petroglyphs has shown the great historical relevance of this phenomenon: they are an invaluable witness to artistic, ethnographic, religious and economic issues that are otherwise nearly unknown.

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(“rediscovered treasures”) tradition see Gyatso 1992, 1996. I would like to make clear that, even if this hypothesis is correct, we still should not think in terms of a one-way flow of ideas, but rather of a polycentric world that exchanged experiences, viewpoints and reflections on topical issues, as was the case in the development of Buddhist Tantrism, mysticism and esotericism. Archaeological evidence from more or less coeval sites that are quite distant from one another helps to establish a sort of horizontal sequence, thus significantly expanding the historical framework of certain central concepts of Buddhist thought (see below page 127).

<sup>6</sup>I refer the reader to the series *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Reports and Studies* 1–3, where different stages and aspects of the research, along with additional bibliographic references, are carefully recorded.



**Figure 5.5** Isolated boulder with Buddhist graffiti; Upper Indus Valley (Pakistan). After HAW 2006: fig. p. 8.



Iconographic and epigraphic records in particular offer a synoptic glimpse of the cross-cultural configuration of these road networks as well as their human dimension,<sup>7</sup> thus allowing us to see the flow of concepts and visual forms that moved and were channelled along these routes.

Given the geographical proximity to the Upper Indus area, we may reasonably assume that, during the late antique period, Swat/Uḍḍiyāna was still connected to a trans-regional system of trade—as were other adjacent regions like Chitral—, and that its pilgrimage routes, too, were not obsolete, despite the fact that Buddhist settlements had diminished in both number and wealth. Thus, it may be further inferred that the flowering of the rock sculpture in Swat—albeit intimately related to the specific sacred topography of the area—was part of the framework of a wider cultural and economic geography. If this was indeed the case, the physical and historical distance between northern Pakistan, Central Asia and the Himalayan countries is significantly reduced.

## **Changing Patterns: Some Indications from the Archaeological Records**

The above-mentioned considerations lead to the question whether, or how, the complex aesthetics of the rock sculptures might help in better interpreting the somewhat disjoint picture of their historical framework. While for the period under consideration literary and archaeological evidence unanimously attests to a general deterioration of the ancient Buddhist monuments, we cannot dismiss the possibility that both sources fail to reveal certain significant changes that may have accompanied, or followed, the crisis of the religious establishments.

Until now, the reasons and dynamics of this crisis have not been accounted for by either archaeological findings or the scanty literary sources that are still extant. Sparse evidence has been found to support the hypothesis that a natural catastrophe ravaged the country, which in turn

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<sup>7</sup>I would like to stress the multifarious aspects of this “graffiti culture”, which can be considered a true visual compendium of ritual practices, social habits, artistic conventions and extemporaneous issues. It brings together such extremes as, for example, pious devotional acts and profane “pornographic” scenes (Sander 1989: 123–126, pl. 214). This uneven stratification of meanings, of artistic morphology and syntax, and of cultural contexts from perspectives both synchronic and diachronic is what offers us an unmatched glimpse into real life.

generated severe political and economic fallout.<sup>8</sup> A concomitant factor in the events can be seen in a shift of the bulk of traffic to a system of routes passing through Afghanistan (Kuwayama 2006: 125).

However, excavations at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, the ancient Bazira of the classical sources, have provided us with new pieces of information that invite us to reassess already collected archaeological records with a new critical approach. In trench BKG2, in an area partly occupied by buildings of uncertain function (religious?),<sup>9</sup> the layers corresponding to the Hindu Shahi period bear witness to a noticeable change in architectural techniques and materials. The large-scale use of brightly painted, thick clay coats has been attested not only by remains still *in situ*, but even more by plentiful traces in the archaeological layers they melted into. In some cases, these coats of clay were used to even out the surfaces of rough masonry. This workmanship was in sharp contrast to the accurate, clean-cut stone masonry that, though still in use in the Hindu Shahi period, seems either to represent the survival of earlier traditions observed in the lower settlement prior to the crisis of Period IX (see FOOTNOTE 8), or else was distinct for some functional reason.<sup>10</sup>

A transition towards decreasing the use of cut stone and increasing the use of clay and/or stucco was also observed in sacred Buddhist areas. We

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<sup>8</sup>Just recently, in 2005 and 2010, we have had tragic demonstrations of what earthquakes and floods can inflict on these areas. For the case in question, a relevant testimony comes from the urban settlement of Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, still under excavation, where Period IX (which can be dated to around the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE) marks a severe decay of the lower settlement after episodes of collapse and floods (Callieri 2010, esp. 375–377; I refer to this article also for its relevant bibliography on this site). Earlier, probably around the 4<sup>th</sup> century CE, analogous episodes can be inferred from the archaeological record (see page 119).

<sup>9</sup>Filigenzi in Callieri *et al.* 1992: 37 ff.; Filigenzi 2010c: 411.

<sup>10</sup>By contrast to the above-mentioned shift in building techniques, a magnificent religious and military stone architecture flourished in Swat under the Shahis. The defence systems (forts and watchtowers built on high places), still clearly visible in Swat, are generally assigned to the Hindu Shahi period, although they might go back to earlier (Turki Shahi) phases (Olivieri 2003). With regard to the religious architecture, we now have concrete evidence in a Brahmanical (most probably Vaishnavite) temple recently discovered on the top of the hill in Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, which is dated to the Early/Turki Shahi period (Callieri 2005; Filigenzi 2005). A further piece of evidence is probably represented by the remains of a monumental platform first documented by Foucher (1901: 167, fig. 31) at Hati Dara, which shows significant similarities to the Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai temple (Olivieri and Vidale 2006: 119–120; Filigenzi 2010c: 413; Olivieri 2010a: 359).

still have a blurred picture, however, of the causes, effects, and time of this process. Although it is recorded that stucco and clay are the predominant media in “late-Gandharan” Buddhist sculpture, we still know all too little about their coeval architectural settings. The new trends in sculpture and architecture pose challenges to archaeological interpretation, since their real magnitude and impact are extremely difficult to discern. In most cases, changes are only insufficiently documented by partial additions that overlap existing layouts. Moreover, as the durability of built structures depends on the durability of their materials, old installations in stone have often survived where later additions in more short-lived materials have almost disappeared. Without regular maintenance clay, stucco and wood decay rapidly. Therefore, one must remember that very little of any later additions and repairs in such materials would be able to survive centuries of total abandonment in a country that long ago acquired a different religious identity. It is clear that even the most careful investigation will not be able to fill all the gaps completely. Hasty excavations, often carried out in the framework of rescue archaeology, further aggravate this problem. Under such circumstances, traces of ephemeral buildings that may have succeeded the solid masonry of earlier times can easily go unnoticed or be interpreted wrongly. This can be seen in the case of the rescue excavation of the sacred area of Nawagai, where the remains of the latest phase were only summarily recorded, and attributed to “non-believers” since they were not in keeping with the traditional “Gandharan” standards (Qamar 2004, esp. 185).<sup>11</sup>

Given the paucity of accurate archaeological records, the data provided by the excavation of the sacred area of Butkara I, identified by Tucci (1978: 60–61) with the splendid Talo/Tolo visited by Songyun, is particularly valuable. The long archaeological sequence, stretching from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE to the 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century CE, and carefully recorded by Domenico Faccenna, allows a focused investigation into both the continuity and the changes in sculptural and architectural patterns.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>The poorly built masonry building leaning against the *stūpa*, attributed by Qamar to a phase of de-sacralisation of the site, actually closely resembles the chapels of the late phase at Shnaisha. Here, the presence of a stele representing Maitreya in one of the chapels clearly testifies to a Buddhist continuity (Qamar and Ashraf Khan 1991: 185, 188; pl. 13; Filigenzi 1999: 11); for a different interpretation, see Abdur Rahman 1993: 20, 22 and plates XXa, XXVIIb.

<sup>12</sup>I refer to Filigenzi 2010b: 389–391 esp. for a more detailed summary of the cultural, chronological, and historical questions connected with this site.



**Figure 5.6** Stucco sculpture in situ (B 3798); Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan). After Faccenna 1980–81: part 5.1, pl. 85b.

At Butkara I, five main building periods have been detected, corresponding to the construction and four successive re-constructions of the main *stūpa* (GSt 1–5). A shift towards plastic materials and related techniques can be observed on a large scale during the period of GSt 4 (end of 3<sup>rd</sup>/early 4<sup>th</sup> century to 7<sup>th</sup> century CE), especially in Phase 5 of it (5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Faccenna 1980–81: part 1, 77–120; part 3, 649–64, 676–693, part 5.1, pl. 85; see also FIGURE 5.6).

Of particular interest is a chronological clue provided by a secondary deposit of coins in one of the niches of GSt 4, which accompanied the repositioning and restoration of a relief panel sealing the niche that had probably fallen down. This episode, which occurred in Phase 4, took place in the framework of extensive building and restoration activity after widespread collapse and damage, most probably caused by an earthquake (Faccenna 1980–81; part 3, 635). The *terminus post quem* for Phase 4 is offered by the latest coins in this deposit, which were issued by Kavād 1 and dated by Göbl to about 356/360 CE.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup>See Faccenna, Göbl and Khan 1993, esp. 106; I also refer to this article for the cir-

Thus, the large-scale renewal of the site reveals a departure from earlier artistic traditions, and thanks to a reliable archaeological sequence, we can place this event within a specific time span.

Indeed, the archaeological evidence shows that in both Butkara I and Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, the increasing use of media such as clay, and most probably wood, can be connected with periods of economic distress, which might well have necessitated cheaper building options using low-cost materials and processing techniques. Nevertheless, it must also be taken into consideration that there may have been other triggering factors, or at least concomitant ones, such as the spreading of new ideas and tastes radiating from Afghanistan, Southern Central Asia and Xinjiang, where the large-scale use of clay and wood in architecture, architectural decoration and sculpture was a deeply rooted tradition.

Certainly the closer connection of Uḍḍiyāna to Afghanistan, prompted by the changes in the geo-political scenario and the entering of Swat (or at least a part of it) first into the orbit of the Hunas, and then into that of the Shahis of Kabul (Filigenzi 2010c: 409 ff.), must have contributed to an easier flow of ideas, models and techniques.

Thus, we can infer from the available evidence that the trend of artistic and architectural transformations we detect at various times in late antique Uḍḍiyāna is to be regarded as a multifarious phenomenon, not only one of an economic nature but also (and even more?) one of cultural relevance.

In particular with relation to Buddhist art, one must recognize that in the above-mentioned areas strong and captivating artistic forms developed exactly thanks to the malleable materials such as clay being used. The Central Asian artistic expression based on coroplastics contributed significantly to a new aesthetics in Buddhist art, with gigantism, pathos and polychromy as distinctive features. On the other hand, this new aesthetics is evidently patterned on important developments in Buddhist heuristics, gnoseology and praxis. The balanced match of form and content gave birth to a new and widely-shared indexicality, of which we only

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cumstances of the discovery. Here I would like to limit myself to remarking that the substantive argument of the coins' dates perfectly matches the chronology that had already been proposed by Faccenna (1980–81; part 3, 635) on the basis of the entire archaeological evidence. For a summary, see Filigenzi 2010b. I take the occasion here to amend a mistake on p. 392 of that article, where it should say that the deposit of coins dates to the construction of Phase 4, not GSt 4.

know disconnected parts. A broader reflection on cultural contexts is indeed an unavoidable challenge that cannot be answered either by excessive localism of studies, or by the one-to-one relationship between iconographic lemmata and specific literary references.

Nevertheless, for the time being steps in this direction must be taken by means of working hypotheses. As for late antique Uḍḍiyāna, one of these concerns the aesthetic dimension of the Buddhist monasteries. If, as archaeology shows, the stone used in the old architecture and sculpture was largely replaced by other, more perishable materials, comparative diachronic analysis lets us conjecture that the appearance of the new buildings, with either civil or religious functions, must have closely resembled the appearance of buildings in rural Pakistan still being built today, or even more closely specifically Buddhist architecture, such as we know from the Himalayan countries.<sup>14</sup> However, with respect to the latter, the constructions in late antique Uḍḍiyāna were probably on a much smaller scale since, as mentioned above, the new trends were mostly reflected in minor additions to pre-existing monuments. On the other hand, at the synchronic level we can only investigate other incomplete archaeological evidence. The closest comparisons might be offered by Afghanistan, provided we are able to get fresh data. If we do, we will also have a better chance of noticing previously overlooked details in earlier documentation. Encouraging clues are being provided by recent discoveries in Mes Aynak.<sup>15</sup> Among the many exceptional finds from this site, special mention should be made of wooden architectural elements, decorated in relief, that

<sup>14</sup>As for Pakistan, traces of prestigious public architecture in wood and clay are represented by wooden mosques, of which relatively few samples survive, especially after the wave of modernisation that flowed into the country in the 1980s and '90s. A project to document surviving wooden mosques was carried out in the 1980s by the Islamic team of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, under the directorship of Umberto Scerrato (see Scerrato 1980, 1981, 1983). The project has recently been resumed under the supervision of Maria Vittoria Fontana ("*The Wooden Mosques. An IsIAO Architectural Project in Pakistan*"); a further project ("*The Wooden Artifacts. An IsIAO Ethnographic Project in Pakistan*"; director Ilaria E. Scerrato; IsIAO/Comitato Ev-K2-CNR; funding institution: SEED [Social, Economic, Environmental Development]) is presently documenting the traditional wooden architecture in Baltistan. For a recent re-examination of the wooden architecture in the Hindukush/Pamir area, see Schadl 2009, esp. n. 44.

<sup>15</sup>The site of Mes Aynak lies in Logar, about thirty kilometres south-east of Kabul. A former al-Qaida training camp, it is home to ancient Buddhist settlements of astonishing beauty (provisionally dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century), which were probably founded there due to the site's mineral wealth. As evidenced by abundant archaeological traces, the

still preserve abundant traces of a polychrome painted finish. Wood is an essential component in clay architecture, but its use in ancient times generally remains a guess. In addition to customary practices of reuse, the preservation of wooden artefacts in archaeological contexts is hampered by their perishable nature itself. As an organic material, wood normally decays under combined biological and chemical degradation when buried in earth. Only in desert sites, such as in Xinjiang, does the extremely dry climate allow the long-term preservation. In other areas — including Swat — we have little more than impressions or negligible fragments. However, thanks to these crucial finds from Mes Aynak we can now reduce the distance between reality and hypothesis (FIGURE 5.7).

Thus, despite the negative or incomplete evidence, we can try to imagine what the surviving monasteries of late antique Uḍḍiyāna looked like, with their smooth lines of clay, the bright colours of the surfaces, and the visually powerful interplay of architectural elements in wood.

It is difficult to assess how many of these monasteries there were. As discussed above, in comparison with the earlier centuries, the number had certainly been much reduced. The natural disasters and economic distress that seem to have severely affected the network of Buddhist settlements in Swat must have led to efforts and resources being concentrated on a small number of sacred areas that, for one reason or another, were considered of particular significance. We know, for instance, that important sacred areas such as Saidu Sharif I were never rebuilt, whilst we have signs of activity in several others, like Butkara I (Faccenna 1980–81: part 1, 11 ff., part 3, 635), Shnaisha (Qamar and Ashraf Khan 1991; Abdur Rahman 1993), Malam Jabba (Ashraf Khan 1993: 40–44; Rafiullah Khan

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resources of the site (the world's second-largest copper reserve) were already exploited in ancient times, likely by the monastic communities themselves. In 2007, a thirty-year lease was granted for the copper mine to the "China Metallurgical Group Corporation (CMGC)." Given the economic importance of this project (\$ 3.5 billion, with an expected revenue of \$ 880 million for the Afghan government even before production begins), the area is soon destined to become a giant open-cast mine. Racing against time, in 2009 the Afghan Institute of Archaeology, with the support of the *Délégation Archéologique Française*, launched a rescue excavation of this impressively large site, which had been explored only in part. Following an agreement with the CMGC and the Ministry of Mines, and thanks to Chinese and Afghan funds, the initial project has been extended until the end of 2012, although petitions have been launched to save the site. Except for some short summaries (Paiman 2010; AAVV 2011), the results of the excavations are still largely unpublished. I am grateful to my colleagues and dear friends Philippe Marquis and Nader Rassouli for their generosity in granting me access to the relevant documentation.



**Figure 5.7** Wooden architectural elements decorated in relief with polychrome painted finish; Mes Aynak (Logar, Afghanistan). Courtesy Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.



2011), and (to a more limited extent) Pāṇṛ I (Faccenna, Khan and Nadiem 1993: 130), to mention just the best-known examples.

But if for the monasteries this was a time of change and not only of mere regression, less static interpretations of Buddhist monasticism might be explored as well. One must wonder whether and how the monastic system itself was affected by internal changes. Dissenting or alternative views may have led some of the Buddhist intelligentsia to different practices or a hermit way of life away from the monasteries, thus laying the groundwork for the *siddha* path.<sup>16</sup> Once again, the extent to which this social phenomenon can be traced through archaeological records depends on the receptiveness of our investigative tools.

## **Culture of the Valleys and Culture of the Mountains: The Interaction between Buddhism and “Kafir-Dardic” Tribes**

The overwhelming visibility of Buddhist remains, though of undeniable historical relevance, puts us at risk of pushing various socio-cultural realities into the background, realities that nevertheless may have had a noticeable impact on certain philosophical ramifications of key Buddhist doctrines and practices.

In recent years, a number of rock shelters have been documented in Swat in the framework of the “Archaeological Map of Swat Valley” project (AMSV). Their function—certainly multi-faceted—is yet to be fully understood. In most cases they seem to have had some sort of ritual purpose, probably connected to pastoral communities living in the mountains or at the edges of the valleys (Olivieri and Vidale 2006; Olivieri 2011, with bibliography). The graffiti and paintings that often decorate these shelters, though distributed over an extremely long period of time—namely, from the Bronze Age to circa the 15<sup>th</sup> century CE—fit into a coherent system. In relation to the dominant artistic culture of the valleys, this system evidently represents a parallel visual code, with its own syntax and social interactions, as well as a stock of knowledge, rituals, and religious and mystic beliefs.

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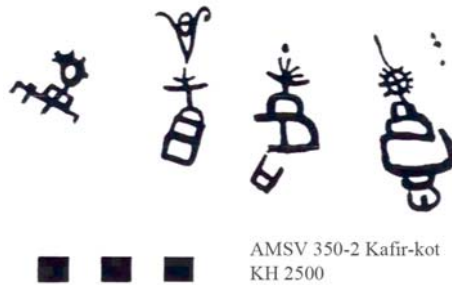
<sup>16</sup>Though based on somewhat different reasons, similar considerations have recently been expressed by Kurt Behrendt (2010).



**Figure 5.8** A possible shamanic representation. Lal-kamar site (Swat, Pakistan). After Olivieri 2011: pl. 5.3.



**Figure 5.9** Gigantic anthropomorphic rock. Ghirai (Swat, Pakistan). After Olivieri and Vidale 2006: fig. 45.



**Figure 5.10** Rock paintings showing elements of Buddhist architecture. Kafir-kot 2 (Swat, Pakistan). After Olivieri and Vidale 2006: fig. 38.

Recurring patterns in rock paintings, in particular dominant anthropomorphic figures with outstretched fingers, have been associated with magical or shamanic practices of trance or ritual death (FIGURE 5.8). Having already appeared in the Bronze Age, these pictograms survived in later paintings with only slight modifications (Olivieri 2010b: 21). Furthermore, most of the painted shelters are not meant for standing visitors—the spaces are so small that a person can barely sit inside—and so seem to have served the purpose of hermitage and/or some sort of initiation rituals (Olivieri and Vidale 2006: 125; Olivieri 2011: 142). It is interesting to note that, in a way not very dissimilar to the Buddhist rock sculptures of Late Antiquity, the shelters generally display a strong sense of geomantic harmony, which translates into a symbolic interpretation of the rocks and the surrounding landscape; occasionally, they may have had anthropomorphic or zoomorphic shapes, thus appearing to be “gigantic images sculpted by nature” (Olivieri and Vidale 2006: 141; figs. 37, 45; Olivieri 2011: 142; pls. 6–7; see FIGURE 5.9).

Evidence of winemaking in historical times, in the form of wine presses, adds a further element of cultural identity to the archaeological record connected to the users of the shelters. Just for the sake of convenience, we can call these people “Kafir-Dardic”, a generic name that is perhaps unsuitable.<sup>17</sup>

Buddhist symbols can occasionally be found in the rock paintings and graffiti (FIGURE 5.10). According to Olivieri (2011, esp. 138–141), they re-

<sup>17</sup>For the meaning and implications of this name, I refer the reader to Tucci 1977; Jettmar 1986; Klimburg 1999; Cacopardo and Cacopardo 2001.

flect perhaps not direct Buddhist inspiration, but rather how these “Kafir-Dardic” tribes, living at the edge of urban areas and their rich agricultural belt, saw Buddhism. They must have had some sort of economic ties to the Buddhist settlements, probably supplying them with forest products.<sup>18</sup> Thus, although not integrated in the dominant culture, these mountain people may have regarded the Buddhist establishment as a source of welfare, and accordingly recorded it in their symbolic visual narrative. Nevertheless, another hypothesis (not necessarily in opposition to the first) is that the painted shelters were used by various people of different creeds (ibid. 139).

In any case, the contiguity of the two worlds appears, thanks to the recent archaeological surveys and studies, to have entailed a meaningful and effective interaction. This adds credit to Tucci’s sharp intuitive ideas about the role of aboriginal beliefs and praxis in the development of the late forms of Buddhism (Tucci 1977: 68–69).

Whether or not the graffiti and paintings depicting Buddhist symbols in rock shelters may be read as specific markers, the lack of such evidence is nevertheless a mere and inconclusive *argumentum e silentio*. We cannot exclude, in fact, that at least some of these shelters may have been used as retreats by Buddhist hermits who had totally or partly renounced cloistered monastic life.<sup>19</sup> In particular, close contact with the “parallel” culture of the mountain people may have conferred special features on a well-rooted Buddhist tradition of secluded meditative retreat, especially aspects of an asceticism closely connected to nature, magic and the supernatural.

The Buddhist practice of meditation, implicitly calling for remoteness and solitude, is actually better known from textual sources than material contexts. However, in recent years archaeological and art historical

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<sup>18</sup>Similar modes of interaction between Buddhist monasteries and (Dardic) tribes have been documented in modern-day Ladakh (Olivieri 2011: 138, n. 26).

<sup>19</sup>Of particular relevance to the question of hermitage is also the depiction, at several sites, of *trisūla* symbols and of a figure holding a *trisūla* (Olivieri and Vidale 2006, esp. 140; Olivieri 2010a: 359 and fig. 7). I would cautiously venture to read these as a reference to Shaiva hermitage practices, whose presence would be plausible in the cultural environment we are tentatively reconstructing here. In this regard, it seems opportune to recall the several hints, scattered throughout Tucci’s works, of the strong connection between Swat (as part of a broader area including Gandhāra, north Pakistan up to the Indus, central and eastern Afghanistan) and Shaiva philosophies (Tucci 1958: 283–284; 1963: *passim*; 1977: 68).

research has started assembling sparse pieces of material evidence, and cross-case analysis has now enabled the comparison of a few particular instances. While still only a small number, they are extremely interesting. In Swat, isolated retreats have been documented uphill big Buddhist settlements. They consist either of monastic cells (as in the case of Abba-saheb-china, Tokar-dara, and Nawagai) or of rock hermitages. Among these latter, worthy of special notice are the sites of Amluk in the upper Kandak Valley (Olivieri 2010a: 358 and fig. 3), Topialai near the Cherat pass (Olivieri and Vidale 2006: 149), as well as Nangrial and Tangu near the Ambela pass (Nasim Khan 2000).<sup>20</sup> Moreover, in places as distant as Haḍḍa in Afghanistan, Kara Tepe in Uzbekistan, and Qizil in Xinjiang, around the 4<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century CE secluded places existed within the monastic settlements that were devoted to meditation and particularly—as the painted decoration suggests—to meditation on death.<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, many other sites that are not so specific and therefore difficult to date—such as completely bare caves near monastic settlements (Fussman 2008: *passim* [see index, s.v. “Grottes”]; Olivieri 2010a: 358 and fig. 3; Callieri in print)—speak of a quite widespread practice whose exact relationship to institutional monasticism we do not know. This phenomenon is still poorly represented in the archaeological record and it is certainly underestimated. Nevertheless, the evidence in itself is sufficiently convincing to let us argue that if we understood it better, we would probably change our perception of the historical dynamics of Buddhism.

## The Cultural Context of the Buddhist Rock Sculptures

An integrated territorial analysis, to the extent that the circumstances in Swat have allowed, clearly shows that much can be hidden in the folds of

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<sup>20</sup>The Buddhist rock shelters of Nangrial have only recently been discovered (personal communication by L.M. Olivieri). As for the rock hermitage of Tangu, an element of extraordinary interest is its being decorated with polychrome mural paintings. The surviving fragment, showing a preaching Buddha flanked by two seated Bodhisattvas, has been attributed by Nasim Khan to the Gandharan horizon, although a somewhat later date seems more likely.

<sup>21</sup>On this topic, I refer the reader to Lo Muzio 2005: 486 ff., where other stimulating hypotheses of possible Gandharan antecedents are also suggested.

macroscopic evidence. The same applies to interpreting written sources, as for example Xuanzang's description of Uḍḍiyāna. The image of decay portrayed by his account conveys a notion of cultural stagnation, if not regression, a fact that we usually read literally and take for granted without questioning the possible cultural bias of the witness.

For instance, vague hints by Songyun about Uḍḍiyāna's fame for magic spells (Beal 1976: LXXXIX, XCVIII) are reinforced by Xuanzang, who speaks of Uḍḍiyāna monks no longer understanding the Buddhist doctrine and (as we infer from the context) practising magic (*ibid.* 120–21). Such statements can be taken as corresponding to the true state of affairs, but they could also be a clue that a different form of Buddhism—that is, a proto-Vajrayāna—had evolved in the region. Evidence in support of the latter hypothesis is provided by the rock sculptures, which, in addition to the general characteristics discussed above, conform to a new iconographic lexicon in which we can detect the formative stage of a Vajrayanic—or proto-Vajrayanic—orientation of the doctrine.

## **Uniformity of Shades: The Embedded Tantric Meaning**

In his seminal work on Swat's antiquities, Tucci was surprised by the lack of any artistic manifestation expressing the “religious atmosphere which has permeated Swat ever since the 7<sup>th</sup> century”. Not even the rock sculptures, notwithstanding their chronological pertinence, were considered relevant, on the assumption that “none of them can be called Vajrayanic” (Tucci 1958: 284). Nevertheless, closer scrutiny calls Tucci's statement into question. Firstly, unrestricted access to the images must have influenced the choice of subject matter, which is generally designed to match the straightforward and unprotected open-air setting. Secondly, the deceptive lack of variety in the subjects, combined with the poor preservation of most of the sculptures, lets their innovative character pass initially unnoticed. However, a large-sample investigation has revealed new iconographic forms that are certainly connected to important doctrinal changes.

A glaring case in point is represented by a highly recurrent yet apparently “neutral” subject: Avalokiteśvara/Padmapāṇi. The overriding predominance of this figure led Tucci to the conclusion that the Bodhi-sattva must have had a special affiliation with the region. Possibly he



**Figure 5.11** Pensive Avalokiteśvara/Padmapāṇi with Gaṇeśa and Gandharva or Vidyādhara. Qal'a (Swat, Pakistan). Photo Neg. IsMEO CS L 17013/21a.

was even regarded as a sort of patron deity (Tucci 1958:322). This may be an accurate assessment, but it is clear that the function of the Bodhisattva—the great compassionate helper who frees the path of hindrances and protects travellers on their physical and spiritual journeys—makes



**Figure 5.12** Detail of FIGURE 5.11 showing Gaṇeśa. Photo Neg. IsMEO CS L 17013/17a.

him a divinity perfectly suited for guarding pilgrimage routes. Moreover, the dogma of transfiguring grace granted by Avalokiteśvara finds here a distinctive visual form that anticipates later Tantric formulations.

Of Tantric rituals aimed at removing obstacles on the way to the *bodhi*, some focus specifically on the acquisition of control over Vināyaka, the personification of hindering forces. In such rituals, we often see Avalokiteśvara not only intervening as a positive counterpart in the process of identifying and removing obstacles, but even performing the rite himself, thus turning the individual victory over the empirical Self into a cosmic event (Wilkinson 1991).

This particular function of the Bodhisattva is summarised with sophisticated simplicity in a relief at Qal'a. A pensive Padmapāṇi is seated on a throne supported by two lions; at the lower left, a small four-armed Gaṇeśa figure is portrayed. Above, to the sides of the Bodhisattva's halo, two small flying Gandharva or Vidyādhara figures are depicted. Every feature of the scene alludes to a victorious event—the leonine throne of the Bodhisattva, the subordinate position of Gaṇeśa, the glorifying presence of the Gandharva/Vidyādhara figures (Filigenzi 2000–2001: 258 ff.; see FIGURES 5.11 to 5.15).

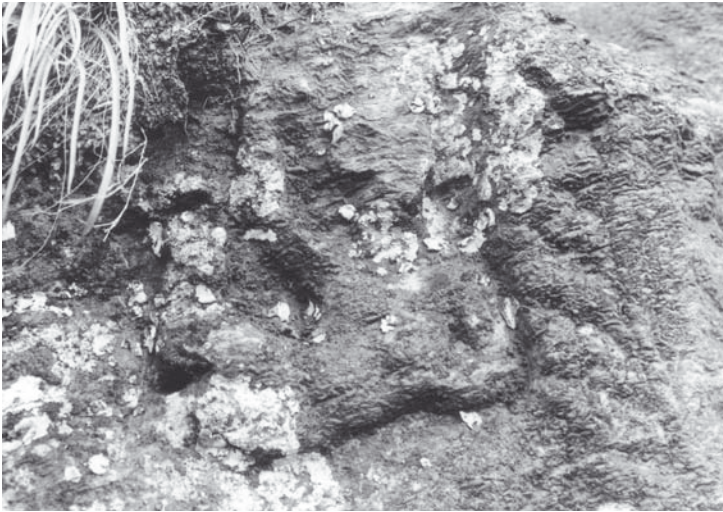
Once again, the underlying meaning of the subjects can only be grasped from a cross-analysis of the specific iconographic features of the Bodhisattva within the entire context. When considered together, they clearly attest to a leading role of Avalokiteśvara/Padmapāṇi in his soteriological aspect of *Mahākāruṇika*, in a way not dissimilar (and perhaps all too similar) to the descriptions in the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup>Whatever the exact date of the *Kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* (cf. Studholme 2002: 9–17), it is





**Figure 5.13** Detail of FIGURE 5.11 showing the lion throne. Photo Neg. IsMEO CS L 17013/20a.



**Figure 5.14** Detail of FIGURE 5.11 showing the Gandharva or Vidyādhara figure on the left side. Photo Neg. IsMEO CS L 17013/18a.



**Figure 5.15** Detail of FIGURE 5.11 showing the Gandharvī or Vidyādhari figure on the right side. Photo Neg. IsMEO CS L 17013/19a.

A distinctive “proto-Tantric” character also marks the iconographic type of the standing Vajrapāṇi. In his left hand, the Bodhisattva, in *varadamudrā*, holds a wavy *vajra* whose lower point rests on the small corolla of a lotus with a long stem that emerges from the ground. This unusual rendering of the lotus is most probably a conventional way of representing the *utpala* (FIGURE 5.16).

This representation conforms, in its general characteristics, to the iconographic type portrayed in a *sādhana* of an 11<sup>th</sup> century manuscript that has been published by Alfred Foucher, where an illustration of Vajrapāṇi, in *varadamudrā*, shows him holding both a *vajra* and an *utpala*, or blue lotus. In the text he is defined as “Vajrapāṇi of Maṅakoṣṭha in Oḍḍiyāna” (Foucher 1905: I, pl. VI, n. 5 and p. 193, n. 22). This precise

worth noting that basic concepts among forerunners to this text, such as the different forms Avalokiteśvara can assume in order to teach different kinds of sentient beings, are already expressed in the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra* (de Mallmann 1948: 41) and attested by iconographic sources as early as in Gandhāra (Taddei 1987: 353 and fig. 5).



**Figure 5.16** Standing Vajrapāni (MAI Inv. no.: V 257). Found near Arabut (Swat, Pakistan). Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif. Photo Neg. IsMEO Dep. CS Ng. R 6912/5.

geographical reference establishes a special connection between the Bodhisattva and Swat,<sup>23</sup> which may be the origin of this iconographic theme and its later variants, among which the manuscript illustration itself can be counted.<sup>24</sup>

Texts containing direct references to Vajrapāṇi and to the North-West of India (in particular Uḍḍiyāna) refer, albeit cryptically, to a part of the doctrine not revealed by the Buddha to the great assembly of the Śrāvakas and the Bodhisattvas, but to an intimate entourage, in which Vajrapāṇi plays the principal role. In fact, he seems to represent, in the sphere of the esoteric disciplines, the quintessence of magic science and the Lord of all mysteries.<sup>25</sup> This is based on his intuitive, mystic ability to duplicate the substantial identity of the body, voice and thought of the Tathāgata. He is, in a word, the expression of the fundamental unity of the Tathāgata with all human beings, a unity that can only be accomplished through a process of magic auto-identification.<sup>26</sup>

Of particular interest is the iconographic correlation of the figure of Vajrapāṇi in the rock sculpture and the image in the above-mentioned manuscript. In both, the *utpala* is not held in the hand of the Bodhisattva but is placed under his arm, as if the flower has not been cut but is still emerging from the earth. In another manuscript of the same collection (Ms. A. 15, No. 10; Foucher 1905: I, pl. II, n. 3), Vajrapāṇi is shown standing beside Akṣobhya, his spiritual progenitor, and again the lotus he is

<sup>23</sup>On the identification of Maṅgakoṣṭha as Dhanyapura/Dangram, see Tucci 1958:n. 24 (mentioning earlier theories), 288, 316.

<sup>24</sup>Despite some slight modifications, the iconographic model elaborated in Swat surfaces in various places and at other times, as for instance on a fragment of a silk banner from Dunhuang that has been dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Singer and Denwood 1997: fig. 81; see FIGURE 5.17).

<sup>25</sup>We see, for example in the *Ārya-Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, the close relationship of the *vidyārājas*—which can be briefly defined as personified magic, personified formulas—with Vajrapāṇi, to whose authority they are subject (Przyluski 1923: 311–312).

<sup>26</sup>Such doctrinal formulations appear in a more or less explicit form in the 7<sup>th</sup> century in texts such as the *Mahāvairocanasūtra* from China (Lamotte 1966: 152–54). Nevertheless, already the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin, in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, tells of a long journey taken by the Buddha Śākyamuni in central and southern India. During the second leg of the journey, in the North-West, the Buddha separated from Ānanda and was accompanied only by Vajrapāṇi (Przyluski 1914). Although the *Vinaya* is silent on the reason, it is difficult to consider it merely a coincidence that, within the Tantric tradition, Vajrapāṇi is said to have received the teaching and entrustment of the Vajrayāna from the Buddha in Uḍḍiyāna. See page 112.

holding in his left hand is still attached to roots rising up from the earth (or perhaps from water). It would therefore seem that a crucial aspect in the Vajrapāṇi iconography is, at least in certain contexts, this particular appearance of the lotus, which may point to special meanings of an esoteric nature (Huntington 1981: 51). This is indirectly indicated through the recurrent presence of this motif in the grottoes of western Deccan (Kahneri, Ellora, Aurangabad), which many scholars now believe are connected to the diffusion of Tantric Buddhism (Gupte 1964; J.C. Huntington 1981; S.L. Huntington 1999: 239–74).

Further testimony to Buddhism's vitality in late antique Uḍḍiyāna is an interesting relief that, if my interpretation is correct, represents a *siddha*, here visually and conceptually equated with a Bodhisattva (Filigenzi 2003; FIGURE 5.18). Although very eroded, the profile of the right hand suggests the presence of a small *vajra*, while the flattish object in the left hand seems to fit the shape of a *kapāla* perfectly. Above the haloed head is a sort of canopy adorned with circular elements, which can probably be interpreted as astral bodies. Two figures on either side—a man and a woman, also with haloes and standing on lotus flowers—carry objects that are no longer identifiable, but are compatible with the shape of a *vajra* and a *ghaṇṭā*.

In essence, *siddhas* represent a non-monastic ideal that is militantly anti-conventional. This matches the cultural environment of late antique Uḍḍiyāna well, as one can tentatively infer from the sparse but consistent evidence at our disposal.

The untrammelled and non-observant conduct seems to be a distinctive feature of the original profile of the *siddha*, although it is not infrequent for accomplishment to work through—or associate with—the monastic order. This is the prevalent tendency in the iconographic models of the *Mahāsiddha* in Tibet, for example, who is often shown in monastic garments, possibly within a framework of attempts to curb secularisation (Tucci 1995: 43–44; Snellgrove and Richardson 1968: 129–31). Nevertheless the Tibetan tradition itself accounts for the variety of extractions, methods and practices characterising the biographies of the *siddhas* precisely by pointing out the fulfilment of the Bodhisattva's vow to help living creatures of every level and condition, identifying with them and adopting their life-styles. The striking affinities between much later Tibetan works (see FIGURE 5.19) and the stele in question attest to the persistence of a model that seems to have originated in the homeland of the revered Indian masters. It was probably introduced to Tibet by means of portable



**Figure 5.17** Standing Vajrapāṇi from Dunhuang. After Singer and Denwood 1997: fig. 81



**Figure 5.18** An enthroned *siddha* with attendants (MAI Inv. no. V 165). Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif. Photo Neg. IsMEO R 5018/8.



**Figure 5.19** A Tibetan painting depicting Padmasambhava. After Rhie and Thurman 1991: 169.

objects such as bronzes and votive terracottas, whose production and circulation must have been far more extensive than has as yet been documented (Filigenzi 2003: 49–51; see also Erika Forte’s contribution in this volume, CHAPTER 6).

## The Ominous Feminine

I would like to conclude this brief survey of motifs in the Swat rock sculptures with an isolated example of a female divinity portrayed in the immediate aftermath of slaying a goat by decapitation (FIGURE 5.20). The subject matter shows a singular affinity with the Durgā iconography and, at the same time, an equally singular divergence from it. Its context is uncertain, although as far as its source is concerned, it seems to belong to the sphere of autochthonous beliefs. However, it should not be excluded that it might be a Buddhist adaptation.<sup>27</sup>

The stele was published by Tucci (1963), who saw in this variation on Durgā’s iconography “a peculiar local variety of some homologous religious entities” (ibid. 152), in particular of a female divinity worshipped by hunters as the mistress of the ibexes in the mountainous areas between Gilgit and Swat. The antiquity, persistence and diffusion of this cult is confirmed not only by the graffiti commonly attributable to hunter societies, in which the wild goat appears as one of the most recurrent iconographic motifs, but also by the unequivocal representation of a (female?) divinity standing on an ibex. Such representations have recently been documented in the rock paintings of Sargah-sar in Swat (Olivieri and Vidale 2006: 124 and fig. 17), and in Oshibat in the Upper Indus Valley (König 1994: 114, fig. 18). Clearly reflecting the same cult tradition are the wooden sculptures of Kafirstan, which show a woman (a goddess?) riding a goat (Edelberg 1960: 250, figs. 7–9; Tucci 1963: 154; Motamedi and Edelberg 1968).

One other curious example is from Nasogy, in the Upper Kulu Valley (Diserens 1986: 465, pl. Vb; FIGURE 5.21). This relief, carved in relatively recent times, decorates the wooden door of the temple of Shonkur Ṛṣi.

<sup>27</sup> An interesting case of inclusion of a “Durgā”—or Durgā-like goddess—in a Buddhist context is documented in the Late Period (7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century CE) of Tapa Sardar (Afghanistan). See Taddei 1992; Silvi Antonini 2005; Filigenzi 2008: 57; Verardi 2010: 346–347. Just recently, analogous evidence was also found at Mes Aynak, in a chapel that, judging from the stylistic features of the sculptural remains, can be assigned to the same chronological horizon as Tapa Sardar.





**Figure 5.20** Multi-armed goddess killing a goat (MAI Inv. no. V 497). Found in the area of Shandala (Swat, Pakistan). Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif. Photo Neg. IsMEO Dep. CS LA 6903/5.

Here Durgā is armed with a trident and is portrayed—whether seated or standing is difficult to say—unnaturally rigidly on her mount, whose tail she incongruously holds. The odd mixture of different iconographic



**Figure 5.21** Durgā on her mount; Shonkur Ṛṣi Temple, Nasogy (Upper Kulu Valley). After Diserens 1986: 465, pl. Vb.

schemes (Durgā Mahiṣamardinī, and the ancient goddess standing on or riding a wild goat) appears even more evident in the figure of the animal itself, which is meant to be a lion, as we can tell from the schematic mane clinging to the neck and the long tail, but which otherwise faithfully reproduces the features of a goat. Modest as it is in craftsmanship, the relief constitutes an important document, revealing at one and the same time a twofold persisting iconography: the female divinity reigning over the animals of the mountainous regions, and her time-honoured symbiosis with Durgā, the goddess whose characteristics are somehow—as indeed the local populations recognise—transformed into a cultured, “official” version.<sup>28</sup>

cial” version.<sup>28</sup>

We can find other traces of this world living side by side with the dominant Buddhist culture, tenuous and scattered as they may be. Actually a number of late Gandharan works attest to the existence of female deities whose realm is the ominous region beyond the domesticated enclosure

<sup>28</sup>For a similar case of the assimilation of a mountain goddess with Durgā in Swat, see Tucci 1977: 28. The case in point is of particular interest since it bears clear witness to the transmission of a pattern across different religious traditions: the cult of the mountain (Mount Karamar) and of an aboriginal *devī* (to which Mount Karamar was sacred), the later assimilation of the goddess into Bhīmadevī, the self-generated (*svayambhū*) image of the goddess, the survival of the cult under Islam in the form of a woman fakir or fairy whose name, Shehr Banu, corresponds to *Siṃhavāhinī*, an epithet of Durgā.



**Figure 5.22** An animal-headed goddess holding a beaker and a severed animal head. British Museum. After Zwalf 1996: No. 105, p. 123.



**Figure 5.23** A goddess holding a cup and a severed animal head. Fujii-Yūrinkan Museum, Kyoto. After Taddei 1987: fig. 9.

of the human societies, epitomised by their connection, and even translational identity, with the animal world (Taddei 1987: figs. 9–13; Kurita 1988/2003: II, figs. 483, 750; Zwalf 1996: n. 105, p. 123, with additional references; see FIGURES 5.22 and 5.23). Severed heads of animals and cups or beakers in these deities' hands indicate their demand for sacrifices, sacrifices that would possibly propitiate their ambiguous and potentially dangerous nature.

It is a fact that Uḍḍiyāna, besides being revered as the land where many great teachers of both the Vajrayāna and Bonpo traditions were either born or passed through, was also well known as a land of magic with special “female” connotations. This further reinforces the hypothesis that a fecund osmosis occurred between Buddhism and aboriginal beliefs. These latter were probably shared by a broad range of “mountain

peoples” from the Hindukush to the Himalaya, where they were further blended with Bon. To all appearances, time is giving us ever more cogent arguments supporting Tucci’s idea that this religious substratum in Swat, given its unformalised structure, was never uprooted by Buddhism (and not even by Islam, for that matter), but rather found its way into the Buddhist tradition itself by means of the Vajrayāna system (Tucci 1977: 68–69).

This last circumstance, besides offering a rather reasonable view of the social history of late antique Uḍḍiyāna, invites us to reconsider our interpretative models, which have been somewhat misled by the prominence of monumental evidence in the archaeological records. Indicators that are less visible but not less important, such as these “minor” forms of art converging at focal points in the physical and cultural geography, still have much to say about the changes, continuity and flow of ideas along these ancient routes.

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# A Journey “to the Land on the Other Side”

## Buddhist Pilgrimage and Travelling Objects from the Oasis of Khotan

Erika Forte

As one of the major centers on the Silk Road Khotan has attracted all sorts of travelers in the course of its history. The rich traffic of people and goods has left a strong multicultural imprint that can be observed in the archaeological material found at various sites of the oasis. Among this material there are some objects that are connected to a specific type of travel, the Buddhist pilgrimage, and that can be generally defined as “portable cult objects.” These objects circulated in Khotan when the place became an important stage on the pilgrimage routes between China and India. Their presence in the oasis represents an interesting body of evidence for the way iconography, style and subjects of Buddhist art were materially transmitted from one place to another and can provide some hints on the flow of the religious traffic in the oasis during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium CE.

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The research for this article has been conducted in the framework of the FWF Austrian Science Fund financed National Research Network *The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya* (S98) based at the University of Vienna and directed by Deborah Klimburg-Salter. I am grateful to Deborah Klimburg-Salter for her support and encouragement, and for the time she dedicated to correcting the draft of this article. Thanks also to Sarah Teevor, who proof-read the first version of the text. Finally, I wish to express my thankfulness to Anna Filigenzi for her many insightful, inspiring comments.

The quotation in the title refers to a sentence scratched in Tibetan on the southern wall of the temple cella E.i in Endere, left by some travelers who recorded their making of offerings in order to secure a safe journey and wishing that “they will come again to the land on the other side” (Stein 1907, vol. 2: pl. XII. Full transcription and translation of the writing by A. Francke in Stein 1907, vol. 1, Appendix B: 567–568).

## Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Khotan

Pilgrimage in Khotan is part of the larger phenomenon of Buddhist travel along the Silk Road which started with the diffusion of Buddhism in eastern central Asia and became more significant after it took root in China. Although we define the Buddhists who travelled on this network of routes as “pilgrims” and refer to their travel as “pilgrimage”, the two terms do not properly reflect the character of these travelers or their travel, because the “connotation of worship, longing and devotion” associated with these words represents only an aspect of the Buddhist pilgrimage, as observed by Zürcher.<sup>1</sup> The *pilgrims* who started their journey to India from the easternmost boundaries of the Buddhist world were in fact *qiufaseng* 求法僧, that is, monks (*seng* 僧) who travelled in search of the doctrine (*qiufa* 求法). Their primary aim was to obtain the original canonical texts and to learn the Buddhist doctrines practised outside China; the wish to pay homage to the holy places of Buddhism was complementary to this goal. Equally, the traffic of pilgrims in the opposite direction (from the west to China) was part of the same process of acquisition, as many of the travelling monks were involved in the transmission of the doctrine through teaching and translating the Buddhist texts.

While the places of the Buddhist quest were located in India, it seems that the direct traffic of pilgrims between China and India evolved only in the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>2</sup> In fact, before this period the centers on the Silk Road would act as primary sources for gathering Buddhist texts. They were not mere points of passage on the road to India, but rather the actual destinations. For Khotan this is clearly attested by evidence provided in the earliest record of Buddhist pilgrimage in Khotan found in the Chinese sources, that of the Chinese monk Zhu Shixing 朱士行 (d. after 282). Zhu Shixing started the journey to Khotan after 260 with the aim of acquiring the complete 25,000 verses version of the Sanskrit text of the *Prājñāpāramitāsūtra* that was available there.<sup>3</sup>

Without doubt, Buddhist travel to Khotan could become relevant only after an established, locally-supported Buddhist community which con-

<sup>1</sup>Zürcher 1972: 61–62.

<sup>2</sup>Kuwayama 2002: 140–142, and Kuwayama 2006: 107–108.

<sup>3</sup>We do not have the diary of Zhu Shixing’s journey, and the earliest account is in a biographic note from the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. For further details on Zhu Shixing’s mission see Zürcher 1972: 61–63, and Kumamoto 1999: 347–348.

ducted religious activities to a certain extent had grown there. The chronological placement of this process is however problematic due to the lack of clear documentation on the very early stage of Buddhism in Khotan.<sup>4</sup> While it is possible that some form of Buddhism was practised in Khotan from around the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, the earliest remains of monasteries and temples testifying to the flourishing of Buddhist activity in the oasis can not be dated before the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century.<sup>5</sup> The record of the pilgrimage by Zhu Shixing is important because it establishes, in concordance with the archaeological evidence, that by the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century Khotan had already become a significant place of “pilgrimage”, especially for Mahāyāna Buddhism.<sup>6</sup> From that period on, the traffic of pilgrims to Khotan continued—following the vicissitudes suffered by Buddhism in central and eastern Asia—in accordance with the impacts that historical and political events had on communication routes. What we know of this traffic is, however, partial as the only clear historical sources are the Chinese ones. Even if some data can be deduced about the movements of travelers coming from or going to the east, the traffic between Khotan and other countries is less documented, although some information can be found in the Chinese sources. Due to the lack of written documentation on any direct connection between Khotan and India, the similar type of exchange can only be traced through the archaeological material.

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<sup>4</sup>From the analysis of the Chinese sources Zürcher observes that a Buddhist monastic community in Khotan was established relatively late in respect to the introduction of Buddhism in China, namely not in the first two centuries CE (Zürcher 1990: 174–175 and Zürcher 1999: 13–15). The same conclusion is reached with different arguments by Yamazaki, who suggests that Buddhism became influential in the oasis only after the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, more likely between the 2<sup>nd</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Yamazaki 1990: 69–71).

<sup>5</sup>The dates for the remains regarded as the earliest are controversial. So far, evidence is offered by two temples in Karadong, the object of investigation by an ongoing Sino-French project, and dated by Debaine-Francfort to the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE (Debaine-Francfort and Idriss 2001), although it seems that the style of the paintings is more coherent with artistic production attributed to a later period; in particular it has been suggested that it may be compared to works from Afghanistan not earlier than the 5<sup>th</sup> century (D. Klimburg-Salter, personal communication December 2010). Two bronze heads found by the Otani mission are still considered the earliest datable Buddhist art products from the Khotanese area, although the proposed dates range from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> century: second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (Rhie 1999: 266–269), 3<sup>rd</sup> century (Kumagai 1958), or 3<sup>rd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century (Dainobu 1999: 410).

<sup>6</sup>The biography of Zhu Shixing reports the presence of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Khotan, this being the earliest dated reference of Mahāyāna in the oasis.

Between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> century more than fifty monks travelled officially between China and Khotan on pilgrimage.<sup>7</sup> Among those who left direct accounts on Khotan are Faxian 法顯 (ca. 400), Song Yun 宋雲 and Huisheng 惠生 (ca. 519), and Xuanzang 玄奘 (between 644–645).<sup>8</sup> The 7<sup>th</sup> century is the time of major traffic between China and India, which included, in addition to the religious journeys, a number of diplomatic missions exchanged between the two countries.<sup>9</sup>

With the second quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century a period of general change in the central Asian political arrangements began, resulting in a disruption of the normal traffic and a shift of routes. The Korean monk Hyech'o (慧超, or Huichao, 727) and the Chinese Wukong 悟空 (786–787) travelled

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<sup>7</sup>This is known from Chinese Buddhist literature, mainly the biographies of eminent monks and the catalogues of the translated texts. Yijing 義淨 (635–713) has left sixty short biographies of Chinese and Korean monks who went to India in his *Da Tang xiyu qiufa gaoseng zhuan* 大唐西域求法高僧傳 (“Great Tang Account on the Eminent Monks who Searched for the Dharma in the Western Regions”, T. 51 n. 2066). It can be assumed that the number of monks who travelled through Khotan was higher, since not all were included in official records. As underlined by Zürcher the records in these sources represent only the “tip of the iceberg” (Zürcher 1999: 18). For an overview on the Chinese pilgrims who went to Khotan between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century see Hironaka 2007, and on the traffic of texts and translators between China and Khotan in the 3<sup>rd</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century Kumamoto 1999: 346–355.

<sup>8</sup>Faxian set out from Chang'an 長安, travelled to Dunhuang 敦煌, then to Shanshan 鄯善 through the Gobi desert, then went northwest to Wuyi 烏夷 (or Yanyi 焉夷, probably Qarashar, see Deeg 2005: 82, n. 337), and came to Khotan by cutting through the Taklamakan desert. He stayed in Khotan for three months (*Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 “The account of the eminent monk Faxian”, T. 51 n. 2085, 857b–c, see Legge 1886: 16–20, or Giles 1923: 4–6 for English translations of the passages on Khotan). Both Song Yun and Huisheng set out in 518 from Luoyang 洛陽 to Uḍḍiyāna and Gandhāra, travelling through Shanshan, then followed the southern Silk route to reach Khotan (The account of the travel is preserved in the 5<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the *Luoyang jialan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 “Records of the monasteries from Luoyang”, T. 51 n. 2092, 1019a–1021c, see translation in Beal 1869: 179–181; Chavannes 1903: 393–397). Xuanzang arrived in Khotan coming from Khargaliq, on his way back from India. He stayed in the convent of the Sarvāstivādin school, where he spent eight months. He gives full details on the sacred topography of Khotan, describing accurately places of Buddhist worship around Khotan (*Da Tang xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, “Record of the Western Regions under the Great Tang”, T. 51 n. 2086, 943a–945c, tr. Beal 1884, vol. 2: 309–326; and *Da Tang Daciensi Sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳, “The Account of the Great Tripitaka Master of the Great Cien Monastery during the Great Tang”, T. 50 n. 2053, 251a–252b, tr. Beal 1911: 202–211).

<sup>9</sup>Though even in these cases, Buddhism acted as a catalyzing factor (Sen 2001, with regard to the 7<sup>th</sup> century).



through Khotan in this period.<sup>10</sup> At the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> century the expansion of the Tibetans into the Tarim basin led to the annexation of Khotan into their empire and caused a further change of dynamics in the movements of people. In the Tibetan sources the importance of Buddhism in Khotan and the role of the oasis as a propagating center is underlined, and especially evidence of an exchange of Buddhist monks between Khotan and Tibet can be detected. The presence of Khotanese monks and workmanship in Tibet is believed to be at the origin of *Li lugs* (the style of Li-Khotan), one of the painting styles identified in traditional Tibetan sources on the history of Tibetan art.<sup>11</sup>

The absence of contacts with China creates a gap in Chinese literature for historical information on Khotan in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Certainly China’s political absence in the Tarim and its loss of control over the routes of communication affected the steady flow of pilgrims through Khotan.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, it seems that in the period of the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century the tradition of Buddhist learning in Khotan underwent some changes.<sup>13</sup> The combination of all these factors suggests that Khotan became a less important destination of Buddhist pilgrimage, although Buddhism continued to be practised until the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and probably even a little longer. The available evidence for the 10<sup>th</sup> century testifies to intense exchange between Khotan and Dunhuang, where the establishment of a large Khotanese

<sup>10</sup>Hyech’o arrives in Khotan in 727; he records the presence of a Chinese temple there, the Longxingsi 龍興寺, administrated by a Chinese monk (*Wang Wu Tianzhu guo zhuan* 往五天竺國, “Account of the travel to the five regions of India”, T. 51 n. 2089, 979b, see Kuwayama 1992: 47, 193–194 n. 217). Wukong stayed in Khotan six months in 787 (Zhang and Rong 2008: 262; *Da Tang Zhengyuan xinyi Shidi deng jing ji* 大唐真元新譯十地等經記 “Record of a new translation of the Daśabhūmikasūtra during the Zhengyuan era of the Great Tang”, T. 17 n. 780, 716c, tr. Lévi and Chavannes 1895: 362–363).

<sup>11</sup>Tucci 1949, vol. 1: 276–277. A group of Khotanese monks fled to Tibet in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, after a Buddhist persecution had occurred in Khotan (Stein 1987: 35).

<sup>12</sup>Buddhism was also less powerful in China than it was previously due to the persecutions and restrictions enacted by the Tang emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840–846). Nevertheless this did not mean a complete interruption of pilgrimage. Also, depending on traveling conditions, pilgrims preferred other routes (i.e., the maritime route or that through Qinghai region). See for example the interesting evidence of a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim travelling at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (probably with a group of monks) in Galambos and van Schaik 2010.

<sup>13</sup>As can be learnt from the study of Khotanese documents from Dunhuang. See Kumamoto 1999: 356–360.

community sponsoring Buddhist activity is attested.<sup>14</sup> During the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the vitality of Buddhist travelling in Khotan (and on the Silk Road in general) was approaching its final stage and eventually came to an end with the conquest by the Islamic Qarakhanids at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>15</sup>

## Travelling Objects

The movement and transmission of Buddhist texts along the Silk road was accompanied by a similar transfer of sacred items: all that could serve public or private religious practice, such as images and relics, was transported to other Buddhist centers outside India.<sup>16</sup> In addition to the drawings and copies of famous sacred images from India,<sup>17</sup> “visual Buddhism” travelled also by way of portable cult objects. These include miniature shrines, small images and other portable icons, produced in various shapes and materials which share the characteristic of being relatively small-sized so that they can be easily carried whilst travelling. The function of the portable cult objects is not attached to a fixed place (a worship space in a temple, a monastery or a domestic altar) but is expressly meant for travelling, wherefore they are referred to here as “travelling objects”. During the first archaeological expeditions to central Asia carried out between the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, portable cult objects have been found and collected from different sites along the Silk Road. A number of them come from Khotan.

Of course, a complete catalogue with a full study of individual objects is outside the scope of the following pages. From the material that has

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<sup>14</sup>Zhang and Rong 2008: 196–223. The ties between the two oases were particularly strong also due to marriages between the Cao 曹 family ruling in Dunhuang and the Khotanese royals.

<sup>15</sup>The date for this event is commonly placed in 1006 (Kumamoto 2009).

<sup>16</sup>Particularly in China, where the demand for religious items from India reached its peak in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries and was one of the main aspects of commercial traffic between the two countries (Sen 2001: 23–28).

<sup>17</sup>As evidenced by the silk paintings found in Dunhuang (7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century). See Rowland 1947: 5–20; Soper 1964/1965; Klimburg-Salter 1982: 126–129. These were meant to be used by artists to reproduce images from the Buddhist motherland and thought to be faithful representations of the real images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas.



**Figure 6.1** Fragment of a stone portable shrine, H. 3,8 x W. 3,1 cm (after Stein 1907, vol. 2, pl. XLVIII, Kh.003g)

been published a sample has been extrapolated and observed as a category reflecting an important phenomenon of the Buddhist artistic production that contributed, along with religious texts, to the transmission and diffusion of themes, styles and iconographies of Buddhism as manifested in Khotan. Furthermore, by looking at the available data of this sample a first attempt will be made to acquire further evidence for the spatial and temporal patterns of Buddhist travel to Khotan.

The portable cult objects from Khotan can be roughly divided into two groups with regard to shape: single images of Buddhas or bodhisattvas, either in the round or as small plaques, and portable shrines with hinged leaves. These objects were executed in stone, wood, or metal.<sup>18</sup>

**Objects in Stone** Travelling cult objects in stone found in Khotan are represented by fragments of portable shrines that were originally in the form of a diptych or triptych, which through hinged leaves could be

<sup>18</sup>A small object in terracotta was published by Ol'denburg in 1898 and recently reported again by Elikhina (2008: 33). It is a moulded image of a sitting Buddha, ankles crossed, right hand in *abhayamudrā*, the whole body encircled by a halo with wavy rays emanating from the figure. Ol'denburg dated the object to the 4<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century and identified the central figure as Maitreya based upon the sitting position usually attributed to this Buddha. The actual location of the object is unfortunately unknown and further research is not possible. Other small objects in terracotta are among the antiquities recovered by Stein, Trinkler and Hedin, but it seems more likely that they were part of the decoration of larger statues rather than mobile cult objects. This does not exclude the possibility that a production of portable cult object in terracotta existed, but a closer examination of the excavated objects in the different collections would be necessary.



**Figure 6.2** Fragment of a stone portable shrine, H. 4,3 x W. 3,5 cm (after Rowan 1985, pl. 3). Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, III 4849

folded when carried. They are made of soapstone or schist, a stone typically available in Northwest India. The fragments in general belong to a body that seemed to have been produced in the area of Gandhāra-Kashmir.<sup>19</sup> Stone portable shrines did not survive in great number,<sup>20</sup> and examples that have been published form a small group within a late Gandharan production commonly attributed either to the 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> or the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>21</sup> At least five known specimens within this category were collected in Khotan (FIGURES 6.1 to 6.4 and 6.6).<sup>22</sup> From these examples

<sup>19</sup>Barrett 1990: 57; Behrendt 2010: 304.

<sup>20</sup>At least judging from the published pieces, but it could be possible that their number is higher than we know. Some examples have been exhibited and described in catalogues: see Lerner 1984: 40, cat. n. 10, Zwalf 1985: 101, ns. 133, 134, Lerner and Kossak 1991: 109–112, cat. ns. 78–81). A small overview on the stone portable shrines can be found in Rowan 1985, and, more recently, in Behrendt 2010. According to Behrendt some 44 examples are in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<sup>21</sup>There is some disagreement on the dating. In contrast to Barrett 1990: 57 (original publication: 1967), who advocates the later date, Lerner states that the portable shrine fragments can not belong to the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century. His analysis based on the style led him to conclude that these objects “fit comfortably into the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries” and are “a bridge between Gandharan and Kashmiri sculptural traditions” (Lerner 1984: 40). See also Lerner and Kossak 1991: 109.

<sup>22</sup>Three specimens were published by Stein: B.D.001.a (Stein 1907, vol. 1: 209, 220–221, vol. 2: pl. XLVIII), Kh.005 (Stein 1907, vol.1: 221–222, vol. 2: pl. XLVIII, now at the British Museum, inv. n. 1907,1111.1), Kh.003.g (Stein 1907, vol. 1: 220–221; vol. 2: pl. XLVIII, now at the National Museum of India, New Delhi); one comes from the Hoernle collection (British Museum: inv. n. 1902,1220.176, published in Zwalf 1985: 134). Another similar



**Figure 6.3** One leaf of a stone diptych, H. 8,3 cm (photo courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum 1902.1220.176.AN318672)

we can observe that the diptych, two leaves originally attached with a metal hinge, seems to have been the more common type. The two leaves are sculpted on both sides, external and internal. The external sculpture forms a large figure (as large as the complete shrine), while on the interior scenes from the life of the Buddha are arranged in framed registers. The number of scenes represented depends on the size and shape of the shrine. The iconography and the spatial arrangement follow rather faithfully the style of earlier Gandharan reliefs, but some iconographies have been recognized as belonging to a later, post-Gandharan, production.<sup>23</sup> As for the figures modeled on the exterior, three types generally recur: a crouched figure, carrying a basket on the shoulder (the “basket bearer”); the brahman Asita; an elephant with a rider.<sup>24</sup>

object is at the Museum für Asiatische Kunst in Berlin (inv. n. III 4849, Härtel and Yaldiz 1982: 61–62). The object Kh.003.h (Stein 1907: vol. 2, pl. XLVIII), which according to Stein may be a piece of a miniature shrine, is excluded for the moment from this list because it is too fragmentary.

<sup>23</sup>This is the case for the scenes of Siddhārtha’s haircutting (*cūḍāchedana*) and of the fasting Buddha. For the later chronology of these iconographies within the Gandharan production see Taddei 2003: 597–599, and Behrendt 2010.

<sup>24</sup>Rowan 1985: 253–258, also for the iconographical background of these types.

The stone diptych fragments found in Khotan cover all the three types: two fragments of a basket bearer-type (FIGURES 6.1 and 6.2), one example with Asita (FIGURE 6.3), and one fragment showing on the exterior a rider with a casket (FIGURE 6.4). For this last type, an example of how it might have appeared in its original state is offered by a complete item, but in ivory, found near Dunhuang (FIGURE 6.5). The object shares the same architecture as the stone portable shrines, but in a more elaborate way. While there is general agreement for a date of the late 7<sup>th</sup> to early 8<sup>th</sup> century for the ivory diptych, the presence of some “heterogeneous elements” (Soper 1965: 224) has challenged previous studies on the question of its geographical provenance and on whether the object could have been produced in central Asia.<sup>25</sup>

The last example of a stone portable shrine from Khotan is represented by a fragment of a triptych, built with a central leaf and two lateral leaves carved on the three sides (FIGURE 6.6). One well-preserved leaf of this type from Gandhāra is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Another nearly identical specimen is in the Peshawar Museum.<sup>26</sup> This shape of triptych seems to have been transmitted into the Tarim basin, and from there to east Asia, being “translated” into a different medium, wood, probably because of the availability of this material and of familiarity with a wood

<sup>25</sup>Soper, for instance, identifies typical Chinese characteristics, or “far Eastern treatment” of some elements of the diptych, and proposed that the piece is a copy of Chinese manufacture of an object of foreign origin, possibly taken to China from “Chi-pin” (Jibin 罽賓, here probably referring to Kapiśa (Soper 1965: 222); for the different interpretations among scholars of the term Jibin see Sen 2003: 246, note 6). Barrett considers the diptych an original made in Northwest India (Barrett 1990: 58). Rowan explains the possible Chinese characteristic and some Persian elements by attributing the place of manufacture to a location “on the frontiers of Kashmiri influence—a Buddhist frontier familiar with Gandharan diptych form and narrative cycles, Hindu style and Chinese decorative arts (...), located in the midst of trade routes” (Rowan 1985: 282). Many of these elements link the ivory diptych to the artistic production of Khotan, which would match the conditions described by Rowan as to the possible place of the diptych’s production. Soper already takes this hypothesis into consideration. The sculptural production from Khotan provides some material for stylistic comparisons. However, there seems to be a lack of evidence as to a tradition of ivory carving in Khotan. Ivory objects are, in fact, not common among the archaeological material of the oasis, and the few that have been found there are usually recognized as imported. It is interesting that all the authors, by analysing the “Gansu ivory diptych” from different perspectives, came to the same conclusions for its date.

<sup>26</sup>Metropolitan Museum of Art: inv. no. Kronos Collection 1994.489, dated to the 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century (Lerner 1984: 40–41, n. 10, Behrendt 2010: 318, fig. 13). The specimen at the Peshawar Museum is briefly described in Allchin 1972: 25, pl. IXb.



(a) Exterior H. 2,5 x W. 2,2 cm (after Stein 1907, vol.2, pl. XLVIII: Kh.005)

(b) Interior of FIGURE 6.4(a) (photo courtesy of Trustees of the British Museum 1907.1111.1. AN325550)

**Figure 6.4** Fragment of a stone portable shrine



**Figure 6.5** Ivory diptych found in Gansu, H. 15,9 x W. (open) 17, 3 cm (after Flood 2009: 56–57, Figs. 30–31)



**Figure 6.6** Fragment of a stone portable shrine, H. 4,7 x W. 2,7 cm (after Stein 1907, vol. 2, pl. XLVIII, B.D.001.a)

carving tradition that had long been established there, as can be seen from the architectural decorations from Niya and Loulan.<sup>27</sup>

**Wooden Portable Shrines** The wooden portable shrines preserved belong primarily to a production that has been recognized as typical for central and eastern Asia. It seems that most of the surviving items from the Tarim basin were found in the oases of the northern branch of the Silk Road, such as Kucha and Turfan. From the remaining examples, we can observe that both the diptych and the triptych formats were produced.<sup>28</sup> With few exceptions, frontal iconic scenes replaced the Gandharan style Buddha life narratives. The diptychs display single images (one per leaf), while in the case of triptychs the main image (usually a Buddha with side figures) occupies the central panel, and other accompanying figures are arranged in the side panels. An elaborate example of the latter type is the triptych from the Nelson Gallery, Atkins Museum, probably made in Turfan around the 9<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>29</sup> This format travelled eastward to China where it became, in a broad sense, standardized in shape and content, as

<sup>27</sup>It cannot be excluded that wooden portable shrines existed already in the Gandhāra-Kashmir area, but the archaeological evidence so far available has remained silent.

<sup>28</sup>Although fragments that seem to belong to triptychs are more numerous.

<sup>29</sup>Granoff 1968/1969: 82–87 proposes a date between the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, while Klimburg-Salter opts for a 9<sup>th</sup> century date (Klimburg-Salter 1982: 124, pl. 54). An earlier date, the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> to the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, is suggested instead in Giès and Cohen 1995: 396, n. 279.





**Figure 6.7** Wooden portable shrine, H. 12,5 x W. 20 cm (after Hermitage Museum 2008: 100, n. 53). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, GA-308

can be observed from a fair number of examples surviving in China, Japan and Korea, attributed to the Tang period onward (7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>30</sup>

Two specimens of wooden portable shrines were found in Khotan. One diptych (FIGURE 6.7) is in the shape of a lotus bud when closed, and the leaves are sculptured only on the interior.<sup>31</sup> On one leaf there is a Bud-

<sup>30</sup>See for example the foldable shrine property of the Kongōbuji 金剛峰寺 monastery in Wakayama, Japan, 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century, commonly believed to have been brought from China to Japan by the monk Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師, 774–835). Two other Chinese specimens were exhibited in 2010 at the Nara National Museum (Nara National Museum 2010: 91, 144; cat. n. 112, from a private collection dates to the 8<sup>th</sup> century; cat. n. 113 belongs to the Jakushōji 寂照寺 monastery in Mie Prefecture, Japan, and is dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>31</sup>The diptych is part of the Petrovskij collection and has been published in exhibition catalogues (1998, Tōbu Museum, Japan, and 2008, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg). To my knowledge no other study on this object exists beside the description given by Dr. J. Elikhina (Tōbu Museum 1998: 69, n. 42; Hermitage Museum 2008: 100, n. 53; Elikhina 2008: 32–33). The object does not have a clear archaeological provenance, but is reported to have been acquired in the city of Khotan. I am grateful to Dr. Elikhina who provided me with useful material for this and other objects from the Khotan collection when I visited the Hermitage Museum in March 2009.

dha in *abhayamudrā*, seated on a high throne with legs pendant, the feet (missing) rest on a lotus flower with two rows of petals pointing downwards.



**Figure 6.8** Fragment of a wooden portable shrine, H. 33 x W. 12 cm (after Tanabe 1999: 241, n. 245). National Museum, New Delhi, Har. 029 (99/6/6)

The Buddha is placed into a structure (a hut or a cave) with an oval-shaped entrance. The other leaf displays a bodhisattva in *padmāsana* sitting on a cushion over a throne covered by a cloth with chequered pattern and flanked by two lions. The bodhisattva is surmounted by an arch with volutes and carinated extrados. The right hand is missing; the left hand rests on the knee. The bodhisattva seems to wear a tunic with borders decorated by small parallel vertical lines (a fringe?). The peculiarity of this diptych is that it is carved out of two different materials: the shell is made of wood, while the images within it are made of a resinous material, *sandarach*,<sup>32</sup> which is quite rare among the products of Khotan and of the Tarim area in general, a fact that would suggest that at least the material may have been imported from elsewhere. The question still remains whether this rare and probably precious material was worked in Khotan or in other centers along the trade routes. It is also possible that the figures and the shell were worked separately in different places and at different times.<sup>33</sup> The bodhisat-

tva wearing a tunic links the image to a central Asian context, and it is common in the Khotanese area as well. Kucha and Turfan should also be considered as a possible source for the diptych since—judging from the number of wooden miniature shrines found around the two areas—it seems likely that some workshops for this kind of production existed there.

<sup>32</sup> *Juniper sandarak* (*sandarach* or *sandarac*). Elikhina 2008: 32.

<sup>33</sup> This hypothesis is suggested by Elikhina. She attributes the figurines to a Gandharan context (3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century) and the shell to a Kuchean manufacture dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> century (Elikhina 2008: 32, Hermitage Museum 2008: 100). Since *sandarach* is also a rare material within the sculptural production of Gandhāra, further arguments would be needed before taking the hypothesis into consideration.



**Figure 6.9** Fragment of a wall painting from Khadalik (after Stein 1921, vol. 4, pl. XI, Kha.i.C.0097)

The second example of wooden shrines from Khotan is a fragment that belonged probably to the central panel of a triptych (FIGURE 6.8). Its exact archaeological provenance is not clear, but it is probable that it was dug out of some ruins in the desert northeast of Domoko.<sup>34</sup> The object may have been produced in Khotan, since some elements in the design are common to other findings of the area. The composition, with a central, larger figure of a bejeweled Buddha in *dharmacakramudrā*, flanked by two standing bodhisattvas recalls a wall painting fragment from Khadalik (FIGURE 6.9), although there the bodhisattvas are represented slightly turned toward the central image, while in the wooden panel the figures are decidedly frontal.<sup>35</sup> The pattern of the halo, with

<sup>34</sup>Stein 1928, vol. 2: 1053–54, vol. 3: pl. XIV, Har.029. The object was acquired by Harding in Khotan and is now in the central Asian collection of the National Museum of India (Biswas 2009/2010).

<sup>35</sup>The painting comes from the shrine Kha.i (Stein 1921, vol. 4: pl. XI, Kha.i.C.0097). The connection with Khadalik was first noticed by Granoff (1968/1969: 84).

waves emanating from the center of the figure, is the same as found in some other objects collected in Khotan, for example, a fragment of a



**Figure 6.10**  
Fragment of a  
wooden halo from  
Khadalik (after  
Stein 1928, vol. 3,  
pl. IX, Badr.069)

wooden halo acquired by Stein (probably also from Khadalik) (FIGURE 6.10), or the fragment of a bronze relief in the Sven Hedin collection.<sup>36</sup> Khadalik is close to Domoko, and it is considered (together with Dandān-oiliq) to belong to the last, mature phase of Khotanese art. Chronologically this phase has been placed in the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century, but it is possible that it lasted longer, up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century. The carved panel can be dated, on the basis of style analysis, to the same context.<sup>37</sup>

**Metal Objects** A fair number of small images in metal, mostly in bronze, have been found in Khotan.<sup>38</sup> If we look at the Buddhist artistic production in Khotan, bronze is not among the most used materials, although there is textual evidence of metal-work

in Khotan.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from two large bronze heads,<sup>40</sup> the rest of the Khotanese bronze production is represented by very small to medium-small size figurines which might have been used as amulets or portable images. In general they are single-figure sculptures (Buddha or bodhisattva) cast in the round, seated or standing on a pedestal. When the pedestal is missing its presence is suggested by a tenon at the base of the image. The range of sizes is in average from 3 to 10 cm for the standing figures (by far the

<sup>36</sup>The wooden halo is described in Stein 1928, vol. 1: 113, and vol. 3: pl. IX, Badr.069. The bronze relief fragment is published in Montell 1938, pl. III, 5: it was purchased in Khotan town, but its archaeological provenance is unknown.

<sup>37</sup>Granoff 1968/1969: 84. Biswas 2009/2010 dates the piece instead to the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>38</sup>The term “bronze” here is intended for generic copper alloy, defined as such in the literature consulted.

<sup>39</sup>Rémusat 1820: 16 (“Les habitans sont habiles à fabriquer des vases de cuivre”). I am not aware of any archaeological investigation that could prove the existence of copper mining in the area, although there was local processing as proven by remains of moulds. In Chinese documents of the Qing 清 period (1644–1911) it is reported that copper was available in Aksu and Kucha, and that Khotan imported copper from there, while Khotan was rich in gold, with mines located in the Keriya area (Fletcher 1978: 72–73).

<sup>40</sup>These have been collected by the Japanese expeditions. See FOOTNOTE 5.



**Figure 6.11** Bronze figurine of Avalokiteśvara, H. 7,5 cm, (after Elikhina 2008: 34, fig. 8). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, GA-1078



**Figure 6.12** Bronze figurine of Avalokiteśvara, H. 4,5 cm, (after Elikhina 2008: 35, fig. 9). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, GA-1073



**Figure 6.13** Bronze plaque with Avalokiteśvara (State Hermitage Museum), H. 8,8 cm (after Elikhina 2008: 34, fig. 6). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, GA-1075



**Figure 6.14** Bronze plaque with Avalokiteśvara, from Kumrat (after Qi and Wang 2008: 82, fig. 3)



**Figure 6.15** Bronze seated Buddha with a halo of Seven Buddhas, H. 16 cm (after Giès and Cohen 1995: 107, n. 55). Museums of World Culture, Sweden, 1903.11.344

better represented category) and 7 to 15 cm for the sitting ones. European, Japanese and Russian collections include a fair number of these “figurines” and if one starts to collect and compare the available documentation, these artefacts may turn out to be a significant category in the panorama of Khotanese archaeology. As the workmanship of the examined sample is generally quite rough and the objects are rather small, little can be deduced on the basis of stylistic features. Because of this, Khotanese craftsmanship in bronze is considered poor and has not received much attention in scientific literature.<sup>41</sup> When objects demonstrate a high grade of elaboration in the workmanship, they are generally thought to be of foreign origin.

Some works (FIGURES 6.11 and 6.12) can be compared to the small gilded bronze single-figure altars common in Chinese Buddhist artistic production from the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> century. The shape of the pedestal in both cases is unmistakably Chinese, as is the style of the garments and the pose of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (Guanyin 觀音) in FIGURE 6.11. These works might have been imported or been inspired by Chinese products. Two identical plaques, also representing

<sup>41</sup>The most extensive discussion is in Montell 1938: 83–95. He notes that the craftsmanship of these objects is such that it is difficult to make a stylistic discourse.

Avalokiteśvara (FIGURES 6.13 and 6.14) can be regarded as Chinese in style and probably date to the Tang period (around the 8<sup>th</sup> century). One of the two plaques (FIGURE 6.13) was acquired by Petrovskij and is now preserved at the Hermitage State Museum, while the second one (FIGURE 6.14) is reported in Chinese publications as having been found at the site of Kumrabat (Karakash county).<sup>42</sup> It is highly probable that the example from the Petrovskij collection was found in the same area. The site of Kumrabat yielded the ruins of a Buddhist temple with mural paintings and stucco statues. Unfortunately the site, which has been assigned to the Tang period (7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century), was already in a very poor state when reached by the Xinjiang Archaeological Survey in 1990; only its existence and a small number of artefacts could be reported.<sup>43</sup>

Beside the connection with China, some other bronze findings have rather local elements, for example, a bronze plaque with a seated Buddha and seven small Buddhas depicted in the halo (FIGURE 6.15) and the standing figurine of Buddha in *abhayamudrā* holding a loop of his garment (FIGURE 6.16).<sup>44</sup> They both have striking similarities with the stucco production of Dandān-oiliq: especially the standing Buddha which is nearly identical to the small Buddhas decorating the halo of a larger image from temple D.II in the treatment of the



**Figure 6.16** Bronze figurine of a standing Buddha in *abhayamudrā*, H. 9 cm (after Hermitage Museum 2008: 79, n. 32). The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg

<sup>42</sup>Elikhina 2008: 34.

<sup>43</sup>Khotan Survey 2004: 21; Li Lingbing 2006: 58.

<sup>44</sup>The plaque was collected in Yotkan by S. Hedin and is in the National Museums of World Culture, Sweden, inv. n. 1903.11.344.A-C (Montell 1938: 84, 107; pl. I,1a-c; Giès and Cohen 1995: 107, n. 55). The standing figurine of the Buddha in *abhayamudrā* is made of two separate parts joined together. Originally a base or a pedestal must have been part of the whole. The figurine is now at the State Hermitage Museum, Petrovskij collection, inv. n. GA-1071. Its archaeological provenance is unknown; probably it was acquired from a local market in Khotan as were many objects from this collection. See Hermitage Museum 2008: 79, n. 32; Elikhina 2008: 35 (identified there as a Vajrapāṇi).

hair, the shape of the eyes and the folding of the upper garment (FIGURE 6.17).<sup>45</sup> The same facial features can be found in the terracotta from Yotkan as well, thus the latter may be regarded as a “marker” for a local product.

A find that is unique in the panorama described above is a statue unearthed in 1989 in the district of Domoko (Damagou 达玛沟, Chira County; FIGURE 6.18). The image represents a Buddha in *vajraparyāṅkāśana* performing the gesture of *dharmacakramudrā* with the small finger of the left hand touching the tips of the thumb and the index finger of the right hand. The left hand holds a corner of the *kāśāya*. The right shoulder is left bare and the *kāśāya* is folded in regular, symmetrical pleats on the left shoulder. Eyes and *ūrṇā* are inlaid with a white metal (probably silver). The Buddha sits on a lotus with its petals turned downwards and resting on a square throne, where an inscription in Sanskrit is incised. The inscription does not bear a date; its content is a devotional statement and lists the names of donors belonging to the same family. The script has been recognized as an early variant of Śāradā (proto-Śāradā). According to v. Hinüber, who studied the inscription, some of the names of the donors are common to those from the Gilgit area, while the script cannot be earlier than the 7<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>46</sup>

While images of similar style are rare among the archaeological material of the Tarim basin (the only image to my knowledge is the one found in Khotan), they appear quite often in private and public collections of Himalayan art, and their place of production is commonly identified with the areas of Kashmir, Gilgit and Swat. Palaeographic research in the last decade has provided further evidence for the dating of a large group of bronzes bearing dedicatory inscriptions in proto-Śāradā scripts, with dates and names of donors. This production is mainly connected to the Palola Śāhi Dynasty, settled in the Gilgit valley from circa the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century CE.<sup>47</sup> These studies have helped to establish a firmer chrono-

<sup>45</sup>The site of Dandān-oiliq is assigned to the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century, or even up to the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Gropp 1974:41–42). A complete agreement on the dating of the sites and consequently on the archaeological material from Khotan has not yet been reached. See for example the differences in the chronology of Gropp (1974:41–42) and that of Williams (1973:109–112).

<sup>46</sup>The statue is not from an archaeological context. It is currently on display at the Khotan Museum. For the study of the inscription see v. Hinüber 2004:64–66.

<sup>47</sup>On the Palola Śāhi see Jettmar 1993 and the studies by Fussman 1993, and v. Hinüber 2004. On the statues see v. Schroeder 2001, vol. 1:62–67, pls.19–24.





**Figure 6.17** Stucco relief from temple D.II, Dandān-oiliq (after Stein 1907, vol. 2, pl. LIV)

logical frame for a production that extends to adjacent areas, i.e., Kashmir and Western Tibet, up to the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

If not for the data provided by the inscription, the piece from Domoko could well find a place among other Buddhist bronze statues from Northwest India. The similarity to the Buddha in *dharmacakramudrā* in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, or to a statue of Buddha from a private collection with an inscription in Sanskrit and Tibetan, dated to 700–725, has been suggested in previous studies; on the basis of such comparisons, a date of the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century has been proposed for the piece of Domoko.<sup>48</sup> A group of bronzes bearing dated inscriptions and manufactured probably in the Gilgit ateliers in an earlier period (end of 6<sup>th</sup> to beginning of 7<sup>th</sup> century) offers other elements of comparison: for example, the treatment of the *kāśāya*, the symmetrical arrangement of the pleats over the left shoulder and the facial features of both the Buddha donated by the monk Ratnacittin in the year 70 (FIGURE 6.19), and the seated Bud-

<sup>48</sup>Patry Leidy 1997 and Heller 2001. The Buddha from the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts is published in Pal 1975: 96–97; v. Schroeder 1981: 114–115, 14F. For the sculpture from a private collection see Heller 2001: fig. 1.



**Figure 6.18** Bronze seated Buddha in *dharmacakramudrā*, found in Domoko, H. 42 cm (photo: E. Forte, WHAV EF10 1000.954, courtesy: Khotan Museum)



**Figure 6.19** Bronze seated Buddha donated by Ratnacittin, H. 37,5 cm. Norton Simon Museum, F.1973.29.S (Photo Courtesy: The Norton Simon Foundation)



**Figure 6.20** Bronze seated Buddha in *dharmacakramudrā* (private collection), H. 23 cm (after Siudmak 2013, pl. 125. Photo courtesy: John Siudmak)

dha (although not in *dharmacakramudrā*) of the year 92.<sup>49</sup> Aside from these similarities, however, the bronze of Domoko displays elements that are peculiar to this piece and that might point to a tradition that had developed in different workshops and centers, although still inspired by the Gilgit ateliers. Further similarities are to be found in the bronzes from the Potala palace collection, especially a group attributed to the Kārkoṭa dynasty, that have the same type of rectangular moulded pedestal and flat lotus base with multiple rows of petals turning downward.<sup>50</sup> Finally,

<sup>49</sup>The Buddha of Ratnacittin has been dated by Fussman precisely to the year 594, rejecting P.G. Paul’s date of 694 (Fussman 1993: 31). The Buddha of the year 92 is assigned to 616 CE (Fussman 1993: 29–32).

<sup>50</sup>See especially the pedestal of the standing Buddha Śākyamuni of the Li ma lha khang, v. Schroeder 2001, vol. 1, pl. 28 and v. Schroeder 2008 pl. 3B (dated circa 650–700 CE). Other bronzes attributed to the Kārkoṭa from this collection have similar pedestals (v. Schroeder 2001, vol. 1: pls. 15, 17, 36; the Buddha from pl. 36 is a crowned Buddha and is dated to a later period, 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century).

despite being smaller in size a piece also attributed to Kashmir and from the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century has nearly the same physical and facial characteristics as the bronze of Domoko (FIGURE 6.20).<sup>51</sup>

To this point, it could be assumed that the Buddha from Domoko was produced outside Khotan in an area that probably had Gilgit and Kashmir as its centers of irradiation. A question remains as to the way the sculpture reached Domoko.

As evidenced from the inscriptions, this type of bronzes was mainly commissioned by members of the higher society. These bronzes were regarded as particularly precious objects, bearing a specific symbolic and doctrinal value. Most probably their possession implied a particular status and the transfer of such objects, treated as treasures, may have served within a certain circuit as prestigious gifts that conveyed a political as well as religious significance. In this perspective the ways these treasures were transmitted become particularly elusive. The direct contacts between Khotan and Gilgit or Kashmir, or between Khotan and other countries adjacent to the areas where these bronzes originated, occurred at different levels (economical, political, religious) and in different periods; also, these contacts should count as factors that facilitated such transmission. For example, the import of a large number of Buddhist bronze images from northwestern India to Tibet when Bolōr (Baltistan) was conquered by the Tibetans in the second quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century certainly activated other channels of circulation of this production. The possibility that the Buddha of Domoko reached Khotan through contacts with Tibet, especially when the kingdom was part of the Tibetan empire, should also be considered.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup>The sculpture was previously in the collection of S. Eilemberg and then of S. Digby. See v. Schroeder (1981: 114-115, pl. 14G), who dated it to the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>52</sup>This hypothesis is suggested in Matsumoto 2005: 80, and Heller 2001: 19-20. The presence of Buddhist bronze statues from the Kashmir and Gilgit areas in Tibet is attested also by recent archaeological excavations; see for example the two bronze statues recovered from the Phyi dbang monastery in western Tibet (Huo and Li 2001: 129, pls. 195-196) which are of the same typology as the Domoko Buddha (Śākyamuni in *dharmacakramudrā*) but with a different pedestal. One of the two is attributed to the Kārkoṭa Dynasty and dated to circa 7<sup>th</sup> century (v. Schroeder 2008: 42-43, pl. 4).

## Concluding Remarks

In analyzing the portable cult objects from Khotan, we are confronted with three difficulties: often uncertain archaeological provenance,<sup>53</sup> determining the place of production, and the chronological attribution. Instances in which all three factors are known are rare, thus leaving a sometimes substantial uncertainty in the reconstruction of an artifacts' history (which must remain in the realm of hypothesis until new material and study provide further evidence).

Those objects whose archaeological provenance can to a certain extent be determined fall into two large groups with regard to the place of creation: local or foreign. Even this basic differentiation is not always easy to establish. Among the samples presented, the material from which the objects are made is sometimes indicative of their origin, as is the case with portable shrines made from schist, clearly a product from Northwest India. On the other hand, the portable shrines in wood seem more likely to belong to local production, connected with other workshops along the Silk Road, notably those in Kucha and Turfan, and circulated in the Tarim basin. The concept of Buddhist wooden foldable shrines may have been inspired by the stone portable shrines from Northwest India, but the iconographic choice (at least in Khotan) seems to exclude narratives from the Buddha's life. It is possible that the latter preference resulted from an active choice of Khotanese workshops, since the wooden portable shrines found in other centers of the Silk Road present layouts and subjects that are often closer to the post-Gandharan examples in stone. But it is also possible that this choice was due more generally to a certain chronological context, where there is a tendency to discard narrative scenes in favor of iconic ones.

It is interesting to note here that Buddhist travelling objects in ivory are not found among the archaeological material from Khotan. Production in ivory appears generally to be nearly absent in Khotan, and the objects

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<sup>53</sup>For many of the ancient Buddhist artifacts from the Tarim basin found at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the archaeological provenance is undetermined. In this period, when interest in Silk Road antiquities grew, small artifacts became one of the most suitable and popular items to be sold at the local markets. In this respect, these travelling objects maintained their function as transferable and portable items even in modern times, although within a different “ideological” context.

that have been found there are considered as having been imported from Northwest India.<sup>54</sup>

With bronze objects the panorama seems more diverse: we cannot exclude the possibility of the existence of local bronze workshops in Khotan. The style of some examples can be compared to that of paintings and artifacts recovered from archaeological sites of the area, thus suggesting a local manufacture. Other bronze objects may have travelled from China and India. Beside these observations, the bronze artifacts from Khotan nevertheless need further research as the published material would require a systematic assessment, including, if possible, analysis of the metal.

The Buddha of Domoko stands out as a special case because of the rarity of such a find within the Tarim area. The sculpture is indicative of the circulation of a special production that implied not only religious but political values, and that may have involved a network based on political and family ties rather than exclusively religious ones. This production belonging to the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries would connect Khotan with the areas of Kashmir and Gilgit. Whatever route the Buddha of Domoko may have taken before reaching Khotan, it is not impossible that it derived from direct contact with these areas. In addition to the connection through the Buddhist network, recent studies have evidenced the close ties that existed between Kashmir and Khotan and with other kingdoms of Northwest India during the 8<sup>th</sup> century at the level of marriage alliances.<sup>55</sup> It may be significant that a route directly connecting Khotan and Kashmir was still in use in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>One is a fragment of a loving couple (*mithuna*), carved in the round and found by Stein (1907, vol. 1: 209, 222, vol. 2: pl. XLVIII) attributed to Northwest India, from the “post-Gandhāra period 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century” (Whitfield and Farrer 1990: 168–169, n. 140). The other object is a plaque displaying a *maṇḍala* of Vajravārāhī from the Sven Hedin collection at the National Museums of World Culture, Sweden, manufactured possibly in Kashmir between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> century (published in Montell 1938: 98–99, briefly discussed in Williams 1973: 122; for the identification of the subject see Banerjee 1998 who proposes a date of the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century; for a further discussion see Chandra 2007, who tends to attribute the object to the 10<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>55</sup>It seems that at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century the royal families of Kashmir and Khotan were indirectly related by marriages with princesses from the Kābulśāh family (Inaba 2010: 446–451).

<sup>56</sup>Bailey 1936. Further evidence for the circulation of this production in the Khotan area—although it must be carefully handled because its archaeological provenance remains vague—comes from a fragment of a bronze statue now at the State Hermitage Mu-

A suggestion as to the place of origin of the portable objects does not automatically answer the question of establishing over which route they arrived in Khotan. Even if the place of production can be ascertained, we can only draw a production map, but not itineraries of the travel done by the objects. This production map would roughly tell us that travelling cult objects found in Khotan testify to traffic which occurred from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and which involved direct or intermediate contacts with China (around the 5<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century), Northwest India (Gandhāra, in the 5<sup>th</sup>–6<sup>th</sup> century), the oases of the northern branch of the Silk Road (Kucha and Turfan, between the 5<sup>th</sup>/6<sup>th</sup> and the 7<sup>th</sup> century), the areas of Swat, Kashmir and Gilgit valley (around the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century).

Studies of the itineraries of the Buddhist pilgrims travelling along the Silk Road have evidenced that in the 4<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries Gandhāra was considered the center of Buddhism and was thus the primary destination for pilgrims. During this period, Khotan was a near obligatory passage on the routes connecting China, the Tarim basin and India. In the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries the pilgrims travelling between China and India often came to Khotan from the northern centers of the Silk Road, such as Qizil and Kucha; accordingly there was a certain exchange between the northern and the southern oasis via the Qizil-Khotan route.<sup>57</sup> At the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century a change of itinerary occurred, and by the 7<sup>th</sup> century the routes to India crossed the areas around Kapiśi and Bāmiyān. In the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century Kapiśi therefore became a main passage point in the Buddhist itineraries. During this period one of the itineraries still went through Khotan, but instead of going directly to Gandhāra after passing the Pamirs/Onion Mountains via Tashkurgan, the route headed to Kapiśi and Bāmiyān.<sup>58</sup> The existence of an alternative itinerary which connected Khotan to Kashmir and Uḍḍiyāna without passing through Yarkand, and started from south of Guma (Pishan 皮山), should also be

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seum (Hermitage Museum 2008: 85, n. 38). The fragment is said to have been acquired in Khotan. Despite being fragmentary, elements of a similar statuary from the Swat region, which are also attributed to the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century, can be recognized, such as the Buddha Śākyamuni seated on a lion throne (v. Schroeder 2001, vol. 1: 40–41, pl. 6) from the greater Swat region or Uḍḍiyāna, attributed to the 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century. Other comparable examples are in v. Schroeder 2001, vol. 1: 48–49, pl. 10E-F; 50–51, pl. 11E.

<sup>57</sup>Such is the case of Faxian, and probably Zhimeng (智猛, d. 453; Kuwayama 2002: 144).

<sup>58</sup>Kuwayama 2002 and 2006.

noted.<sup>59</sup> This route was in use from the Han period (first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE) to the middle of the Tang (middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century). It seems that the area of the Guma oasis constituted a secondary hub of roads connecting Khotan directly with the areas of Northern India and Western Tibet.<sup>60</sup> This channel of communication may also be meaningful when considering that Tibet was also a possible intermediary that took part in the network of exchanges of cult objects from the 7<sup>th</sup> century on.

The portable cult objects introduced here provide just a glimpse of the cultural exchanges occurring in Khotan in the first millennium and leave us with many open questions. Although some of the objects' attributes are difficult to define at the moment, and thus leave much room for conjecture, the present selection appears to fit well within the general outline given by studies on Buddhist travel itineraries and other historical sources. This promising congruence shows that it is possible to discover plausible patterns within an — at least partly — uncertain set of data. A systematic cross-subject study should prove the most effective path towards establishing a less fragile spatial and temporal framework in order to understand the modalities of the Buddhist traffic and its impact on the artistic production in central Asia.

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<sup>59</sup>According to Li Chongfeng (2005) this itinerary was known as the “Jibin Route” in Chinese literature. However, from this study it is not totally clear how different the Jibin route was from that taken by Faxian and other monks such as Zhimeng and Fayong 法勇 to reach Northwest India between the 4<sup>th</sup> and the 6<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>60</sup>One of the routes was the “Salt Route” that went from Tibet to Sangzhu 桑株 in Pishan county, after crossing the Kunlun. This route had been in use much earlier than the expansion of the Tibetans into Central Asia and the introduction of Buddhism to Tibet (Wang Xiaofu 2009: 24–26, 29–32).



## Abbreviations

The translations of Chinese and Japanese titles are taken from the works themselves.

**Hermitage Museum 2008** The State Hermitage Museum and The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts Russian Academy of Sciences, eds. (2008). *The Caves of One Thousand Buddhas: Russian Expeditions on the Silk Route, on the Occasion of 190 Years of the Asiatic Museum (Exhibition Catalogue)*. St. Petersburg: The State Hermitage Publishers.

**Khotan Survey 2004** Xinjiang Wenwu Kaogu Yanjusuo 新疆文物考古研究所 (Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology) (2004). “Hetian diqu wenwu pucha ziliao 和田地区文物普查資料 (Investigation of Cultural Relics from the Khotan Prefecture)”. In: *Xinjiang Wenwu* 新疆文物 4, 15–39.

**Nara National Museum 2010** Nara kokuritsu hakubutsukan 奈良国立博物館 (Nara National Museum), ed. (2010). *Nara butsuzōkan meihin zuroku* なら仏像館名品図録 (*Masterworks from the Nara Buddhist Sculpture Hall at the Nara National Museum*). Nara: Nara National Museum.

**T Takakusu Junjirō** 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, eds. (1924–1932). *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* (*The Buddhist Canon, New Compilation of the Taishō [1912-1926] Era*). 85 vols. Tokyo: Issaikyō kankōkai 一切経刊行會.

**Tōbu Museum 1998** Tōbu bijutsukan 東武美術館 (Tōbu Museum), ed. (1998). *Buddha ten: ōinaru tabiji* ブッダ展: 大いなる旅路 (*Buddha: The Spread of Buddhist Art in Asia*). Tokyo: NHK Promotion.

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# Traversing the Land of *siddhas* and *ḍākinīs*

## Art Historical Evidence along the Buddhist Pilgrimage Routes through Lahul

Verena Widorn

As I make my slow pilgrimage  
through the world, a certain sense  
of beautiful mystery seems to  
gather and grow.

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A.C. Benson

### Introduction

When Giuseppe Tucci published his essay on “Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley”, he was especially interested to show that, in contrast to Śāmbhala, there are some reliable pilgrimage travelogues that give a

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The present study is a result of ongoing research on the sacred landscape in Lahul and the ambiguity of Hindu and Buddhist pilgrimage centers. My field trips to and in Lahul, and also the conference participation in Shimla, where I could present first results, have been generously supported by the current FWF Austrian Science Fund financed National Research Network *The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya* (S98) and the previous research unit directed by Deborah Klimburg-Salter and also financed by the Austrian Science Fund. The photographic documentation of these travels is kept in the Western Himalaya Archive Vienna (WHAV) at the Department of Art History, University Vienna. The documentation and collection of data with regard to the pilgrimage routes are conducted in close cooperation with the CHIS sub-project directed by Karel Kriz. I am indebted to Deborah and my colleagues from the Art History sub-project, who supported this research with useful comments and suggestions. I especially thank Ewa Lewandowska, Sarah Teetor and Uwe Niebuhr for generously assisting in the final production of this ar-

kind of itinerary of the Swat valley, where the mystical Uḍḍiyāna<sup>1</sup> must have been located (Tucci 1971: 370–371). Tucci claimed that although both Śāmbhala and Uḍḍiyāna were transformed into a fairyland where geographical and historical reality fade and decay, Uḍḍiyāna at least can be located in a terrestrial geography. Tucci (1971: 370) stresses that Uḍḍiyāna, considered to be the land of Padmasāmbhava and the place of *ḍākinīs*, became the holy land especially for the rNying ma pa and the bKa' rgyud pa.

The Buddhist pilgrims set off mainly from Tibet or Ladakh to the Swat valley, and on their journey from the eastern areas to Uḍḍiyāna they travelled through the Himalayan valleys of Ku nu (Kinnaur), Kulu, Kangra and Lahul. According to the oral tradition, the pilgrims not only passed Lahul<sup>2</sup> on their trans-regional journey, but also stayed there and sanctified the landscape through their meditational power, leaving body-prints and performing miracles. Since pilgrimage in or through Lahul is not restricted to the Buddhist religion but is also conducted by Hindus, the district became a sacred area where the stories of Hindu gods and Buddhist saints, *siddhas* and *ḍākinīs*, play a pivotal role in the mystical history of the country.

This article focuses on the travelogues of three famous Buddhist pilgrims from the 'Brug pa bKa' rgyud pa, namely those of rGod tshang pa and his disciple O rgyan pa, both from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and sTag tshang

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ticle. I also want to express my thanks to Nawang Jinpa from the Garsha Young Drukpa Association (YDA), who kindly shared some “insider” views and local perceptions and corrected some misleading “western” opinions with regard to the sacred landscape in Lahul. In 2011 a publication on the Buddhist sacred landscape of Lahul was released by the YDA (Garsha Young Drukpa Association 2011).

<sup>1</sup>The geographical location of Uḍḍiyāna, O rgyan (O rgyen) or U rgyan, as one finds the name in Tibetan texts, is still under discussion. Recent research tends to attribute Uḍḍiyāna to an area much broader than just the Swat valley, covering the west of modern Pakistan (see also the article by Anna Filigenzi in this volume, CHAPTER 5).

<sup>2</sup>Lahul is a subdivision of the district of Lahaul-Spiti, the largest but most sparsely settled district of Himachal Pradesh. The administrative headquarters of this district are in Kyelang, on the northern bank of the Bhaga river. The Tibetans and inhabitants of the region prefer the name Gar zha (Hutchinson and Vogel 1933: 476), also written Garzha or Garsha (Sahni 1994: 21), or dKar źva (Klimburg-Salter 1994: 46). Lahul consists mainly of three valleys named after the rivers that run through the region. The Bhaga valley is divided into the regions Tod or Punan (upper part) and Gar (lower part), while the Chandra valley is also named Tinan. After the confluence of the two rivers the valley is named Chandrabhaga or Chenab valley, or Pattan.

ras pa, from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. These travelogues describe their travels to the twenty-four *pīṭhas* of the *vajrakāya* through the Himalayan region and their route to Uḍḍiyāna.<sup>3</sup> In order to trace their paths, particularly through the valleys of Lahul, these three pilgrimage routes will be discussed mainly from an art historical point of view, that is, by associating the place names listed in the itineraries with sites and monuments of the region. It will become evident that some sites in Lahul played an important role already in past centuries, while others are, astonishingly, not even mentioned. A critical aspect of this study is therefore to understand the definition of sacred space and the creation by Tibetans of major pilgrimage destinations and places in and through North India, as Toni Huber (2008) has explicitly investigated recently. Why did Lahul become a place of interest for 'Brug pa monks? What attracted them to this area so that they were eager to risk their life and health on the exhausting and dangerous path through the narrow valleys and over the high passes? The close analysis of the three travel routes will show what the three pilgrims encountered when they were wandering through the valleys, which empowered places they searched for, and which places they empowered by their presence and activity.

## The Itineraries of Buddhist Pilgrims

The sacred biographies of Buddhist *yogins* and *siddhas* are without any doubt significant sources for gaining information about the spiritual lives of the adepts. These *rnam thars* often combine a certain amount of historical reality with mystical tales of the saints' miraculous deeds. They mainly reflect religious ideas and function as paragons for the adherent, who is to be introduced to the spiritual legacy, rather than as an authentic transmission of the "real" *vita*. Nevertheless, these early hagiographies (from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century onwards) are often the only records that provide details of travel routes and the concept of Tibetan pilgrimage in India at that time. Tucci noticed that the certain identification of places was difficult because, on the one hand, the spelling of the place names mentioned in the itineraries does not follow any phonetic rules or common etymology,

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<sup>3</sup>The chronology of the pilgrims' travels is not fully clear, but the following life-dates are proposed for the three pilgrims: rGod tshang pa (1189–1258 CE), O rgyan pa (1229–1309 CE), and sTag tshang ras pa (1574–1651).

and because, on the other hand, we can not be sure that the information in the travelogues was copied correctly by monks over the centuries (Tucci 1971: 383). Toni Huber points out that “many *namthar* might yield for us not more than lists of Indian places and sites whose names we could be sure the Tibetan authors or compilers of texts knew, plus a few details of interest to set the scenes of their narratives” (Huber 2008: 64). In other words, narrations of pilgrimage in and through India do not derive from first hand experience, and there is no indication that the subject of the biography, the *yogin* or *siddha*, ever actually was *en route*. Huber (2008: 92) illustrates that the pilgrimage to a *pīṭha* does not imply travel to a physical geographic place, but that it can also occur as just a mental meditative exercise. In most cases, it is both an internal and external journey.<sup>4</sup>

However, the three travelogues under consideration contain more information than just simple lists of place names. The itinerary of rGod tshang pa gives a quite vivid description of the strenuous and dangerous journey through the Himalayan range, such as traversing a high pass from Lahul to Chamba with the help of local people (Tucci 1971: 378–379). It is stated that the climb took about twelve days, which corresponds well to modern trekking tours from Lahul to the neighbouring district via the Kugti or the Asha Galli pass. The travel account of sTag tshang ras pa is even more detailed and frequently measures the distances between the single stops in days. Even if we can not be sure about the speed of the pilgrims and how many miles they managed to walk in one day and in which direction, we can consider the high altitude, the severity of the paths and the accessible passages over the mountains, and so gain a rough idea of how far away one point might be from the other.

The routes that the three ’Brug pa adepts took via Lahul differ quite noticeably from each other and they are often so clearly and logically described that—even if the information about the pilgrimage journey was passed down by oral tradition—the compiler of the biography and the travelogue obviously must have been familiar with the topographical setting of Lahul.

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<sup>4</sup>Huber (2008: 87) refers to the Yoginītantras that consider the *pīṭha* both as the abode (*gnas*) of a *ḍākinī* or a *yoginī*, and equally as a physical location and an internal point (*cakra* or *nāḍī*) that the pilgrim can visit for meditation and ritual practices. A good introduction to the concept of external and internal journey to the *pīṭha* of the Cakrasaṃvaratantra is given by Templeman (1999: 187–189).



**Figure 7.1** Mountain Dril bu ri with Guru Ghantal monastery (view from the Chandrabhaga valley). Photo: V. Widorn 2007, WHAV.

The following chapters will map the paths of the three pilgrims through the valleys of Lahul and attempt to compare the place names in the *rnam thars* with contemporary art historical evidence.

## The Journey of rGod tshang pa

rGod tshang pa is often erroneously considered to have been from Lahul. According to Tucci, rGod tshang pa's pilgrimage from Zhang zhung to Uḍḍiyāna must have taken place in the first quarter of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Tucci 1971: 375).<sup>5</sup> Tucci discovered rGod tshang pa's itinerary, which he considered to be "rather detailed and fairly old," during his journey

<sup>5</sup>This date is contradictory to Tucci's opinion that rGod tshang pa was born in 1213 (Tucci 1971: 375). Francke refers to the chronological account of Lahul and maintains that rGod tshang pa lived during the 12<sup>th</sup> and perhaps the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Vogel gives a much earlier date and attributes the lifetime of the Tibetan lama to the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Hutchinson and Vogel 1933: 478). Tobdan (1984: 20), however, gives the dates of rGod tshang pa from 1189 to 1258 based on the *rGyal ba rgod tshang pa'i rnam thar bzhugs*. The later date has been generally accepted (Huber 2008: 101).

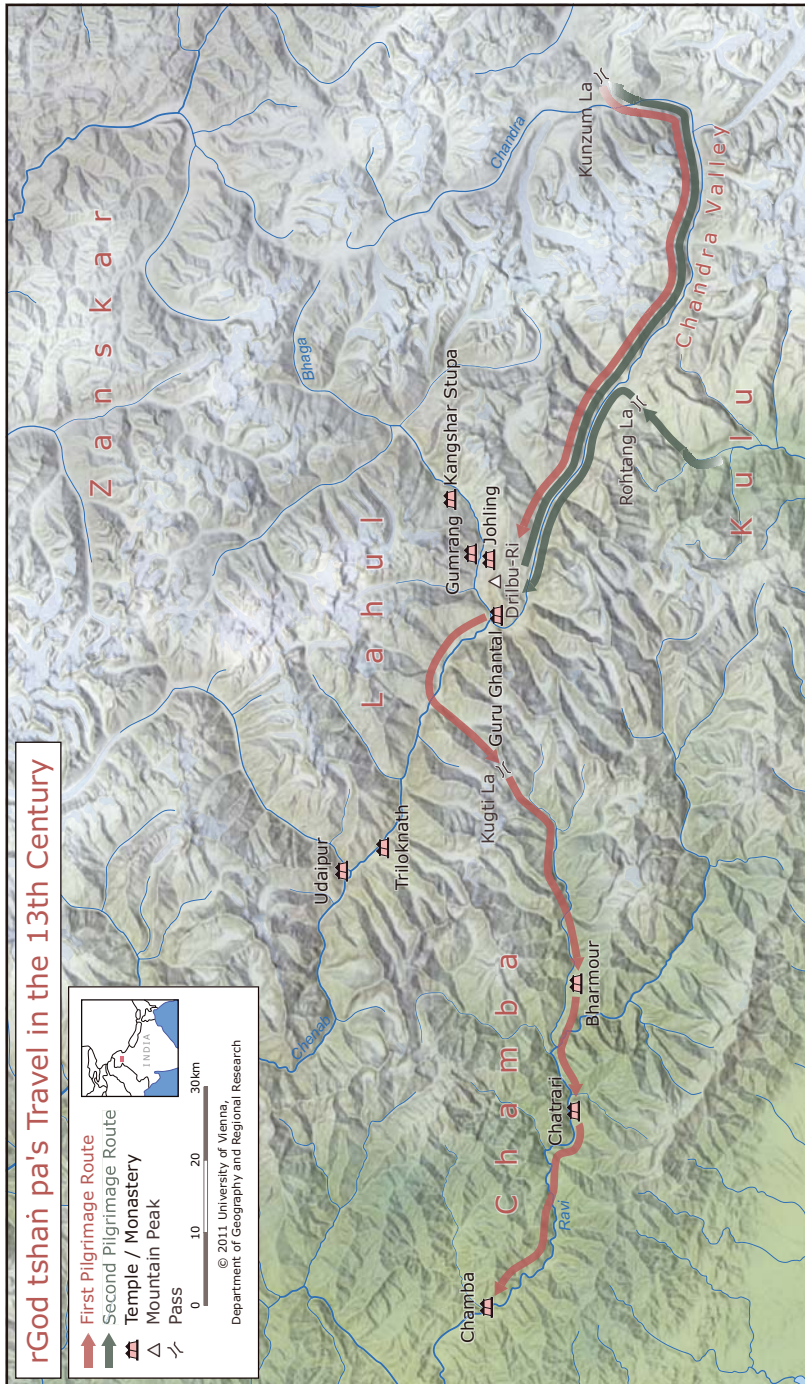
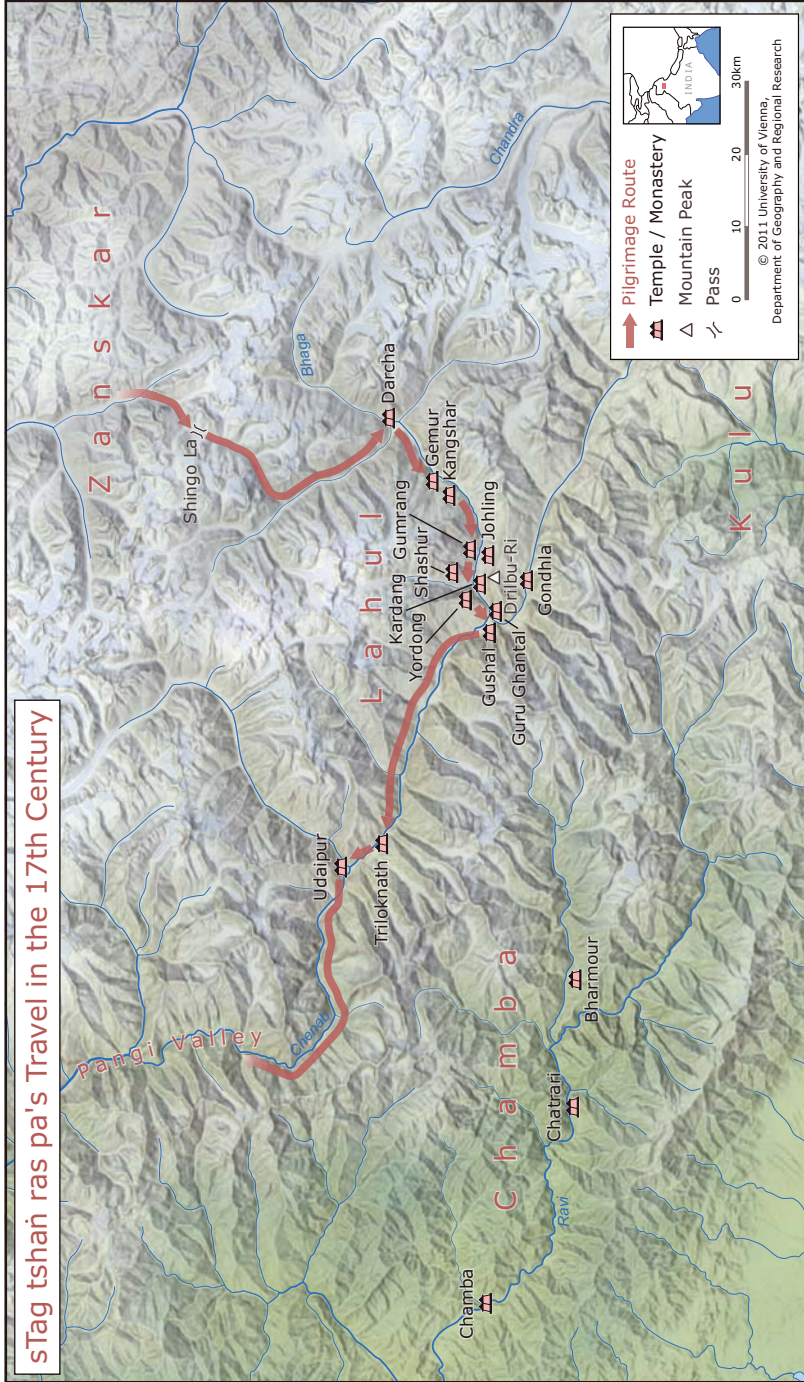


Figure 7.2 Map of Lahul in the 13<sup>th</sup> century





**Figure 7.3** Map of Lahul in the 17<sup>th</sup> century

through Spiti in 1933 and he translated all passages relevant to geography and history (Tucci 1971: 375–382).<sup>6</sup>

The biography reports that after having crossed the whole country of Zhang zhung, rGod tshang pa went from Spiti to “Gar śa where there is the mountain Gandhala” (Tucci 1971: 377; see FIGURE 7.2). Tucci proposes that rGod tshang pa took the route through the Chandra valley, as this was the common way in former times (and even nowadays). Tucci identifies the mountain Gandhala as the sacred peak of Dril bu ri, but he claims that the name might actually refer to the small monastery Gandhola on the slopes of the mountain (Tucci 1971: 378; see FIGURE 7.1). This monastery, today called Guru Ghantal, is believed to be a foundation of Padmasambhava and the oldest Buddhist shrine in the region. A famous marble head, today kept in the Tupchiling monastery just below Guru Ghantal, is believed to originate from the time of Nāgārjuna and to have been blessed by Padmasambhava. The small monastery high above the confluence of the rivers Chandra and Bhaga was erected on a simple, single-square ground plan with massive stone walls interspersed with wood to guarantee better stability in this earthquake area.<sup>7</sup> The original structure of the shrine was enlarged by some additional rooms including a small anteroom, storerooms and a kitchen. When Romi Khosla visited the site in the early 1970s, a slate pagoda roof covered the core of the temple. A flat roof ran around this structure and covered the outer parts (Khosla 1979: pls. 153–154).<sup>8</sup> Today, the building has a simple sloping tin roof,

<sup>6</sup>The biography is named *rGyal brgod tshan pa'i rnam thar gnas bsuds pa'i sgron me* and is a separate chapter of the *dKar rgyud rnam ky'i rnam thar gyi sgron me* (Tucci 1971: 374). This manuscript is listed by Tobdan (1984) as number twelve of fourteen different *rnam thars* for rGod tshang pa.

<sup>7</sup>According to Romi Khosla (1979: 118), the construction forms generally preferred in Lahul are random rubble walls. They consist of stone masonry alternated with continuous courses of timber to strengthen the structure. This tradition is widely known in the neighboring areas of Kulu, Chamba, and Kangra. Khosla observed that—at the time he published his book—the courses of wooden beams were left out of the construction due to a shortage of timber in Lahul; straight masonry walls were bonded together with mud mortar instead (Khosla 1979: 118–119). Today the traditional construction techniques are being neglected more and more. Due to tourism and in the name of modernity and progress, new materials and construction forms are being used, e.g., modern hotel complexes that meet the expectations of foreigners and visitors. Local inhabitants, however, still prefer the traditional houses, as they suit the climatic conditions best.

<sup>8</sup>Khosla refers to H. Whistler, who, when traveling through Lahul, saw Guru Ghantal with “a timber sloping roof of the type found on the wooden temples in Chamba and Hidimba Temple at Manali” (Khosla 1979: 92).



**Figure 7.4** Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala, Guru Ghantal. Photo: V. Widorn 2004, WHAV.

which is becoming more and more popular in the architectural landscape of Lahul.

The colourful interior of the two-storey monument contains beautiful textile and wall paintings, depicting figurative representations of a Cakrasaṃvara *maṇḍala* (FIGURE 7.4). The lantern ceiling with several square and triangular shaped sectors is decorated with geometrical forms, *yantras* probably also representing the Cakrasaṃvara cosmos. The high quality carvings of the wooden pillars, railings, and the entrance door are also remarkable. A couple of simple, roughly carved wooden sculptures depicting, among others, Buddhas, lamas, and also two of the five *tathāgatas*, Vairocana and Amitābha, kept now in the Tupchiling monastery just below Guru Ghantal, probably originated from the temple above. A recently repainted wooden sculpture of Prajñāpāramitā, with a clumsy body, a broad face, and stylized attributes such as a book and a lotus might be attributed to a local workshop (FIGURE 7.5).<sup>9</sup>

Due to heavy modification and restoration measures inside and outside the building, it is difficult to date the oldest elements of this Buddhist

<sup>9</sup>The clearly female figure is erroneously identified as an Avalokiteśvara.



**Figure 7.5** Prajñāpāramitā, probably from Guru Ghantal, now kept in Tuptchiling monastery. Photo: V. Widorn 2004, WHAV.

monastery. There are no indications, or at least no remains, of a 12<sup>th</sup> or 13<sup>th</sup> century structure, not to speak of an 8<sup>th</sup> century monastery from the time of Padmasaṃbhava. According to local tradition, the place of Gandhola or Guru Ghantal was an important Buddhist site from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE onwards. The so-called “Kulu vase”, a bronze vessel now kept in the British Museum, was discovered by a certain Major Hay in Kundhla<sup>10</sup> in 1857 and is dated to the Kushan period.<sup>11</sup> O.C. Handa states that the vase “was found in a monastic cell, which was exposed by a landslide” and that therefore “the relict may be considered as a definite evidence of the existence of a *guha*-type Buddhist monastery of Gandhola [...]” (Handa 2004: 79). He further identifies the engravings running around the vase, which show a procession of mainly female figures, chariots, elephants and horses as a scene from a Buddhist *jātaka*, but without giving any explanation. Aside from the unclear place of discovery, does this object really document such an early establishment of Buddhism in Lahul, and can it furthermore confirm the existence of a Buddhist monastery at this site before and during the time of rGod tshang pa? Can it not be seen rather as an indication for the early emergence of travel, trade and pilgrimage in this region? The vase might have come to Lahul at any time between its production and discovery.

Thus, when the itinerary mentions the mountain Gandhola as part of rGod tshang pa’s pilgrimage route in Lahul, it need not necessarily be identical with the Guru Ghantal monastery (or a predecessor building) as Tucci supposes. In fact, the text states that (Tucci 1971: 378):

[...] there was a kind of small monastery in a village high up; since he did not want to stop there, he went to the *lotsāva* of mGar and informed him about his plan of going as far as Dsva lan dha ra (Jalandhara), but the *lotsāva* replied that he could not reach the place and that he would scarcely survive [...].

It is not clear if the translator stayed at the small monastery mentioned in the itinerary or at other sanctuaries in the lower Bhaga valley (Gar) that already existed at the time of rGod tshang pa. Two small

<sup>10</sup>Kundhla most probably does not refer to Gandhola or Guru Ghantal at the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga, but to Gondhla, the former Tinan in the Chandra valley famous for the high Thakur tower.

<sup>11</sup>The object is now kept in the British Museum, London, and is published in the museum’s database (last visited 24-03-2013): <http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection> (Registration number: 1880.22). See also Handa 2001: fig. 14.



**Figure 7.6** Collapsed temple of Johling. Photo: V. Widorn 1998.

Buddhist temples, Johling and Gumrang, situated near Kyelong, are attributed by the local tradition to the time of Rin chen bzang po or a little later.<sup>12</sup> The two single-celled shrines with thick masonry were decorated with high-quality sculptures and must have been important Buddhist establishments that were still being worshipped in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Now both temples are in a bad condition (FIGURE 7.6); the last two wooden sculptures of Johling were removed long ago from the small dilapidated hamlet and brought, respectively, to the British Museum in London and the Bhuri Singh Museum in Chamba (Widorn 2008: 52–53). The clay sculptures from Gumrang, previously attached to the main wall in a *maṇḍala*-like composition, are now just placed side by side against the wall. Thick plaster has destroyed the wall paintings, a few traces of which can still be seen next to the entrance door.<sup>13</sup> The wooden ceiling still contains traces of ornamental and floral paintings. The frame around the narrow entrance

<sup>12</sup>While Johling (Zho ling) can be associated with one of the twenty-one minor foundations mentioned in the biography of Rin chen bzang po (Snellgrove and Skorupski 1980: 95), Gumrang is ascribed by Luczanits (1994: 83–89) to a later period, mainly due to stylistic features of the clay sculptures that indicate a date around the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>13</sup>Two photographs from the estate of Henry Lee Shuttleworth, now in the British Library in London, show the former position of the clay sculptures, obviously in tact at least till the 1920s, when the scholar travelled through Lahul. A four-headed Vairocana, placed



**Figure 7.7** Wooden entrance door of the Gumrang Temple—river goddess and donor figure. Photo: V. Widorn 2002, WHAV.

door is carved with one row of an elaborated, fanciful creeper-motive and a second row of lotus-blossoms. A badly affected Gaṇeśa is set above the door. A river goddess with lotus and vase is placed opposite a probably male figure with his hands clasped before his chest—maybe the donor of the sanctuary (FIGURE 7.7). Neither of the two temples is mentioned in rGod tshang pa’s biography and it is highly unlikely that he visited these places.

His travelogue continues to report that, after having spent three days in this region, rGod tshang pa and his companion proceeded to Chamba, where they were awaited by the local king Bi tsi kra ma.<sup>14</sup> To reach Chamba they had to cross a high pass “full of snow reflecting like a mirror [...] so high that it seemed to rise to heaven” (Tucci 1971: 378). The two pilgrims could only manage the steep climb over the pass with the

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in the center, was framed by two bodhisattvas on either side and canopied by fanciful *makaras*. Left and right, on each side, two *tathāgatas* (in the upper row) and two female goddesses (in the lower row) completed the composition that was furthermore framed by depictions of gods and goddesses painted all over the main wall. For a detailed description of the clay sculptures and fragments, see Luczanits 2004: 107–112.

<sup>14</sup>Tucci could not find any correspondence to a king’s name in the *Vaṃśāvalī* of Chamba except that of Vicitravarman, who lived in the 11<sup>th</sup> century (Tucci 1971: 379).



**Figure 7.8** The Manimahesh range with Shashur monastery in the front.  
Photo: V. Widorn 2002, WHAV

help of some Mon pa (identified by Tucci as tribes of the Indo-Tibetan borderlands) who carried their loads (Tucci 1971: 379). It is most likely that rGod tshang pa crossed the Kugti pass, situated just opposite Dril bu ri and around 4,800m high (FIGURE 7.8). The pass leads from Lahul to Brahmaur and is still regularly used by local shepherds (and tourists on trekking tours). It belongs to the Manimahesh range, of which the highest peak is the sacred Manimahesh Kailash, regarded as the mystic abode of Śiva. K.P. Sharma is enthusiastic about the setting and fancies how “when through the mist the morning sun rises above the Śikhareśvara linga on the summit of the Kailāsh, it shines like a mani (jewel)” (Sharma 2001: 91). A Tibetan rock inscription which was found near Brahmaur and dated by Jean Ph. Vogel (1911: 20) to the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century indicates that the way from Lahul along the Manimahesh range to Brahmaur and further on to Chamba might have been a path commonly used by Tibetan pilgrims.

It seems that on his way to Uḍḍiyāna, rGod tshang pa neither traversed the Chandrabhaga valley, nor visited any religious monuments in this area except for the sacred site at the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga. On his way back from Jalandhara the Tibetan monk entered Lahul for a second time, now from Kulu. Tucci (1971: 382) translates:



Then he went to Gar śa; then to the retreat in Ga ndha la. He spent there the summer; and his inclinations to the practice of the good greatly increased. Then in autumn he reached the pass of rTsan śod in Spiti.

Again there is no exact description of the place where the pilgrim spent the summer months. The oral tradition has it that rGod tshang pa's favourite meditation site was a small cave on the steep slope of Dril bu ri and it is absolutely conceivable that for his retreat he used one of the remote caves of the mountain massif far above the villages.

Another of his biographies, which is cited by Detlef Lauf (1971: 370), supposedly mentions that rGod tshang pa spent more than one summer in Lahul.<sup>15</sup> Lauf also states that rGod tshang pa visited the sites of Ku lu ta and Maru. The former abbot of Kardang monastery, Kun dga' rin po che (d. 1967),<sup>16</sup> who was, at least by the local people, highly honored as the incarnation of rGod tshang pa, reported that Ku lu ta was a pyramidal mountain east of Kulu, and Maru, or Mar ru tse, a high, steep rock cliff north-west of Triloknath, which might be identical with modern Udaipur in the Chandrabhaga valley. Lauf (1971: 367) points out that Maru is of great importance for tantric practitioners, as the meditation cave of the *dākinī* Vajravārāhī is believed to be there.

It seems as if Kun dga' rin po che knew of many more stories and legends about the 'Brug pa monk with regard to Lahul and also with regard to his teachings and tantric practices.<sup>17</sup> rGod tshang pa is also considered the founder of several monasteries in the lower Bhaga valley. One village is named after him, Gozzangwa, and is located between Kardang monastery and Guru Ghantal on the southern bank of the Bhaga. The Yor dzong or Yoldong monastery (FIGURE 7.9), just on the opposite side of the river, was erected over his summer cave. While travelling through the air from one side of the river to the other, rGod tshang pa left his knee imprints,

<sup>15</sup>Lauf (1971: 370) actually refers to two other Tibetan manuscripts containing the biography and itinerary of rGod tshang pa, namely the *rGyal ba rgod tshang pa mgon po rdo reji nram par thar pa mthong ba don ldan nor bu'i phreng ba* and the *Chos rje rin po che rgod tshang pa'i nram par thar pa*.

<sup>16</sup>The reputation of Kun dga' rin po che is not undisputed. Scholarly literature draws an image of the lama which is, however, quite different from that accepted by the local people, who highly respected him (Stutchbury 1991: 83–85).

<sup>17</sup>His most important doctrines have come down to us in the *Ro snyoms phyag rgya chen po* (Lauf 1971: 371).



**Figure 7.9** Yoldong monastery, Bhaga valley. Photo: V. Widorn 2002, WHAV.



**Figure 7.10** Rock carvings of a group of three bodhisattvas in Kardang village. Photo: V. Widorn 2002

that are now preserved in the small village temple of the Kardang just opposite of a rock with the carving of three nearly life-size standing bodhisattvas (FIGURE 7.10).<sup>18</sup> It is impossible to say from an art historical point of view if these two monasteries date from the 13<sup>th</sup> century because—even more drastically than Guru Ghantal—most of the Buddhist monasteries in Lahul have been completely restored and renewed in the last decades. The monastery of Kardang, a little above the village, has equally undergone this kind of rebuilding just recently. The new construction is decorated with bright wall paintings (e.g., of a Cakrasaṃvara *maṇḍala*) and furnished with new sculptures. The monastery is supposed to have been established in the 11<sup>th</sup> or 12<sup>th</sup> century, but it was obviously in such bad shape that a fundamental renovation was carried out at the beginning of

<sup>18</sup> Lauf (1971: 365) believes that there are approximately thirty known rock engravings in Lahul, but most of them have been destroyed or are now buried under the earth. He considers rock engravings located along the old pilgrimage route to be the first traces of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Lahul. He dates the depiction of a group of three figures carved on a rock at Gondhla (or Tinan) to the 5<sup>th</sup> century and a similar engraving in Kyelang to the 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century (Lauf 1971: 135). The Kardang group seems to be of later origin, probably dating back to the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century.

the 20<sup>th</sup> century under Lama Norbu (Sahni 1994: 260). The monastery, which to this day contains a collection of “old” thangkas and manuscripts, is not mentioned in rGod tshang pa’s biography, however.

Using a third biography which states that the lama left Tibet at the age of twenty-five and was *en route* for four years, Lauf (1971: 370) dates the pilgrimage of rGod tshang pa from Tibet to Jalandhara and Uḍḍiyāna to between 1204 and 1208 CE. It may be uncertain whether rGod tshang pa spent more than one summer in Lahul, but he definitely played a pivotal role in the religious history of Lahul.

## The Journey of O rgyan pa rin chen dpal

A disciple of rGod tshang pa who followed his tracks and also travelled in this region was O rgyan pa rin chen dpal. Tucci (1971: 372) reports that O rgyan pa became an adept under rGod tshang pa at the age of seven. But O rgyan pa discovered his karmic connection with O rgyan (viz., Uḍḍiyāna) and went on a pilgrimage to the land of mystery.<sup>19</sup> Tucci discovered the itinerary of O rgyan pa (who he dated to 1230–1293 CE)<sup>20</sup> in his biography, which was found among the large collection of manuscripts and block prints in the library of the Hemis monastery in Ladakh. The Tibetan manuscript, incomplete and obviously “very old”, contains, in addition to some legends and visions, the travel route of O rgyan pa’s pilgrimage, which probably took place after 1260.<sup>21</sup> Tucci regards the itinerary to be “an almost contemporary record of a journey to a country which was already considered as a magic land, and was seen through the eyes of a man who had no sight for reality” (Tucci 1971: 13).

The appearance of O rgyan pa in Lahul is not solidly confirmed. He began his journey to Uḍḍiyāna from Tise (the original name of Mount

<sup>19</sup>Tucci (1971: 372) explains that the name O rgyan pa actually means “man of O rgyan” and was given to the pilgrim when he and his journey to Uḍḍiyāna became famous.

<sup>20</sup>O rgyan pa belonged to a subgroup of the ’Brug pa sect and is mentioned in the *Chos ’byung* of Padma dkar po (b. 1527), also an adept of the same mystic school and one of the most famous polygraphs in Tibet (Tucci 1971: 372)

<sup>21</sup>This date refers to the fact that O rgyan pa met Karma Pakshi on the way to China. Since Karma Pakshi, who died in 1283, appointed O rgyan pa as his assistant, Tucci suspects that Karma Pakshi was at that time already an old man. This implies a date for the pilgrimage after 1260 (Tucci 1971: 6).

Kailash), passed Lake Manasarovar and “arrived at Kulu (Ku lu ṭa) [Kulutā] or Maru, which correspond to the knees and the toes of the *vajra*-body divided into twenty-four great places” (Tucci 1971: 392). Tucci contradicts S. Lévi, who identified Maru with Chitral, and suggests that according to Tibetan tradition these sites are situated in Kulu or in the upper Chandrabhaga valley, bordering Chamba. Tucci further notes that the name Maru is considered to be the name of the reviver of the solar race and the ancestor of the Chamba rulers as mentioned in the *Vaṃśāvalī*, the Chamba chronicle (Tucci 1971: 392). While Toni Huber (2008: 101, fig. 4.3, 109) maps Maru south of Kulutā in the area of Mandi and Kangra, Kun dga’ rin po che referred rather to a site opposite of Triloknath in the Chandrabhaga valley. O rgyan pa’s list of place names would suggest that Huber’s attribution to the south is more logical and that the pilgrim never went through Lahul. The fact that O rgyan pa seems to totally ignore this area is rather astounding considering the fact that Lahul was obviously a special place for his master rGod tshang pa, who is supposed to have spent quite some time there. While rGod tshang pa was probably attracted by the mystical atmosphere and remote setting of Lahul, O rgyan pa’s primary aim was to reach Uḍḍiyāna via the faster, and maybe also easier, southern route rather than by climbing over the high passes that enclose Lahul. Nevertheless, it is possible that the compiler of the travelogue wanted to convey the impression that O rgyan pa came to Lahul. According to the itinerary, he and his consorts “did in one day the road [to Maru] which to an ordinary man takes seven days, without relenting or being tired either in body or in spirit” (Tucci 1971: 392). Tucci brings the fast locomotion together with a yoga practise that is believed to allow this high speed of travelling. The narration continues with the meeting of a “female *kṣetrapāla* dropping pus and blood from the nose”, identified by Tucci (1971: 392) as a *ḍākinī*. Linrothe (1999: 21) explains that the main function of a *kṣetrapāla* is the protection of territory and that in Tibetan paintings of later Tibetan Buddhism one finds a set of eight *kṣetrapālas* as the guardians of the eight cemeteries. The encounter with a female *kṣetrapāla* or a *ḍākinī* might refer to the charnel ground at the confluence of the rivers Bhaga and Chandra in Lahul (FIGURE 7.11) and might be meant as a description of O rgyan pa’s miraculous travel through Lahul, the land of fairies. After this event, he left to Uḍḍiyāna. On his way back he passed through Kashmir and Ladakh. O rgyan pa’s pilgrimage then led him to Nepal, where he visited more *pīṭha* places (Huber 2008: 104).



**Figure 7.11** Confluence of Bhaga and Chandra rivers with the cremation ground. Photo: V. Widorn 2007

## The Journey of sTag tshang ras pa

Many place names in the itinerary of O rgyan pa are also found (although with different spellings) in the travel reports of sTag tshang ras pa, who seems to have in part followed the pilgrimage route of his ancestor on the advice of his teacher.<sup>22</sup> Peter Schwiieger (1996: 99) writes that “Uddiyāna was still a popular destination, but only in the imagination of Tibetan yogins, so it was a journey into the uncertain”.<sup>23</sup> sTag tshang ras pa reached Lahul by a rather circuitous route (FIGURE 7.3). He started from Tise and passed through the province of Guge and the narrow valley of Kunu (Kinnaur). Following the Sutlej river, he came to Kangra, Jalandhara and Kashmir. He finally entered Lahul from the Zanskar side where he met

<sup>22</sup>The biography of sTag tshang ras pa, the founder of the Hemis monastery, was compiled twelve years after his death in 1663 (Petech 1977: 3). It is accessible in Hemis and divided into three sections: the biography proper, the pilgrimage itinerary, and songs by sTag tshang ras pa in the style of poems from Milarepa (Tucci 1971: 384).

<sup>23</sup>Schwiieger (1996: 100) assigns the beginning of this fifth big journey of sTag tshang ras pa to the year 1613 CE.

the great *siddha* bDe ba rgya mtsho, and spent two months with him (Tucci 1971: 410).<sup>24</sup>

Tucci (1971: 410–411) reports:

They [sTag tshang ras pa and his consorts] reached Ga śa. The king of the place, Ts'e rin dpal lde, rendered service to them for three months. Then in K'an gсар they were attended by the younger sister of the king with her son [...]. They also visited places near Lāhul, such as Gandhola, Gusa mandala, Re p'ag and Maru, corresponding to the toes of the *vajrakāya*. In winter they sat in retreat for six months in gYur dson. Then, for two months they went to Dar rtse, where was the king. Altogether they spent an entire year in Ga śa. [...] he [sTag tshang ras pa] went with a single monk from Dar rtse to K'an gсар, sKye nan, Gusamaṇḍala where begins the country of Kuluta corresponding to the knees of the *vajrakāya*....

Tucci identifies “sKye nan” and the king from “Ga śa” as Tinan and its ruler Tshe ring rgyal po, the brother or son of bSod nams rgya mtsho, whose reign is attested for around 1569 CE. Francke brings up a document from Kolong that, commemorating the erection of a *stūpa* around 1584 CE, mentions the name of a rGyal po Tshe ring or rGyal po Tshe ring dpal lde and a place called Zhi la, which Francke locates in the principality of Tinan (Francke 1926: 218). Tinan, however, is situated in the Chandra valley, and, according to the itinerary, sTag tshang ras pa spent most of the time in the Bhaga valley at “K'an gсар” (obviously corresponding to the Thakur castle Khangsar), in “Dar rtse” (corresponding to Darcha, the first village in Lahul when descending from Ladakh), and also in “gYur dson” (most likely the afore mentioned monastery Yoldong attributed to rGod tshang pa). Thus, it is possible that sTag tshang ras pa went not to Tinan, but only as far as the Gusamaṇḍala, which may be identified with the small village of Gus or Gushal at the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga. There is no indication that he ever travelled in the Chandra valley.

<sup>24</sup>On the one hand, sTag tshang ras pa is considered to be a contemporary of the Ladakhi king Sen ge rnam rgyal, whose dates are given as about 1600 to 1645 in the *Chronicles of Ladakh*. On the other hand, he met the famous lama bDe ba rgya mtsho (Deva rgya mtsho) in Zanskar on his way to Lahul (Tucci 1971: 410), who, according to the chronological account of Lahul, lived in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Francke undated: 34).

It is more likely that either the Thakurs of Kolong<sup>25</sup> (the lords of Khangsar castle on the northern/right bank of the Bhaga river)<sup>26</sup> or the *jos* (Thakur) of Barbog near Kardang accommodated the pilgrims, although there is no name in either of their chronicles that could correspond to the name of the king mentioned in the itinerary.<sup>27</sup>

Several *stūpas* line the road to the old castle of Khangsar near the village Kolong. One passage *stūpa* (FIGURE 7.12) attracts the attention of the traveller, since it differs drastically from the smaller, simpler ones in Lahuli style. The passage *stūpa*, erected on a square platform, probably made of stone and bricks and thickly plastered, is in good condition apart from the wooden *chattra* at the top that is broken and now kept in the empty, undecorated dome of the gateway. It is possible that the drum was damaged and later repaired when the *chattra* collapsed or was removed. However, the elaborate double-staircase form with unusual small openings is a unique form and seems to be original, but is uncommon in this area. This form is broadly reminiscent of a Western Tibetan *stūpa* type as one finds it in Tholing.<sup>28</sup> One *stūpa* on top of the roof of the Ye shes 'od Temple, and one of the Eight Great Stūpas depicted in the wall paintings of the Red Temple present this peculiar accentuation of the vertical displaced middle segment. Gerald Kozicz has recently discovered a group of

<sup>25</sup>The chronicle of Kolong states that the Thakur family was in charge of Lahul when the region was under Tibetan rule, that is, till the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. This is doubted by Francke, who believes that the chiefs of Barbog were the governors during that time (Francke 1926: 206). The chronicle, however, emphasizes that “during this time Lāmās and Gurūs were introduced into this country” (Francke 1926: 202). Till this time, the Kolong ancestors had Tibetan names, which might also indicate their Tibetan origin, which was later on denied by the descendants. Frank Seeliger reports that the kings of Kulu and the power of the Thakur families from Kolong, Barbog and Triloknath reinforced Hinduism in Lahul during the seventeenth centuries. Conversion to Hinduism was carried to extremes in the middle of the nineteenth century, when Hari Chand, of the Kolong dynasty, married a Hindu woman. The Moravian missionaries remark on his fundamentalist practising of Hindu beliefs, which exceeded the common caste system (Seeliger 2003: 166).

<sup>26</sup>Tucci erroneously locates Khangsar on the left bank of the Bhaga (Tucci 1971: 410).

<sup>27</sup>For further information on the chronicles and the genealogical tree of the Thakurs of Kolong, Barbog and Tinan, see Francke 1926: 195–220.

<sup>28</sup>I am thankful to Gerald Kozicz for this suggestion. In the last years Kozicz documented and measured an impressive amount of different *stūpa*-types all over Ladakh and provides a first compilation of this survey on his website (last visited 24-03-2013): <http://stupa.arch-research.at/cms/index.php?id=4>.





**Figure 7.12** Passage *stūpa* near Khangsar castle in Kolong. Photo: V. Widorn 2007, WHAV

hitherto less known *stūpas* in Ladakh that are structurally similar to the monument in Khangsar. Among them is the *stūpa* of Tragkhung Kowache in the Indus valley.<sup>29</sup> In contrast to Khangsar, the Ladakhi version provides small niches on the middle part of each step. With regard to the Western Tibetan model, Kozicz dates the *stūpa* with niches in Tragkhung Kowache to the 11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> century. This is indeed an early but acceptable date also for the passage *stūpa* in Khangsar, which seems to have been influenced by the Ladakhi examples.

Also the impressive multi-storey fort high on the hill with a wide view of the river and the entire Bhaga valley appears as if it might have been inspired by the prestigious palaces of Ladakh, such as the Stok or the Leh palace (FIGURE 7.13). The massive stone building possesses an amazing number of rooms<sup>30</sup> and a large inner courtyard surrounded by tall wooden columns with fanciful, carved brackets (FIGURE 7.14). The atrium, which

<sup>29</sup>See <http://stupa.arch-research.at/cms/index.php?id=131> (last visited 24-03-2013).

<sup>30</sup>The old caretaker of the castle used to emphasize that the palace consists of 108 rooms, which may not correspond to the real number of chambers but shows that this auspicious number is also implemented in architectural concepts of secular buildings.



**Figure 7.13** Khangsar castle near Kolong. Photo: V. Widorn 2007, WHAV

provides light for the adjoining chambers and is where rainwater is collected in a wooden cistern, functions as the centre and meeting place of the castle, and in summer also as the cooking and sleeping area for the domestic servants. One reaches the different floors and the flat roof by means of various loose wooden ladders. The third floor not only contains the dining hall and the parlour, but also a small chapel decorated with a fine collection of thangkas, probably from no earlier than the 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century. The chapel is furthermore filled with Tibetan manuscripts stacked in old wooden bookshelves (FIGURE 7.15).

It is not difficult to imagine that sTag tshang ras pa spent several months in this sophisticated environment discussing and “explaining various doctrines, such as the *mahāmudrā*, the six laws of Nāropa, the *prāṇayoga*, the law of the karmic connection, the esoteric methods, the teachings of Mar pa, Mi la ras pa and Dvags po rje, the story of the law, the Mani bka’ ’bum etc.” (Tucci 1971: 410), and probably decided to visit Ladakh on his return journey from Uḍḍiyāna.

The setting of Kolong and the castle allows for a good view to the east, where the valley broadens in the direction of Darcha, the northernmost village of Himachal Pradesh on the route to Ladakh and Zanskar. In the west, the Bhaga becomes wild and powerful, cutting its channel deep into



**Figure 7.15** Book shelves with manuscripts in the chapel of Khangsar castle. Photo: V. Widorn 2002, WHAV



**Figure 7.14** Courtyard of the Khangsar castle. Photo: V. Widorn 2007, WHAV

the mountains. At the western end of the valley, also on the right river bank, Yoldong was constructed under a rock overhang on a nearly vertical cliff (see FIGURE 7.9). The monastery nearly conflates with the crag, and it is still inhabited by one high lama who is frequented by local people for medical advice. The cave-like setting, only accessible by a steep and narrow path, must have been a terrific place for sTag tshang ras pa's retreat in wintertime. No paintings or furniture in the monastery can be dated to the time of the famous pilgrim.

After the one year that sTag tshang ras pa spent in Khangsar, Darcha and Yoldong, he continued on his travels towards the Chandrabhaga valley. Schwieger reports that, according to the biography, "he set off again at the first calendar day of the eighth month in the wood hare year", which corresponds to August 25, 1615 (Schwieger 1996: 101). sTag tshang ras pa's first stop was Gusamaṇḍala, corresponding to Gushal, a small village located directly at the confluence of the Bhaga and Chandra rivers. This place is auspicious because it is a charnel and cremation ground, obviously used by Hindus and Buddhists alike, and associated with one of the eight charnel grounds of Padmasaṃbhava.

From this spot on, after the two rivers merge, the valley is called the Chandrabhaga or Chenab valley, or Pattan. In contrast to the other two valleys of Lahul, the majority of the population in this region is Hindu, mainly Śaiva. The itinerary of sTag tshang ras pa reports (Tucci 1971: 410):

Then in two days he reached Re phag, where there is the image of sPyan ras gzigs in the form of a 'Gro drug sgröl ye śes. The image is made in stone from Ka ma ru. Then in one day to Maru, in two days to Pata; then to the bottom of the Ko ta la pass; having crossed the pass full of snow, he reached Pangi and then Sura and then Na rañ.

Re phag is today called Triloknath, a popular pilgrimage center for both Hindus and Buddhists, spectacularly located at the edge of a cliff high above the Chandrabhaga (FIGURE 7.16). The *māhātmya* of Triloknath<sup>31</sup> tells of the genesis of Ras 'phags, the Tibetan name of Triloknath, and gives a description of the marble Avalokiteśvara, the main idol of the temple. The name Ras 'phags, or Re phag as it is called by the local people, is

<sup>31</sup>The *māhātmya* was collected by Francke and translated by Johannes Schubert (1935). According to the colophon, which contains the names of the author, the carver and the printer, the block print can be dated to 1905 (Schubert 1935: 77).



**Figure 7.17** Entrance to the sanctum with a decorated Sugatisaṃdarśana Lokeśvara. Photo: M. Kimberger 2007



**Figure 7.16** Triloknath. Photo: V. Widorn 2004, WHAV

considered by Francke to be derived from the Tibetan word *re ba*, which means “hope”. According to Schubert, the local name and the reference to hope explain perfectly one reason for visiting this pilgrimage site, namely the wish of childless couples for offspring.<sup>32</sup> However the syllable *ras* may also refer to sPyan ras gzigs, Avalokiteśvara, as Schubert (1935: 127) explains.

On the one hand, Triloknath is said to have been founded by the Paṇḍavas, making the site one of the earliest traces of Hindu worship. Francke (undated: 15), on the other hand, refers to a chronological account of Lahul, the *legs bshad rtsi gсар rin chen dun 'byung*, which mentions the name of Nāgārjuna, who is believed to have founded the Triloknath monastery around 100 CE. Francke further reports that another local tale tells of Dril bu pa having founded the ancient monastery in the 6<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> century.

The Triloknath temple complex tries to fulfil the demands of Buddhists and Hindus (FIGURE 7.16). The sacred compound contains a wide courtyard, decorated with Śiva symbols and Buddhist prayer flags, a *liṅga* shrine and a chapel with a huge *maṇi* wheel. The temple itself possesses a well-spaced anteroom with a simple gable-roof that leads to the *śikhara* structure of the sanctum. The sanctum is erected on a square ground plan in the *nagara* fashion with a rather massive *śikhara* and a richly decorated facade (FIGURE 7.17).<sup>33</sup> This is certainly one of the oldest parts of the temple. The large avalanche of 1979 destroyed some parts of the monument along with many houses nearby. The sanctum with the main idol was miraculously left intact.<sup>34</sup> According to Verma (1998: 112), the hall,

<sup>32</sup>This assumption can not be confirmed by local tradition. However, Surinder M. Bhardwaj, who examined Hindu pilgrimage sites in India, emphasizes “that high-level sacred places of ‘supraregional’ character are visited largely for general purification, while the regional- and subregional-level shrines seem to be specific-purpose oriented” (Bhardwaj 1973: 162). He refers to the wish-granting characteristic of female deities and their symbolic meaning of fertility, abundance and prosperity within the Himalayan region. Especially the Devī shrines of Himachal Pradesh, such as the Mirkulā Devī Temple of Udaipur, which is closely connected to Triloknath, may also be associated with the particular purpose of pilgrimage mentioned above.

<sup>33</sup>For a detailed survey of the monument, drawings and measurements of the sanctum, and descriptions of carvings and sculptural decoration see Widorn and Kozicz 2012.

<sup>34</sup>The sanctum was already spared once before, when in 1863 an avalanche destroyed nearly the whole village (Verma 1998: 112). I was told by Nawang Jinpa from the Young Drukpa Association, Lahul, that fragments of the destroyed building were recently found at the bottom of the cliff.

together with the narrow ambulatory around the stone shrine, seems to have been reconstructed based on the original plan. Thomas Maxwell visited the south-facing temple before the avalanche and gives the following detailed description of the *antarāla* (Maxwell 1980: 60):

This structure is not original...it is a windowless chamber, more expertly built of stone blocks, but its surfaces are not molded or sculptured. Inside, it is arranged like a makeshift Tibetan prayer-hall. Blackened thangkas hang on the walls, large drums of the type used in the Kyelang gonpas are suspended from the ceiling. Against the east wall stands a Buddhist altar with ritual vessels [...].

The hall today is no longer so “Tibetan”. There is still a huge butter lamp in the south-west corner, and a Buddhist monk performs the rituals together with a Hindu priest. Pilgrims, when crossing the room to approach the sanctum, also use this space for musical performances for the deity. In his article, Maxwell published two photographs of the decayed *pradakṣiṇāpatha* around the sanctum before the last renovation. It shows the *vimāna* walls together with a row of *maṇi* wheels and wooden pillars. Maxwell (1980: 61) calls them “Tibetan Buddhist pillars”, as their brackets are very common in the Buddhist monasteries of Lahul. Compared with them, the brackets of two stone pillars in front of the sanctum certainly belong to the original stone structure of the building and depict two seated Buddhas. Triloknath is therefore the only Buddhist *nagara* temple in the Himalayan area and might have been influenced by the stone temples of Chamba, Kulu and Kangra, although the *sikhara* in Triloknath has a more compact structure and simple decoration. It is difficult to date precisely the founding of the Triloknath temple, as the building has undergone many changes and renovations. No part of the monument’s current structure is as old as local tradition holds the monument to be. The monument was obviously constructed before the second diffusion of Buddhism (10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century) in Western Tibet.

The celebrated site in the Chandrabhaga valley is even today highly revered by Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims from the neighbouring districts and even beyond Himachal Pradesh. The annual Pori fair in August attracts thousands of pilgrims to the *tīrtha*, where Hindus from all over India worship the “Lord of three Worlds” (*triloknāth*), and Buddhists the marble image of Avalokiteśvara. As mentioned in the itinerary, the idol shows a six-armed Avalokiteśvara in *lalitāsana*. For most of the time, the body

of the marble sculpture is covered with heavy, expensive textiles, while the small Amitābha located in its hair, which identifies the sculpture as clearly Buddhist, is always visible (FIGURE 7.17). The figure in the form of a Sugatisaṃdarśana Lokeśvara sits on a high pedestal holding a lotus, a baton, a flask, and a jewel in four of its hands. One of its right hands displays *varadamudrā*, while another right hand holds a *mālā* in front of his breast. The itinerary of sTag tshang ras pa mentions that the image is made of stone from Ka ma ru, which Tucci (1971: 411) identifies as a place in the upper Chandrabhaga valley near Chamba. There is also another artefact, made of stone and also depicting a Sugatisaṃdarśana Lokeśvara, that is now kept behind the altar and is said to be the original idol.<sup>35</sup> The bodhisattva also sits in *lalitāsana* on a high lotus pedestal, his right front arm is broken, while the others hold the typical attributes of a stylized *padma*, *mālā*, *kamaṇḍalu*, *maṇi*, one hand shows *varadamudrā*. The dark stone figure with its rosette-shaped crown that has an Amitābha on top of it, the body with the broad shoulders, the narrow waist and sharply cut belly clearly display an 8<sup>th</sup> century Kashmiri style. It is unknown when the original bodhisattva image was replaced by the much later marble copy.<sup>36</sup> The use of the term “stone” and not “marble” in sTag tshang ras pa’s itinerary would rather indicate that it was still the dark stone image that was being worshipped in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>37</sup>

After visiting Triloknath, sTag tshang ras pa went in one day to Maru which, based on the short distance, can be identified as the village of Udaipur some miles down the river on the right bank of the Chandrabhaga. As already mentioned, it is highly questionable whether the Maru mentioned in O rgyan pa’s itinerary is identical with Maru in the Chandrabhaga valley that was visited by sTag tshang ras pa three hundred years later. The pilgrims of the seventeenth century most likely took the same footpath from Triloknath down to Maru or Udaipur as people do nowadays. The small trail goes past some fragments of unique stone slabs with

<sup>35</sup>Both images are published in Handa (2001: III.16–17).

<sup>36</sup>Sahni reports that “there is a belief that when people go to see this idol, it shows a dark gloomy face to those with whom the lord is unhappy while it shows a bright white face to those with whom the lord is happy.” (Sahni 1994: 251) This story might have been inspired by the existence of two differently coloured images with the same iconography.

<sup>37</sup>The importance of Triloknath increased in the following centuries. Stutchbury (1991: 68) reports two prominent persons among the numbers of pilgrims visiting Triloknath, namely sPrul gzhi ngag dbang tshen ring of the ‘Brug pa bKa’ brgyud order and the dGe lugs pa lama Tshul khrims nyi ma, who lived in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.





**Figure 7.18** Fountain stone on the footpath from Triloknath to Udaipur.  
Photo: V. Widorn 2007

ornamental and figurative carvings. These artefacts were mainly used as fountain stones installed at the many springs flowing down to the Chandrabhaga. The figurative carvings display predominantly religious scenes like deities from the Hindu pantheon, river goddesses and *nāgas*. Popular topics are Anantaśayana or Viṣṇu and his *avatāras* including Buddha. Fountain slabs were frequently found all over Lahul and Chamba, and are valuable historical evidence because they often contain inscriptions with the name of the patron and the date of production. Despite the great variety of topics, there is one recurring motive, namely the presentation of the adoration of the Śiva *liṅga* by the patron(s). One damaged stone on the path down from Udaipur shows on the left side a couple sitting cross-legged in front-view next to a *liṅga* on which the female adherent is pouring the liquid (FIGURE 7.18). On the opposite side of the worshipping scene sits another figure in *padmāsana*, quite weathered but by means of the bangles, necklaces and long hair falling on the shoulders still recognizable as Śiva in his ascetic form. Above the frieze is depicted a pair of *haṃsas* facing each other with a vase between them, also a common mo-

tive in this area. Although there is no visible inscription, the stone can be dated to medieval times due to the elaborated style.<sup>38</sup>

sTag tshang ras pa probably passed this and/or similar stones on his way from Triloknath to the *pīṭha* he considered the toes of the *vajrakāya*. Tobdan maintains that “indeed Margul [Maru] was recognized by the Tibetan pilgrims as the most important tīrtha among all the sacred places situated in Lahul” (Tobdan 1984: 86). He further explains that the site “Maru-tse” mentioned in Tibetan historical works as well as the name Maru found in itinerary reports of Tibetan pilgrims like rGod tshang pa refers to “Margul” in Lahul (Tobdan 1984: 86).<sup>39</sup>

Even if we can not locate the exact position of the *pīṭha* that sTag tshang ras pa considered as Maru and sought after—maybe in order to find the meditation cave of the *dākinī* Vajravārāhī—the place must have been situated in or near Udaipur at the confluence of the Maiyar Nallah with the Chandrabhaga. Jean Phillippe Vogel (1911: 15) was the first to mention that the wooden Mirkulā (or Markulā) Devī Temple<sup>40</sup> in Udaipur is a shrine dedicated to Kālī, who is locally known as Goddess Markulā or Mar sgul. The latter spelling is found on an inscription on a stone slab that was found near Udaipur by J. E. Duncan and translated by Francke. Vogel refers to Francke,<sup>41</sup> who maintains that the Buddhists of Lahul worship the goddess of Markulā as rDo rje phag mo or Vajravārāhī and that

<sup>38</sup>For comparisons with fountain stones from the region, now kept in the Bhuri Singh Museum in Chamba, see Vogel 1911 and Sethi 2002.

<sup>39</sup>Tobdan traces the name “Margul” back to Margul Guru, the founder of the Tag lung pa school who protected Menzhang, a village that Svetoslav Roerich assigns to Purang. Tobdan points out that one finds a place originally named Men-zhang (now Kishori) just below Triloknath and supposes that there was probably a connection between this place and Margul. The fact that Margul Guru is described in Tibetan historical works as a monk residing in Margul indicates for Tobdan that Margul was a permanent residence for gurus and lamas (Tobdan 1984: 85). Unfortunately Tobdan does not name his sources for these theories.

<sup>40</sup>The origin and etymology of the name Mirkulā or Markulā has so far not been discussed in scholarly literature. It probably derives from one of the local dialects like Manchad.

<sup>41</sup>The famous Herrnhuter missionary, A. H. Francke, never visited Udaipur, although he spent some time at the missionary station in Kyelong between 1907 and 1908. He visited most of the villages and sacred sites of Lahul, but mainly those of the Bhaga and Chandra valley. In his unpublished manuscript on the “Ancient History on Lahul” (kept in the Archive of the Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde), he notes that:

Margul [...] is a place of pilgrimage for Buddhists as well as Hindus. The



**Figure 7.19** Mirkulā Devī Temple, Udaipur. Photo: V. Widorn 2007, WHAV

according to the stone inscription, the temple formed part of the monastery of Mar sgul before it was reconverted into a Hindu sanctuary (Vogel 1911: 249, 267–68).

The Mirkulā Devī Temple is situated along the main road elevated in the center of the village of Udaipur (FIGURE 7.19). The shrine is aligned on an east-west axis and built on a platform on a slope; it is reached by a short flight of steps, recently rebuilt by the Archaeological Survey of India, and is flanked by a lion statue on either side. The external walls consist of masonry mixed with timber elements and are covered on the inner and outer sides with a coat of plaster. The temple has an unusually steep gable-type roof with wooden shingles covering the *maṇḍapa* and an almost vertical

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Hindus go to worship Kali, the wife of Siva, and the Tibetans worship rDorje phagmo. [...] That Margul may be an ancient Buddhist place of worship, is made probable by the wood carving of Mara's attack on Buddha in the ceiling of the temple, discovered by Dr. Vogel, and by the fact that a Tibetan inscription brought to light by Miss Jane Duncan, speaks of Margul as a dgonpa. (Francke undated: 15)

conical roof over the sanctum and the ambulatory. The interior of the monument, erected on a rectangular ground plan with a square cell sanctuary that is surrounded by a narrow ambulatory, contains an overwhelmingly rich wooden decoration, which covers the front of the *garbhagrha*, the whole ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* and both sides of the window balcony on the south wall. The oldest part of the wooden structure, the facade of the sanctum, may date back to the 9<sup>th</sup> century, but it has also been extended over the centuries.<sup>42</sup> The extremely rich and splendid wooden decoration of the interior shows mainly Hindu deities and narrative scenes referring to the Mahābhārata and Ramāyana. Some Buddhist elements, such as the scene on the ceiling showing Buddha's temptation by Māra and his evil forces, or some lotus-ornaments, are seen as indicators that the Mirkulā Devī Temple was a Buddhist pilgrimage centre for several centuries. According to the iconographic program, the shrine might originally have been dedicated to Viṣṇu or Sūrya. But nowadays the Mirkulā Devī Temple is one of the popular Devī shrines in Himachal Pradesh, with a Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardinī as the main idol (FIGURE 7.20). Based on the inscription on the pedestal, the small brass statuette was dated by Vogel (1911: 249–250) to the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and must have been worshipped already at the time of sTag tshang ras pa. The temple is visited daily by Buddhist and Hindu practitioners, but the Durgā image, which is always covered with splendid garments and flower garlands, is considered to be rDo rje phag mo or Vajravārāhī by the Buddhist community.

If there ever was a monastery or a Buddhist site named Maru or Mar sgul in or near Udaipur, it had certainly vanished by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century when Raja Udai Singh of Chamba, who ruled between 1690 and 1720 (Hutchinson and Vogel 1933: 309–310) became the name patron of the village. Goetz presumes that this happened around 1695 “when Raja Udai Singh raised it [the village Udaipur] to the status of a district center in the part of Lahul which his father Chattar (or Satru) Singh (1664–1690) had annexed to the Chamba State” (Goetz 1955: 90). The *Vaṃśāvalī* reports that the *rājā* raised some money from the production of a copper mine for the restoration of several temples (Bharti 2001: 54–55). Then, like the rest of the Chandrabhaga valley, Udaipur became a stronghold of Hinduism — interfering with Buddhist tradition and the indigenous worship of local deities.

<sup>42</sup>See Widorn (2007, 152–154). A publication of the thesis is currently in preparation.



**Figure 7.20** Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī, Mirkulā Devī Temple, Udaipur.  
Photo: V. Widorn 2007, WHAV

It is unclear which route sTag tshang ras pa chose to leave Lahul and proceed to Chamba. He did not seem to follow rGod tshang pa's track over the Kugti Pass and the Manimahesh Kailash to Brahmaur. The spelling of the place names in sTag tshang ras pa's itinerary does not show any accordance with the local topography.<sup>43</sup> Today the common way to Chamba is the route via Mindal and Kilar over the Sach pass,<sup>44</sup> but any of the other passes still regularly traversed by the Gaddis might just as well have been used by the pilgrims.

## Sanctifying the Landscape in Lahul

The travels of the three pilgrims through the Western Himalayan region and their paths through (or at least near Lahul) reveal different intentions, strategies and accomplishments. Toni Huber writes that “perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the journeys of Götsangpa and Orgyenpa [...] were their claims for the location of the *pīṭha* which they visited.” (Huber 2008: 108). The visit and the identification of the various *pīṭhas* associated with the *vajrakāya* were certainly of great interest for the 'Brug pa adepts of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and most likely the initial reason for their travels.

rGod tshang pa belonged to the first generation of pilgrims who ignored the significance of the popular *aṣṭamahāsthāna*, the eight great sites, from the Ganges plain up to Lumbini, connected directly to the eight great events in the Buddha's life. Huber refuses to blame the decline of Buddhism in North India for the shift of the *vajrakāya* to the Himalayan region as this would imply social and political factors rather than spiritual concepts. He also contradicts Mark Dyczkowski's idea that high Tantric practitioners were able to re-project and visualize the original *pīṭha* onto a local landscape in order to visit the sacred sites also in other parts of India (Huber 2008: 108–109). He alternately suggests that the early 13<sup>th</sup> century is the starting point of a new Tantric Buddhist *pīṭha*-system of

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<sup>43</sup> There is a 'Brug pa monastery in the Pangī valley called Sural (Sura?) Monastery, but it seems to be rather new. For further information on the Pangī valley, see Chaudhry 1998.

<sup>44</sup> Reportedly there has been road construction going on recently — however, most of the year the pass and also the road through the Pangī valley are only accessible via foot due to constant landslides or avalanches.

twenty-four external sites that has since been adapted several times, according to religious and social dynamics (Huber 2008: 109). In the 13<sup>th</sup> century the *pīṭhas* of the *vajrakāya* were located in the Indian Himalayan area, creating a corridor of auspicious sites from Western Tibet to the Hindukush. Huber mentions the *pīṭha* Maru as a place that actually names a region in Rajasthan, but which has been identified by O rgyan pa as a site in the southern region of the Himalayan range. Although sTag tshang ras pa used O rgyan pa's travelogue and intended to follow his itinerary, it is not astonishing that he transferred this *pīṭha* corresponding to the toes of the *vajrakāya* to the Chandrabhaga valley, which was certainly a reasonable adjustment of his travel route from Lahul to Chamba. It is uncertain whether it was a significant coincidence that Udaipur and the Mirkulā Devī Temple were already connected to a place called Maru or Mar gyul before the 17<sup>th</sup> century, or whether this myth was just created as a reaction to sTag tshang ras pa's visit. Nevertheless, the important function of the Mirkulā Devī Temple as a Buddhist site that is associated with Vajravārāhī is also demonstrated in the *māhātmya* of Triloknath (Schubert 1935: 135–136). “Mar gyul”, representing the mind or heart of Vajravārāhī or rDo rje phag mo, forms a spiritual trinity together with Dril bu ri, the Buddha's body that is associated with Cakrasaṃvara, and Triloknath, the location of the Speech associated with Avalokiteśvara (see also Stutchbury 1991: 64). Referring to these three sites Elisabeth A. Stutchbury also points out the “apparent ambiguity in identity between Hindu and Buddhist [...] and the continuing operation of pilgrimage sites which are both Hindu and Buddhist, such as Triloknath, the Markula Devī mandir and the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga Rivers” (Stutchbury 1991: 55).

This ambiguity of identity certainly derives from the *pīṭha* concept that the pilgrims of the 13<sup>th</sup> century employed for geographical sites in India which they associated with the victory of the wrathful Buddhist deity Heruka over Maheśvara (Huber 2008: 104–105). Huber states that common Hindu symbols were adapted by the Buddhist Tantric system to justify a *pīṭha* network in the Himalayan area that consisted mainly of Śaiva and Śākta places (Huber 2008: 106). This phenomenon is clearly visible in Lahul, as already demonstrated by reference to the main idols of the sanctuaries of Triloknath and Udaipur which are worshipped by various religious communities. The lantern ceiling of the Mirkulā Devī Temple further contains a splendid lotus-rosette encircled by a row of highly-styl-



**Figure 7.21** Ceiling with circle of *trīśūlas* or *vajras*. Photo: V. Widorn 2007, WHAV

ized *trīśūla* similar to and often read as a circle of double-*vajra* not only by the Buddhist practitioners (FIGURE 7.21).<sup>45</sup>

The Dril bu ri as the conspicuous core of Lahul's sacred landscape and the above mentioned pilgrimage triangle (Dril bu ri, Triloknath and Udaipur) was considered the abode of Śiva's *liṅga* before it became the residence of Cakrasaṃvara. The oral tradition of Chamba reports that Śiva, being disturbed by some *yogins*, left the Dril bu ri and flew to the Manimahesh Kailash in Chamba. The Buddhist tradition, however, claims that Ghāṇṭapa, one of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas*, converted the peak of the Dril bu ri into a *maṇḍala* of Cakrasaṃvara. Although the activities of the *siddha*, who is supposed to have lived in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, are normally placed in the area of Nālandā and Orissa, Dowman (1985: 274–275) claims that Ghāṇṭapa was instructed to go to Uḍḍiyāna.<sup>46</sup> Ghāṇṭapa,

<sup>45</sup>See, for example, Goetz 1955: 113, Maxwell 1980: 47–49, Klimburg-Salter 1994: 55.

<sup>46</sup>Eighty-four *siddhas* including Ghāṇṭapa are also considered to have travelled to Brahmapura where they worshipped Śiva, as recorded in the *Vaṃśāvalī* for the time of Sahila Varman. However, the date of this event is discussed by Tucci and Goetz (Goetz 1955: 32), and by Kamal Prashad Sharma (2001: 74–85).



whose name means “the one with the bell” (*dril bu pa* in Tibetan), is supposed to have lived together with a beautiful young girl, a *ḍākinī*, in the Chandrabhaga valley. Since the local people started gossiping about this relationship, the *siddha* became angry and threw his wife into the air. The *ḍākinī* turned into the bell-shaped mountain above the confluence of the Chandra and Bhaga. Ghāṅṭapa himself turned into Cakrasaṃvara, flew after her, and now lives there with his wife, turning the peak of the Dril bu ri into a *maṇḍala* of Cakrasaṃvara.<sup>47</sup>

A day-long circumambulation route leads around the peak of the holy mountain, starting from Kardang and ending either in the village Gondhla or at the monastery of Guru Ghantal. It is regularly performed by the local people.<sup>48</sup> The special geological formation creates in the landscape of Lahul a *maṇḍala*-like topography. The whole area of Lahul is surrounded by the high peaks of the Great Himalayan Divide and the Zaskar Himalayan range, and only four major passes (the Kunzum la to Spiti in the east, the Rothang la to Kulu in the south, the Sach la to Chamba in the west, and the Baralacha la to Ladakh in the north) permit vehicular travel enabling economic exchange with the neighbouring regions. This particular geographical setting can be interpreted as a semantic analogy to the outer circle of a *maṇḍala* with its gates opening into all four directions. Originating from opposite corners of Chandratul lake near the Baralacha pass and flowing in different directions, the rivers Chandra and Bhaga join again at the base of the sacred mountain Dril bu

<sup>47</sup>Mountains play a pivotal role in Lahul. Elizabeth Stutchbury in her article about the perception of the Lahuli landscape demonstrates, by referring to a prayer from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, that the peak of the Dril bu ri is “the central spot where three valleys come together; is the place of the triangle from which all the phenomena originate.” The poem describes the peaks of the surrounding mountains and concludes with the verses: “such is this best and most blessed place; an abode of the yogins of the past; a place for the practitioners of the future” (Stutchbury 1999: 158). Important and worshipped mountains are the Karkyogs double peak (opposite the Dril bu ri) and the high peak in the Chandra valley at Sissu, which is considered the abode of Gephang, the mountain protector of Lahul.

<sup>48</sup>For a detailed description of the day-long *skor ba* (circumambulation) see Stutchbury 1991: 70–73 and Widorn and Kinberger 2009: 293–304. I was told by Nawang Jinpa, that the term “Korzha Khandroling” for the pilgrimage circuit around the Dril bu ri, as used by Stutchbury and later by myself, is totally unknown to the local people, the more so because the spelling of Garzha with K seems to be rather unusual. He also emphasized that Stutchbury’s perception of Lahul as a *maṇḍala* was only her personal vision which is not shared by the inhabitants. Still, the circuit (or *parikrama*) around the Dril bu ri is a ritual frequently performed by the local people.

ri and flow as the Chandrabhaga or Chenab river towards Jammu and Kashmir and further on to Pakistan. The course of the rivers is another natural component of a *maṇḍala* structure with the sacred mountain in the center. The exceptional scenery of Lahul and the Dril bu ri was also realized and highly appreciated by rGod tshang pa, as can be seen from his biography (Tucci 1971: 378):

This mountain is one mile high and he saw on its top the self-born *stūpa* called *dharma mu tri*. On its four sides are miraculous rivers and trees. It is a place blessed by all *dpa' bo* and *ḍākinīs*: it is also the residence of *yogins* and *yoginīs* who have attained to perfection. It is a place absolutely superior to all others [...].

The dualism of female and male power, which rGod tshang pa referred to in his description, is particularly distinctive in Lahul. The Chandra ('moon') is normally regarded as the male, while the Bhaga represents the female power. In the legends of Lahul this polarity is switched: the Chandra is considered to be the daughter of the moon and the Bhaga the son of the sun god (Gill 1972: 15). The legend reports how the two rivers create a trail through the mountainous landscape of Lahul to be united at the foot of the Dril bu ri. The confluence of the rivers symbolizes the union of the female and the male "which geographically represent the yogic or tantric practices which achieve that union within the adept's mind-body" (Stutchbury 1991: 60).

From his travelogue it becomes evident that rGod tshang pa did not exclusively intend to reach Uḍḍiyāna and visit all twenty-four *pīṭhas*, but yearned for auspicious places for meditation and spiritual contemplation. He seems to have been fascinated by the energetic topography of Lahul, so that he returned to the remote location he had already visited at the slopes of the Dril bu ri. Since then, his fame as a *siddha* has additionally sanctified the landscape of Lahul. People not only consider him the miraculous founder of monasteries in the Bhaga valley, but have also identified his body imprints and his meditation cave which have become significant elements of the sacred landscape in Lahul and important stations on the circumambulation around the Dril bu ri.

## Conclusion

The religious map that rGod tshang pa encountered when he travelled to Lahul in the 13<sup>th</sup> century was shaped by some monuments and artefacts of Mahāyāna Buddhism that obviously did not at all attract the pilgrim's primary attention. Despite the difficulties of linking the place names in the pilgrims' itineraries to real sites, monasteries and sanctuaries like Gumrang and Johling are not mentioned. rGod tshang pa and also his follower O rgyan pa were not interested in the old Buddhist tradition of the previous centuries. They were longing to complete the internal and external ritual journey to the twenty-four *pīthas* of the *vajrakāya*, and they were looking for extraordinary energetic places. rGod tshang pa preferred retreats at high altitudes, probably admiringly overlooking the three valleys and the confluence of the rivers and meditating at places he considered blessed by *siddhas* and *dākinīs*. Like *yogins* and *yoginīs* before him, he wanted to attain perfection. According to his travelogue rGod tshang pa only stayed in the immediate vicinity of the Dril bu ri—and also the monasteries Kardang and Yoldong, which are attributed to him, are close to this setting. Since his teacher did not identify any *pītha* in Lahul, O rgyan pa obviously did not even bother to travel that far, and omitted Lahul from his pilgrimage route. Any reference to Lahul in his biography is only fabulous and legendary. At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when sTag tshang ras pa visited Lahul and especially the Bhaga valley, the area had already started to flourish as a stronghold of the 'Brug pa order, which—after a period of fundamentalist Hindu rulers in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Stutchbury 1991: 50)—it is until today. A dozen 'Brug pa monasteries overlook the entire Bhaga valley, situated within eyeshot of each other on both sides of the river high up into the mountains. Monasteries such as Shashur and Tayul, both on the right side of the valley, are considered foundations of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, possibly as a direct result of sTag tshang ras pa's one year sojourn and teaching in this region. In contrast to his predecessor, sTag tshang ras pa mainly resided at the right bank of the Upper Bhaga valley and probably as a guest of the rulers of Kolong. His travels in Lahul reflect his interest in meeting, communicating and interacting with “worldly as well as [...] spiritual persons of rank” as Schwieger (1996: 103) has already noticed. As an experienced, well-travelled and intellectual person, sTag tshang ras pa was a highly-coveted tantric practitioner whom even the king of Ladakh tried to entice to a visit to Ladakh (Schwieger 1996: 103).

The travels of rGod tshang pa and sTag tshang ras pa mark the beginning and the end of the search for the twenty-four holy sites of the *vajrakāya* in the Indian Himalayas and the spiritual journey to the mystical Uḍḍiyāna by Tibetan pilgrims. The interest in Uḍḍiyāna, long lost as a Buddhist paradise after the Muslim invasion, was shifted to other places and territories. Huber (2008: 113–114) has observed the transfer of Indian *pīṭhas* to Tibet with the rising of the 'Bri khung pa already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Places like Tsari, Labchi and Tise became more and more popular as important pilgrimage centres in the following century.<sup>49</sup>

Francke found a votive inscription on a *maṇi* wall in Bog near Kolang that he ascribes to the time of the Kulu king Bhirkhyim Singh between 1790–1810 CE (Tobdan and Dorje 2008: 118, 150, n. 140). Its lines illustrate both the unique features of Lahul's topography that have attracted and inspired Tibetans pilgrims for centuries, as well as the recreation and reinvention of sacred space by relocating important sites of the *pīṭha* system to the local landscape (translation in excerpts by Francke undated: 15):

Lahoul is a grand place, an august house, the place of fairies!  
 The mountain Gandhala is a place (like) Gaya. The glorious  
 Bell-mountain arose on a wonderful foundation. It is a place  
 blessed by all the Buddhas. The white glacier looks like dKar-  
 tirtsi [Tise]. The three united mountains look like Labphyi  
 [Labchi] the grand place. The three rivers together look like  
 the glorious Chubar. All is perfect like rTsari rtsagong [Tsari].  
 [...] The country is of different types, like India and Tibet put  
 together [...].

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<sup>49</sup>For a detailed description of the pilgrimage to and around Labchi, Tsari and Tise see Huber 1996 and Huber 1999a.

## Abbreviations

**WHA V** Western Himalaya Archive Vienna, Department of Art History, Univ. of Vienna.

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## The Theory of *anukṛti* in the *Abhinavabhāratī*

Parul Dave Mukherji

*Anukṛti* as a term and concept is most misunderstood in the historiography of Indian art. It has been banished as a keyword in Indian art and its marginalization has a lot to do with the colonial heritage of art history as a discipline.

Engaging with the traditional discourse around *anukṛti* poses a four-fold problem:

1. A historiographical problem—it is important to understand the reasons why *anukṛti* has been neglected in Indian art history and the anxiety surrounding this term in art historical writings.
2. What are the types of traditional sources that offer information about this term and the discourse surrounding it? It involves mapping the terrain of the usage of the term and its cognate concepts such as *satya* (truthful), *sādrśya* (similitude), *pratibimba* (reflection), *pratikṛti* (portrait), etc.
3. The problem of translation of the term *anukṛti* into English for which there is no singular term that captures its meaning. This is not just a linguistic problem but a philosophical one.
4. A move towards a post colonial art theory: By revisiting this forgotten discourse, my attempt is not only to contest the current hegemonic discourse of transcendentalism inaugurated by A. K. Coomaraswamy, but to consider *anukṛtivāda* as a valuable discourse in its own right. In articulating the theory of representation addressed by *anukṛtivāda*, there is a possibility of creating a dialogue with the past from a post colonial perspective that rethinks representation without lapsing into the essentialism of colonial binary logic.

## ***Anukṛti* in Indian Art Historiography**

The fact that *anukṛti* has not received due recognition within art historical discourse takes us to the colonial conditions under which art history as a discipline emerged in India.

*Anukṛti* got caught up in the nationalist defense of Indian art against the colonial view that Indian art was barbaric and lacked fine arts. To defend Indian art, the *śilpaśāstras* that had recently been discovered proved instrumental in the argument that fine arts in India existed both in theory and practice. When Indian art history was witnessing a 'textual' turn starting from the 1920s, the pioneering art historians had made claims of transcendentalism as a way to place Indian art on a higher plane than that of the naturalistic, degenerate western art. It was around the alleged absence of 'naturalism' that the discourse of transcendentalism was led, and hence any reference to *anukṛti* with its mimetic connotation was either avoided or conceptually recast as spiritual or mental.<sup>1</sup> The two pioneering art historians A. K. Coomaraswamy and Stella Kramrisch have done a great service to art history on the one hand, but as far as the *anukṛti* debate is concerned, they have bypassed it, falling under the spell of colonial art theory that accepted mimesis as a western domain. Rather than contesting such an ethnographic appropriation of mimesis, Coomaraswamy strengthened the colonial view by creating a binary between the materialist west that adopted mimesis in art as opposed to the spiritual east that not only shunned naturalism but declared the perceptual world as redundant to the project of pure transcendentalism. Such a construct gave rise to a myth that portraiture never existed as a category in Indian art.

Today, from a postcolonial perspective, it is possible to assert that the defense that placed Indian art in an advantageous position came at a price. To counter the weapon of naturalism in art that had been used to condemn Indian art, the cultural nationalists forged a more effective tool in the form of transcendentalism. Western artists may have mastered naturalism in their art; yet their art was impoverished in its spiritual quotient, an exclusive hallmark of Indian art. In this contestation, any reference to *anukṛti* would have destabilized the terms of defense leading to an anti-*anukṛti* bias. The very foundation of Indian art history was created in suppressing *anukṛti*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mukherji 2001: 3.

## Revisiting the Textual Archive to Explore *anukṛti*

There are a range of textual sources that offer us information about *anukṛti* from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, a number of *śilpaśāstras* such as the *Citrasūtra*, *Mānasollāsa*, *Śilparatna* and several examples of classical Sanskrit literature. In the case of the first two categories, *anukṛti* was assumed to be central to drama and visual arts such that there was no need to formulate a discourse around it. It was only when it got challenged and for the first time its efficacy was questioned that a complex debate grew around it. It is the *Abhinavabhāratī*, Abhinavagupta's commentary on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* that bears witness to this important debate around *anukṛti*, and it is ironical that this debate is preserved in the text which undermined the importance of *anukṛti* in its conclusion.

It is here that the problem of historiography and interpretation of portraiture in literary sources that have a bearing on representation gets entangled. As pointed out by Phyllis Granoff:

Despite the ample evidence in literature that portraits were representations of individuals, not “types”, it is clear that modern scholars are uncomfortable with accepting this evidence as proof for the existence of realistic portraiture in pre-Moghul India. Two factors seem to be involved; the first is the widespread interpretation of Indian art since Kramrisch and Coomaraswamy as dealing with “inner essences” or “spiritual essences” rather than external realities. The second is the lack of sufficient extant examples of portraiture, painted or sculpted, that could support the remarks in Sanskrit literature.<sup>2</sup>

In Sanskrit literature, there is no dearth of the theme of portraiture and the latter recurs as a literary device in many plays.<sup>3</sup> One such example is the *Pratimālakṣaṇa* of Bhāṣa in which Bharata, who was not aware of the death of his father, King Daśaratha, entered a Royal Portrait gallery where sculptural busts of dead kings were displayed. Recognition of his father's face in the portrait is the tragic moment for Bharata; for me, equally lamentable is the colonial misrecognition that claims that even in literary imagination, portraiture based on likeness to the sitter never existed!

<sup>2</sup>Granoff 2001: 66, fn. 6.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Saunders 1919: 299–302 as cited in Granoff 2001: 65, fn. 5.

What I call as the colonial bias or misrecognition continues down to recent times. Until quite recently, anyone who closely read *Pratimālakṣaṇa* continued to rely on Coomaraswamy's construct to conclude that attention to physical characteristic was alien to pre-modern portraiture in India.<sup>4</sup>

Molitor, according to Granoff, misses

Bharata's visual engagement with the statue and moment of recognition and reads the text to say that Bharata had to be told the statue was of his father. [...] In fact I think that the actual text tells us in a dramatic fashion that the image was a likeness and that Bharata recognized his father but could not accept fully the implication of what he was seeing.<sup>5</sup>

Portrait-making was certainly not alien to the literary imagination where references could be cited to show how portraits not only resembled the person but acted as substitutes for real people and underwent even marriage ceremonies. (The *Svapnavāsavadatta* mentions that when Udayana and Vāsavadatta eloped, their parents got their portraits married!) Some Sanskrit dramas, such as Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, treat of exact representation in portraits as a point of departure for philosophical discussions about the very nature of art and reality.

## ***Anukṛti* and the Problem of Translation**

Etymologically, *anukṛti* is constituted by *anu* + *√kṛt* which literally means "following the action of" and in that sense, imitation or mimicry in a performative sense seems close enough.<sup>6</sup> However, what complicates a simple translation is the fact that the English term carries a long history of shifting usage from the time of Plato till today.

Difficulty in translation may be seen as a productive terrain to explore an equally complicated history of the usage of *anukṛti* in pre-modern art theory in India. The very fact that there exists no one to one correspondence between *anukṛti* and mimesis takes us into the heart of a theoretical problem of cultural difference and simultaneously compels us to take up a comparative approach that can register cultural overlaps and differences.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. Molitor 1985, cited in Granoff 2001.

<sup>5</sup>Granoff 2001: n. 6, pp. 66f.

<sup>6</sup> *Anukṛti* defies a straightforward translation. When forced to translate *anukṛti*, I prefer "performative mimesis."

## Towards a Postcolonial Art Theory

Within the debates around global art history, there is a growing allegation made towards art historians and art critics in India that their conceptual tools are derivative of western methodology. I don't wish to enter into essentialised terms of such a debate but propose comparative aesthetics as a way to a postcolonial art history within which I locate my interest in the theory of *anukṛti*. Current poststructuralist theories about representation from Derrida to Deleuze can be a frame of reference for revisiting the pre-modern art theory and approaching the past from a contemporary perspective.<sup>7</sup>

### *Anukṛti* in the *Abhinavabhāratī*

It was my deep disenchantment with the transcendentalist discourse started by A. K. Coomaraswamy, following my critical edition of the *Citra-sūtra*, that alerted me to the discussion on *anukṛti* in the *Abhinavabhāratī*.

Let me focus on a particular section of a Sanskrit text, the *Abhinavabhāratī* of approximately the 10th century CE, which is a commentary by Abhinavagupta on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* (ca. 2nd cent. CE). It offered a unique conjunctural space that brought together aesthetics, philosophy, dramaturgy, visual arts along with logic and linguistics. The text has preserved a vibrant debate surrounding the question of visual representation in drama. A divided opinion existed concerning the relevance of *anukṛti*. There prevailed a group of aestheticians that embraced *anukṛti* (Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa, Śrī Śaṅkuka) as the constitutive element of performance and visual arts whereas another group (Bhaṭṭa Tauṭa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Abhinavagupta himself) vehemently countered its importance. Despite the fact that in the debate it is the latter group that emerges as the more dominant, the arguments by the defeated side are compelling and seem to have held sway before the discourse rejecting mimesis grew stronger.

Given the fact that the entire discussion around *anukṛti* occurs within the commentary on *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the context of drama is central. This does not preclude the theorists from drawing examples and parallels from visual arts that are particularly illuminating on what *anukṛti* implied in visual arts. It is the context of Bharata's *Rasasūtra*, after verse 31 of

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Derrida 1987.

the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s 6<sup>th</sup> *adhyāya* (NŚ), that serves as a starting point for the debate, ABh 3.2:

*vibhāvānubhāvavyabhicārisamyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ.*

The coming together of the primary mental states, the consequences and the transitory mental states produces *rasa*.

Abhinavagupta acquaints us with earlier theorists who embraced *anukṛti* as a basic explanatory model (cf. ABh 3.3 ff.). Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa's theory of intensification (*upacitivāda*) explains *rasa* as the imitation of *sthāyībhāvas* or a permanent mental state that is accompanied by intensification of emotional expression. When one of the eight basic mental states or *sthāyībhāva* gets intensified in the actor who plays the role of Rāma, the audience accepts the actor as Rāma. In other words, *rasa* is nothing other than intensified *sthāyībhāva* achieved through *anukṛti*. This view is refuted by his successor, Śrī Śaṅkuka who displaces *upacitivāda* with *anukṛtivāda* by drawing a distinction between a literary text that accomplishes *anukṛti* by verbal means—*vācika*—as opposed to a dramatic performance where the *naṭa* or actor combines the verbal with the performative—i.e., *vācika* with *abhinaya* or acting. Through physical means, the actor brings the emotion to the level of perception (*pratītiyogya*). Śaṅkuka subsequently launches into a defense of the illusion that a dramatic performance inevitable involves by invoking Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*.

Light given out by a jewel and a lamp may appear similar to two people who move towards it hoping to find a jewel. The light may have a different causal efficiency or *arthakriyākāritva*, as it may either lead to a lamp or a jewel, but both are examples of a mistaken cognition. In case of the latter, to take light which is an attribute for a substance is mis-cognition, according to this school of Buddhism. But at the level of perception, a shining jewel and flickering light of a lamp appear indistinguishable and impel the two people in the same way. While Śaṅkuka subscribes to Dharmakīrti to defend illusion in drama, he was also a Naiyāyika and gave a new twist to visual illusionism, deploying the Nyāya concept of inference or *anumāna*.

The manner is interesting in which Śaṅkuka interweaves *anukṛti* with inference as a special feature of dramatic performance. Being a Naiyāyika, he believed that human emotion can never be directly represented by an actor on stage and the only way it can be conveyed to the spectator is by its visual signs and symptoms. Just as fire in the mountains which is beyond the scope of visual perception is signified by smoke, in the same manner actors understand there is a universal concomitance between a



certain state of emotion and its corresponding symptoms, grimaces and gestures. For example, the *śṛṅgārarasa* or the erotic sentiment is conveyed through sidelong looks, play of eyebrows, and hand and body gestures of the actor. This is where his training and skill in dramatic performance are brought to play where we slide from actor who experiences the emotions artificially (*kr̥trima*) to Rāma, the character for whom these emotions are real or *pāramāṛthika*. The actor succeeds when he creates a correspondence or *anusandhāna* between the simulated and the real.

To elucidate the role of illusion in drama, Śaṅkuka brings in the analogy of the painted horse, *citraturaganyāya*. Just as when we stand before a painting of a horse, we tend to take the given configuration in paint as standing for a horse, in the same way we accept the actor for the character without falling prey to a mere delusion. Śaṅkuka makes a distinction between illusion that any creative act is predicated upon and delusion that springs from an untrained response of a spectator who tends to ask wrong questions before a painting or a drama.

- Is this a real horse or a real Rāma? — A question of *samyajjñāna* or right cognition.
- Is this a false horse or a false Rāma? — A question of *mithyājñāna* or wrong cognition.
- Is this a real or a false horse / a real or a false Rāma? — A question of *saṁśayajñāna* or doubtful cognition.
- Does this painted horse resemble a real horse? Does this actor resemble Rāma? — A question of *sādṛśyajñāna* or cognition of resemblance.

Only an uncultured viewer takes resort to the four modes of questions as the first question arises from the naive idea that an artist aspires to bring a real horse into a painting! In the same way, the aim of the actor is not to bring on to the stage the real Rāma who is a mythological or historical personage; hence the question of right cognition has no place in visual arts and drama.

The second question is also predicated upon a false notion of authenticity when the question of the real is itself suspended. Doubt which may have a legitimate place in a discussion in epistemology or ontology which deals with the distinction between truth and falsity makes no sense in a world of representation. The rejection of similitude or *sādṛśya* as non-valid cognition is odd given the example of a painted horse but it was perhaps

to drive home the point that aesthetic experience is in no way cognitive. It produces no knowledge. A painted horse need not resemble a real horse in a one to one correspondence and yet it can be interpreted as a horse through the marks that make up a painting. The skill of the artist is involved in creating the *anusandhāna* between the marks and the horse, just like the universal concomitance between the fire and the smoke. I suppose any consideration of resemblance would have implicated Śāṅkuka in referentiality that he rejects at the outset.

It is Abhinavagupta's teacher, Bhaṭṭa Tauṭa who systematically objects to the *anukṛtivāda* and demolishes it stage by stage by raising questions as follows:

If *rasa* is said to be the imitation of *sthāyībhāva*, is it so from the point of view of a) the spectator, b) the actor, c) critics or d) Bharata himself?<sup>8</sup>

The first proposition is rejected on grounds of referentiality so avidly rejected by Śāṅkuka. A painter can imitate the appearance of a horse and the painting is a valid mode of *anukṛti* as the object of imitation is accessible for all to see. This mode of painterly *anukṛti* is equated in drama to the actor's miming through gestures. So if an actor pretends to drink wine while drinking water, such an imitative act is permissible. But to imitate emotion of Rāma through action is not feasible because emotions are not like objects of visual perception. We grasp emotions through the mind and not the eyes. Emotions and actions belong to two distinct domains of knowledge which don't intersect and fall under different sense organs.

The critics pose their questions thus: How is it possible that the actor is able to imitate Rāma? For there to be any imitation, access to the original is vital. There can be no copy without the original. How can the actor claim to have seen the emotions experienced by Rāma? If you limit *anukṛti* to bodily gestures, or if you take imitation to mean any action based on a previous action, then it will lead to another logical absurdity of *atiprasakta* or a category that is too capacious to be useful, as the real life is full of repeated actions!

Bhaṭṭa Tauṭa rejects the theory of imitation from the point of view of the critics. The critics will not allow creative license to inference which for them was strictly a logical category of knowledge. He challenges Śāṅkuka's use of inference as an explanatory model for *anukṛti*:

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<sup>8</sup>Cf. ABh 5.15–20 for these questions. The discussion of the first three options is found in ABh 5.21–9.3; it is my basis for the following paragraphs.

If you say we have no direct access to emotions but they are to be inferred from the visible signs of facial expression and gestures; and if it is admitted that in case of the actor, emotions acted are artificial, but in the case of Rāma, the character, they are real, it would imply that the corresponding signs and symptoms that the actor acts out will also have to be regarded as unreal. This raises a logical problem as, while real smoke can lead to the inference of real fire, an artificial smoke or that which simulates smoke, as for example mist, cannot lead us to fire, but to a copy of fire, as in red hibiscus flowers! When the *liṅga* or sign itself is artificial, then how can it lead to a real inference in form of fire! What the spectator will arrive at will be a false inference or *ābhāsānumāna* in form of red flowers!

Here, the relation of smoke and fire corresponds to that of mist and red flowers.

In fact, the *anukāravādins* insisted that it is possible to move from a false sign to a logical inference, i.e., in this case, perceiving mist in place of smoke, the only inference we can reach is that of fire and not of red flowers!

*yatrāpi liṅgajñānaṃ mithyā tatrāpi na tadābhāsānumānaṃ  
yuktam* (ABh 7.4–5)

Where the cognition of the sign is false, it need not lead us to a false inference!

It seems that *anukṛtivādins* were attacked by the opponents on logical grounds that were resisted by Śāṅkuka who had passionately argued for aesthetic conditions of viewing as opposed to the logicians' conceptual framework.

To counter the objection of the wrong use of inference to explain *anukṛti*, the *anukṛtivādins* kept underlining the distinction between the real and the represented. They drew a distinction between an actor who is not really angry but who puts on an appearance of anger. In other words, the actor resembles an angry man in as far as he contorts his eyebrows in a frown, etc.

Anti-imitationists—“So you invoke the relation of resemblance between the actor and an angry man?” Here, the anti-imitationists draw upon *upamāna* as one of the four *pramāṇas* or sources of knowledge. The standard example used by Naiyāyikas to illustrate analogical knowledge

was the resemblance between a cow and a *gaya*, a cow-like animal. After attacking inference, the critics take the *anukṛtivādins* to task by refuting yet another *pramāṇa*, *upamāna* or analogy deployed to buttress arguments for *anukṛti*. When we come face to face with a strange animal, a *gaya* in a forest, and we recognize it as resembling a familiar animal, a cow, it leads to analogical knowledge, *upamāna* (when we use “cow-like” as an analogy to explain the meaning of *gaya*). *Upamāna* is here held up by the critics as instantiating resemblance without imitation. When we understand a *gaya* as looking like a cow, we don’t say that a *gaya* imitates a cow! *Upamāna* stands for resemblance without imitation and hence serves no purpose to defend *anukṛtivāda*.

Attacking from yet another angle, the anti-imitationists bring up the question that there may be several actors who play the role of Rāma—so while the object of imitation or *anukārya* remains the same, the agents of imitation (*anukarṭr*) keep changing when different actors are involved. Does this imply that what the actors imitate is a generality or *rāmatva* or Rāmaness and not some empirical entity? For the Naiyāyikas, this was not a problem as generality was a real category and was assumed to exist in the world instantiated by individual particulars.

But for the critics, the way different cows instantiated cowness could not be extended to Rāmaness and the way different actors brought this generality to a spectator’s perception through their individual performance.

The most potent objection against the imitationists is that when the spectators observe the actor, the latter is not seen as an empty vessel (*pātra*) but a sentient being that, in the act of imitating Rāma, stirs his own emotions. Thereby the distinction between the object of imitation (*anukārya*) and the agent of imitation (*anukarṭr*) vanishes.

*svātmāpi madhye naṭasyānupraviṣṭa iti galito ’nukāryānukarṭrbhāvaḥ* (ABh 8.17–18)

In this imitation, the actor’s personal reactions are also implicated. The distinction between the object of *anukṛti*, *anukārya*, and the subject of *anukṛti*, *anukarṭr*, collapses.

One of the fundamental presuppositions of the *anukṛtivādins* was that a minimum distance had to be posited between the actor and the character for *anukṛti* to work. Once the critics declare the actor’s performance to be based on identification rather than imitation, they seem to pull the carpet from under the feet of the *anukṛtivādins* and their project of representation. The basic logic of representation is predicated upon the dis-

inction between the one who represents and that which is represented. The critique of the *anukṛtivādins* ultimately translated into a critique of representation itself.

Be that as it may, the arguments put forward by the *anukṛtivādins* indicate that their position was not an exclusive instance of theorizing, but partook of a widespread acceptance of *anukṛti* in art practice, drama and literature. Currently our knowledge of this discourse is at a preliminary level, having been marginalized for decades owing to the colonial bias.

The most challenging task that needs to be undertaken is to understand the performative dynamics of *anukṛti* in Indian visual arts and in drama where the epistemological status of an image need not coincide with its truth claim. This might help us to better grasp the Citrasūtra's famous but misunderstood statement (Citrasūtra 35.5):<sup>9</sup>

*yathā nṛtte tathā citre trailokyānukṛtiḥ smṛtāḥ*

As in dance, so in painting, the imitation of the three worlds is prescribed.<sup>10</sup>

A. K. Coomaraswamy deployed this statement to undermine the importance of *anukṛti* in Indian arts. He claimed that if the three worlds included the fictitious, then *anukṛti* was meaningless in the arts. Emphasizing the linguistic component of any representation, the fictitious status might matter little as long as even something inexistent (rabbit's horn) can be plausibly rendered in a representation.

If we open our minds to *anukṛti* as an evolved concept, which was endorsed from the time of Bharata until Abhinavagupta's time, and which underwent various shifts via *upacitivāda* and *anukṛtivāda*, we can engage more seriously with literary references to representation, and achieve corroboration between various kinds of discourses such as aesthetic, philosophical, and literary. Shifting the frame of reference from transcendentalism to *anukṛti* may foreground the sensual and physical dimension of the creation and reception of art in premodern Indian art and let the works of art strike us with a new resonance.

<sup>9</sup>A very important discussion on the performative aspect of knowledge is given by Balgangadhara 1994: 418.

<sup>10</sup>Cf. Mukherji 2001.

## Abbreviations

**ABh** Abhinavagupta. “Abhinavabhāratī”. In: Gnoli 1968, 1–22.

**Citrasūtra** “Citrasūtra”. In: Mukherji 2001.

**NŚ** Bharata. “Nāṭyaśāstra”. In: Kavi 1956.

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## Pragmatic Translating

### The Case of Pa tshab Nyi ma grags

Anne MacDonald

The translation projects of the two major disseminations of Buddhism into Tibet benefited substantially from collaborations with monastics and learned laymen from the kingdom of Kashmir, whose contributions to the unprecedented knowledge and textual transfer rivalled those of the famed *paṇḍitas* from the monastic universities on the Indian plains and of scholars from the Nepal Valley.<sup>1</sup> The initial propagation (*snga dar*) is especially known to have derived important impetus from Kashmiri *ācāryas* who dared the journey to Tibet in order to spread the Buddhist doctrine by guiding and participating in the translation of its works. Tibetan histories and colophons to translated works as well as catalogues of these works record among translators of the first dissemination who hailed from or were identified with Kashmir notably Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Sarvajñadeva, Surendrabodhi, Prajñāvarman and Dharmākara,<sup>2</sup> each of whom worked individually with Tibetan translators or

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I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Kurt Tropper and Prof. Dorji Wangchuk for their careful reading of the paper and for erudite and insightful suggestions. I am also indebted to Dr. Patrick Mc Allister for his meticulous editing. Research for this article was supported by the Austrian Science Foundation in the context of the FWF projects S9805-G08 and P23196-G15.

<sup>1</sup>For information on collaborations between Tibetans and scholars from the Nepal Valley, see, e.g., Lo Bue 1997.

<sup>2</sup>Tāranātha records that the first three of this group travelled to Tibet, and Bu ston reports that Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and others “established the precepts,” i.e., transmitted the Vinaya, at bSam yas (cf. Skilling 1997b: 116 and 119). For textual references connecting Jinamitra and others with Kashmir, see especially Skilling 1997b: 116 (and n. 13), 119f., 125f., 133, and also Naudou 1968: 85f. (1980: 99f.). The *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (Ishikawa 1990: 1) describes Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Śilendrabodhi, Dānaśīla and Bo-

collaborated with Tibetans and each other and/or other *paṇḍitas* to produce, for the most part, fine Tibetan renderings of a truly impressive number of Sanskrit works. Included in their prodigious output are the translations of the *Bhikṣu* and *Bhikṣuṇī Prātimokṣasūtras*,<sup>3</sup> the *Lalitavistara*, the *Abhidharmakośakārikā* together with its *bhāṣya*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, the *Kāśyapaparivartasūtra*, the *Mahāparinirvānasūtra*, the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti*, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, and the *Madhyamakālaṃkārikā* and its *pañjikā*.<sup>4</sup> Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Surendrabodhi and others are also recorded as having participated in compiling and emending the *Mahāvvyutpatti* prior to its finalization in the early ninth century.<sup>5</sup> The Buddhist traditions and textual knowledge they and other Kashmiri and Indian masters held were transmitted in the spiritual centres of Kashmir throughout the approximately century-long eclipse of the doctrine in Tibet following the collapse of the royal dynasty, eventually reaching scholar-practitioners such as the eminent layman Ratnavajra and his disciples and descendants, who would serve as lodestars for new generations of Tibetan scholars.

It was the fame and acclaim of the monastic centres in Kashmir that attracted the interest of Tibetan students and patrons of the Buddhist doctrine in the early years of what would become the second dissemination of the teachings. As in the initial period, erudite Kashmiri scholars were invited or came of their own accord to Tibet, but monastic traffic in

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dhimitra as “*nyi ’og gi mkhan po*” (“preceptors of Nyi ’og”). As Skilling (1997b: 119f. and ns. 35 and 36) has noted, the area designated by Nyi ’og remains unclear; Abhidharma literature understands it to be external to Kashmir.

<sup>3</sup>Skilling (1997b: 116–119) writes that the colophons to the two *Prātimokṣasūtras* and nine other Vinaya works reveal that these translations were done by royal command; four Madhyamaka works (the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*, the *Akutobhayā*, the *Prajñāpradīpa* and Avalokitavrata’s *ṭīkā* on the latter) are also recorded as having been executed at the order of the king.

<sup>4</sup>For a list of translations attributed to Jinamitra and others mentioned above, see Skilling 1997b: 148ff. Cf. also *ibid.*, 115, n. 9. A less complete list appears in Naudou 1968: 87–90 (1980: 101–105). Skilling (1997b: 125), comparing Jinamitra, to whom is attributed the translation of 203 works, with the great Chinese translator Xuanzang, concludes that he likely acted primarily in the function of a supervisor or consultant.

<sup>5</sup>See Ishikawa 1990: 1 (translation for this section of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* in Snellgrove 1987: 442). The dates of Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, etc., are unknown, although we do know that they were active in 814, the date of the Tanjur version of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (cf. Skilling 1997b: 140f.)



the opposite direction now intensified. The relative proximity of western Tibet to Kashmir's spiritual-intellectual centres drew Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) as a young man to travel there for training with — according to the biography by Rin chen bzang po's direct disciple Khyi thang pa — two other companions.<sup>6</sup> In the years that followed, the Great Translator collaborated with numerous Kashmiri and Indian *paṇḍitas* for the sake of providing the Tibetan world with access to the Buddhist teachings.<sup>7</sup> Approximately a century after Rin chen bzang po's trip to Kashmir, subsequent to taking part in the religious council at Tholing convened by King rTse lde of Gu ge<sup>8</sup> that was attended by a host of religious teachers and translators from Tibet, Kashmir and India, seventeen-year-old rNgog Blo ldan shes rab (1059–1109)<sup>9</sup> undertook the journey to Kashmir with five other translators.<sup>10</sup> Ensnared in his new environs, rNgog turned to Parahitabhadrā and the non-Buddhist Bhavyarāja for instruction in logic and epistemology, and to scholars such as Sajjana and Tilakakalaśa for teachings in specific Mahāyāna traditions, later translating and revising a number of works with these and other native scholars.<sup>11</sup> The colophon to rNgog's translation of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika* bears witness to his admi-

<sup>6</sup>Dan Martin (2008: 18), referring to discrepancies noted earlier by Samten Karmay, reports that Khyi thang pa (Gu ge Khyi thang pa dPal ye shes), writing in possibly 1060, states, in contradistinction to later biographies, that his master initially travelled to Kashmir with only two companions, and that a second trip was undertaken years later at Ye shes 'od's bidding. Fifteen persons accompanied Rin chen bzang po on the second trip, with two of the fifteen dying of fever. Mention of twenty-one children being sent to Kashmir by Ye shes 'od first occurs in bSod nams rtse mo's history of 1167. The Tibetan text of Khyi thang pa's biography appears in Tucci 1988: 103ff. For the possible route taken by Rin chen bzang po to Kashmir, cf. Tucci 1988: 60f. and Martin 2008: 20, n. 19.

<sup>7</sup>For Kashmiri scholars associated with Tibet and translation projects of the early part of the second dissemination, see Naudou 1968: 134ff. (1980: 162ff.). On Rin chen bzang po's Kashmiri collaborators, see, e.g., *ibid.*, 155–158 (1980: 190–195).

<sup>8</sup>Kramer (2007: 37) notes that the council had also been called by the king's uncle, the translator Zhi ba 'od, for the purpose of revising old translations and creating new ones. Kramer writes, "For certain reasons, i.e. unsatisfactory translations, this aim was not achieved to the assembly's (or King rTse lde's) content, and it was decided to send a group of translators abroad, enabling them in this way to study thoroughly Sanskrit and the relevant doctrines with the greatest savants of India and Kashmir."

<sup>9</sup>There is some uncertainty regarding rNgog's birth-date; see Kramer 2007: 32, n. 6.

<sup>10</sup>For the names of and references regarding his companions, see Kramer 2007: 38.

<sup>11</sup>See *ibid.*, 39f. and Appendix 2 (124ff.)

ration of and respect for Bhavyarāja's learnedness: He praises his teacher and collaborator as "the crest-jewel of logicians of glorious Kashmir."<sup>12</sup>

The present translator of interest, namely, Pa tshab Nyi ma grags, like rNgog and numerous others involved in the second dissemination, must have been prompted by the renown of the intellectuals inhabiting Kashmir's monasteries and news of the Buddhist works amassed in them to undertake the journey there from his home district of 'Phan yul, north of Lhasa.<sup>13</sup> Held to have been born the year Rin chen bzang po passed away, that is, in the wood-sheep year of 1055–1056,<sup>14</sup> he may have arrived in Kashmir around the same time rNgog did, and remained in the country for twenty-three years, studying, translating and, we might assume, instructing other visiting Tibetans. Pa tshab is perhaps best known for his translation of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā* (henceforth *PsP*) and *Madhyamakāvātārabhāṣya* (henceforth *MABh*), slightly less known for his translation of a number of other works, the most familiar of which is probably Āryadeva's

<sup>12</sup> *dpal ldan kha che'i rigs pa pa'i // gtsug gi nor bu skal ldan ni //*; cf. Kramer 2007: 39, n. 38 and (for the entire colophon) p. 61f. Kramer (53ff.) provides the Tibetan of and abbreviated English summaries for the colophons of the works translated and revised by rNgog.

<sup>13</sup> More specifically, he was "a native of the upper district of Upper and Lower sPa-tshab in 'Phan yul" (Roerich 1976: 341). Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, in his Hindī travel report *Merī jīvan yātra* (Vol. 2, p. 254), reports that in 1934 he visited the village "Pāchab" while travelling through the Phempo Valley on his way north from Lhasa to search for Sanskrit manuscripts in Reting Monastery. He was told that this village was Pa tshab Nyi ma grags' birthplace, and was shown the "Translator's Monastery" situated on the side of a mountain, a short way from the village, and twelve miles from Nalendra. He records that a stūpa at the monastery was reputed to contain Pa tshab's body. At the time of his visit, 20–25 monks and nuns were residing in the monastery. I was provided with a German translation (prepared by Gautam Liu) of Sāṅkrtyāyana's 1934 travel report by Dr. Birgit Kellner.

<sup>14</sup> See Roerich 1976: 69. Leonard van der Kuijp (1985: 4) surmises that the birth-date of 1055 must be too early, given that it is recorded that Lha rje Zla ba'i 'od zer wanted to accompany Pa tshab on a pilgrimage to India as late as 1136, when Pa tshab would have been 81; Glang lung pa's ordination request in 1140 would further require that Pa tshab was alive and well at age 85. Van der Kuijp is of the opinion that the dating of Pa tshab's birth to the wood-sheep year 1055–1056, which occurs only in Sum pa mKhan po's chronological tables, not in any earlier ones, was motivated by a wish to connect Pa tshab with Atiśa, i.e., to have him seen as the rebirth of Atiśa, who, according to van der Kuijp, died the same year and was viewed by some Tibetans as a rebirth of Candrakīrti (Atiśa died in a wood-horse year [Roerich 1976: 261], thus 1054–1055). Van der Kuijp therefore argues for a dating of ca. 1070–1145.

*Catuhśatakakārikā* (henceforth *CS*) and Candrakīrti's *ṭikā* on it (henceforth *CSṬ*).<sup>15</sup> He also revised the ninth-century translation of Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (henceforth *MMK*) made by the *paṇḍita-lo tsā ba* team Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan, the same team's *Ratnāvalī* translation, an earlier version of Nāgārjuna's *Yuktiśaṣṭikākārikā* (henceforth *YŚ*),<sup>16</sup> the *Madhyamakāvatāra* (henceforth *MA*) translation by Nag tsho Tshul khriims rgyal ba, and (at least according to the Blue Annals)<sup>17</sup> two *bam pos* of the *Śūnyatāsaptatvṛtti* translation that Abhayākaragupta and sNur Dharma grags had executed at Nālandā.<sup>18</sup>

Details regarding the sojourns in Kashmir of the Tibetans who studied and translated there are extremely scant.<sup>19</sup> Some basic information,

<sup>15</sup>Included among these other works is also Dharmottara's *Paralokasiddhi*, which Pa tshab translated with Bhavyarāja, mentioned above.

<sup>16</sup>Although Pa tshab is usually said to have translated the *YŚ*, a comparison of his version of the *kārikās* with those embedded in the *Yuktiśaṣṭikāvṛtti* (henceforth *YŚV*; translated during the first dissemination) reveals that Pa tshab's version is based on and merely aims to improve the earlier version. The colophon to the Canon's free-standing *YŚ* confirms this, stating only that it was revised and finalized by Pa tshab and Muditaśrī; cf. Scherrer-Schaub 1991: 18. While the Blue Annals has him translating the *PsP*, *MABh*, *CSṬ* and the *YŚV* (cf. Roerich 1976: 342; *Deb ther sngon po* 1984: 416), the Canonical version of the *YŚV* was translated by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde (cf. Scherrer-Schaub 1991: 98). Chizuko Yoshimizu, however, adverts to the fact that the *YŚV* passages cited by 'Jam dbyangs bshad pa'i rdo rje in his *Tshig gsal ston thun gyi tshad ma'i rnam bśad* do not correspond with those of the Canonical version, adding that G. Nagao noticed similar dissonances as regards the *YŚV* during his work on the *Lam rim chen mo*. Referring to the Blue Annals' statement, she hypothesizes that the translator of the *YŚV* cited by Tsong kha pa and 'Jam dbyangs bshad pa may have been Pa tshab (see Yoshimizu 1996: 154, n. 229; for the *YŚV* citations and their variants, see *ibid.*, 153–160).

<sup>17</sup>Roerich 1976: 342. The colophon to the translation of the *Śūnyatāsaptatvṛtti* does not note a revision.

<sup>18</sup>On Pa tshab Nyi ma grags and the works translated by him, cf. Lang 1990: 132ff., Seyfort Ruegg 2000: 44ff., Vose 2009: 48ff., Naudou 1968: 172–174, 184–189 (1980: 212–216, 230–236), Roerich 1976: 341ff.

<sup>19</sup>It is perhaps interesting to note that according to 'Brom ston's account of Atiśa's travels, when Nag tsho Tshul khriims rgyal ba (born 1011) arrived as a young man at Vikramaśīla, another famous destination for Tibetan scholars and practitioners, the Tibetans there lived in residences based on their home regions. Hubert Decler (1997: 160) writes, "An interesting minor trait in the depiction—Nagtso's eyewitness account—of Vikramasīla's monastic university is the mention of 'the common house of the Tibetans,' showing that already in India (as later in Tibet) students were boarded in different houses according to their region of origin. By the eleventh century it was already an established

however, concerning the external circumstances of Pa tshab's working environment is provided by a few of the colophons to his Tibetan translations. Pa tshab states, for instance, in the colophon to his translation of the *PsP* that he was aided in the formidable task of rendering the *PsP*'s Sanskrit into Tibetan by the Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Mahāsumati, whom he expressly describes as a *\*mahātārkika* (*rtog ge chen po*); he collaborated with this same scholar to revise Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan's translation of the *MMK*.<sup>20</sup> Pa tshab names the *paṇḍita* with whom he worked on the *MABh* as Tilakakalaśa, the local scholar who also teamed up with rNgog to work on at least six translations and revisions.<sup>21</sup> The colophons to the *PsP* and the *MABh* translations and to the *MMK* revision further relate that the locale in which Pa tshab and the *paṇḍitas* Mahāsumati and Tilakakalaśa pooled their considerable talent for the respective projects was the Ratnagupta monastery situated in Kashmir's "incomparable city" (Tib: *grong khyer dpe med*, *\*anupamapura*), quite possibly Śrīnagar.<sup>22</sup> No reference is made to the date of the *PsP*'s translation in its colophon. The colophon to the Tibetan of the *MABh*, on the other hand, indicates that the translation was made during the reign of the Kashmiri king (*kha che'i rgyal po*) dpal

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feature for students to study abroad at Buddhist monastic universities, ranging from Taxila (present-day Pakistan) to far-away Wu Tai Shan in China, where Nāropa sent a student to study with a tantric master."

<sup>20</sup>The *MMK* colophon as found in the Peking and Derge editions of the Tanjur refer to Mahāsumati as Hasumati (P 22b1; D 19a5). 'Gos Lo tsā ba writes that the "thang sag pa-s" (i.e., scholars of the monastery established by Zhang Thang sag pa, a direct student of Pa tshab's) trace their Indian Madhyamaka lineage-line from Pa tshab over Mahāsumati, Parahitabhadra and the Kashmiri layman Ratnavajra (cf. Roerich 1976: 344; Lang 1990: 133f.). The Kashmiri scholar Parahitabhadra, with whom rNgog translated Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇaviniścaya* and *Nyāyabindu* and Dharmottara's *ṭīkā* on the former (Kramer 2007: 39f., Vose 2008: 48), was a student of Ratnavajra's, who Tāranātha claims had studied at Vikramaśīla (cf. Lang 1990: 133; Naudou 1968: 139ff. [1980: 168ff.]). The colophon to the *CŚT* informs us that Pa tshab translated this work together with Ratnavajra's great-grandson, Sūkṣmajana.

<sup>21</sup>See Kramer 2007: 40, 124. On Tilakakalaśa, see Naudou 1968: 185–187 (1980: 231–233).

<sup>22</sup>The colophons to the Tibetan translations of the *CŚ* and *CŚT* also describe the city in which they were executed as *grong khyer dpe med*; the colophon to the *YŚ* revision does not mention a location. On variant names of the city and its identification with Śrīnagar, cf. Naudou 1968: 178–180 (1980: 208–210). The monastery's name in the *PsP* and *MABh* colophons reads *rin chen sbas pa'i gtsug lag khang* (*MMK* colophon: *gtsug lag khang rin chen sbas pa*); the *CŚT* colophon gives the place as *rin chen sbas pa'i kun dga'ra ba*.

'Phags pa lha, viz., \*śrī Āryadeva.<sup>23</sup> The colophon attached to Pa tshab's revision of Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan's ninth-century translation of the *MMK* similarly states that the ruler (*mi'i bdag po*) at the time of the revision was \*Āryadeva.<sup>24</sup> Given that there is no record of a Kashmiri king of this name in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, Jean Naudou identifies the king being referred to as Harṣa, the Kashmiri ruler who occupied the throne from 1089 to 1101, and hypothesizes that the \*Ārya reflected in 'Phags pa may have resulted from a wrong pronunciation of Harṣa.<sup>25</sup> While Michael Witzel's investigations into the peculiarities of pre-fifteenth century Kashmiri pronunciation may lend some strength to Naudou's supposition,<sup>26</sup> it seems curious that Pa tshab would have been confused about the name of the ruler in whose domain he was residing. Supportive, however, of Naudou's conclusion that the colophons' appellation \*Āryadeva indicates Harṣa is the direct mention of this historically attested throne-holder in Pa tshab's colophon to his and Bhavyarāja's translation of Dharmottara's *Paralokasiddhi*, where the ruler is designated as the Kashmiri king śrī Harṣadeva (*kha che'i rgyal po śrī ha ri śa de ba*).<sup>27</sup>

Naudou's identification of the king with Harṣa is accepted by Karen Lang but she rejects his wrong-pronunciation theory, considering \*Āryadeva of the *MABh* translation and *MMK* revision to be merely a title ("the

<sup>23</sup> *MABh*: *kha che'i rgyal po dpal 'phags pa lha'i sku ring la* (P 411a7; D 348a6).

<sup>24</sup> *MMK*: *mi'i bdag po 'phags pa lha'i sku ring la* (P 22b2; D 19a5). The colophons closing Pa tshab's translation of the *CŚT* and of his *YŚ* and *MA* revisions, like the colophon of the *PsP*, lack any reference to a date.

<sup>25</sup> Naudou (1968: 168, n. 1) states: "il s'agit certainement du même Harṣa, dont le nom a pu être rendu par 'Phags-pa lha, par suite d'une mauvaise prononciation (confusion entre Harṣa et Ārya)" (cf. 1980: 206, n. 12). On Harṣa, see Naudou 1968: 166–169 (1980: 204–208); Dutt 1985: 49.

<sup>26</sup> See Witzel 1994. The materials Witzel has examined for his study supply examples for the pronunciation of *a* as *ā* and of *ā* as *a*, as well as the regular Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) change *r* plus consonant to double consonant (*r* + C > CC). Following this, the name Harṣa may have been pronounced Haṣṣa (the alternative form with *svarabhakti* and also *ṣ* changed to *ś*, i.e., Hariśa, is attested). Given that Witzel's material provides evidence for the pronunciation of *y* as *j* and *-ry-* as *-jj-*, the word Ārya may have been pronounced Ājja or Ajja. Whether any further changes that the development of Kashmiri as a New Indo-Aryan language had on pronunciation could have caused Harṣa and Ārya (i.e., Haṣṣa and Ājja/Ajja) to sound more alike is beyond my area of expertise.

<sup>27</sup> See Steinkellner 1986: 12, 31, 51. Hariśadeva reflects Kashmiri pronunciation; see FOOTNOTE 26.

noble king”),<sup>28</sup> an idea that would be more acceptable if \*Āryadeva were not preceded in the colophons by, in the case of the *MABh*, “the Kashmiri king” and, in the case of the *MMK*, “the ruler of men.” I believe a more plausible explanation for the seeming problem would be that \*Āryadeva was used as an alternative name for Harṣadeva.<sup>29</sup> Karen Lang infers from the fact that none of the colophons of works translated by Pa tshab refer to Harṣa’s successor Uccala that he must have left Kashmir to return to Tibet by 1101.<sup>30</sup>

There is extremely little explicit information available concerning the internal circumstances of the Kashmiri working projects, in particular the ways in which the translator-teams proceeded in their tasks and the methods they employed. We are nonetheless able to ascertain that Pa tshab tended to follow a practice that can be determined to have been relied upon by certain other translators, that is, of utilizing previously translated root texts when translating Sanskrit commentaries that have their root text embedded in them; more precisely, Pa tshab did not translate the commentary’s citations of the root text but would instead locate an existing Tibetan translation of it and incorporate this as required into the translation of the commentary. It is not known when and/or where this mode of procedure originated: a prescription for such a practice does not appear in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, the companion work to the *Mahāvvyutpatti* that enjoins proper translation methods and gives guidelines such as the retention of Sanskrit prefixes and word order. However, a much later, mid-eighteenth-century work, namely, the *Dag yig mkhas pa’i ’byung gnas* by lCang skya Rol pa’i rdo rje, which served as a Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary (comparable to the Sanskrit-Tibetan *Mahāvvyutpatti*) for scholars

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<sup>28</sup>Cf. Lang 1990: 140, n. 22.

<sup>29</sup>This is further suggested by the fact that the element \**deva* in the name \*Āryadeva would also in this case identify the person designated as the current king. Was \*Āryadeva possibly the name used by the Buddhist community to designate Harṣa? I do not intend to suggest a reason for its use, but the name would certainly conjure up a positive association with a famous Buddhist namesake. The city name Anupama(pura), mentioned by Pa tshab and other Buddhists, is also not recorded in any extant non-Buddhist works (there is, e.g., no mention of it or of the Ratnagupta monastery in any of the extant *Rājataranṅinīs* or in the inscriptions of the Palola Śāhis; my thanks to Prof. Walter Slaje for most generously checking the material for me). Prof. Slaje (personal communication), seeking to account for the differing designations for the city employed by its residents, sees in the name Anupama(pura) a socio-linguistic or religio-linguistic Buddhist usage.

<sup>30</sup>Cf. Lang 1990: 134.

involved in the translation of the Tanjur into Mongolian, does expressly advocate reliance on pre-translated root texts. The last section of the preface to the list of Tibetan and Mongolian terms, a section dealing with translation principles, contains the regulations for translating Sanskrit commentaries that have embedded root texts.<sup>31</sup> The Tibetan translates:

As regards commentaries on the major works: if the respective root text has already been translated, the words of the root [text] within the commentary should also be made to accord with that [translation]; if [a translation of the root text] does not exist, the root text should be translated first and should furthermore be translated in conformity with the commentary.<sup>32</sup>

Thus the first part of the regulation, in calling for dependence on and the use of available Mongolian root texts, makes a further translation of root texts in commentaries redundant, while the second assures that a first translation of a root text reflects the interpretation of its commentator. Given the rarity of translation projects in the later centuries and thus the unlikelihood that the described way of working had been conceived solely for the Tibetan-Mongolian undertaking, it would seem justifiable to conclude that the prescription has been taken over from another, older work, or that this statement of the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas* merely gives late written recognition to a mode of procedure relied upon and orally transmitted by earlier translators.

There is evidence that some of the translators active during the doctrine's early dissemination period had already turned to using pre-made Tibetan translations of root texts when translating commentaries on them. This method of dealing with embedded root texts no doubt spared them a great deal of time, but more importantly and ostensibly the reason behind

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<sup>31</sup>Referring to this section in the preface, Seyfort Ruegg (1973:249) states that “the best known parallel” are “the principles of translation established for the benefit of the early Tibetan translators in the *sGra sbyor bam gñis*.” He adds (n. 25) that “[t]he *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byun gnas* is based in part on it and paraphrases several of its sections.”

<sup>32</sup>Tibetan in Seyfort Ruegg 1973:260: *gzhung chen mo'i 'grel pa rnam la rang rang gi rtsa ba'i dpe sngar bsgyur zin pa yod na 'grel pa'i nang gi rtsa ba'i tshig kyang de dang mthun par bya la / med na sngon du rtsa ba'i dpe bsgyur zhing de yang 'grel pa la bstun nas bsgyur bar bya'o //*. Seyfort Ruegg (1973:253f.) translates the sentence beginning with *med na* as “otherwise, the translation [of the commentary] is to be made after the basic book has been translated and fitted in the commentary.”

the practice, it had the advantage of providing the Tibetan rendition of the root text—regardless of the commentary in which it was cited—with a desired consistency. Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, making reference to the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas's* above-mentioned prescription, confirms that a Tibetan version of the *YṢ* that had been made prior to the translation of the *YṢV* was used by the team Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Śīlendrabodhi and Ye shes sde when they rendered the *YṢV* into Tibetan.<sup>33</sup> Akira Saito has been able to ascertain that Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan's *modus operandi* for translating the *MMK* as the fundamental root text within the *Akutobhayā*, Buddhapālita's *MMK* commentary, Bhāviveka's *Prajñāpradīpa* and Avalokitavrata's *Prajñāpradīpatīkā* was initially to translate the *MMK* verses following the interpretation given by Avalokitavrata to Bhāviveka's comments on them (which would, as Saito states, appear to imply that they first translated the *Prajñāpradīpatīkā*, which contains the entire *Prajñāpradīpa* together with the *MMK*) and then to use this Bhāviveka–Avalokitavrata-coloured translation of the *MMK* for the other commentaries as they translated them; this same translation of the root verses was further used as the stand-alone Tibetan version of the *MMK*.<sup>34</sup> This employment of translated root verses tinged with the understandings of specific commentators quite naturally, however, has the potential to cause problems when the commentator into whose (translated) work they have been inserted has interpreted the words or content of a verse differently than the commentator(s) who influenced the Tibetan rendering of the root text: Saito counts twelve *MMK* verses embedded in the translations of the *Akutobhayā*, Buddhapālita's *MMK* commentary and the *Prajñāpradīpa* which are not in harmony with the explanation given by one or more of the respective authors of these three commentaries, but which in each case do accord with the explanation given by Avalokitavrata.<sup>35</sup> Scherrer-Schaub alludes to disconcerting initial encounters with verses of the *YṢ* that are in dissonance with Candrakīrti's interpretative

<sup>33</sup>Scherrer-Schaub (1991: xxv, see also p. 3) remarks that the Dunhuang version of the *YṢ* resembles the version that was used within the translation of the *YṢV*. Cf. also Scherrer-Schaub 1999: 23 and Plate X where Dunhuang and Tabo manuscripts are shown with text—generally root text, she states—written on lines with large intervals between them; she interprets the manuscripts as awaiting the commentary to the root text.

<sup>34</sup>Cf. Saito 1984: xvii–xviii and 1995: 91f., 95.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. Saito 1995: 92.



statements on them during her editorial work on the *YŠV*.<sup>36</sup> The extent to which the insertion of already translated root texts into commentaries was practised in the early period of the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet is, however, still unknown, and needs to be investigated.<sup>37</sup>

It can probably be concluded that Pa tshab Nyi ma grags was aware that some of his predecessors from the early dissemination, like Klu'i rgyal mtshan and Ye shes sde, had employed the root-text insertion method. Possibly even following their example, he did not undertake to translate the *MMK* embedded in the *PsP* when he translated the latter work but rather imported Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan's ninth-century rendition of this foundational Madhyamaka work, and merely tweaked certain verses here and there, in some instances to bring them into accord with Candrakīrti's interpretation of the *MMK* and in others to replace individual words with his own preferred terminology, occasionally rewriting phrases and/or revising word-order (to speak of Pa tshab's "translation" of the *MMK*, as many modern scholars tend to do, is an exaggeration).<sup>38</sup>

As Saito's and Scherrer-Schaub's investigative work shows, while information about specific translational techniques can be very valuable and even time-saving for modern editors, translators and researchers, it is often discovered only after considerable toil with the textual material; except for the limited guidelines given in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* and the much later *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas*, there is little external to the translations themselves to rely on. Commenting on the lack of explicit information on theory and methods in the main available translation manuals, Seyfort Ruegg writes:

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<sup>36</sup>Referring to the use of pre-made root text translations, Scherrer-Schaub (1999: 23) writes, "One may easily imagine what a nuisance this may be for a philologist and we were ourselves faced with this somehow puzzling problem in editing the Tibetan version of the *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti* of Candrakīrti."

<sup>37</sup>Also requiring investigation is the extent to which later editors interfered with inserted root texts or were themselves responsible for insertion. A number of words and phrases in *MMK* verses in the Derge edition of the Tibetan translation of Buddhapālita's *MMK* commentary have been modified to accord with those of the corresponding verses of the *MMK* in the translated *PsP*; compare, e.g., the Peking and Derge editions of Buddhapālita's commentary for *MMK* 2.24, 3.6, 10.1, 11.8, 17.25, 20.22 and 23.11.

<sup>38</sup>Pa tshab expressly states in the colophon to the stand-alone *MMK* translation that he revised the earlier translation to accord with the *PsP* (cf. P 22b2, D 19a6). See Saito's comments on *MMK* 2.2 and *MMK* 7.16ab for cases where the changes required for concordance between the respective *kārikā* and Candrakīrti's comments were not correctly implemented by Pa tshab (1995: 88–90, 92–94).

Given then the importance to the Tibetans of translation and its attendant philological and methodological problems, and in view of the very considerable success they achieved in overcoming them, it is remarkable that the statements on the subject made in the *sGra sbyor* as well as in the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuñ gnas* are not only brief but even somewhat sketchy in their definition of the problems and their solutions. Though their results clearly show that the translators into Tibetan were by no means unaware of the philological and cultural problems involved, they did not submit them to an extensive theoretical treatment in these two works. The *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byuñ gnas* indeed itself states that it has given only a summary of the principles of translation and the associated philological problems.

... from the points of view of philology and the techniques of translation the statements of the *Dag yig* are hardly more advanced than those of the *sGra sbyor*. The principles followed, more or less reflectively, by the translators of the Buddhist canon into Tibetan have therefore to be elicited mainly from the study of the translations themselves, for as far as can be judged the approach of the translators was more practical than theoretical and conceptualized.<sup>39</sup>

It has been interesting to discover that additional information regarding an aspect of Pa tshab's and seemingly other translators' methodology has been set forth quite explicitly and rather unexpectedly at the end of two of Pa tshab's translations. In a verse appearing in the respective colophons to his translations of the *PsP* and *MABh* (henceforth *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>* and *MABh<sub>Tib</sub>*), he first informs his readers how he as a translator dealt with his material and then provides advice for future translators. In speaking of himself, his purpose is to divulge his mode of operation as regards material quoted by Candrakīrti. With the verse in *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>*'s colophon, he discloses that he did not restrict the textual importation practice to the root text being commented upon, i.e., the *MMK*, but took it a step further, applying it to citations *in general* within Candrakīrti's commentary. This information regarding his manner of dealing with the cited material is imparted in the first line of the verse, which is found at the end of *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>*'s colophon. The verse reads:

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<sup>39</sup>Seyfort Ruegg 1973: 257–258.

*khungs rnams ji ltar grags bzhin bris*<sup>40</sup> //  
*phyin chad skad gnyis 'byung srid na* //  
*'grel pa sgra don bzhin bsgyur la* //  
*gzu bor byos la dpyad par rigs* //<sup>41</sup>

The sources (i.e., citations) have been written as they are known.

If in the future translators happen to appear

They should translate commentaries according to the word and meaning,

And it is appropriate that they scrutinize/check [their translations] without being biased.

The verse appears in a slightly modified form at the beginning of Pa tshab's colophon to *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub>. There it reads:

*khungs rnams phal cher mdo bzhin bris*<sup>42</sup> //  
*phyin chad skad gnyis 'byung*<sup>43</sup> *srid na* //  
*rtsa 'grel sgra don bzhin bsgyur*<sup>44</sup> *la* //  
*gzu por byos la dpyad par gyis* //<sup>45</sup>

The sources (i.e., citations) were for the most part written in conformity with the *sūtras*.

If in the future translators happen to appear

They should translate root texts and commentaries according to the word and meaning,

And be unbiased and scrutinize/check [their translations].

With both versions of the first line, Pa tshab refers to the fact that he did not make it a practice to translate material that was being quoted by Candrakīrti, but instead relied wherever possible on the existing Tibetan

<sup>40</sup>D: *pris*

<sup>41</sup>Cf. *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> P 225b6; D 200b7. P reverses *pādas* b and c. I am assuming, at least until proven wrong, that we are dealing with authentic author colophons in the case of the *PsP* and *MABh* translations, and that the verse discussed (the variants within it aside) is inherent to the colophon and not a later addition. I am grateful to Dr. Orna Almogi for her assessment of the authenticity of the colophon.

<sup>42</sup>D: *pris*

<sup>43</sup>P: *byung*

<sup>44</sup>P: *skyur*

<sup>45</sup>Cf. *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub> P 411a6; D 348a5. The final *pāda* could alternatively be read as intending: "And they should do this in an unbiased and analytical manner."

translations of the works cited, using the ready-made translations for the relevant passages in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> and *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub>. One notes that it is only in the *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub> colophon that Pa tshab refers explicitly, and exclusively, to the cited material as deriving from the (translated) *sūtras*. In the *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> colophon, he does not specify the literary genre from which the quoted material has been drawn. While it is possible that the *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> formulation was an arbitrary one, Pa tshab may have foregone characterization of the type of literature because he intended inclusion of works beyond the *sūtra* genre, such as scholastic treatises, i.e., *śāstras*. My comparison of the Sanskrit *śāstra* citations in the first chapter of the *PsP* with their *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> versions—for the sake of checking consistency between the Sanskrit and Tibetan—and of the latter, that is, of the *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> versions with the cited passages as found in the corresponding translated *śāstra* source texts, revealed that the vast majority of the *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> *śāstra* citations had indeed been appropriated from the corresponding *śāstra* translations.<sup>46</sup> It is possible that the mention of only *sūtras* in the *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub> colophon verse warrants the deduction that Pa tshab was purposely excluding a reference to *śāstras* because he translated all the *śāstra* citations directly from the Sanskrit of his *MABh* manuscript, but at this point in time this cannot be confirmed. Fortunately, the editorial work being undertaken in Vienna on a newly available Sanskrit manuscript of the *MABh* will eventually provide a Sanskrit text on the basis of which the correspondence of the individual Sanskrit citations with their *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub> versions can be checked.<sup>47</sup>

One wonders if Pa tshab might have inherited this more encompassing conception of the insertion technique directly from translators trained by Rin chen bzang po, his predecessor in the second propagation who also studied and worked in Kashmiri monasteries and who appears to have either regularly or occasionally employed the importation method for dealing with *sūtra* citations. Paul Harrison's engagement with the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* has revealed that when Rin chen bzang po encountered the three citations of this work in Āryadeva's *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* during his translation of the latter, he appropriated their

<sup>46</sup>I referred to this phenomenon in an earlier article when discussing a *śāstra* citation that Candrakīrti intentionally changed when he imported it into the *PsP*; cf. MacDonald 2003: 163.

<sup>47</sup>The *MABh* manuscript is being edited under an agreement between the China Tibetology Research Center, Beijing, and the Institute for the Cultural and Intellectual History of Asia of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

ready-made Tibetan versions from dPal gyi lhun po and dPal brtsegs' early dissemination translation of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* and copied them into his *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* translation.<sup>48</sup> Peter Skilling has further been able to ascertain, upon examining a section of the translation of the *Abhiñṣkramaṇasūtra* attributed to Dharmasribhadra and Rin chen bzang po, that at least this section has been taken over word for word from the corresponding sections of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya, which was translated in the initial propagation period by Sarvajñadeva, Vidyākaraṇa, Dharmākara and dPal gyi lhun po.<sup>49</sup>

Like the reason behind the *Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas*'s regulation that pre-translated root texts be utilized for the translation of commentaries, the motivation for copying in all cited material from previously existing Tibetan translations would surely have been to maintain consistency in quoting and to avoid disparities vis-à-vis the source-text translations. Of course, the extension of the translator's reliance on material external to the work at hand from the root text to *all* cited material (or as much as possible) is bound on occasion, if the translator is not cautious (as Saito and Scherrer-Schaub have shown for the use of pre-made root-text translations), to cause problems and inconsistencies. A problem resulting from the importation of scriptural material encountered by Christian Wedemeyer in the course of his analysis of Rin chen bzang po's translation of Āryadeva's *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* instantiates what can go wrong when pre-translated *sūtra* material is copied in without further reflection: a verse from the *Guhyasamājottaratantra* introduced by Āryadeva into the Sanskrit text of the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* for the sake of substantiating his discussion of the subtle mind's "eighty prototypes" was not translated by Rin chen bzang po but instead "pasted in," so to speak, from Rin chen bzang po's earlier translation of the *Guhyasamājottaratantra*, without the awareness that this translation of the verse did not contain, unlike its Sanskrit version, a reference to the number "eighty," which, as espied by Wedemeyer, turned the entire *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* passage into a *non sequitur*.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Harrison 1992: xlv–xlv. Harrison (xlv) notes, "That this must have happened before the compilation of the Tanjur is indicated by the fact that the wording of the *CMP* agrees with no known Kanjur version of the *DKP* ... ."

<sup>49</sup>Skilling 1997b: 131–132 and 1997a: 96. The translation of the *Saṅghabhedavastu* was revised by Vidyākaraṇa and dPal brtsegs.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Wedemeyer 2006: 166f.

In order to check the validity of Pa tshab's versified statement regarding his method of dealing with citations as he translated the *PsP*, I compared not only all of the *śāstra* citations, but, whenever possible, each cited *sūtra* translation in the first chapter of *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> (the first chapter makes up approximately one-sixth of the *PsP*) with the corresponding Tibetan translation of the cited material in the source texts, and additionally compared each of the *sūtra* citations in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> against the Sanskrit of my edition of the first chapter of the *PsP*,<sup>51</sup> which is based on de La Vallée Poussin's edition of the *PsP* (henceforth *PsP*<sub>L</sub>) and manuscript readings. My initial findings revealed that 1) the cited *sūtra* material in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> has clearly not been directly translated from the *PsP* Sanskrit and 2) the majority of the *sūtra* citations in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> match up quite well with the corresponding passages in their source texts as contained in the Peking and Derge editions of the Kanjur. A couple of the translated citations stood out, however, because they lacked an exact correspondence in the Sanskrit and could also not be found in the form that they appear in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> in the Peking or Derge source texts. For example, *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>'s first-chapter citation from the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* (*Phags pa rdo rje 'i snying po*)<sup>52</sup> lacks a corresponding translation for a number of words attested in the Sanskrit of the *PsP* and contains wrong translations for a few others,<sup>53</sup> from which it can reasonably be concluded, given our awareness of Pa tshab's skill as a translator and his efforts to mirror the words and syntax of the original text, that this *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* citation was not directly translated from *PsP*'s Sanskrit,<sup>54</sup> *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> appears to further support this conclusion

<sup>51</sup>Forthcoming.

<sup>52</sup>The citation can be found in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> at P 18a5–20a2 and D 16b2–18a3. The Sanskrit text of the citation takes up approximately three pages in *PsP*<sub>L</sub> (cf. *PsP*<sub>L</sub> 50–53).

<sup>53</sup>For instance, *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> lacks a translation for *saṃtāpo* of *cāgnisaṃtāpo* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 50.8), *viparyāsa* of *asadviparyāsamohitasya* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 50.9), *sarva* of *sarvabālaprthagjanā* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 51.3–4), and does not have an equivalent for *me uttari* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 51.13). Additionally, *asat* of *asadviparyāsamohitasya* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 50.9), *antareṇa* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 50.10), *pauruṣa* of *anekapauruṣāyām* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 51.8), *samānah* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 51.10, and again *samāno* at 52.9) have not been understood correctly and thus are wrongly translated. Among other inconsistencies, *abhūtam*, (em. A. M.; see *PsP*<sub>L</sub> 52.3 and n. 1) has not been translated and *imām* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 53.2) has been incorrectly translated (possibly due to reading or having been read as *evam* in the manuscript from which it was translated).

<sup>54</sup>While it is possible that the *PsP* manuscript(s) relied on by Pa tshab attested readings for the citation which were different from those of the manuscripts available to me, i.e., readings that would confirm that *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> had been translated from the Sanskrit of the *PsP*,

in that it presents a few words not found in *PsP* Sanskrit.<sup>55</sup> A comparison of *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>'s version of the citation with the corresponding passages in the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* translation in the Peking and Derge editions reveals that it often diverges substantially from the said passages.<sup>56</sup> In an effort to find out if any other canonical collections might preserve a version of the *sūtra* closer to that imported into *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>, I compared, in reliance on material available from and collected by Vienna's "Tibetan Manuscripts" project, *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>'s citation of the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* with the corresponding passages of the *sūtra* in the sTog Kanjur, in the Gondhla collection and in the Phug brag collection, but was unable to turn up a perfect match.<sup>57</sup> Immediately evident, however, was the fact that the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* of the sTog Kanjur, the Gondhla collection and of one of the two manuscript copies of the *sūtra* in the Phug brag collection (henceforth Phug brag 1) is descended from the same translation, with various minor editorial and scribal variants, as that in the Peking and Derge editions. The translation in the second Phug brag manuscript of the *sūtra* (Phug brag 2) contains many different readings, and may be an independent translation, unrelated to the translation in the other collections, although this remains to be confirmed conclusively.

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the nature of some of the mistakes in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> (see main text below) make it doubtful that the discrepancies between the *PsP*'s Sanskrit and Tibetan can be explained away as merely owing to differences in Sanskrit manuscripts.

<sup>55</sup>The occasional *yangs* which lack corresponding *apis* or *cas* could easily have been added to the Tibetan for the sake of clarity, but the possible translation for an extra non-attested \**sa tatra* in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>'s rendering of the Sanskrit sentence *sa tatra mānasam paridāham samjāniyād uttraset ...* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 51.9) as *des de na yid kyi yongs su gdung ba myong bar 'gyur / de de na skrag par 'gyur / ...*, and, for example, the translation *phyin ci log gis bsgrubs pa* for *viṭhapitāḥ* (*PsP*<sub>L</sub> 52.14; note that °*viparyāsaviṭhapitāḥ* at *PsP*<sub>L</sub> 51.1 is translated as *phyin ci log gis bsgrubs*) seem to additionally support the conclusion that the Tibetan derives from a text of the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* other than *PsP* Sanskrit.

<sup>56</sup>For the *sūtra*, see P 807 (vol. 32, 300b3–312a4); D 139 (vol. 56, 278a1–289b4). The cited text can be found at P 304b8–305a3 and 306b6–308a4.

<sup>57</sup>The "Tibetan Manuscripts" project is a sub-project of the National Research Network (NFN) "Cultural History of the Western Himalaya from the 8<sup>th</sup> Century." I am grateful to Bruno Lainé for providing me with scans of the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* translation as preserved in the sTog Kanjur and in the Gondhla and Phug brag collections (see the article by Helmut Tauscher, CHAPTER 12 in the present volume); the four folios of the *sūtra* preserved in the Tabo Kanjur collection do not contain the section quoted in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>. Mr. Lainé has informed me that the work is not contained in the Hemis collection and has not been found in the Basgo collection, though at the time of writing of the present article, the texts in the Basgo collection are still being sorted and identified.

The frequent similarity in phraseology and syntax of the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* passages in *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>*, however, with the corresponding sTog, Gondhla, Phug brag 1, Peking and Derge passages made it apparent that the *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>* citation had neither been translated from scratch by Pa tshab nor derived from a completely different translation of the *sūtra*.<sup>58</sup> Closer examination revealed that the citation in *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>* appears to have been imported from an earlier version of the translation of the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* than that found in the sTog, etc., collections, that is, from a version that was later corrected and heavily revised, and eventually incorporated into the other canonical collections taken into consideration for the present study. We observe in the passages of the revised version of the *sūtra* that can be compared with their older forms as attested in *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>*'s citation that many words have been replaced, sentences have been reworked, restructured or rewritten, and that, importantly, the gross mistakes which mar some of the sentences of the earlier rendition have been corrected. For instance, in the section of the citation in which the experience of a man who dreamed he went to hell is related, *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>*'s version of the *sūtra* presents a wrong understanding of the word *pauruṣa* as “people” in the compound *anekapauruṣāyām*. The relevant Sanskrit sentence reads: *sa tatra kvathitāyāṃ samprajvalitāyāṃ anekapauruṣāyāṃ lohakumbhyāṃ prakṣiptam ātmanam samjānīyāt*.<sup>59</sup> The translator(s) of the version of the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* that was relied on for *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>* interpreted the sentence to mean that the man dreaming about hell imagined that he was thrown into a boiling, blazing iron pot *with many people* in it (*skyes bu du ma dang ldan pa*); *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>* reads for the entire sentence: *des de na lcags kyi bum pa skyes bu du ma dang ldan pa khol ba 'bar bar bdag nyid bcug par yang 'du shes par 'gyur ro*.<sup>60</sup> This erroneous interpretation of the compound *anekapauruṣāyām* has been corrected, in accord with the Sanskrit, in the version of the *sūtra* found in the other collections to mean that the man

<sup>58</sup>One also notes that the lack of a translation for *saṃtāpo* of *cāgnisaṃtāpo* (*PsP<sub>L</sub>* 50.8), *viparyāsa* of *asadviparyāsamohitasya* (*PsP<sub>L</sub>* 50.9) and *sarva* of *sarvabālaprthagjanā* (*PsP<sub>L</sub>* 51.3–4) referred to earlier for *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>* (see n. 54) likewise occurs in the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* as contained in Peking, Derge and sTog, as well as in the Gondhla and Phug brag collections.

<sup>59</sup>Cf. *PsP<sub>L</sub>* 51.7–8.

<sup>60</sup>Cf. *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>* P 18b7–8. Phug brag 2 attests a similar mistake: *de der mi du mas lcags zangs su bcug nas ... 'tshal te ...*, although *mi du mas* appears to indicate the agent (“There, he imagined that he was thrown into an iron cauldron by many people ...”)



was thrown into a pot of many fathoms (*'dom du ma mchis pa*), i.e., one many fathoms high/deep (*Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī*<sub>Tib</sub>: *de de na lcags kyi bum pa rab tu khol ba / shin tu 'bar ba 'dom du ma mchis pa'i nang na / bdag bcug nas ...*).<sup>61</sup> Similarly, the word *samānaḥ* in the phrase *sa tatra prativibuddhaḥ samānaḥ*<sup>62</sup> which is intended not in its classical meaning but rather in its Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit sense of “upon” (thus “Then he, upon awakening”), has been corrected in the version of the *sūtra* found in sTog, etc., so that the Tibetan phrase means “he, again awake” (*de slar sad pa*) instead of wrongly and nonsensically in the context of the *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> citation “he, then, awake and prideful/arrogant” (*de de nas sad par gyur zhing rlom pa dang bcas pas*).<sup>63</sup>

It would appear, then, that *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> preserves fragments of an early, pre-revision translation of the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī*. While this in itself is of interest, it remains to be investigated how many other citations in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> represent material appropriated from older translations, and whether any links to specific extant proto-canonical collections can be established. As mentioned earlier, the editing work on the *MABh* Sanskrit manuscript cannot yet confirm that *śāstra* citations were copied into *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub>, but the *sūtra* citations encountered to date affirm Pa tshab's colophon assertion that these were appropriated from the source texts. Of some interest is the *MABh*'s *Daśabhūmikasūtra* citation that immediately follows *MA* 2.1cd.<sup>64</sup> It does not concord well with the corresponding passages of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* as contained in the *Avatamsakasūtra* in the Peking and Derge Kanjur editions (these editions do not have a free-standing version of the *sūtra*), but it does share its readings, with the exception of fairly minor variants, with the free-standing *Daśabhūmikasūtra* of the sTog, Phug brag, Shey and London collections.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Cf., e.g., *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* P 307a3. Note also the addition of prefixes to the translations for the past participles in this corrected version of the sentence.

<sup>62</sup> Cf., e.g., *PsP*<sub>L</sub> 51.10.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> P 19a1; cp. with *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* P 307a4. Phug brag 2 does not translate the sentence.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. de La Vallée Poussin 1907–1912: 33–37.

<sup>65</sup> I thank Bruno Lainé of the “Tibetan Manuscripts” project for providing me with scans of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* from the sTog, Phug brag, Shey and London collections. I have not been able to determine if the translation of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* in the *Avatamsakasūtra* of the Peking and Derge editions is an independent translation or merely a heavily revised version of the translation found in sTog, etc.; on the basis of the limited material in the *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub> citation, I suspect that it might be the latter.

Pa tshab does not specify in the verse in the *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> and *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub> colophons in which he refers to his “cut-and-paste” method, or elsewhere in the colophons, whether the citations were inserted while he was still in Kashmir or if this work was done only once he had returned, after his twenty-three year stay in Kashmir, to central Tibet; he merely asserts in the colophons that the translations of these two works were executed in Kashmir and that they were revised in Lhasa on the basis of second Sanskrit manuscripts located there. I see no reason, however, not to speculate, given that the method of importing cited material was ostensibly occasionally practised already in the early translation period and was relied upon by Pa tshab’s immediate predecessor Rin chen bzang po, and given the relative intensity of mercantile and religious traffic in the western Himalayas during both dissemination periods, that much of the citation copying, or at least as much as possible, was carried out in the Ratnagupta monastery of Kashmir’s “incomparable city,” in reliance on translated source texts copied or loaned out from the personal books of visiting or resident Tibetan scholars, or, perhaps, upon consultation of source texts in a collection of Tibetan translations held in a section of the monastery’s main Sanskrit library. In the case of the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī*, one would have to suppose that the corrected version of the translation (i.e., that found in the sTog, Peking, Gondhla, etc., collections), said in its colophon to have been translated, revised, and finalized by Śilendrabodhi, Ye shes sde and others,<sup>66</sup> was not available in the Ratnagupta monastery at the end of the eleventh century, but that an older form of the translation was still in circulation, or merely still available in the library, and that *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>’s passages were copied from it.

Some indications that the hypothesis of the availability of Tibetan translations in the Ratnagupta monastery may have its merits are provided by Pa tshab’s *CŚT* translation. Its colophon, in both the Peking and Derge editions, refers to the translation having been made, corrected, and finalized in the aforementioned Kashmiri monastery; reference to a revi-

<sup>66</sup>The colophons to the *Vajramaṇḍadhāraṇī* translation in the Peking edition (P 312a3–4), the Derge edition (D 289b4), and in the Phug brag 1 manuscript report that the *sūtra* was translated, revised, and finalized by Śilendrabodhi, Ye shes sde, and others; the colophon to the same *sūtra* in the Gondhla collection states that Śilendrabodhi, Prajñāvarman, Ye shes sde and others translated, revised and finalized it. The colophons in sTog and Phug brag 2 do not provide information on translators or revisers.

sion having been undertaken later in Lhasa does not appear.<sup>67</sup> Test checks of a few of the citations in two chapters of the translated *CŚT* reveal that these citations too were copied into the main text. *Lokātītastava* verse 18, for example, quoted in Candrakīrti's commentary on *CŚ* 2.25 agrees closely with the corresponding verse in the *Lokātītastava* Tibetan translation, attesting only a couple of variants that do not affect the meaning.<sup>68</sup> The six *Ratnāvalī* verses (*RĀ* 2.48–51, 57–58) cited in the same section also concord, with minor variants, with the corresponding verses in the *Ratnāvalī* translation;<sup>69</sup> the two *Ratnāvalī* verses (*RĀ* 1.61–62) that Candrakīrti cites as support for his comments on *CŚ* 12.3 mirror those of the Tibetan source translation.<sup>70</sup> The *Kāśyapaparivarta* citation in *CŚT* on *CŚ* 12.11 follows, with the exception of a few words that do not affect the meaning, the source translation.<sup>71</sup> The two verses from the *YŚ* (41–42) that are cited immediately after the above-mentioned *Lokātītastava* quotation of the second chapter are more interesting: the first is clearly a mixture of an older *YŚ* translation (it appears to be the one used by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, Śilendrabodhi and Ye shes sde for their translation of the *YŚV*) and of the revised version of the verse made by Muditaśrī and Pa tshab, while the second reflects, with only a couple of insignificant differences, Muditaśrī and Pa tshab's version.<sup>72</sup> The evidence is too limited for definite conclusions, but the nature of the first verse leads one to think that Pa tshab's *YŚ* revision had not been finalized when he translated the *CŚT*.<sup>73</sup> It can further be noted that all of the works from which the above

<sup>67</sup>Gos Lo tsā ba is of the opinion that the *CŚT* was revised in Lhasa along with the *PsP*, *MABh* and *YŚV* (on the latter, see FOOTNOTE 16); cf. Roerich 1976: 342 (*Deb ther sngon po* 1984: 416).

<sup>68</sup>Text in *CŚT* P 64a1–2 and Lindtner 1982: 134. *CŚT* attests 'gags and ma 'gags for *zhig* and *ma zhig* in *pāda* a and *skye ba* for 'byung ba in *pāda* d.

<sup>69</sup>Text in *CŚT* P 64a7–64b3 and Hahn 1982: 59–63. The eighth/ninth-century *Ratnāvalī* translation was revised by Pa tshab and Kanakavarman.

<sup>70</sup>Text in Tillemans 1990 [Vol. II]: 12 and Hahn 1982: 27.

<sup>71</sup>Text in Tillemans 1990 [Vol. II]: 34 and von Staël-Holstein 1926: 96.

<sup>72</sup>Text in *CŚT* P 64a2–3 and Scherrer-Schaub 1991: 14 (Muditaśrī and Pa tshab's translation) and 80 (the translation imported by Jinamitra, etc., and Ye shes sde).

<sup>73</sup>The colophon to the *YŚ* translation states merely that Pa tshab and Muditaśrī revised and finalized it. Also of some interest is the fact that the *Samādhirāja* 9.26 citation in *CŚT* on *CŚ* 12.3 deviates substantially from the version attested in the Kanjur collections and manuscripts used by Cüppers for his edition of the chapter but agrees, though with some variants, with the verse as cited in the *PsP*'s twenty-fifth chapter. Text in Tillemans 1990 [Vol. II]: 8 and Cüppers 1990: 42; cp. the version at *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> P 197b3–4.

*CŚT* citations have been taken, and indeed the majority of those quoted in the *PsP*, are not obscure but well-known, important Mahāyāna compositions, the translations of which Tibetan scholars studying and working in major centres out of country may not have had much trouble in acquiring, or acquiring access to. Of course, it is also possible that many of the, or the remaining, citations were inserted only after Pa tshab had returned to Tibet, when he was in the process of revising other translations on the basis of additional Sanskrit manuscripts with visiting non-Tibetan scholars in the temples of Lhasa.

Regardless of where the majority of the citations were copied into *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>, *MABh*<sub>Tib</sub> and the *CŚT* translation, the reliance of Pa tshab and other translators on the “cut-and-paste” method is significant beyond the fact that these translations preserve fragments of older versions of translations or perhaps even of alternative translations. Unquestionably, awareness of their methods should prompt us to exercise more caution when attempting, or—in unsure cases—when tempted, to correct the text of a Sanskrit citation in a work merely on the basis of the respective citation in the Tibetan translation of the work. In the case of copied-in *sūtra* quotations, the translation of the citation’s source text may easily have been made from a Sanskrit source with readings different from those relied upon by the Indian author quoting it. The editor of a Sanskrit commentary for which a Tibetan translation is available would therefore be well advised to decide in advance whether the editing of the *sūtra* citations aims to establish and present the “Urtext” of the Sanskrit citation within the commentary (at the risk of creating a mishmash) or whether it has the more modest and probably more sensible aim of merely correcting the citation as it was available to the commentator. Extreme care is required when dealing with *śāstra* citations, which are known to be occasionally modified, for various reasons, by the Indian authors importing them; in such cases, unless the Tibetan translators noticed the changes made to the Sanskrit by the author and conscientiously emended their pasted-in citation, their Tibetan will mirror the Sanskrit of the citation’s source text but fail, potentially tragically, to reflect the intention of the author whose work they have translated.<sup>74</sup> Attention should also be drawn

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<sup>74</sup>A prominent example involves the discrepancy between Candrakīrti’s slightly altered citation of a passage from Bhāviveka’s *Prajñāpradīpa* and *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>’s copied-in Tibetan; cf. MacDonald 2003: 162–167 and 2008: 29–33.

to the fact that imported Tibetan citations are sometimes observed to contain a greater or lesser number of phrases, not infrequently sentences or entire sections of text, than the corresponding imported citation in the Sanskrit and that it would be reckless to spruce up or pare down the Sanskrit without good reason and/or supporting evidence. The long citation from the *Kāśyapaparivartasūtra* in the first chapter of the *PsP*, for example, appears in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> replete with full sentences that are not attested in the *PsP*'s Sanskrit (but which do occur in the source-text translation of the *sūtra*), and missing others attested by the Sanskrit.<sup>75</sup>

But this last point raises the question of why translators did not always attempt to precisely match up the Tibetan citations they were inserting with the text of the Sanskrit manuscripts they were in the process of translating. Why would a meticulous translator like Pa tshab not abridge the imported material from the *Kāśyapaparivartasūtra* and other works to have it better accord with the Sanskrit citations? I think there may be grounds to infer, on the basis of the incongruity between the degree to which the *PsP*'s Sanskrit is mirrored in the Tibetan text translating Candrakīrti's own words and in the Tibetan text translating his citations of other works, that more persons than just the main translators, i.e., Pa tshab and Mahāsumati, were involved in the larger *PsP* translation project, and that it was Pa tshab's assistants who were responsible for retrieving the translated source texts, locating the cited passages in them, and copying, or having a scribe copy, the Tibetan version of the citation into Pa tshab's *PsP* translation. These assistants or apprentice translators would conceivably be supplied by one of the main translators with, in the case of short citations, the Sanskrit for the entire passage, and in the case of longer citations, possibly only their beginning and closing sentences, and were expected to find the respective passages on the basis of this information. Assuming that they were entrusted with the responsibility of

<sup>75</sup>The citation begins at *PsP*<sub>L</sub> 47.1. For the Sanskrit and Tibetan of the source-text, see von Staël-Holstein 1926:204ff.; the discussion about what is extinguished in *nirvāna* on p. 206f. appears in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> but not in Candrakīrti's Sanskrit. Cf. also *PsP*<sub>L</sub> 43, n. 3, where de La Vallée Poussin states that "Le copiste abrège," pointing out that the *Akṣayamatisūtra* quotation in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub> contains a rather long sentence not attested in the Sanskrit. It is not clear to me if he is labelling Candrakīrti "the copyist" or if he thinks a later scribe dropped Sanskrit text here. De La Vallée Poussin was not aware of the fact that the Tibetan citations were insertions, and on more than one occasion in his edition, at least in the first chapter of the *PsP*, erroneously changes the Sanskrit text of citations to accord with that in *PsP*<sub>Tib</sub>.

bringing the cited material into the main translation, I suspect that it was their occasional carelessness and oversight, i.e., their failure to carefully check each sentence of a citation, especially in the longer ones, against the translators' main Sanskrit manuscript, that led to too much or too little material ending up in *PsP<sub>Tib</sub>*.<sup>76</sup> Such a practical division of labour may explain other cases of discrepancy, such as the blatant *non sequitur* that Wedemeyer encountered in Rin chen bzang po's *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*, a case in which one would have to accept—if we do not consider the possibility of another individual being responsible for citation copying—that the “Great Translator” himself copied in a verse that failed to support his main text, something that is certainly not impossible, but perhaps more plausible if explained as the work of a second party. Of course, the question of later editorial interference remains open.

It is expected that further analysis of citations in Pa tshab's translations will shed more light on his workshop and sources, but only general scholarly attention to textual citations will enable us to know whether his mode of dealing with cited material was the general norm or more of an exception during the second, or even first, translation period. The situation, admittedly, can be complex even as regards root texts within commentaries, as Eli Franco has shown for the case of the *Pramāṇavārt-*

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<sup>76</sup>Related problems may have been caused by the fact that the assistants did not know Sanskrit well enough to notice all of the discrepancies between the Tibetan of the source citation and the Sanskrit of the manuscript used by the main translator(s). My thanks to William Ames (private communication) for calling my attention to this possibility.

Might these individuals responsible for scouring the translated source texts in search of cited material represent a faction of the “others” (*la sogs pa*) mentioned in some colophons? Peter Skilling (1997b: 139 and n. 120), musing over what the roles of the nameless “others” might have been, notes that the Crystal Mirror “mentions 100 translators accompanying dPal brtsegs and nearly 1,000 ‘apprentice translators’ with Klu'i rgyal mtshan.” Although his translations were undertaken in a different cultural context, one might also draw attention to the fact that Xuanzang was aided in his Sanskrit-Chinese translation work by a number of people. Upon his return to China in 645, the emperor Taizong provided Xuanzang with a team of scholars and assistants; as Deleanu (2006: 107) states, the team consisted of twelve monks who scrutinized the meaning, nine scholars in charge of editing the literary expression, an expert in Chinese lexicography, an expert in Sanskrit language and script, scholars who put the translation into writing, copyists and an administrative staff. Deleanu notes (*ibid.*, 135, n. 19) that the recording of the orally transmitted translation “often seems to have involved more than ‘writing down the dictation,’ and may have involved the editing of the text into its final form.” I do not know if the citations in Xuanzang's and others' Chinese translations have been investigated.

*tika* translations.<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, Pa tshab's disclosure of his method for handling citations makes topical a state of affairs not infrequently encountered, but often left unreflected by scholars investigating Tibetan translations of Sanskrit works, and it will hopefully have the effect of stimulating further research.

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<sup>77</sup>See Franco 1997. Note also, e.g., the case of the *Jātakamālā*, where the root text as it appears in the *Jātakamālāṭīkā* and the *Jātakamālāpañjikā* (both only available in Tibetan) does not always correspond well with the free-standing translation of the *Jātakamālā* in the various Tanjurs but is also not an independent translation; cf. Tropper 2005: 111, n. 24 (my thanks to Dr. Kurt Tropper for this information).

## Abbreviations

**CŚ** *Catuḥśatakakārikā*.

**CŚṬ** *Catuḥśatakaṭikā*.

**Deb ther sngon po** 'Gos lo gzhon nu dpal. *Deb ther sngon po*. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984.

**MA** *Madhyamakāvatāra*.

**MABh** *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*.

**MMK** *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*.

**PsP** *Prasannapadā*.

**PsP<sub>L</sub>** L. de La Vallée Poussin, ed. *Madhyamakavṛttiḥ: Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamikasūtras) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā Commentaire de Candrakīrti*. Bibliotheca Buddhica 4. St. Petersburg, 1903–1913.

**RĀ** *Ratnāvalī*.

**YṢ(V)** C. A. Scherrer-Schaub. *Yuktiṣaṣṭikāvṛtti*: Commentaire à la soixantaine sur le raisonnement ou Du vrai enseignement de la causalité par le Maître indien Candrakīrti. Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhique 25. Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1991.

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## Determination (*adhyavasāya*) in Ratnakīrti's *Apohasiddhi*

Patrick Mc Allister

The problems centering around the term *adhyavasāya*<sup>1</sup> have recently been important examples of a very thorough investigation (McCrea and Patil 2006) into the opposing forces of traditionalism and innovation that governed the course of discussions in Indian Buddhist philosophy. That investigation was mainly concerned with Jñānaśrīmitra's use of that term, and with the background that usage has. In this paper, much narrower in scope, I want to scrutinize the epistemological function or functions this term denotes within the context of the *apoha* theory of Ratnakīrti.

The investigation of this function is interesting also in the context of the present volume, since it is precisely about this function of cognition that Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti opposed a Kashmiri viewpoint, that of their fellow Buddhist scholar-monk Dharmottara. What is presented in the following is a first step towards a proper understanding of that dispute.

It is obvious that most of Ratnakīrti's texts have a very strong dependency on the works of his teacher Jñānaśrīmitra.<sup>2</sup> It might thus be in order to give, first, an overview of the material background that supports the text of the *Apohasiddhi* (AS), and then say a few words about the relationship that Ratnakīrti sees his texts as having to those of his teacher.

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I would like to thank the Austrian Academy of Sciences for supporting the research for my PhD thesis, a result of which is this article, with a DOC grant. The Austrian Science Fund (FWF) sponsored National Research Network S98, "The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya" (<http://www.univie.ac.at/chwh/>), I thank for financing my attendance at the conference where I could read the paper that became this article. Helmut Krasser and Parimal Patil I would like to thank for their help in improving this article.

<sup>1</sup>*adhyavasāya* is usually translated into English as "determination", e.g., in McCrea and Patil 2006: 305.

<sup>2</sup>Already remarked by Thakur (1951: 28), and corroborated by many later studies, e.g., Lasic 2000b: 20.

## 1 Material Background of the AS

The AS was written by the Buddhist monk and scholar Ratnakīrti. He was a pupil of Jñānaśrīmitra, one of the most prominent figures of Indian Buddhist philosophy to appear in the late 10th to early 11th century.<sup>3</sup> This means one can assume that Ratnakīrti was at least slightly junior to his *guru* Jñānaśrīmitra. This again lets a *floruit* between 1000 and 1050 CE seem most likely.

The AS or “Proof of Exclusion” is one in a series of treatises that seem to share the common feature of being compendiums of works of Jñānaśrīmitra.<sup>4</sup> The AS is eleven pages long in the *Ratnakīrtinibandhāvaliḥ* (RNĀ); the *Apoḥaprakarāṇa* (AP), Jñānaśrīmitra’s text on the same subject, occupies thirty-one pages in the *Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvali* (JNĀ). Far more than one half of the AS is composed of passages taken practically verbatim from the AP.<sup>5</sup> Whether this means that more than one half of its content is also found in the AP can of course be seriously answered only after both texts have been thoroughly analysed. Before this has been achieved it seems advisable to refrain from deciding the nature of the relationship between Jñānaśrīmitra’s and Ratnakīrti’s works in anything but a material fashion.<sup>6</sup>

Although the AS itself does not contain a statement concerning why it was written, two other works, the *Sarvajñasiddhi* (SJS) and *Īśvarasādhana-dūṣaṇa* (ĪSD), both of which seem just as indebted to Jñānaśrīmitra as the AS, contain explanations. One is:

Disregarding the strength of irrepressible opponents, through the full development (*prauḍhi*) of true knowledge (*pramā*) the omniscient one, the single eye of the world, arose. And the majesty with regard to this [subject, omniscience,] is [that] of my revered teacher, the chief mountain in the land of residence

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Frauwallner 1931, Thakur 1975a: 15, Kajiyama 1998: 9, Mimaki 1992, and the introductions to Lasic 2000a and Lasic 2000b on the dates of, and relationship between, Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. for example the observations in Thakur 1975a: 11ff., or Steinkellner 1977.

<sup>5</sup>At least 145 lines out of a total of 265 in the critical edition of the *Apoḥasiddhi* I prepared (Mc Allister 2011) are identical to passages in the AP.

<sup>6</sup>This caution might seem a little contrived. But I believe it should be taken seriously in order to see any differences between the texts of Jñānaśrīmitra and Ratnakīrti. See Lasic 2000b: 21 f. for examples of these differences.

of the all-enlightened one. But this compendium [is] mine, the obeying Ratnakīrti's, who fears that extensive treatise.<sup>7</sup>

Thakur's assessment is that "Ratnakīrti has summarised the works of his *guru* in many cases and the debt has been eloquently acknowledged. ... It must, however, have to be admitted that the treatment of the disciple is more concise and logical, though not as poetical and elaborate as that of his spiritual father." (Thakur 1975a: 12) Bearing in mind that a summary need not be a disinterested or objective restatement of that summarized, this is indeed how Ratnakīrti presents his work, and should thus be used as the simplest hypothesis in explaining the relationship of their texts.

**1.1 Manuscripts** There are six manuscripts of the AS that I am aware of, five of which are at the moment available.

1. One manuscript (Ms. Collection Number 4711) in the Collection of the Asiatic Society in Kolkata: its script is characterized as Bengali of the 12th century.<sup>8</sup>
2. One manuscript that was in Haraprasāda Shāstri's private possession: this manuscript can not be located at the moment. Together with the aforementioned manuscript, this was edited in Shāstri 1910.
3. The Patna manuscript: it was discovered by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana in *Āva lu ri phog* in 1934 (the pictures were taken in 1938). It was the basis of the editions in RNĀ<sub>1</sub>, RNĀ<sub>2</sub>. The script used is usually dated to the 11th to 13th century.<sup>9</sup>
4. Three manuscripts from the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project: no edition using these has been published yet.

<sup>7</sup>SJS<sub>2</sub> 31.24ff.

durvāraprativādivikramam anādṛtya pramāpraudhitaḥ sarvajño jagadeka-  
cakṣur udagād eṣa prabhāvo 'tra ca |  
saṃbuddhasthitimedinīkulagirer asmāguroḥ kin tv ayaṃ saṃkṣepo  
mama ratnakīrtikṛtināḥ tadvistaratrāsinaḥ ||

Cf. Bühnemann 1980: 90. Also see Thakur 1975a: 12f.

<sup>8</sup>This is catalogued in Shāstri 2005: entry 34, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup>Cf. Bandurski 1994: 19–21; 59, fn. 176.

## 2 The *apoha* Theory and *adhyavasāya*

The<sup>10</sup> most typical schema of means of valid cognitions and their corresponding objects in the Buddhist logico-epistemological tradition is this:

1. Perception (*pratyakṣa*) has as its object a particular (*svalakṣaṇa*), that is, a real—momentary and causally efficient—thing.
2. Inference (*anumāna*) has a commonness that things share, a universal (*sāmānya*), which is not taken to be a real thing, as its object.<sup>11</sup>

It is important to understand that the *svalakṣaṇa* and *sāmānya* are two completely different things, especially as regards their ontological status—one is a particular point-instant, the other a construct of conceptual cognition. But, as shown by Dharmakīrti for the glow of a jewel,<sup>12</sup> they do have a special relationship that is relevant for the distinction between true and false cognitions: both can be true cognitions in virtue of making a particular known, perception directly and reasoning in such a way that effective activity can be directed towards a particular.

One of the main difficulties encountered when adopting this very rigid distinction is to explain how it is possible to bridge the both ontological and epistemological gap that it produces: how can the cognition of something that is unreal—a universal, the object of reasoning—have any bearing on the cognizer's interaction with real things? One piece of the puzzle posed by this question is called *adhyavasāya*, or determination. It is a term commonly appearing in Buddhist explanations of the *apohavāda*.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Much of the material in this and the following sections found its way into Mc Allister 2011: 5.3.

<sup>11</sup>Cf. Steinkellner (1967b: 92, fn. 25) or McCrea and Patil (2006: 305 f.) for a concise discussion of the two means of cognition and their objects, and of the problems involved. Dharmottara famously subverted this clear distinction, cf. McCrea and Patil 2006: 325, fn. 64.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. PV 1 43.2–8. This example occurs also in other works of Dharmakīrti, cf. McCrea and Patil 2006: 309 f. and the references to these other passages. The example shows that a conceptual cognition is always mistaken in taking its content as corresponding to fact, even though it can be unmistaken in that its content leads it to successful behaviour with regard to real things. The perceived shine is taken to be either a jewel or a lamp. This is entirely wrong since it is only the shine that appears, not a jewel or a lamp itself. But it can be correct in the second sense if it leads someone thinking “Ah, a jewel!” to a jewel and not to a lamp. If it turns out to be the shine of a lamp, it is wrong in both senses.

<sup>13</sup>For a detailed discussion of the evolution of this concept see McCrea and Patil 2006, and for their critique of, amongst others, Katsura 1993, see McCrea and Patil 2006: 318 ff.



**2.1 Theory of Exclusion (*apohavāda*)** This theory was first advanced by Dignāga (480–540 CE),<sup>14</sup> and prominently received and probably reworked in Dharmakīrti's (600–660 CE) PV 1. It is considered the central element of “Buddhist Nominalism.”<sup>15</sup> The important thing to understand for the line of argument pursued here is that “exclusion” (*apoha*) was, amongst other things, a device to make do without real—i.e., existing—universals.<sup>16</sup>

The idea is that instead of a really existing universal inhering in two things, the commonness that these two things have is defined as their common and similar difference from things that do not have this difference. In other words, the positive feature that some Non-Buddhists said is shared by things is interpreted as a negative feature, a mere similar difference that is shared between two things:

PV 1 38.9–10 (Text SECTION 3.8 on page 296): It was explained what a commonness is like: that things unmixed [with each other] are not mixed with one [other] thing is the sameness of the things different from that.

Another<sup>17</sup> important aspect of universals is that many of them can qualify a single thing (green-ness, apple-ness, fruity-ness, wormy-ness). Additionally, two things can have more than one such similar difference from a third thing, thus allowing them to be grouped into multiple categories. In this way, it is possible to group things into more than one class: for example, things that soothe fever, things that can be used for building a

<sup>14</sup>All dates are according to Steinkellner and Much 1995, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>15</sup>“Buddhist Nominalism” is now a heading in the Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy, cf. Dunne 1998.

<sup>16</sup>Cf., e.g., Pind 1999: 319, Bronkhorst 1999. A very succinct definition of the *apoha* theory is given in Katsura 1986: 172, referring to a conversation with Prof. Steinkellner in 1980 as its basis: “The fact that Dharmakīrti applies the principle of *anyāpoha* beautifully to the theory of causation in the *Hetubindu* [...] indicates that it is a sort of “working hypothesis,” [...] which is equally applicable to many problems of ontology, epistemology and logic.”

<sup>17</sup>The textual basis for this paragraph is mainly PV 1 40.22–42.1, translated, e.g., in Vora and Ota 1980: 16 ff. It is unfortunately beyond the scope of this article to give a detailed argumentation as to how the various functions ascribed to a real universal were explained by exclusion (*apoha*). Accessible and reliable discussions that such a presentation could start from are found in Kajiyama 1998: section 27, “Refutation of a universal”, 126 ff., and Taber 1998.

house. At the same time, these things can be of the same class—plants for example—as well as completely different individual things. These functional requirements of the universal, basically that of one universal in many particulars and many universals in one particular, are, broadly, reducible to saying that the various aspects, parts, or properties of a unique thing can be designated by words:

PV 3<sup>a</sup> 167ab (Text SECTION 3.9 on page 296): “Which part of a referent<sup>18</sup> does a word express?” [you ask]. To this [question], “exclusion from others” is said [in answer].

**2.2 *apoha* as the Referent of Words** As seen in the verse just quoted, Dharmakīrti maintained that the referent of a word is exclusion. For the Buddhist logico-epistemological tradition this amounts to saying that it is the referent for all cognitive states concerned with concepts. This is, for example, clearly said by the most authoritative author of this tradition in the following half-verse:

PV 3<sup>a</sup> 183ab (Text SECTION 3.6 on page 295): Words designate a commonness, and conceptual constructions have the same referent [as words].

It is thus obvious that these conceptual states are all qualified by having the same sort of object: something that can substitute for a real universal or commonness.

**2.3 Ratnakīrti’s Definition of the Word Referent** Ratnakīrti’s well known central definition of the word referent in the AS runs:

AS<sub>3</sub> 56.5 (Text SECTION 3.1 on page 294): The referent of words is a positive element qualified by the exclusion from others.

The main questions to be answered in order to understand this definition are the following four:<sup>19</sup>

1. What does it mean to talk about the referent of a word?
2. What is the *vidhi* or positive element?

<sup>18</sup>The Sanskrit term I translate by referent is *artha*. Other viable translations include object and meaning. More often than not it has to be decided according to context which of these is most suitable. In this article I will try to make do with referent.

<sup>19</sup>The most thorough going study of Ratnakīrti’s *apoha* theory is Patil 2003. Here, a similar strategy of explanation is followed.

3. What is this *vidhi*'s qualification, *anyāpoha*?
4. In what sense is the *vidhi* qualified by *anyāpoha*?

**2.3.1 Referent of a Word** What is meant by “referent of a word” is not explicitly discussed in the AS, but what was just shown for Dharmakīrti holds true for Ratnakīrti. The scope of this term is to be understood as including all objects of conceptual cognition, i.e., all *sāmānyas* or universals.<sup>20</sup>

One passage in which this can be seen to be an implicit assumption is the following, answering an objection by Vācaspatimiśra:

AS<sub>3</sub> 59.21–25 (Text SECTION 3.2 on page 295): Also what Vācaspati said: “Particulars qualified by a class are the range of objects for words and concepts. . . .”, has been refuted by just this[, i.e., what was said before]. For, if it is only the form of the particulars that, even though an additional class is thrown in, is differentiated from what belongs to another class, then how should differentiation from non-that[, i.e., *anyāpoha*, exclusion from others,] be avoided for those that become the objects of words and concepts precisely through that form?

As this is not the place to discuss all the difficulties involved in correctly understanding this passage, it must suffice to point out that Ratnakīrti here equates verbal and conceptual cognitions as far as their objects are concerned in the phrase: “. . . those that become the object of words and concepts . . . .” It seems very improbable that, unless he endorses the position that they are truly equal with respect to their objects, he would here argue by force of this equality without any concessive qualification and then not touch on the subject again for the rest of the AS. In line with this reasoning, conceptual and verbal events will be taken to have the same sort of object in the AS.

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<sup>20</sup>Cf. also Patil (2009: 198), speaking about Ratnakīrti and the theory of exclusion: “I will argue that although he presents this theory as a theory of semantic value — that is as a theory of what our words are about—it is best understood as a theory of mental content—that is, as a theory of what our thoughts are about and what our actions are directed toward.” Also see the considerations in Patil 2009: 208–211.

**2.3.2 *vidhi*—The Affirmative Element** The next constituent which needs to be understood in Ratnakīrti's definition of the word referent is the positive or affirmative element, *vidhi*. At the end of the section in the AS dealing with a Non-Buddhist's assumption that a real universal is the referent of words, Ratnakīrti says:

AS<sub>3</sub> 65.15–20 (Text SECTION 3.3 on page 295): In this way therefore, only a positive entity is the referent of a word. And [with] this [positive entity] an external object and a cognitive form are meant.

Amongst these [two, there is] no affirmation [or] negation of the cognitive form in reality or in a relative sense, because of the fact that [it] is understood through the perception self-consciousness, and because there is no determination [of the cognitive form]. Neither is there in reality a negation or affirmation of an external [thing], because it does not appear in verbal apprehension. For this [reason] then, there is in reality inexpressibility of all phenomena, because there is no determination [or] appearance [of them]. Therefore, there is conventional affirmation and negation of the external only, because otherwise there is the unwanted consequence of ending common activity.

According to this passage, the cognitive form is neither affirmed nor negated in reality, nor even only conventionally: this means that what is called the cognitive form, the form present to a mind cognizing the thing of which the form is taken to be present, does not become the object of active engagement aiming at either achieving or avoiding it. Or, to put it differently, activity never takes that cognitive form, which is present to it, as its intended object. Two reasons are given for this:

1. A cognitive form is directly present to the mind in the mode of self-awareness, which has the nature of perception, and not of conceptual cognition. It is therefore a particular, and can, since it is momentary, not become an object of any sort of activity.
2. And the second reason that there is no activity directly aiming at the cognitive form is that there is no determination of it. This is the first function of determination that becomes clear, even though

it is only a negative one: the cognitive form is **not** what there is a determination of.<sup>21</sup>

The external object, the second aspect of the *vidhi*, is neither affirmed nor negated in an absolute way, i.e., as a real thing or particular. So there is no conceptual cognition of the external object as it really is because it does not appear in verbal cognition, since, as was outlined above, it is only for perception that an external and real thing can become the direct object.

But it is the object of conventional affirmation or negation. In this case the external object is not the particular, but the thing a person thinks is external, e.g., something that has duration like a cow or even a real commonness instantiated in two things. This imagined external thing can be acted towards in a conventional way, i.e., through ignorance about the existential status of the object one is actually acting towards.

These two aspects of the positive element are not to be seen as distinct parts that it is composed of:

AS<sub>3</sub> 60.20–23 (Text SECTION 3.4 on page 295): And by the word “positive element” an external object that is distinguished from that of another nature is meant according to determination, and according to manifestation a cognitive form [is meant]. Amongst these, the external object is defined as that to be expressed by a word only because of determination, not because of a particular’s appearance [to the mind], since there is no manifestation of an evident particular that is limited as to space, time and condition, as there is in the case of perception.

This passage shows that the *vidhi* is not a composite of the two parts, cognitive form and external object, but rather that it must be seen under two different aspects (“... according to determination ... according to manifestation ...”) that let the same *vidhi*, or positive element, become an object of awareness in two different ways which accord to two different modes of awareness that it can be present in, determination and manifestation.<sup>22</sup>

The above passage also states that the external object is expressed by a word only because of a determination as external. This shows a second function that determination has in the AS, that of externalisation, by

<sup>21</sup>This is shown rather clearly also in the *Citrādvaitaprahāśavāda* 133.29 f. (CAPV).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. also Patil 2003: 240 f., 2009: 224 ff.

which the positive element that is the referent of words is externalised and understood, or rather misunderstood, as existing in the world as a real thing.

**2.3.3 *anyāpohaviśiṣṭa*** So, presupposing the above two sides of *vidhi*, the affirmative element, what can be said about its quality, the exclusion from others?

As already analysed by Patil (2003: 231 ff.), exclusion is presented by Ratnakīrti both as a quality of the positive element, and as a capacity of conceptual awareness.

In the passage AS<sub>3</sub> 59.15–20 (see SECTION 3.5 on page 295), grasping exclusion as a quality of the cognitive form is stated to be a capacity (*śakti*) that conceptual awareness has. These two aspects, being the qualifier of something and being a capacity, are presented alongside a comparison of two types of negation that can be brought to bear on the perceptual as well as the conceptual cognition of absence.<sup>23</sup> The structure of the example is the following:

1. *prasajyarūpābhāvagrahaṇa*: grasping absence in a non-implicatively negating form.<sup>24</sup>
  - a) For perceptual cognition (*pratyakṣa*) this is the capacity to produce a concept of absence (*abhāvavikalpotpādanaśakti*), i.e., what is meant by “perception of non-x” is the capacity to produce the conceptual cognition “There is no x there.”
  - b) For the concept of a positive element (*vidhivikalpa*) this is the capacity to allow (or bestow) activity in conformance with the grasped absence (*tadanurūpānuṣṭhānadānaśakti*), i.e., what is meant by “conceptual cognition of non-x” is the capacity that a

<sup>23</sup>Whilst the perceptual grasping of an absence is a special case of perception, the conceptual grasping of absence is not a special case of conceptual cognition. For the object of conceptual cognition is always *anyāpoha*, cf. SECTION 2.2 on page 284.

<sup>24</sup>The terms *prasajya* and *pariyudāsa* have long been the subject of discussions; see, for example, the thorough account given in Staal 1962. Cf. Kellner 1997: 92, fn. 135, for further literature on the topic. I will use implicative and non-implicative negation for *pariyudāsa* and *prasajyapratīṣedha* respectively. One way of making sense of this distinction is: “This is a non-red apple.”, which implies that the subject is an apple, and “This is not a red apple.”, not implying that the subject is an apple at all.

**Table 10.1** Grasping and knowing absence

	<i>prasajya</i>	<i>paryudāsa</i>
object of <i>abhāvapratyakṣa</i>	<i>ghaṭābhāva</i>	<i>bhūtala</i>
object of <i>vikalpa</i>	<i>agavāpoḍha</i>	<i>buddhyākāra</i>
cognitive function	<i>adhyavasāya</i>	<i>pratibhāsa</i>
classification	<i>śakti</i>	<i>niyatasvarūpasamvedana</i>

concept of the positive element has by which it makes activity possible.<sup>25</sup>

2. *paryudāsarūpābhāvagrahaṇa*: grasping absence in an implicatively negating form

- a) This grasping is the same, an awareness of something with a fixed own form, *niyatasvarūpasamvedana*, for both perception and the conceptual awareness of a positive element.

This comparison is not easy to make sense of.<sup>26</sup> I will try and argue that it corresponds to the schema shown in TABLE 10.1.

The two main problems that need to be solved in this passage are the following:

1. How is the absence in the two cases relevantly similar—how is it useful to compare the perceptually cognizable absence of a pot on a perceived stretch of floor with the conceptually cognizable absence of something not being not that, i.e., its quality “the exclusion from others”?

<sup>25</sup>The relevant example (AS<sub>3</sub> 59.19 f.) is that someone is told “Tether a cow!”, and tethers a cow, but not a horse. “Tether a cow!” generates a conceptual cognition of cow, which in turn is the awareness of the absence of non-cows that makes activity with regard to *any* cow possible.

<sup>26</sup>It seems that Patil (2003: 232, 2009: 213) translates and discusses only the first part of the example (*prasajyarūpābhāvagrahaṇa*). The only detailed scholarly discussion of the corresponding passage in the AP is in Akamatsu 1983: 56–7. Katsura (1986: 174) notes that the context in which this comparison appears in the AP might be based on the *Hetu-bindu* (HB; Chapter V: *anupalabdhihetu*). The reason he gives is that Jñānaśrīmitra cites a HB passage there (cf. Katsura 1986: 174; 180, fn. 20), apart from the obvious fact that clearly the grasping of absence in perception is *anupalabdhi*. But the *prasajya-paryudāsa* distinction in the HB is interpreted by Steinkellner (1967b: 167, n. 6) as follows: “Dabei wird nicht etwa die Erkenntnis an sich negiert (kein *prasajyapratishedha*...), sondern nur, daß sie die intendierte Erkenntnis sei, ausgeschlossen.” This does not seem to correspond to the distinction as it is made here: it is the perception itself that is either implicatively or non-implicatively negated, and not the absence that it lets the subject cognize.

2. What is the relationship between the non-implicative and implicative negation: is each just possible and sometimes the one and at other times the other will have to be applied in the analysis of these cognitions, or are they somehow interdependent?

What seems clear is that the absence which is grasped both by perception and conceptual cognition can be grasped in two forms: as non-implicatively and implicatively negating that which is present to cognition, i.e., an empty piece of floor or the cognitive form.<sup>27</sup> In the case of conceptual cognition, the absence which is cognized is *anyāpoha*, exclusion from others, e.g., non-cows. In the case of perception, it is the non-existence of something in a specific, perceptually cognized place, e.g., on a stretch of floor.

There are at least two ways of interpreting these statements: either both forms of negation can occur or both must occur so that a perceptual and conceptual cognition of absence is such a cognition of absence. I would like to argue for the latter option: both in perception of absence and in the conceptual awareness of absence, which means in every conceptual awareness, given that its object always is other exclusion (*anyāpoha*, cf. SECTION 2.2 on page 284), an *abhāva* is involved, both in the implicatively negating form as well as in the non-implicatively negating form.

In the perception of an empty floor, for example, the absence (*abhāva*) of *all* things not on the floor becomes known in a non-implicatively negating way. Correspondingly, in the conceptual awareness “cow” the non-implicatively negating absence (*abhāva*) of *all* things that aren’t cows becomes known for the appearing cognitive form (*ākāra*). In both cases this is a non-implicative negation, i.e., a negation that, in the case of perception, can potentially be expressed as “It is not the case that anything is here on the floor.”, and in the case of conceptual cognition can lead to activity directed towards anything of which it is true that it is not a non-cow. In other words, in the case of the perception of the empty floor, this grasping of a non-implicative absence or negative constituent, which explains the adjective “empty”, is traceable only as a capacity to generate a conceptual cognition of absence: “There is no pot, no carpet, etc. on the floor.” In the

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<sup>27</sup>The absence of the pot in some place is the standard example of non-perception, used, e.g., in HB 23\*22, as well as in AS<sub>3</sub> 60.10. That it is the cognitive form, *buddhyākāra*, that is present in conceptual awareness is apparent from, e.g., AS<sub>3</sub> 65.16, translated in SECTION 2.3.2 on page 286.



case of conceptual cognition, the grasping of a non-implicatively negating element, the *anyāpoha*, becomes apparent only in the cognition's capacity to lead to an act with regard to what is in accordance with it—that is, in the example, some cow.

According to Ratnakīrti's comparison, an absence is grasped also in the form of an implicative negation. The result of this is the same for perception and conceptual cognition: the awareness of something with a fixed own form, *niyatasvarūpasamvedana*, meaning the awareness of a particular. In the case of the perception of an absence, the awareness of absence is identical with the awareness of the presence of another thing. It is implicative negation or absence in that it is the affirmation or presence of some other positive thing, in this case a particular piece of floor. In the case of conceptual cognition, which always has absence or the exclusion from others as its object, it is the *buddhyākāra* that is qualified by absence in an implicatively negating manner, the cognitive form which is a particular that is present in any given awareness event.

This example is relevant in the analysis of determination because it corresponds to a fundamental distinction that Ratnakīrti sees in how objects are present to, or accessible by, cognition: manifestation and determination, the former being, at least as far as conceptual cognition is concerned, the grasping of absence or exclusion in an implicative manner, the latter the understanding of absence or exclusion in a non-implicative manner.

The absence in a non-implicatively negating form is determined, and the absence in an implicatively negating form is grasped—both in the perception of absence and in conceptual awareness. For it is a particular that is manifest and grasped in perceptual awareness,<sup>28</sup> and it is an *ākāra* that is directly manifest and grasped in conceptual awareness.<sup>29</sup> This is one of the aspects of the *vidhi*. From the side of determination however, it is commonness as a “genericized-particular” (Patil 2009: 259, fn. 32) that is determined in perception, and thus makes activity possible with regard to

<sup>28</sup>About this there is no dispute, and so it is not something that needs to be expressly proven. This seems to be the argument in AS<sub>3</sub> 60.19–20.

<sup>29</sup>This is, in my opinion, implied in the argument given at AS<sub>3</sub> 65.16: there is no activity with regard to the cognitive form, because it is known through the form of perception that is self-awareness. I am here supposing that Ratnakīrti held a notion of self-awareness very similar to that explained in Kajiyama 1998: 47: self-consciousness is “[a kind of] indeterminate knowledge free from fictional constructs and unerring . . .”

it (one activity being the formation of the concept “No pot here.”), and it is an external object that is determined on the grounds of the appearing *bud-dhyākāra* in the case of conceptual cognition. Here another central aspect of determination becomes apparent: it is responsible for the successful activity with regard to real things.

Consequently, the exclusion from others that qualifies the positive or affirmative element is

1. the capacity in a conceptual cognition to make action that accords to expectation possible in so far as this exclusion is understood as a non-implicatively negating element, and
2. a quality of the cognitive form in so far as it is grasped as an implicatively negating element.

The second point can be understood as founding the quality or aspect “exclusion” on the ontological level, because it states that the reason exclusion is cognized when a word is understood is that that word is defined as referring to something, a cow particular, in so far as it is differentiated from non-cows (cf. Text SECTION 3.5 on page 295).

On Ratnakīrti’s explanation,<sup>30</sup> this does not present more problems than the explanation of reference as a word’s referring to a real commonness: in that case too, the word referent is supposed to be a specific commonness, not a particular itself or a commonness as such (as opposed to cowness, the specific commonness).

The question remains how Ratnakīrti’s definition of the referent of a word as “affirmative element characterized by the exclusion of others” should be understood as a whole. It is with regard to the relationship of the positive and negative aspect involved in this definition that the above differentiation between the capacity aspect and the quality aspect of exclusion from others comes into meaningful perspective.

**2.3.4 Relationship *anyāpoha* and *vidhi*** A distinctive feature of Jñānaśrīmitra’s and Ratnakīrti’s version of the *apoha* theory is the stress they lay on the simultaneous cognition of the two parts of the word referent, ex-

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<sup>30</sup>Cf. AS<sub>3</sub> 60.1–11. On my understanding, the point of the arguments given there is to show that *anyāpoha* does not lead to any worse logical problems than the assumption of a really existing universal.

clusion and the positive or affirmative element (cf., for example, AS<sub>3</sub> 59.7–19).<sup>31</sup>

To illustrate this, Ratnakīrti gives the following example:

AS<sub>3</sub> 59.11–15 (for the Sanskrit text, see SECTION 3.7 on page 296): Therefore the cognition of that excluded from others is called a cognition of a cow. And even if an expression does not have a representation of the words “excluded from others”, nevertheless there is no non-cognition at all of other exclusion, which is the qualifier, because the word cow is founded only on that excluded from non-cow. As the appearance of blue is unavoidable at that time when there is the cognition of a blue lotus because of the word *indīvara*[, i.e., blue lotus,] which is founded on a blue lotus, so also the appearance of the exclusion of non-cow is unavoidable, because it is a qualifier, in the same moment as there is the cognition of cow from the word cow which is founded on that excluded from non-cow.

From this passage it follows that the cognition “cow” is equivalent with the cognition of that excluded from others: non-cows in this example. In other words, the positive element, *vidhi*, is that excluded from others, *anyāpodha*, due to having exclusion, *anyāpoḥa*, as its qualifier. The point of the example is that the cognition of “blue lotus” is impossible without the qualifier “blue” being cognized in the same moment as “lotus”. This means that what can be understood as the *vidhi*'s quality, exclusion from others, is essential to it in the sense that it can not be grasped or cognized without it. Understanding the word “cow” is simultaneous to, and inseparable from, understanding “not non-cow.”

The question that this analysis leads to is the following: given that the positive element is both present in the mode of appearance and determination (cf. SECTION 3.4 on page 295), is its qualifier, the exclusion from others, also present in both modes?<sup>32</sup> I think that on the background of the arguments above, this can be answered with a yes. It is with respect to

<sup>31</sup>Cf. Patil 2003, and—given the reasonably probable similarity of the AS to Jñānaśrī-mitra's AP—also McCrea and Patil 2006, as opposed to the discussions in Akamatsu 1986 and Katsura 1986. See also Patil 2009, especially chapter 5.

<sup>32</sup>This is not supported in the place where a direct clarification could have been given by Ratnakīrti, SECTION 3.4 on page 295: “And by the word positive element an external object that is distinguished from that of another nature is meant according to determination, and according to manifestation a cognitive form [is meant].” Here Ratnakīrti qualifies

the implicative and non-implicative modes of absence that it can be made sense of how differentiation qualifies and is present in every event in the sphere of conceptual awareness, both in the direct grasping of an *ākāra* by self-awareness and in the generalizing determination of an object of activity.

Accordingly, the main constituents of the “complex entity” (coined in Patil 2003: 230) that is the referent of words, the *anyāpohaviśiṣṭo vidhiḥ*, might be analysed as follows:

The positive element (*vidhi*) both appears and is determined. Appearing, it is the cognitive form qualified by the exclusion from others in the manner of an implicative negation. Determined, it is the cognitive form qualified by the exclusion from others in the manner of a non-implicative negation. It is in this latter sense that determination, which also involves externalisation, makes action according to an expectation possible.

**2.3.5 Conclusion** The main characteristics of determination according to Ratnakīrti can therefore be listed as follows:

1. There is no determination of the cognitive form (item 2 on page 286).
2. Determination performs an externalisation in the context of conceptual cognition (SECTION 2.3.2 on page 287).
3. Determination construes the positive element’s exclusion from others as a non-implicative negation (item 1 on page 292).
4. Determination (thus) is a function that allows conceptual cognition to prompt activity towards an external object, finally leading—if not mistaken—to the desired effect (SECTION 2.3.3 on page 292).

### 3 Text Passages

**3.1 AS<sub>3</sub> 56.5** *anyāpohaviśiṣṭo vidhiḥ śabdānām arthaḥ*. (Translated in SECTION 2.3 on page 284)

only the determined aspect of the positive element, the external object, as distinguished from that of another nature, but not the cognitive form. On the other hand, if it were not the case that differentiation from others would qualify the cognitive form also, it would be hard to see how Ratnakīrti separates his view from that of the affirmationist (*vidhivādin*). Cf. Akamatsu 1986 for the description of their view.

**3.2 AS<sub>3</sub> 59.21–25** *yad apy avocad vācaspatih—jātimatyō vyaktayo vikalpānām śabdānām ca gocarah. ... tad apy anenaiva nirastam. yato jāter adhikāyāḥ prakṣepe 'pi vyaktīnām rūpam atajjātīyavyāvṛttam eva cet, tadā tenaiva rūpeṇa śabdavikalpayor viśayībhavantīnām katham atad-vyāvṛttiparihārah.* (Translated in SECTION 2.3.1 on page 285)

**3.3 AS<sub>3</sub> 65.15–20** *tad evaṃ vidhir eva śabdārthaḥ. sa ca bāhyo 'rtho buddhyākāras ca vivakṣitaḥ. tatra na buddhyākārasya tattvataḥ samvṛtyā vā vidhiniśedhau, svasaṃvedanapratyakṣagamyatvāt, anadhy-avasāyāc ca. nāpi tattvato bāhyasyāpi vidhiniśedhau, tasya śābde pratyaye 'pratibhāsanāt. ata eva sarvadharmāṇām tattvato 'nabhilāpyatvam, prati-bhāsādhyavasāyābhāvāt. tasmād bāhyasyaiva sāmṛttau vidhiniśedhau, anyathā samvyavahārahānīprasaṅgāt.* (Translated in SECTION 2.3.2 on page 286)

**3.4 AS<sub>3</sub> 60.20–23** *vidhiśabdena ca yathādhyavasāyam atadrūpa-parāvṛtto bāhyo 'rtho 'bhimataḥ, yathāpratibhāsaṃ buddhyākāras ca. tatra bāhyo 'rtho 'dhyavasāyād eva śabdavācyo vyavasthāpyate, na svalakṣaṇaparispṛṅṅhūrtyā, pratyakṣavad deśakālāvasthānīyataprayaktasvalakṣaṇāṣphuraṇāt.* (Translated in SECTION 2.3.2 on page 287)

**3.5 AS<sub>3</sub> 59.15–20** *yathā pratyakṣasya prasajyarūpābhāvagrahaṇam abhāvavikalpotpādanaśaktir eva, tathā vidhivikalpānām api tadanurūpā-nuṣṭhānadānaśaktir evābhāvagrahaṇam abhidhīyate. paryudāsarūpā-bhāvagrahaṇam tu nīyatasvarūpasamvedanam ubhayor aviśiṣṭam. anyathā yadi śabdād arthapratipattikāle kalito na parāpohaḥ katham anyapari-hāreṇa pravṛttiḥ. tato gām badhāneti codito 'śvādīn api badhnīyāt.* (Discussed in SECTION 2.3.3 on page 288)<sup>33</sup>

### 3.6 PV 3<sup>a</sup> 183ab

*sāmānyavācīnaḥ śabdās tadekāṛthā ca kalpanā.* (Translated in SECTION 2.2 on page 284)

<sup>33</sup>*prasajyarūpābhāvagrahaṇam* is corrected against “*abhāva-agrahaṇam*” AS<sub>3</sub> 59.16, also noted in Patil 2009: 213, fn. 40 and considered in Patil 2003: 246, n. 14. All the manuscripts used for the critical edition also read “*grahaṇam*”.

**3.7 AS<sub>3</sub> 59.11–15** *tasmād goḥ pratipattir ity anyāpoḍhapratipattir ucyate. yady api cānyāpoḍhaśabdānullekha uktas tathāpi nāpratipattir eva viśeṣaṇabhūtasypohasya. agavāpoḍha eva gośabdasya niveśitatvāt. yathā nīlotpale niveśitād indīvaraśabdān nīlotpalapratītau tatkāla eva nīlimasphuraṇam anivāryam, tathā gośabdād apy agavāpoḍhe niveśitād gopratītau tulyakālam eva niveśitād ago’pohasphuraṇam anivāryam.* (Trl. in SECTION 2.3.4 on page 293)

**3.8 PV 1 38.9–10** *uktam yādrśam sāmānyam—asamsrṣṭānām ekā-samsargas tadvyatirekiṇām samānateti.* (Translated in SECTION 2.1 on page 283)

**3.9 PV 3<sup>a</sup> 167ab** *śabdo ’rthāṃśam kam āheti tatrānyapoha ity ucyate.* (Translated in SECTION 2.1 on page 284)

## Abbreviations

- AP** Jñānaśrīmitra. “Apoḥaprakaraṇa”. In: JNĀ,; 201–232.
- AS<sub>3</sub>** Ratnakīrti. “Apoḥasiddhi”. In: RNĀ<sub>2</sub>, 58–66.
- CAPV** Ratnakīrti. “Citrādvaitaparakāśavāda”. In: RNĀ<sub>2</sub>, 129–144.
- HB** Dharmakīrti. “Hetubindu”. In: Steinkellner 1967a, 29–99.
- ĪSD** Ratnakīrti. “Īśvarasādhanadūṣaṇa”. In: RNĀ<sub>2</sub>, 32–57.
- JNĀ** Jñānaśrīmitra. “Jñānaśrīmitranibandhāvali”. In: Thakur 1987.
- PV 1** Dharmakīrti. “Pramāṇavārttike Prathamah Paricchedah”. In: Gnoli 1960, 1–176.
- PV 3<sup>a</sup>** Dharmakīrti. “Pramāṇavārttika III [kk. 1–319]”. In: Tosaki 1979. Vol. 1.
- RNĀ<sub>1</sub>** Ratnakīrti. “Ratnakīrtinibandhāvali”. In: Thakur 1957.
- RNĀ<sub>2</sub>** Ratnakīrti. “Ratnakīrtinibandhāvaliḥ”. In: Thakur 1975b.
- SJS<sub>2</sub>** Ratnakīrti. “Sarvajñasiddhi”. In: RNĀ<sub>2</sub>, 1–31.

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## Latest News from a Kashmirian “Second Dharmakīrti”

### On the Life, Works and Confessional Identity of Śāṅkaranandana according to New Manuscript Resources

Vincent Eltschinger

With its impressive educational and ritual complexes (Nālandā, Telāḍhaka, Vikramaśīla, Uddanḍapuri, etc.), Magadha remained the dominant centre of Buddhist intellectual life and religious creativity in India from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries CE. Probably as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the rival centre of Valabhī in Gujrat, which had hosted such noted intellectuals as Sthiramati and Guṇamati, began to die out, likely not surviving the decline of the Maitraka dynasty that had so munificently supported it from the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. But sometime during the 8<sup>th</sup> century, Kashmir entered the scene of Buddhist religio-philosophical creativity with intellectuals such as Dharmottara.

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The present study has been made possible by the generous financial support of the Austrian Science Fund (FWF project P19862 “Philosophische und religiöse Literatur des Buddhismus”). I would like to extend my heartfelt thanks to Deborah Klimburg-Salter who generously invited me to Shimla to give a talk on Śāṅkaranandana in the framework of the FWF project “Cultural History of the Western Himalaya.” The present paper is the updated English version of an essay to be published in French in the *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* (Eltschinger 2010). Most sincere thanks are due to my dear friends and colleagues Anne MacDonald, Isabelle Ratié, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Diwakar Acharya, Helmut Krasser and Raffaele Torella for their many insightful remarks on earlier drafts of this essay or its French predecessor. I am especially indebted to Alexis Sanderson for sending me a printout of his research materials on Śāṅkaranandana, solving several problems related to tricky *kāvyas* and allowing me to discard an earlier hypothesis regarding the relationship between Śāṅkaranandana and Abhinavagupta.

Less than two centuries later, Kashmir had become a major centre of Indian philosophical life, a centre that, contrary perhaps to Magadha, was extremely lively with philosophical interaction and competition between the representatives of various Buddhist, Śaiva and orthodox brahmanical denominations. And from the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Kashmir also became the focal point of the so-called second diffusion of Buddhism to Tibet, thus attracting the most gifted personalities among the Tibetan elite and providing Indian Buddhist intellectuals with positions in ever more numerous translation teams. The phenomenon would culminate at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century with personalities such as rÑog lotsāba Blo ldan śes rab.

Among the non-Buddhists involved in this fascinating period, let us simply recall here the names of Jayantabhaṭṭa, one of the most creative representatives of the Nyāya, and of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta, who were responsible for the development of the Pratyabhijñā system. On the Buddhist side, Śāṅkaranandana stands out both as the main interlocutor of the Śaiva Pratyabhijñā school and as one of the most influential thinkers among the early generations of Tibetan philosophers. Śāṅkaranandana was apparently so brilliant that, due perhaps to the extreme terseness of his style, to his philosophical penetration and to his doctrinal orthodoxy, he came to be famed as the “second Dharmakīrti.” Given the amount of quotations in Pratyabhijñā works as well as his impact on the “second diffusion” of Buddhism, Śāṅkaranandana must be considered the most outstanding representative of Buddhist philosophy in Kashmir.

Strange as it may seem, however, we know nearly nothing about him. His life, dates and even confessional (i.e., both socioreligious and doctrinal) identity are still shrouded in mystery. Until recently, only the four works recorded in the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur*, all left entirely unstudied, and a few titles were known to us. Things are, however, changing for the better due to the (re)discovery of (new) manuscript resources that shed entirely new light on Śāṅkaranandana's religious and philosophical identity. The present essay aims at summarizing previous research on the subject (SECTION 1), presenting the scope of the new resources (SECTION 2) and providing new insights into the internal chronology of Śāṅkaranandana's works (SECTION 3), their confessional identity (SECTION 4) and, finally, the kind of biographical hypotheses they allow or exclude (SECTION 5).

## 1 Previous Research on Śāṅkarānanda

**1.1** When he published his pathbreaking *History of Indian Logic* (1921), S. Ch. Vidyābhūṣaṇa was aware of four works by “Śāṅkarānanda,” all of them preserved in Tibetan translation only: the *Pramāṇavārtikaṭīkā*, the *Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra*, the *Apoḥasiddhi* and the *Pratibandhasiddhi*.<sup>1</sup> Vidyābhūṣaṇa’s historical and biographical account relied entirely on the narrative recorded by the Tibetan hagiographer Tāranātha (16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century). According to Vidyābhūṣaṇa, “Śāṅkarānanda” was active during the reign of Nayapāla (around 1050):

Śāṅkarānanda... was born in a Brāhmaṇa family in Kāśmīra. He was learned in all sciences, and was above all an expert in Logic. He intended to write an original work on Logic refuting Dharmakīrti, but in a dream he was told by Mañjuśrī: ‘Since Dharmakīrti is an Ārya (an elect), one cannot refute him, and if thou seest mistake in him, it is the mistake of thine own understanding.’ Thereupon Śāṅkarānanda repented and composed a commentary on Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇa-vārtika* in seven chapters.<sup>2</sup>

**1.2** In 1932, Th. Stcherbatsky classified “Śāṅkarānanda” among the representatives of the “Cashmere or philosophical school of commentators.” According to the Russian scholar, this tradition whose “active actors were often brahmins” intended to uncover the “deeper layers” of Dharmakīrti’s philosophy.<sup>3</sup> In 1933, E. Frauwallner rightly emended the names recorded in the Tibetan sources (“Śāṅkarānanda,” “Śāṅkarānanta,” “Śāṅkananda”) to “Śāṅkarānanda.”<sup>4</sup> It was also in the thirties that the scholars and adventurers R. Sāṅkrītyāyana and G. Tucci travelled across Tibet in search of Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts. In Ņor, the two of them photographed a Sanskrit manuscript amounting to thirty-one folios (hereafter MS A). As Bühnemann (1980) would point out, this manuscript contained

<sup>1</sup>Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1921:344–345. Vidyābhūṣaṇa also translated the *maṅgalas* of the first two works quoted (1921:345, nn. 2 and 4).

<sup>2</sup>Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1921:344. For a second (and funnier) biographical legend associated with the alleged conversion of Śāṅkarānanda, see Krasser 2001:496, n. 30.

<sup>3</sup>Stcherbatsky 1932:40–42.

<sup>4</sup>See Frauwallner 1933:241/(1982:488) and Krasser 2001:489–490.

all the stanzas that formed the basic didactic structure of Śāṅkaranandana's thirteen independent treatises.<sup>5</sup> In the report he published in 1935, R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana mentioned the titles of three new (but to him still anonymous) works: the *Prajñālaṅkārikā*, the *Sarvajñasiddhikārikā* and the *Āgamaprāmāṇyakārikā*.<sup>6</sup> His list included one more title, the *Sarvajñasiddhisāṅkṣepa* which, like Tucci, he photographed in Nor and was able to ascribe to Śāṅkaranandana (sic).<sup>7</sup> None of these materials were either described or edited until 1980.<sup>8</sup>

**1.3** In 1960, R. Gnoli dedicated four pages of his introduction to the edition of the PVSV to the last among the known Indian commentators of this work, “Śāṅkarānanda.” As H. Krasser rightly points out, “Professor Gnoli was the first and only expert not to date Śāṅkaranandana... on the basis of Tibetan tradition but to use textual sources.”<sup>9</sup> It is unclear whether Gnoli, a noted specialist of Kashmir Śaivism, noticed Abhinavagupta's or his commentators' explicit mention of two theretofore unknown works of Śāṅkaranandana, the *Prāmāṇyaparīkṣā* and the *Dharmālaṅkāra*. Whatever the case may be, the Italian scholar added only one title to the list provided by the Tibetan *bsTan 'gyur* and Vidyābhūṣaṇa, viz. a *Prajñālaṅkāra* whose doctrinal stance he interpreted in a way that I shall attempt to refute below.<sup>10</sup> Gnoli's identification of the Sanskrit fragments scattered throughout Kashmir Śaiva literature marked a significant turning point. First, Gnoli was the first scholar to identify Abhinavagupta (950–1020) as the *terminus ad quem* for Śāṅkaranandana; as for the latter's *terminus post quem*, it was provided by Dharmottara, whom Śāṅkaranandana, according to Abhinavagupta again, is supposed to have criticised.<sup>11</sup> From this, the Italian scholar concluded that Śāṅka-

<sup>5</sup>See below, SECTION 1.5.

<sup>6</sup>Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935:42, [Nor] XXXVIII.3.173, 4.174, 5.175. See also Much 1988:16–17, 21 and 27. The title “*Āgamaprāmāṇyakārikā*” does not appear in the colophon of MS A, which presents the title as: “*Āgasiddhikārikā*,” and must therefore be either an error or an emendation by R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana.

<sup>7</sup>Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935:42, [Nor] XXXVII.1.168. See also Much 1988:28, and below, SECTIONS 2.2.9 to 2.2.10.

<sup>8</sup>See below, SECTIONS 2.2.5 and 2.2.11.

<sup>9</sup>Krasser 2001:489.

<sup>10</sup>See below, SECTIONS 4.7 and 5.3.

<sup>11</sup>Gnoli 1960:xxiii–xxiv. ĪPVV II.16,10–11: *tena yad āha bhaṭṭaśāṅkaranandanāḥ... iti dharmottaraṃ dūṣayitum* /.



ranandana had been active sometime during the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century, a conclusion that, in my opinion, still holds today. Second, Gnoli turned the (Indo-)Tibetan legend upside down: that Śāṅkaranandana was praised by Abhinavagupta and composed such a non-Buddhistic work as the *Prajñālaṅkāra* could only be due to the fact that, far from having converted from Śaivism to Buddhism, Śāṅkaranandana had converted from Buddhism to Śaivism.<sup>12</sup>

**1.4** In his *Les Bouddhistes kaśmīriens au moyen âge* (1968), J. Naudou located, allegedly on the basis of the Tibetan translations (and not without obvious contradictions), the *floruit* of Prajñākaragupta, Yamāri and “Śāṅkarānanda” in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>13</sup> The French scholar was aware of the same four “Tibetan” works as Vidyābhūṣaṇa and partly misinterpreted the scope and meaning of the *Apoḥasiddhi* and the *Pratibandhasiddhi*.<sup>14</sup> However, Naudou is to be credited with having drawn the attention to the important colophon of the *Pratibandhasiddhi*, which portrays Śāṅkaranandana as a “*paramopāsaka mahāpaṇḍita brāhmaṇa*” and as a “second Dharmakīrti” (*chos kyi grags pa gñis pa*).<sup>15</sup> Let it be noted in passing that Naudou, in wondering whether “Śāṅkarānanda” was the same as that Śāṅkarabhadra “who received the *Yuddhajayārṇavatāntra Svaroḍaya nāma* and the *Svarodayalagnaphalopadeśa* from Abhinavagupta,”<sup>16</sup> seemingly also suspected a close connection between the two intellectuals. Naudou (who obviously hadn’t read Gnoli) also relates the “story of [Śāṅkarānanda’s] hypothetical conversion” on the basis of Tāranātha’s account.

**1.5** Like Gnoli’s comments, G. Bühnemann’s “*Identifizierung von Sanskrittexten Śāṅkaranandanans*” (1980) laid the foundations for the philological study of this philosopher’s works. First, Bühnemann collected and published all the Sanskrit fragments explicitly ascribed to Śāṅkaranandana in Kashmir Śaiva as well as Jaina sources. Second, her study was the first to rely on Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s photographs of the Ñor manuscript

<sup>12</sup>See below, SECTIONS 4.7 and 5.3.

<sup>13</sup>Naudou 1968:104.

<sup>14</sup>Naudou 1968:108.

<sup>15</sup>Naudou 1968:107. On this colophon, see below, FOOTNOTE 125.

<sup>16</sup>Naudou 1968:107; see also Naudou 1968:103.

(MS A). Though she did not edit the *poṭhi*, Bühnemann traced all the extant fragments to it or to the Tibetan translations<sup>17</sup> and succeeded in identifying the thirteen independent works (didactic stanzas only) contained in MS A, thus suddenly raising the number of Śāṅkaranandana's works (commentarial or independent) to fifteen.<sup>18</sup> Third, Bühnemann pointed out, on the evidence of both the Tibetan translation of the *Anyāpohasiddhi* and the form of certain Sanskrit fragments, that most of Śāṅkaranandana's independent treatises originally consisted of *miśraka* texts combining didactic stanzas and explanatory prose.<sup>19</sup>

**1.6** The two decades separating Bühnemann's from H. Krasser's (2001) study were characterized by a growing interest in the Tibetan indigenous contribution to Buddhist logic and epistemology. Together with Bhavyarāja, Manoratha, Parahita (11<sup>th</sup> century) and Śākyaśrībhadrā (1127–1225), but also rNog lotsāba Blo ldan śes rab (1059–1109) and Sa skya Paṇḍita kun dga' rgyal mtshan (1182–1251), Śāṅkaranandana started to be reckoned among those Indian and Tibetan intellectuals who had exerted a deep and lasting impact on the first generations of Tibetan philosophers.<sup>20</sup> In this context, Śāṅkaranandana came to be (mistakenly) considered as a likely Indian predecessor of the dGe lugs pas' "moderate realism."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup>See Bühnemann 1980:193–197.

<sup>18</sup>See Bühnemann 1980:191–193 and Much 1988:16–17. For each work, Bühnemann added the number of stanzas as recorded in the colophons (on these "micro-colophons," see Eltschinger 2008:120) as well as the references in MS A. Steinkellner/Much 1995:80 presents a 22-item list that can easily be reduced to Bühnemann's provided one does not distinguish between the versified works and the prose commentaries: 6 and 7, 10 and 11, 12 and 13, 14 and 15, 16 to 18, 19 and 20 overlap.

<sup>19</sup>Bühnemann 1980:193.

<sup>20</sup>See especially van der Kuijp 1983 and Jackson 1987.

<sup>21</sup>Śāṅkaranandana is frequently alluded to by the (dGa' ldan pas'/dGe lugs pas as an Indian authority regarding the kind of moderate realism they profess. Their Sa skya pa adversaries reject this interpretation as of purely Tibetan origin (i.e., as having originated in doctrines developed at gSañ phu sne'u thog monastery under the inspiration of rNog lotsāba and Phya pa chos kyi seṅ ge). The dGe lugs pas authenticate their ideas by resorting to PVAn on PV 1.40 as well as to the Kashmirian logician Bhavyarāja (Dreyfus 1992:42). See Tillemans 1984:64, n. 5, Dreyfus 1992:42–43, Yoshimizu 1999:463–464, n. 19, and Tillemans 1999:212–213. Let me mention in passing that this Tibetan-Western interpretation of the PVAn passage relies on a misunderstanding, for this *locus* does not reflect Śāṅkaranandana's own position, but the ideas he ascribes to a realist opponent.

Though it bears no connection with the “Indo-Tibetan” approach, T. Funayama’s study, “Remarks on Religious Predominance in Kashmir: Hindu or Buddhist?” (1994), is worth mentioning in this regard. According to the Japanese scholar, Śāṅkaranandana belonged to a socioreligious milieu characterized by a “syncretic attitude” that likely accounted for the fact that “there were a few Buddhist texts written by brahmins.”<sup>22</sup> As Funayama has it (echoing Gnoli),

Śāṅkaranandana who flourished in the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century wrote a commentary on Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇavārttika* as well as other works, on the one hand, and as a Hindu wrote the lost *Prajñālaṅkāra* which was highly estimated by the Śaiva philosopher Abhinavagupta. This double attitude incurred a discussion regarding whether Śāṅkaranandana converted himself or not.

Funayama answers this question by declaring himself inclined to “assume that he composed Buddhist texts without conversion.” With the exception of Bühnemann (1980) and Steinkellner/Much (1995), who hadn’t touched upon the issue, Funayama was at that time the only scholar not to endorse any variant of the “conversion” hypothesis.

**1.7** H. Krasser’s “On the Dates and Works of Śāṅkaranandana” (2001) is no doubt the most thoroughly documented study published before the “paradigm shift” induced by the discovery, in 2004, of several Sanskrit manuscripts containing works of Śāṅkaranandana. Let it be noted first that Krasser reorganized Bühnemann’s list of works in various directions: by identifying two new Sanskrit fragments, Krasser established that the *Dharmālaṅkāra* too originally consisted in a *miśra* composition;<sup>23</sup> by hypothesizing a now lost commentary on Dharmakīrti’s VN, he raised the number of Śāṅkaranandana’s works to sixteen;<sup>24</sup> finally, Krasser is to be credited with the first attempt at establishing the relative chronology of these works.<sup>25</sup> Turning Gnoli’s biographical outline upside down, Krasser rehabilitated the tradition of Śāṅkaranandana’s conversion from Śaivism

<sup>22</sup>Funayama 1994:372 (same reference for the next three citations).

<sup>23</sup>See Krasser 2001:492.

<sup>24</sup>See Krasser 2001:490–493, and below, SECTION 2.1.3.

<sup>25</sup>See especially Krasser 2001:508.

to Buddhism. Two arguments had allowed Gnoli to reverse the Tibetan legends: first, he interpreted the *Prajñālaṅkāra* as of Śaiva obedience; second, Abhinavagupta, in addition to praising Śaṅkaranandana, portrayed him as *pratilabdhoneṣa*, “[one who] recovered illumination.”<sup>26</sup> Krasser’s critique of this argument was two-sided.

1. Śaṅkaranandana’s *Prajñālaṅkāra* cannot have shifted so significantly from Buddhist “orthodoxy” since Abhinavagupta himself presents certain among its teachings as *saugata*, i.e., Buddhist; moreover, Gnoli’s translation of *pratilabdhoneṣa* raises several problems.<sup>27</sup>
2. The Tibetan traditions (both biographical and doxographical) unanimously hold Śaṅkaranandana to have been (or at least become) a Buddhist, and the colophon of the Tibetan *Pratibandhasiddhi* can only be interpreted as testifying to a conversion to Buddhism. As for the concluding stanza of the *Īśvarāpākaṇasāṅkṣepa*, it suggests that this conversion took place rather late in Śaṅkaranandana’s life.

These observations led Krasser to divide Śaṅkaranandana’s literary production into two distinct periods. That Abhinavagupta praised Śaṅkaranandana was due to the fact that he was not aware of the latter’s polemical tracts against the existence of God (as well as of his commentaries on Dharmakīrti’s works, since at least the *Tīkā* on the PV contains unambiguous anti-theistic statements). According to Krasser, these works must belong to a period posterior to Abhinavagupta’s final work, the *ĪPVV* (around 1014–1015), whereas Śaṅkaranandana’s remaining treatises must predate the *ĪPVV* (especially the *Anyāpohasiddhi*, the *Prajñālaṅkāra*, the *\*Bṛhatprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*, maybe also the *Dharmālaṅkāra*, all of which are quoted in the *ĪPVV*). Finally, on the grounds that a statement of Utpaladeva’s would seem to presuppose an (unidentified) stanza of Śaṅkaranandana’s, Krasser hypothesized a lifetime between 940/(950) and 1020/(1030).<sup>28</sup>

**1.8** Krasser is also to be credited with the only critical edition and annotated translation of a work of Śaṅkaranandana to date, the *Īśvarāpākaṇasāṅkṣepa* (2002). As the editor brilliantly points out, the doctrinal

<sup>26</sup>Gnoli 1960:xxvi.

<sup>27</sup>See below, respectively SECTION 4.7 and FOOTNOTE 98, and SECTION 5.3.

<sup>28</sup>See Krasser 2001:494–505, and below SECTION 5.4.

and textual background of the treatise is purely Buddhist. This work amounts to an updated version of Dharmakīrti’s arguments against the existence of God.

**1.9** According to A. Sanderson’s unpublished “Notes (2005) on Helmut Krasser’s ‘On the Dates and Works of Śāṅkaranandana (2001)’” (2010 for the printout), three reasons at least plead against Krasser’s assumption of a conversion from Śaivism to Buddhism. First, the Tibetan legends only say that Śāṅkaranandana was a Brahmin who converted to Buddhism, but never allude to a former Śaiva persuasion; as for Śāṅkaranandana’s name, which many (including myself) had held to hint at a Śaiva environment, “it is not an initiation name (*dīkṣānāma*) and therefore tells us nothing about his religion. Only initiation names and ordination names reveal a person’s religious practice.”<sup>29</sup> Second, the hypothesis of a conversion from Śaivism to Buddhism would seem to presuppose that the works praised by Abhinavagupta were of Śaiva obedience; now, Sanderson sees “no evidence at all that [Śāṅkaranandana] wrote any but Buddhist works or that Abhinavagupta saw him as anything but a Buddhist in any of his works,”<sup>30</sup> and “Krasser provides no evidence of works which are un-Buddhist to any degree.”<sup>31</sup> Third, Abhinavagupta’s terminology while referring to Śāṅkaranandana’s alleged illumination is characteristically Buddhist and points “to a Buddhist illumination or at least to the fruit of Buddhist practice,”<sup>32</sup> thus making it difficult to admit that Śāṅkaranandana had been a Śaiva earlier in his life. Let it be noted, finally, that Sanderson also criticises the assumption that Utpaladeva might provide a *terminus ante quem* for Śāṅkaranandana. According to him, “the passage does not allow this inference. Abhinavagupta does not say that Utpaladeva attacks the verse in question but only that he attacks a certain position which Abhinavagupta illustrates by citing this verse.”<sup>33</sup>

**1.10** The present author has published a diplomatic edition of the stanzas of Śāṅkaranandana’s *Sarvajñasiddhi* (MSS A and B) together

<sup>29</sup>Sanderson 2005/(2010):2.

<sup>30</sup>Sanderson 2005/(2010):2.

<sup>31</sup>Sanderson 2005/(2010):2. See below, SECTION 4.1.

<sup>32</sup>Sanderson 2005/(2010):2.

<sup>33</sup>Sanderson 2005/(2010):3.

with a preliminary study of this treatise's doctrinal stance (2008), of decidedly Buddhist and especially Dharmakīrtian allegiance.

**1.11** Our knowledge of the available Sanskrit manuscripts, or, rather, of the extant photographs of manuscripts containing works by Śāṅkaranandana has increased very significantly in the past few years. Whereas Bühnemann had to draw her conclusions on the basis of one single manuscript(/set of photographs, MS A) and Krasser on the basis of two of them (MSS A and C), the present study can rely on seven manuscripts and 11 sets of photographs, the most important ones having emerged around 2004–2005. Among these 11 sets of photographs, only one (MS C) is of a currently still available physical manuscript. The remaining ones are of manuscripts found in Ānor in the thirties (MSS A and B) or in unspecified Tibetan monasteries (?) during or after the Cultural Revolution. At least some among these manuscripts of Tibetan provenance but Indian origin are likely to have been preserved in Lhasa (Potala). It is to be noted that, although these new manuscript resources shed an entirely new light on Śāṅkaranandana's literary production, intellectual personality and biographical sketch, much time and many more manuscripts will be needed in order to gain a thorough picture of Śāṅkaranandana's philosophy. Indeed, except for the manuscript edited by Krasser (2002, MS C), I am aware of no set of photographs that would, *at the same time*, be well readable *and* present a complete manuscript. This being said, one can reasonably expect that MSS D, E, F and G will allow, in a not too distant future, editions and/or studies of at least (parts of) the two *Pratibandhasiddhis*, the *Anyāpohasiddhi*, the *Dharmālaṅkāra* (chapters 2 and 3) and the three *\*Prāmāṇyaparīkṣās*. Here is a sketch of the resources currently available:

- **MS A**

- Found in Ānor and photographed thrice by R. Sāṅkrītyāyana (1934, 1936 and/or 1938) and once by G. Tucci (1939)
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs and/or negatives kept in Patna (BRS), Göttingen (NSU), Rome (IsIAO)
- 31 folios, complete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); for details and a description of the manuscript, see Eltschinger 2008:118–121

- Covers the thirteen independent treatises (stanzas only!) of Śāṅkaranandana (see below, SECTIONS 2.2.1 to 2.2.13; Bühnemann 1980; Eltschinger 2008:118–121)

- **MS B**

- Found in Nōr and photographed twice by R. Sāṅkr̥tyāyana (1936 and/or 1938) and once by G. Tucci (1939)
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs and/or negatives kept in Patna (BRS), Göttingen (NSU), Rome (IsIAO)
- 45 folios, incomplete (?); proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); for details and a description of the manuscript, see Eltschinger 2008:121–124
- Covers the SSi (incomplete), the SSiS (complete) and the ĪA (incomplete [?]) (*miśrakas!*); see below, SECTIONS 2.2.9 to 2.2.11

- **MS C**

- Found in Vārāṇasī (BHU) and photographed by R. Torella (1991)
- MS kept in Vārāṇasī (BHU); see Krasser 2002:I.xi
- Photographs kept in Rome (IsIAO)
- 15 folios, incomplete; Śāradā; for details and a description of the manuscript, see Krasser 2002:I.xi–xix
- Covers the ĪAS (complete) (*miśraka!*) together with an anonymous commentary (incomplete); see below, SECTION 2.2.12

- **MS D**

- Original location in Tibet and photographer unknown
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs kept in Beijing (CTRC, folder labelled *Dharmā-lāṅkāra*[?])
- 31 folios, incomplete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*)
- Covers the DhA (chapter 2, incomplete; chapter 3, complete) (*miśraka!*); see below, SECTION 2.2.7

- **MS E**

- Original location in Tibet and photographer unknown

- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs kept in Beijing (CTRC, folder labelled *Prāmāṇya-saṃkṣepo dvitīyaḥ*)
- 32 folios, incomplete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); the complete original MS must have amounted to at least forty-five (?) folios
- Covers the \*BPrP (*miśraka!*); see below, SECTION 2.2.5

• **MS F**

- Original location in Tibet and photographer unknown
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs kept in Beijing (CTRC, folder labelled *Prāmāṇya-saṃkṣepa*)
- 9 folios, incomplete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); the complete original MS must have amounted to at least 12 (?) folios
- Covers the \*SPrP (incomplete) and the \*MPrP (incomplete) (*miśrakas!*); see below, SECTIONS 2.2.3 to 2.2.4

• **MS G**

- Original location in Tibet and photographer unknown
- MS possibly kept in Lhasa (Potala), TAR, China
- Photographs kept in Beijing (CTRC, folder labelled *Prāmāṇya-saṃkṣepa*)
- 22 folios, incomplete; proto-Bengali(-cum-*proto-Maithilī*); the complete original MS must have amounted to at least thirty-one folios
- Covers the AAS (incomplete), the P*Si* (incomplete) and the \*P*SiS* (incomplete) (*miśrakas!*); see below, SECTIONS 2.2.1 to 2.2.2, and SECTION 2.2.6

**1.12** Even a preliminary study of these new or rediscovered materials sheds new light on the life, works and confessional identity of the Kashmirian philosopher Śāṅkaranandana. First, his own cross-references make it possible to draw sound conclusions regarding the relative chronology of his most important works (see below, SECTION 3); these



cross-references have, moreover, revealed a hitherto unknown (but still entirely lost) work of Śāṅkaranandana, the *Pramāṇaviniścayānusāriṇī* (see below, SECTION 2.1.4). Second, both the cross-references and the colophons allow us to provide several treatises and commentaries with more accurate titles (see below, SECTION 2). Third, thanks to the availability of the *maṅgalaśloka*s and concluding verses—but also, of course, of significant parts of the works themselves—we are now able to ascertain the confessional identity of Śāṅkaranandana’s works: these are unambiguously and exclusively Buddhist, with no identifiable Śāiva or even a simply brahmanical component or leaning, which urges us to rule out all variants of the “conversion” hypothesis (except Śāṅkaranandana’s alleged *upāsaka* condition; see below, SECTION 4). Fourth, both the relative chronology and the confessional identity of his works allow us to refine our understanding of Śāṅkaranandana’s chronological relationship to Abhinavagupta (see below, SECTION 5).

## 2 Śāṅkaranandana’s Works and the State of Their Transmission

Śāṅkaranandana has authored at least seventeen works. Four are direct commentaries on four distinct works by Dharmakīrti, whereas thirteen consist of independent treatises. Among the latter, twelve were *miśraka* works combining didactic stanzas and explanatory prose, and this is very likely to be true of the last one (the *Āgamasiddhi*) as well.

**2.1 The Commentaries** Among the four direct commentaries, two have come down to us in their Tibetan translation without any known Sanskrit fragment. The other two are known through Śāṅkaranandana’s own cross-references or through hearsay.<sup>34</sup>

**2.1.1 (Pramāṇa)vārttikānusāriṇī (1: PVAn)** The work corresponds to D no. 4223 (*Pe* 1–293a7) and P no. 5721 (*Pe* 1–338a8). According to D/P1b1, its title is: *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* (*Tshad ma rnam ’grel gyi ’grel*

<sup>34</sup>Bu ston (*Chos ’byun* 853,1) remarks that Vinitadeva and Śāṅkaranandana have authored commentaries on the seven treatises of Dharmakīrti (*Dul lha dan bDe byed dga’ bas sde bdun la ’grel pa byas zes grag go* //).

*bśad*); according to P338a8, its title is: *rNam 'grel rjes 'brañs*, which Steinkellner/Much (1995:84) retranslate as: \**Pramāṇavārttikānusāra*, a form that is very likely to reflect the original title of the work:

1. in AAS (AAS<sub>t</sub> D298b1/P321a3), Śāṅkaranandana refers his readers back to his *rNam 'grel gyi rjes su 'brañ ba*, a title whose original Sanskrit, in MS G/AAS<sub>ms</sub> 15b7, is *Vārttikānusāriṇī*;
2. in his commentary on DhAk 3.11cd–12a<sub>1</sub> (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 27a4), Śāṅkaranandana also refers to his *Vārttikānusāriṇī*.

Whatever the amount of the PVSV originally covered by the *Vārttikānusāriṇī*, it is nearly certain that the extant Tibetan translation has not recorded it in its entirety: the translation stops abruptly at the end of the commentary on PVSV on PV 1.128 with no concluding stanza (contrary to *all* other works of Śāṅkaranandana) or colophon (in D), P338a8 ending with the following short statement: *Bram ze chen pos mdzad pa'i rNam 'grel rjes 'brañs ji sñed 'gyur ba'o*, “[This was] the *Vārttikānusāriṇī* composed by [Śāṅkaranandana,] the Great Brahmin, to the extent to which [it has been] translated [into Tibetan].”<sup>35</sup> The translators of the *Vārttikānusāriṇī* remain, therefore, unknown to us.<sup>36</sup> Any explanation regarding the circumstances responsible for such a state of transmission is utterly speculative. It is, however, certain that the composition of this comparatively early work cannot have been interrupted by the death of Śāṅkaranandana (see below, SECTION 3).<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup>Or should we understand Tib. *ji sñed* in the sense: “[*Vārttikānusāriṇī*] to the extent that [it is/(was) available],” i.e., as something like \**ji sñed yod pa?* This would suggest that the translators did not have access to the entire text.

<sup>36</sup>Sa skya Paṇḍita may have taken part in a (translation)/revision: see van der Kuijp 1983:100–101, Jackson 1987:113 and Krasser 2001:498, n. 35; according to Go rams pa (5b5), Sa skya Paṇḍita is the author of the Tibetan version: *Paṇḍita Saṃ ga śrī las rNam 'grel le'u dañ po'i 'Grel pa dañ / Yid kyi śiñ rta'i bśad pa Kun las btus dañ sByar ba dañ / Bram ze'i 'Grel pa dañ bcas pa gsan nas bsgyur /*. Gro luñ pa (and maybe also Bu ston) ascribe this translation to rNog lotsāba Blo ldan śes rab: see Kramer 1997:60.

<sup>37</sup>Stcherbatsky (1932:42) remarks: “Unfortunately he did not finish it.” Note also the following remark by Go rams pa (5b2): *Chos mchog gis mdzad pa'i Tshad ma grub pa'i rab tu byed pa dañ Bram ze'i Tshad ma grub pa'i rab tu byed pa*. Should we interpret this statement as an allusion to two lost works commenting on PV 2 (*pramāṇasiddhi[pariccheda]*) or, rather, as indicating confusion regarding the titles of the works: in the latter hypothesis, Go rams pa would then refer to Dharmottara’s and Śāṅkaranandana’s *Prāmāṇyaparikṣās* as \**Pramāṇasiddhis*. This second hypothesis is to be discarded on the grounds that Go rams pa (4a6) explicitly refers to the *Chos mchog gi Tshad ma brtag pa* (i.e., Dharmottara’s *Prāmāṇyaparikṣā*).

**2.1.2 Sambandhaparīkṣānusāriṇī (2: SPAn)** The work corresponds to D no. 4237 (*Že* 21b4–35a3) and P no. 5736 (*Ze* 27a1–44a3). According to D21b4/P27a1–2, its title is: *Sambandhaparīkṣānusāra* (*’Brel pa brtag pa’i rjes su ’brañ ba*). By analogy with the well attested titles of (1) and (4), I am inclined to favour the title: *\*Sambandhaparīkṣānusāriṇī*. According to D35a3/P44a2–3, this *’Brel pa brtag pa’i ’grel pa* of Bram ze Śaṃkarānanda (°nanta D) was translated into Tibetan by the *paṇḍita* Parahitabhadrā and the *lotsāba bhikṣu* dGa ba’i rdo rje.<sup>38</sup>

**2.1.3 Commentary on the Vādanyāya (3: \*VNAn)** Sa skya Paṇḍita is reported to have studied and translated, together with Saṃghaśrī, two commentaries on the VN, that of Śāntarakṣita and that of the Bram ze chen po, i.e., Śaṅkaranandana.<sup>39</sup> By analogy with the titles of the other known commentaries on Dharmakīrti’s works, one may tentatively propose the title: *\*Vādanyāyanusāriṇī*. To the best of my knowledge, no other Indian or Tibetan testimony corroborates the existence of this work.

**2.1.4 (Pramāṇa)vinīścayānusāriṇī (4: PVinAn)** In his commentary on \*BPrPk 32 (MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 11a2–3), Śaṅkaranandana says:

*ata eva vinīścayas taddrṣṭāv evetyādinā drṣṭaviṣa[ya]parikalpavṛttim upadarśyaiva tatphalaviṣayasmarañābhilāśābhyām eva vyavahāraṃ pravṛtṭyādyātmakaṃ darśayatīti vivṛtaṃ vinīścayānusāriṇyām vistareṇa /*

And in his explanation of \*BPrPk 41 (MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 14a6–7), he declares:

*na [tu] yathā pratyakṣasya viṣayākāramahimnaiva viṣaya-samvidas tādrūpyam ity evaṃ samvidapekṣo viṣayabhāvo ’numānasya pramāṇabhāvā[ya] syād ity atra vinīścayānusāriṇy evānugantavyā /*

Furthermore, Śaṅkaranandana refers twice to the *Vinīścayānusāriṇī* (*rNam par nes pa’i rjes su ’brañ ba*) in his *Vārttikānusāriṇī*.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup>For a short characterization of the SP in the SPAn, see Stcherbatsky 1932:247.

<sup>39</sup>See Jackson 1987:113 and Much 1991:I.xxvii, n. 24.

<sup>40</sup>In PVAn on PV 1.19a/(PVSV 14,6), D86a6: *rjes su ’gro ba med par go bar byed pa nīd du mi srid do zes rNam par nes pa’i rjes su ’brañ bar bśad zin to //*. In PVAn on PV 1.28/(PVSV 19,15), D115a1–2: *yod pa bzin du mñan bya go bar byed pa ma yin na zes rNam par nes pa’i rjes su ’brañ bar gtan la phab pa’o //*.

Although “*Viniścayānusāriṇī*” does not echo any known commentary on the PVin, we are now familiar with the second element of the title, viz. “*anusāriṇī*”, which Śāṅkaranandana uses for his own commentaries on the works of Dharmakīrti. To the best of my knowledge, no external testimony corroborates the existence of this *Viniścayānusāriṇī*. Nor do we know, except for what the above-mentioned quotation of the PVin (1.18 and/or 18,11: *taddr̥ṣṭāv eva*) suggests, the amount of the PVin commented upon by Śāṅkaranandana’s *Viniścayānusāriṇī*.

## 2.2 The Independent Treatises (According to Their Order of Appearance in MS A)

**2.2.1 Pratibandhasiddhi (5: PSi)** The title of the work is well established: *Pratibandhasiddhikārikāḥ* in MS A 2a6–b1; *Pratibandhasiddhi / ’Brel pa grub pa* in D302b1/P325a8 (and *’Brel pa grub pa* in D303a5–6/P326a6); *Pratibandhasiddhi* in the Sanskrit colophon (MS G/PSi<sub>ms</sub> \*28a3). Moreover, Śāṅkaranandana refers his readers back to his *Pratibandhasiddhi* in his commentary on \*PSiSk 2 (MS G/\*PSiS<sub>ms</sub> \*28b6).<sup>41</sup>

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 21 didactic stanzas (PSi<sub>k</sub> 1 in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, PSi<sub>k</sub> 2–21 in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 1b1–2a6 (very corrupt).
- b) The 21 didactic stanzas in D no. 4257 (*Že* 302b1–303a7) and P no. 5755 (*Ze* 325a7–326b1), translated by Bhavyarāja and rÑog Blo ldan śes rab (D303a7/P326a8–b1).
- c) An incomplete but generally well readable manuscript (MS G/PSi<sub>ms</sub>) of the *miśraka* (in which the PSi immediately follows upon the AAS). The numbering of the extant folios is problematic. The PSi starts on the verso of MS G/AAS<sub>ms</sub> 19a, viz. virtually at \*19b in continuous numbering. However, \*19b is numbered “1” and \*20b “2”, with no more numbering afterwards. I am inclined to hypothesize that the PSi covered \*19b1 to \*28a5 in continuous numbering, and 1a to \*9b in the numbering that starts at \*19b. Only one folio seems to be wanting in the PSi<sub>ms</sub>, viz. \*21a/b or \*2b–3a, which probably covered PSi<sub>k</sub> 4, PSi<sub>k</sub> 5–7 and the beginning of the explanation of PSi<sub>k</sub> 7.

<sup>41</sup>It is to this work and to this very stanza (2ab) that Go rams pa refers in the passage cited and translated in Steinkellner 1992:262, n. 40. Glo bo mkhan chen ascribes it explicitly to a *’Brel pa brtag pa*. See below, FOOTNOTE 84.

**2.2.2 Laghupratibandhasiddhi (6: \*PSiS)** The only available title for this work is: *Laghupratibandhasiddhikārikāh* (MS A 2b5). By analogy with the titles of other summarizing works of this type, I am inclined to prefer the conjectural form: *\*Pratibandhasiddhisankṣepa* (hence \*PSiS).

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 8 didactic stanzas (in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 2b1–5 (relatively well readable).
- b) An incomplete but generally well readable manuscript (MS G/\*PSiS<sub>ms</sub>) of the *miśraka* (in which the \*PSiS immediately follows the PSi). In this manuscript, 6 folios of the \*PSiS are extant, viz \*28a(6)–\*30b in continuous numbering (see above, SECTION 2.2.1), which cover \*PSiSk 1–8 together with their commentary (the commentary on \*PSiSk 8 is interrupted).

**2.2.3 Sūkṣmaprāmānya(parīkṣā) (7: \*SPrP)** The only available title for this work is: *Sūkṣmaprāmānyakārikāh* (MS A 3a5). On the element “*parīkṣā*,” see below, SECTION 2.2.5.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 10 didactic stanzas (and not 20, as Bühnemann 1980:192 has it), all of them in *anuṣṭubh* metre, in MS A 2b5–3a5 (generally well readable).
- b) Two unnumbered and scarcely readable folios (MS F/\*SPrP<sub>ms</sub>) covering the following parts of the work: \*SPrP<sub>ms</sub> recto 1 covers the end of the commentary on \*SPrPk 3 (ll. 1–4), \*SPrPk 4 and its commentary (ll. 4–8), \*SPrPk 5 (beginning, l. 8); \*SPrP<sub>ms</sub> verso 1 covers \*SPrPk 5 (end) and the beginning of its commentary (ll. 1–8); \*SPrP<sub>ms</sub> recto 2 covers the end of the commentary on \*SPrPk 7 (ll. 1–7), \*SPrPk 8 and the beginning of the commentary thereon (l. 7); \*SPrP<sub>ms</sub> verso 2 covers the end of the commentary on \*SPrPk 8 (ll. 1–6), \*SPrPk 9 and the beginning of the commentary thereon (ll. 6–7).

**2.2.4 Madhyaprāmānya(parīkṣā) (8: \*MPrP)** The only available title for this work is: *Madhyaprāmānyakārikāh* (MS A 4a1). A title with a final element °*sankṣepa* cannot be excluded if one refers to (14) and (16); see below, SECTIONS 2.2.10 and 2.2.12. Moreover, the (scarcely legible) colophon of \*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> seems to begin with: *prāmānyasaṃ...* (MS

F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> 7b7); finally, the box containing \*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> at the CTTC is labelled “*Prāmāṇyasamkṣepa*,” although I am not aware of the source of this label (a conjecture from this colophon?). In the same way, an element °*parīkṣā*(°) in the title of the work cannot be excluded (see below, SECTION 2.2.5).

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 16 didactic stanzas (in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 3a5–4a1 (quite well readable).
- b) A seemingly complete manuscript (MS F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub>, 7 folios) of the *miśraka*. Whereas MS F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> 1a–6b are generally well readable (to the exception of the more corrupt MS F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> 2a and 4a), MS F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> 7a/b (covering \*MPrPk 15 and 16 together with their commentary) is in a desperate state.

**2.2.5 \*Bṛhatprāmāṇya(parīkṣā) (9: \*BPrP)** Two titles are available for this work: (1) *Bṛhatprāmāṇyakārikāḥ* (MS A 9b3); (2) *Prāmāṇyaparīkṣā* (ĪPVV II.221,4). The first one seems less satisfactory to me than the title quoted by Abhinavagupta. Granted that this work serves as a reference for (7) and (8), which merely summarize it, one may preserve, for convenience’s sake, the element *Bṛhat*° (in my opinion rather implausible) and propose: \**Bṛhatprāmāṇyaparīkṣā*.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 124 didactic stanzas (*maṅgala* in *vasantatilakā* metre, \*BPrPk 2–122 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, \*BPrPk 123 in *drutavilambita* metre, and \*BPrPk 124 in *vaṃśasthāvila* metre) in MS A 4a1–9b3 (generally well readable).
- b) 32 folios of an incomplete but good manuscript (MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub>) covering the following parts of the work: MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 1–29b covers \*BPrPk 1–76 and commentary; 3 folios of MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> cover \*BPrPk 114–124 (\*BPrPk 124 being interrupted in the middle of its third *pāda*). \*BPrPk 77–113 and its commentary (12 to 15 folios?) as well as the last folio containing the end of \*BPrPk 124 and maybe a colophon are missing.
- c) 1 Sanskrit fragment edited by Bühnemann (1980:193).<sup>42</sup>

**Outlook:** A critical edition of the available Sanskrit and a study are under preparation (L. McCrea/P. Patil).

<sup>42</sup>Identifiable as \*BPrPk 32 (MS A 5b1 and MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 10b4).

**2.2.6 Anyāpohasiddhi (10: AAS)** Two titles are available for this work: (1) *Apohasiddhi* in D281a6/P302b3 (*Apohasiddhi / Sel ba grub pa*) and ĪPVV I.292,18; (2) *Anyāpohasiddhi* in D302a7/P325a6 (*gĪzan sel ba grub pa*) in MS A 11b4 (*Anyāpohasiddhikārikāḥ*) and in the colophon of MS G/AAS<sub>ms</sub> (19a8). Since Śāṅkaranandana refers to his work as *Anyāpohasiddhi* (on DhAk 3.6cd–7ab, MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 20b6–7), one may take this last title to be well established.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) A Tibetan translation by the *paṇḍita* Manoratha and the *lotsāba* rÑog Blo ldan śes rab (realized in Anupamapura, Kashmir); it corresponds to D no. 4256 (*Īe* 281a6–302b1) and P no. 5754 (*Ze* 302b3–325a7).
- b) The 41 didactic stanzas (*maṅgala* in *vaṃśasthavila* metre, 2–39 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, concluding stanza in *prṭhvī* metre) in MS A 9b3–11b4 (often scarcely legible).
- c) Three fifths of the *miśraka* are available in a good manuscript (MS G/AAS<sub>ms</sub>). The entire text covered 19 folios (MS G/AAS<sub>ms</sub> 1–19a8, while 19b = PSi<sub>ms</sub> 1[a], see above, SECTION 2.2.1). Extant are MS G/AAS<sub>ms</sub> 7a/b, which covers approximately AAS<sub>t</sub> D289b2–290b2/P311b2–312b3 (from the end of the commentary on AASk 16 to the end of the commentary on AASk 20), and MS G/AAS<sub>ms</sub> 9a–19a, which covers approximately AAS<sub>t</sub> D291b1–302a7/P313b2–325a6 (from the end of the commentary on AASk 22 to AASk 41).
- d) 5 short Sanskrit fragments edited by Bühnemann (1980:193–194), to which 2 others must be added.<sup>43</sup>

**Outlook:** A critical edition of the Tibetan version and the available Sanskrit is under preparation (V. Eltschinger).

**2.2.7 Dharmālaṅkāra (11: DhA)** The only available title for this work is: *Dharmālaṅkārikārikāḥ*, attested in MS A 15b1, in the colophon of MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> (31b1) and in TĀV 6.15,1 (Bühnemann 1980:194).

Of this *miśraka* in three chapters (see below, SECTION 4.4), we possess:

<sup>43</sup>ĪPVV I.272,15–16 (*pratipadyata iti / pratipatter eva kathamcid bhāva uktaḥ syāt, na tv arthasya rūpātisāyo [nirvartyate]*) = AAS<sub>t</sub> D281b6–7/P303a4–5 (on AASk 4); ĪPVV I.272,16–18 (*tathātve ’nyendriyādivyāpāram anyasya na pratītaye ’pekṣeta, yathā kṛto na punar anyasya karaṇam ityādi*) = AAS<sub>t</sub> D282a1/P303a6 (on AASk 4).

- a) All the stanzas (general *maṅgala* in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre; 1.1–39 in *anuṣṭubhs*, 2.1–26ab (sic) in *anuṣṭubhs*, 3.1–16 in *anuṣṭubhs*, two concluding stanzas in *ratoddhatā* and *upajāti* metres) in MS A 11b4–15b1 (often hardly legible).
- b) Chapters 2 and 3 of the *miśraka* in a well readable but seemingly often faulty manuscript of 31 folios (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 1–31b2). MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 16a (covering DhAk 2.25cd–26ab with its commentary) is missing due to the photographer’s clumsy manipulation of the folios.
- c) 4 short Sanskrit fragments edited by Bühnemann (1980:194);<sup>44</sup> 2 fragments edited by Krasser (2001:492);<sup>45</sup> 1 fragment edited by Jambuvijaya (1981:145).<sup>46</sup>

**Outlook:** A critical edition and study of DhA 2 is under preparation (V. Eltschinger/I. Ratié). A critical edition and study of DhA 3 is under preparation (M. Sakai).

**2.2.8 Prajñālaṅkāra (12: PA)** The only available title for this work is: *Prajñālaṅkāra-kārikāḥ* (MS A 25a4), and *Prajñālaṅkāra* in ĪPVV I.234,12 and II.144,12, TĀV 2.54,8, 2.63,15 and 2.64,6.

Of this *miśraka* in three chapters, we possess:

- a) An indeterminate number of stanzas (approximately 50) of the first chapter in MS A 15b1–17b5, totally illegible. The 67 didactic stanzas (according to Bühnemann 1980:192 and MS A 20b4: *dvitīyaḥ // 67 /*) of chapter 2 in MS A 17b5–20b4, totally illegible. The 102 didactic stanzas (PAk 3.1–100 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, PAk 3.101 in *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, PAk 3.102 in *vasantatilakā* metre) in MS A 20b4–25a4, poorly legible. It is to be noted that G. Tucci’s photographs of MS A, though generally weaker than Sāṅkrtyāyana’s 1934 photographs (glass-negative), seem to be slightly better as far as the folios covering the PAk are concerned. Future research may allow the recovery of at least the stanzas of the third chapter.
- b) 14 short Sanskrit fragments edited by Bühnemann (1980:194–196, partly identified in MS A).

<sup>44</sup>1 = DhAk 1.11cd–12ab; 2 = DhAk 1.12cd–13ab; 3 = DhAk 3.1ab<sub>1</sub>; 4 = DhAk 3.5cd.

<sup>45</sup>Respectively identifiable as a part of the commentary on DhAk 3.6cd–7ab (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 19a7–b1) and part of the commentary on DhAk 3.7cd–8ab (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 21a4).

<sup>46</sup>Identifiable as DhAk 1.3.



**2.2.9 Sarvajñasiddhi (13: SSi)** The only available title for this work is: *Sarvajñasiddhikārikāh* (MS A 27a6), and *Sarvajñasiddhih* (MS B/SSi<sub>ms</sub> 26a3, colophon).

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 48 didactic stanzas (SSi<sub>k</sub> 1–45 and 47 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, SSi<sub>k</sub> 46 in *nardāṭaka* metre, SSi<sub>k</sub> 48 in *sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre) in MS A 25a4–27a6, generally well readable. For a diplomatic edition of MS A 25a4–27a6, see Eltschinger 2008:127–128.
- b) A (probably) incomplete manuscript (MS B) photographed by R. Sānkrṭyāyana and G. Tucci (see above, SECTION 1.11). The (incomplete: folio 15 is missing) SSi covers folios 1–26b4 of the manuscript. The poor quality of the photographs makes at least one half of the text unreadable. On this manuscript, see above, SECTION 1.11, and Eltschinger 2008:121–124; for a diplomatic edition of the stanzas as they appear in MS B, see Eltschinger 2008:129–138.

**2.2.10 Sarvajñasiddhisāṅkṣepa (14: SSiS)** Two titles are available for this work: (1) *Svalpasarvajñasiddhikārikāh* (MS A 27b6); (2) *Sarvajñasiddhisāṅkṣepa* (MS B 30a2, colophon; see Eltschinger 2008:124). I am inclined to prefer the title: *Sarvajñasiddhisāṅkṣepa*.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 12 didactic stanzas (in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 27a6–b6, generally well readable.
- b) A (probably) incomplete manuscript (MS B) photographed by R. Sānkrṭyāyana and G. Tucci (see above, SECTION 1.11). The complete SSiS covers folios 26b4–30b2 of the manuscript. The poor quality of the photographs makes the SSiS nearly unreadable. On this manuscript, see above, SECTION 1.11, and Eltschinger 2008:121–124.

**2.2.11 Īsvarāpākaraṇa (15: ĪA)** The only available title for this work is: *Īsvarāpākaraṇakārikāh* (MS A 29a3).

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 27 didactic stanzas (ĪA<sub>k</sub> 1 in *sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, ĪA<sub>k</sub> 2–27 in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 27b6–29a3, generally well readable.
- b) A (probably) incomplete manuscript (MS B) photographed by R. Sānkrṭyāyana and G. Tucci (see above, SECTION 1.11). The ĪA is likely

to cover at least folios 30b2–45b (the last among the folios photographed by G. Tucci in 1939) of the manuscript (ĪA*k* 10, 13, 16 are still identifiable in MS B 34a, 35a and 36a respectively). G. Tucci's (not to speak of Sāṅkrtyāyana's) photographs are so bad that the text is entirely unreadable (it is not even certain that MS B actually covers the whole of the ĪA). See Eltschinger 2008:123–124.

**2.2.12 Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa (16: ĪAS)** Two titles are available for this work: (1) *Saṅkṣipteśvarāpākaraṇakārikāḥ* (MS A 29b2–3); (2) *Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa* (MS C/ĪAS<sub>ms</sub> 8,1; see Krasser 2002:I.7). Here as elsewhere, the form *Īśvarāpākaraṇasaṅkṣepa* is to be preferred.

Of this *miśraka*, we possess:

- a) The 10 didactic stanzas (in *anuṣṭubh* metre) in MS A 29a3–b2 (see Krasser 2002:I.38–39 for a diplomatic edition and fac-simile reproduction).
- b) An incomplete but well readable Śāradā manuscript (MS C/ĪAS<sub>ms</sub>, 15 pages). The complete ĪAS covers MS C/ĪAS<sub>ms</sub> 1,9–8,2 (followed by an incomplete anonymous subcommentary on the ĪAS, the only known subcommentary on a work of Śāṅkaranandana). See Krasser 2002:xi–xix for a description of the manuscript, Krasser 2002:I.1–7 for a critical edition of the manuscript, and Krasser 2002:22–36 for a facsimile reproduction of the manuscript.

**2.2.13 Āgamasiddhi (17: ĀS)** The only available title for this work is: *Āgamasiddhikārikā* (MS A 31a7). The ĀS is the only independent treatise of Śāṅkaranandana that cannot be ascertained to have been a *miśraka*. Of the ĀS, we possess the 49 didactic stanzas (ĀSk 1–48 in *anuṣṭubh* metre, ĀSk 49 in *prṭhvī* metre) in MS A 29b3–31a7, not well readable towards the end.

### 3 Internal chronology of Śāṅkaranandana's works

Insofar as they provide us with enough prose, these materials allow us to conjecture chronological relationships between Śāṅkaranandana's major works (see FIGURE 11.1 for an overview). Let me make clear from the outset that the PA, the ĀS, the SSi/[SSiS], the \*VNAn and the ĪA/[ĪAS] have

resisted all my attempts to fit them into the series. Two types of chronological sequences should be distinguished: (1) what we may call the “thematic series,” which amount to four; (2) those series that connect thematically distinct works.

**3.1 Thematic Series** The textual evidence available confirms the intuitive hypothesis that the shorter treatises, generally entitled *San-kṣepa*, summarized longer, more systematic works dedicated to the same topic.

**3.1.1** While commenting on \*PSiSk 2, Śāṅkaranandana refers back to his PSi (...*ity uktam pratibandhasiddhau*), from which we may draw the sequence: **PSi** → **\*PSiS**.

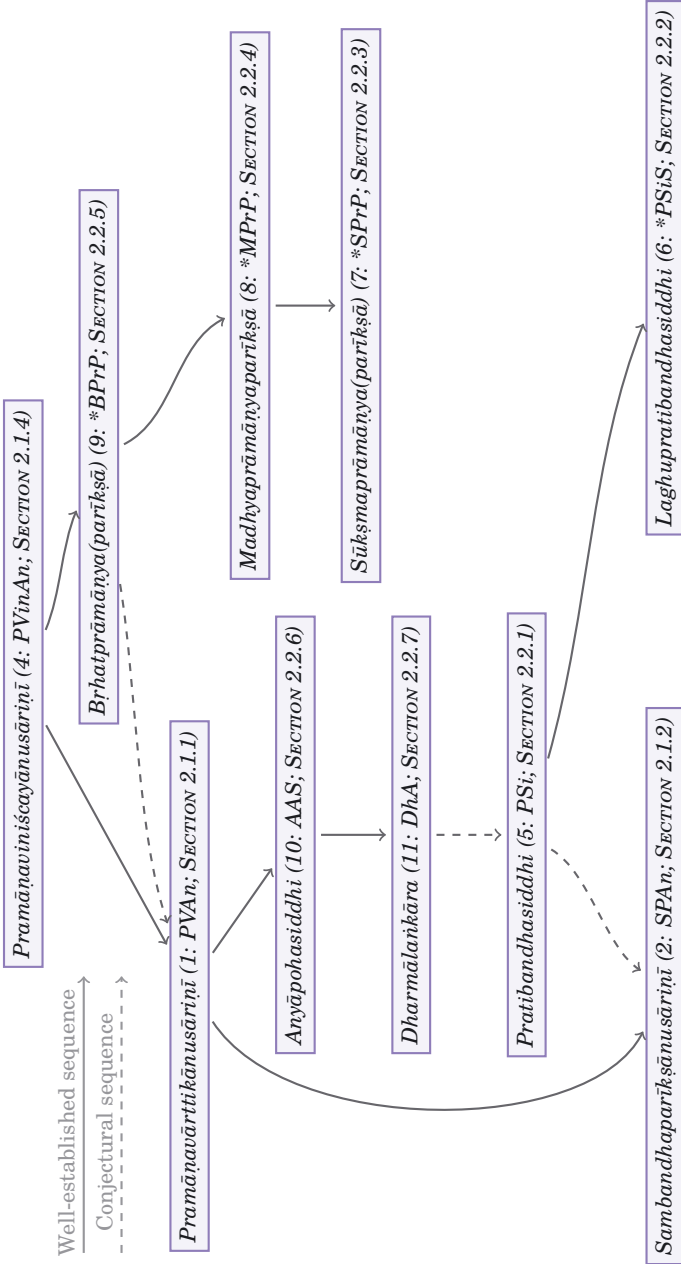
1. \*MPrPk 1 is unambiguous: “Although [its] substance(/utility) has [already] been presented in detail along with the refutation of [our] opponents’ misconceptions [about it, we here] abridge and present again [the true exposition of] epistemic validity.”<sup>47</sup>
2. \*SPrPk 1ab is no less clear: “Although [we have already] abridged [it elsewhere, we] agree to abridge [the true exposition of] epistemic validity a second time (*dvir api*).”<sup>48</sup> From this we can posit the sequence: **\*BPrP** → **\*MPrP** → **\*SPrP**.

**3.1.2** The same holds true of the two works dedicated to omniscience: “Although the method [according to which] one demonstrates [the possibility of] an omniscient [being] has [already] been expounded in detail, [we shall] endeavour [here] to prove [it] again concisely.”<sup>49</sup> From this we can safely conclude: **SSi** → **SSiS**.

<sup>47</sup>\*MPrPk 1: *vistarenānyadurdr̥ṣṭapratīṣedhapuraḥsaram / uktārtham api saṅkṣipyā prāmāṇyaṃ punar ucyate //*. Note also \*MPrPk 16: *nirṇayāpekṣiṇo ye ’rthāḥ kvacid uktā api svayam / te ’tra saṅkṣipyā nirṇītā na prasaṅgo ’nyagocaraḥ //*.

<sup>48</sup>\*SPrPk 1ab: *saṅkṣiptam api saṅkṣeptum prāmāṇyaṃ dvir apīṣyate /*.

<sup>49</sup>SSiSk 1: *vistaroditasarvajñasamsādhanaavidhāv api / punas tatsiddhaye yatnaḥ saṅkṣepeṇa pravartyate //*.



**Figure 11.1** Sequences of Sankaranandana's works. The PA, the ĀS, the SSI|/SSI|S|, the \*VNAn, and the ĪA|ĪAS| can not be placed in this schema.

**3.1.3** Despite the fact that neither *san-√kṣip*, nor any of its derivatives occurs in *ĪASk* 1,<sup>50</sup> I am inclined to hypothesize that the *ĪAS* summarized the twice longer *ĪA*. I would, therefore, conjecture: **ĪA** \*→ **ĪAS**.

**3.2 Non-thematic Series** The internal chronology of the thematically distinct works is more fragmentary. However, three sequences are beyond doubt.

**3.2.1** As we have seen,<sup>51</sup> Śāṅkaranandana refers twice, while commenting on \*BPrPk 32 and \*BPrPk 41, to his PVinAn, from which we can conclude: **PVinAn** → \***BPrP** [→ \***MPrP** → \***SPrP**].

**3.2.2** We also saw<sup>52</sup> that Śāṅkaranandana refers twice to his PVinAn in the PVAn; while commenting on DhAk 3.7ab (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 20b6–7), Śāṅkaranandana refers to his AAS;<sup>53</sup> since the latter refers to the PVAn,<sup>54</sup> we can posit the sequence: **PVinAn** → **PVAn** → **AAS** → **DhA**.

**3.2.3** While commenting on SPk 4cd, Śāṅkaranandana refers his readers back to the PVAn,<sup>55</sup> from which we can safely conclude: **PVAn** → **SPAn**.

**3.3** Can the thematic series opened by the PSi and the \*BPrP be brought back to any of these three well-established sequences?

<sup>50</sup>*ĪASk* 1 (Krasser 2002:I.1): *kudṛṣṭidhvāntavidhvamsaprayatnaparayā dhiyā / samāsenēśvarāstitvapramāṇābhāva ucyate //*. “Aufgrund der Einsicht (*dhiyā*), bei der die Bemühung um völlige Beseitigung (*vidhvamsa*) der Dunkelheit schlechter Ansichten (*kudṛṣṭi*) das höchste ist, wird kurz erklärt, daß es für die Existenz Gottes (*iśvara*) kein Erkenntnismittel gibt.” Translation Krasser 2002:II.167.

<sup>51</sup>See above, SECTION 2.1.4.

<sup>52</sup>See above, SECTION 2.1.4.

<sup>53</sup>MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 20b6–7: ... *iti nirṇītam etad anyāpohasiddhau /*.

<sup>54</sup>MS G/AAS<sub>ms</sub> 15b7: *vastuvimarśas tu vistarato vārttika eva vārttikānusāriṇīto 'vagan-tavyaḥ /*. AAS<sub>t</sub> D298b1/P321a3: *dños po rnam par dpyad pa ni rgyas par rNam 'grel 'ñid dam rNam 'grel gyi rjes su 'brañ ba las khoñ du chud par bya'o //*.

<sup>55</sup>SPAn<sub>t</sub> D27b6/P35a5: *de yañ\* tha dad par grub pa ma yin no zes bya ba la sogs pa rgyas par ni spyi 'ñid la rNam 'grel gyi rjes su 'brañ bar ston pa'i phyir ro\*\* //*. \*D: *de ltar P*; \*\*D: *phyir P*.

**3.3.1** The \*BPrP contains several discussions dedicated to the *apoha* theory. Śāṅkaranandana was certainly not in a position to abridge his treatment of *apoha* by referring back to his PVinAn since the latter, like its *mūla*, is not likely to have included any significant elaboration on *apoha*. The AAS and the PVA<sub>n</sub> (more than two thirds of the extant Tibetan translation bear on *apoha*) would have allowed him to abridge these discussions, as he generally did. However, Śāṅkaranandana never refers back to them in the \*BPrP and limits himself to the quotation (*pratīka*) of PV 1.58a/PVSV 32,1.<sup>56</sup> I am inclined to believe, admittedly on rather weak grounds, that Śāṅkaranandana had not yet commented on the PV or authored the AAS when he wrote his \*BPrP. I would, then, conjecture the sequence: **PVinAn** → **\*BPrP** \*→ **PVA<sub>n</sub>** → **AAS**.

**3.3.2** At the close of a rather lengthy presentation of momentariness (on PSi<sub>k</sub> 18, MS G/PSi<sub>ms</sub> 27b1), Śāṅkaranandana declares: ...*yathā vipaṅcitam anyatra*. Concerning *anyatra*, three candidates are worthy of consideration: PVinAn on PVin 2.76,11–83,10, PVA<sub>n</sub> on PV 1.193–196, and the first chapter of the DhA (*kṣanabhaṅgasiddhi*). As it has been preserved in Tibetan translation, the PVA<sub>n</sub> ends with PV 1.128; in the same way, it is far from certain that the PVinAn ever extended beyond PVin 1.18. I would conjecture, though on even weaker grounds than in SECTION 3.3.1, that *anyatra* refers back to DhA 1, and hence: **DhA** \*→ **PSi**.

**3.3.3** While commenting on DhAk 3.8ab (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 21a7–b1), Śāṅkaranandana says: ... *iti vipaṅcitam ācāryeṇa sambandhaparīkṣāyām*; and while commenting on PSi<sub>k</sub> 10 (MS G/PSi<sub>ms</sub> 23a8–b1), he declares: ... *uktaḥ sambandhaparīkṣāyām*. Considering that Śāṅkaranandana is prone to refer to his own works whenever possible, I am inclined to believe that he had not yet commented on the SP when he composed the DhA and the PSi, and to conjecture the sequence: **DhA** \*→ **PSi** \*→ **SPAN**.

**3.4** One can only regret the miserable state of transmission of the PA and hence the impossibility of locating Śāṅkaranandana's *magnum opus* in the series, for the chronology of Śāṅkaranandana himself is closely dependent on the PA (see below, SECTION 5).

<sup>56</sup>On DhAk 3.5ab, MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 18a1: *pratyakṣeṇa grhīta ityādi tu cintitam anyāpohaprastāve /*.

## 4 Confessional Identity of Śāṅkaranandana’s Works

4.1 S. Ch. Vidyābhūṣaṇa was not aware of any other works than those contained in the *bsTan ’gyur* (PVAṅ, AAS, PSi, SPAN); rather than elaborating on their confessional identity, the Indian scholar repeated the Tibetan legend portraying Śāṅkaranandana as a brahmin who converted to Buddhism under the inspiration of Mañjuśrī.<sup>57</sup> The very fact that these four works belonged to the Tibetan canon incited R. Gnoli to consider them as “of Buddhist nature”;<sup>58</sup> however, from the fragments of the PA that he found scattered throughout Kashmir Śaiva literature, R. Gnoli reversed the pious legend and hypothesized Śāṅkaranandana’s conversion to Śaivism, an event the PA would bear testimony to.<sup>59</sup> Although G. Bühnemann did not deal with the confessional identity of the works she identified, she remarked that the MS A “enthält, wie die Übersicht zeigt, Texte, die fast die ganze Thematik der vollentwickelten Pramāṇaschule betreffen.”<sup>60</sup> As we have seen, H. Krasser portrays Śāṅkaranandana as a Śaiva with a strong Buddhist leaning; his conversion to Buddhism would have taken place late in Śāṅkaranandana’s life and resulted in the composition of “atheistic” tracts as well as commentaries on Dharmakīrti’s works. H. Krasser must be credited with a close consideration of both the fragments identified by G. Bühnemann and the *maṅgalas* of the ĪAS, the SPAN, the PSi and the \*BPrP.<sup>61</sup> He concludes: “This, however, means that all Ś[āṅkaranandana]’s works cited by or preceding Abhinavagupta already contain strong Buddhist tendencies or exclusively Buddhist ideas, and that Abhinavagupta did not know any purely Śaivite work by him to which he could have referred in his writings.”<sup>62</sup> This conclusion closely matches A. Sanderson’s views on the topic; note, however, that the British scholar sees evidence neither for Śāṅkaranandana’s having been a Śaiva at any point of his life nor for a conversion to Buddhism.

<sup>57</sup>Vidyābhūṣaṇa 1921:344–345.

<sup>58</sup>Gnoli 1960:xxiv.

<sup>59</sup>On the PA, see below, SECTION 4.7.

<sup>60</sup>Bühnemann 1980:193.

<sup>61</sup>Respectively Krasser 2001:502, n. 49 (AAS and SPAN); 502, n. 51; 503, n. 56.

<sup>62</sup>Krasser 2001:503.

In what follows, I shall attempt to demonstrate that *all* of Śaṅkaranandana's works are of strictly Buddhist persuasion. For each of these works (except, of course, the PVinAn and the \*VNAn), I have endeavoured to exhibit at least one *maṅgala* and/or concluding/votive stanza. Whenever possible, I have also tried to briefly characterize the work. Since the *Saṅkṣepas* lack *maṅgalas* and final/votive stanzas, I hypothesize that their confessional identity does not differ from that of the work they purport to summarize.

**4.2** The \*BPrP opens with a stanza paying homage to the three Buddhist jewels:

With devotion, with [my] head bowed down, with [my] mind [and] words, [I] pay reverence to the Buddha together with [His] law as well as [His] community and dedicate this endeavour [of mine] to present the true nature of epistemic validity, the core of which has not been [adequately] perceived/(determined) by [our] opponents/(others) who are going on a wrong path.<sup>63</sup>

From the outset, the treatise places itself under the authority of Dharmakīrti, for \*BPrP 2ab is nothing but a quotation of PV 2.1ab: *pramāṇam avisamvādi jñānam arthakriyāsthitiḥ*.<sup>64</sup> As already noticed by L. van der Kuijp and E. Steinkellner, Śaṅkaranandana was noted among Tibetan philosophers for having held, against Dharmottara and Kamalaśīla, the view that the validity (*prāmāṇya*) of a cognition can *only* be ascertained extrinsically (*parataḥ*).<sup>65</sup> Even a short glance at our materials allows us to confirm the Tibetan authorities in their opinion. \*MPrP 2d = \*SPrP 2d claims that *pramāṇam parato 'khillam*;<sup>66</sup> the following remark is even more straightforward: *tasmāt sāpekṣam eva sarvaṃ pramāṇam na*

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<sup>63</sup>\*BPrP 1, MS A 4a1–2 and MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 1a1: *buddhaṃ sadharmam\* atha sāryagaṇaṃ praṇamya bhaktyā natena\*\* śirasā manasā vacobhiḥ / prāmāṇyatattvam anirūpitāsāram anyair unmārgagair gaditum āhita eṣa yatnaḥ //*. \*Against *saddharmam* MS A 4a1, unmetrical; \*\*against *matena* MS A 4a1. *vasantatilakā* metre.

<sup>64</sup>MS A 4a2 and MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 1a1–2.

<sup>65</sup>See especially Steinkellner 1992:259, 262–263.

<sup>66</sup>MS A 3a6 and MS F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> 1a1.



*svatantram asti*,<sup>67</sup> or else: *parataḥ pramāṇatvam*.<sup>68</sup> As for the connection with the epistemological doctrine of PV 2.1ab, it is as follows:

When [Dharmakīrti] says that a valid cognition (*pramāṇa*) consists in a reliable cognition (*jñāna*), the meaning [he intends] is that that cognition (*saṃvedana*) whose compliance (*tathābhāva*) with the [real] thing it takes as its object is caused(/provided) by [its] reliability, is a valid cognition. [And] all that [which meets this criterion] is either perception or inference (*pratyakṣānumānabhedena*). Since the cognition (*vi-jñāna*) [only] becomes a valid cognition with the attainment (*sādhana*) of the [real] thing it takes as its object, [we] claim that a valid cognition [is only ascertained] extrinsically.<sup>69</sup>

The \*MPrP opens with a discussion of a general nature on *prāmāṇya* and goes on, until \*MPrPk 9ab, with the demonstration that the epistemic validity of a perception is established extrinsically. From \*MPrPk 9cd onwards, the treatise enters a similar discussion regarding inference, as the following excerpt makes clear: *anumānasyedānīm katham parataḥ pramāṇatvam ity āha...*<sup>70</sup> Let me conclude this short notice by quoting the very suggestive final/votive stanza of the \*BPrP:

From the merit arisen from the discrimination of the true nature of valid cognition, may this auspicious result be mine so that, while engaged for a long time, in [innumerable] existences, in the practice of the vow of awakening, my faculties may keep alert(/unwearied).<sup>71</sup>

<sup>67</sup>MS F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> 6a2.

<sup>68</sup>MS F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> 1a6.

<sup>69</sup>MS F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> 1a4–5: *yad āha – pramāṇam avisaṃvādi jñānam ity avisaṃvādopa-pāditaviṣayibhūtārthataḥ tathābhāvaṃ tat saṃvedanaṃ pramāṇam ity arthaḥ. tad idaṃ sarvam eva pratyakṣānumānabhedena. vijñānaṃ viṣayibhūtārthasāadhanena saha pramāṇī-bhavatīti parataḥ pramāṇam iti gīyate.*

<sup>70</sup>MS F/\*MPrP<sub>ms</sub> 4b6–7.

<sup>71</sup>\*BPrPk 124, MS A 9b2–3 and MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 30 + x + 3b6: *pramāṇa\*tattva-pra\*\*vivecanodayāc chubhāc chubhaṃ syāt phalam etad eva me\*\*\* / bhaveṣu bodhivratacaryāyā caraṃś cirāya bhūyāsam atan[d]ritendriyaḥ\*\*\*\* //*. \*Against *prāmāṇā°* MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 30 + x + 3b6, faulty and unmetrical; \*\*MS A 9b2 om. °pra°; \*\*\*MS A 9b3 om. me; \*\*\*\*MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> (30 + x + 4a is missing) with no equivalent of °yā caraṃś cirāya bhūyāsam atan[d]ritendriyaḥ. *vaṃśasthāvila* metre. Needless to say, this verse is open to alternative translations.

**4.3** The *maṅgala* of the PVAn is of similar intent. The technical terminology used in this initial reverence to the three jewels is unmistakably Buddhist:

Glory (*jaya*) to the Sugata who is victorious over all the cankers (*āsrava*) that project (*\*ā-√kṣip*) the three [realms of] existence (*\*bhavatraya*), who has thoroughly understood existence (*bhava*) and liberation (*\*niryāna*, *\*niḥśaraṇa*)! [Glory] to His law (*dharma*) that is born of perfect vision (*\*samyagdarśana*), that must be realized personally (*\*pratyātmavedya*) by the sage, that is well said (*\*subhāṣita*) and without affliction (*\*nirjvara*)! [Glory] to [His] community (*saṅgha*), [to] the eight noble personalities (*\*āryāṣṭapudgala*, *\*aṣṭāryapudgala*)!<sup>72</sup>

The AAS opens with an homage to the omniscient one:

Paying homage to the omniscient [being] who is free from error and perceives as they are the objects belonging to the three times, and having reached/(being full of) compassion, [we] discard the faults [made] by the Buddhist as well as [the] non-Buddhist proponents (*svaparapravādin*) concerning the [doctrine of] exclusion.<sup>73</sup>

If needed, SSik 47 and ĀSk 1 testify to the fact that Śāṅkaranandana's omniscient being is no one else than the Buddha Sugata. Suffice it to say here that the only quotations occurring in the AAS are borrowed from the PV.<sup>74</sup> Far from substantiating objections, these seven citations (sometimes preceded or followed by "*ācāryeṇa*") aim at shortening those of Śāṅkaranandana's own discussions that might overlap with the PV or the PVAn. In his

<sup>72</sup>PVAn<sub>t</sub> D1b2–3/P1b4–2a1: / srid gsum 'phen par byed pa yi // zag pa ma lus las rgyal ba // bde gśegs gañ dag srid pa dañ // nes 'byuñ legs par rtogs pa dañ // de chos yañ dag gzigs las byuñ // mkhas pas so so rañ rig bya // legs gsuñs rims bral dañ dge 'dun // 'phags pa'i gañ zag brgyad po rgyal / .

<sup>73</sup>AASk 1, MS A 9b3–4: *praṇāmya sarvajñam apetaṅgaviplavam trikālavartyarthayathārthadarśinam / kṛpām upetya svaparapravādinām apohaniṣṭho vinivartyate bhramaḥ //*. AAS<sub>t</sub> D281a6–7/P302b4: / kun mkhyen 'khrul bral dus gsum gnas pa yi / don rnamz ji bzin gzigs pa la btud de // brtse la gnas nas sel ba la brten pa'i / bdag gzan rab tu smra ba'i 'khrul bsal byas / . *vaṃśasthāvila* metre.

<sup>74</sup>PV 3.165ac<sub>1</sub> (AAS<sub>t</sub> P316b8–317a1/D294b3); PV 1.84 (AAS<sub>t</sub> P317a1–2/D294b4); PV 1.112a<sub>2</sub> d (AAS<sub>t</sub> P317a3/D294b5); PV 1.107cd (AAS<sub>t</sub> P321a2–3/D298b1); PV 1.70 (AAS<sub>t</sub> P321b4/D299a1–2); PV 1.68ab (AAS<sub>t</sub> P321b6/D299a3); PV 3.9c–10b (AAS<sub>t</sub> P321b7/D299a3–4).

AAS, Śāṅkaranandana places himself under the philosophical authority of Dharmakīrti alone.

**4.4** The same holds true of another major treatise of Śāṅkaranandana, the DhA. The work is divided into three chapters (of which the first one is known to us in its stanzas alone). The prose introduction to DhA 2 makes it perfectly clear that DhA 1 consisted of a proof of momentariness (*kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi*):

And as soon as momentariness, which consists in [the fact that] all things (*dharma*) cease to exist immediately after they have come into existence, is established in the way [we have done in the first chapter, their] selflessness too is [*ipso facto*] established.<sup>75</sup>

As this remark suggests, DhA 2 consists in a proof of selflessness, a fact confirmed by the colophon appended to this chapter: *nairātmyasiddhir dvitīyaḥ paricchedaḥ*.<sup>76</sup> If the contents of DhA 1 and 2 were not sufficient evidence to this effect, the strictly Buddhist character of the treatise is made undisputable in DhAk 2.1–2ab:

Momentariness results in selflessness, the fact that there is nothing left to be clung to, the supreme tranquility; one takes possession of the self-supported *nirvāṇa*, the secure, the highest.<sup>77</sup>

The following excerpt of the commentary testifies to the fact that, like Dharmakīrti, Śāṅkaranandana assented to the Mahāyānist buddhology according to which awakening consists in the final elimination of the defilements together with their after-effects (*vāsanā*):

[And] indeed, for the one who sees that everything possesses, in this way, a nature that is purely dependent on causes [and

<sup>75</sup>MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 1a1: *evaṅ ca sarvadharmāṅām bhūtvaiivānantaram abhavanātma-kṣaṇikatvasiddh[ā]v anātmakatvam api siddham eva /*. See also the DhA fragment cited and translated by Krasser (2001:492 for the Sanskrit text, and 503 for the translation). This fragment can be identified as DhAk 1.12cd–13ab together with the beginning of the commentary thereon.

<sup>76</sup>MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 16b1–2.

<sup>77</sup>DhAk 2.1–2ab, MS A 13b2–3 and MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 1a1 and 5: *kṣaṇikatvāt\*... nirātmatā nupādeyaśeṣatvaṃ śāntir uttamā // hast[e]\*\*kṛtanirālambanirvāṇam abhayaṃ param /*. \*Against *kṣaṇikatvāt* MS A 13b2; \*\*against *hasta*° MS A 13b3, *hastī*° MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 1a5.

conditions]..., what can be clung to? Therefore, there is nothing left to be clung to for the one whose cognition [of selflessness] has been strengthened [through mental cultivation]; whereas in [somebody] in whom desire finds a resting place due to [the presence of its causal] conditions [i.e., the belief in a self], it will (*syāt*) project a very extensive series [of existences]. Therefore, it is this selflessness that is the supreme tranquility because it is the abode of/(entrance gate to) the cessation of the defilements together with their after-effects. And it is through this very [selflessness, when it has been] thoroughly contemplated/(has saturated the mind) [in one's cognition,] that *nirvāṇa* is at hand because [any] doubt regarding rebirth is dispelled.<sup>78</sup>

As for DhA 3, it consists, according to its colophon, of a *kṣaṇikatvabādhābhāvasiddhi*.<sup>79</sup> The *maṅgala* of the DhA paid homage to the Sage (*muni*) who promulgated the good law (*saddharma*) that is nothing but selflessness (*nairātmya*).<sup>80</sup> As for DhAk 3.18, the work's final stanza, it also places itself under the authority of the Law preached by the blessed one;<sup>81</sup> here, Śaṅkaranandana purports to have the religious merit gained from the composition of the DhA serve the success (or: settlement?) of the law:

Having honoured the exalted Dharma of the Buddha (*maunīndra*) that teaches the sublime truth(/*dharmas*), may this

<sup>78</sup>DhA on DhAk 1.1–2ab, MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 1a5–7: *sarvam eva hy evaṃ hetuparatantramātrarūpaṃ paśyataḥ* { {.. .. .. (..)} } *kim upādeyam iti sthīrīkṛtamater na kiñcid apy upādeyam avaśiṣyate / yatra kṛtāspado 'yaṃ rāgaḥ punaḥ pratyayavaśād vitatataraprabandhākṣepakāḥ syāt / tad iyam anātmataiva paramā śāntiḥ savāsanakleśaprasamāyatanatvāt /* { { [a/nayai] } } *va ca suparibhāvītayā hastastham ayaṃ nirvāṇam apagatapunarbhavasam[śa]* { { [yatvā[ti]] } } /. Elements that do not appear in italics are conjectural.

<sup>79</sup>MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 31a7–b1: *kṣaṇikatvabādhābhāvasiddhis trītyaḥ paricchedaḥ*.

<sup>80</sup>According to DhAk 1.1cd, nearly illegible in MS A 11b5: *tan nairātmyam ananyavedyam [i]ha saddharmanṃ ja[g]au yo munis taṃ\* vande 'samaśāstrbhāvavaśi[gaṃ] taṃ cāpi tadvādinam //*. \*Against *tad* MS A 11b5. *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

<sup>81</sup>On *dharma* and *bhagavatpravacana*, note the concluding prose of the DhA (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 31a6–7 on DhAk 3.17): *tad evam ayaṃ nairātmyākāro mārgo virāga ity anupādeyaśeṣo nirodhaḥ sakalāparaparikalpitadharmotkarṣayogi bhagavatpravacanam evaivaṃvidhaheyopādeyavastusamdarśakam dharmo yathoditanyāyopapāditasarvatīrthyāśayavi[ya]jīśreyah //*.

merit that I have acquired serve to establish the Path of that [Dharma], for the welfare of [this] world.<sup>82</sup>

**4.5** In the *maṅgala* of the PSi, Śaṅkaranandana pays homage to the Sugata; but here, the Buddhist affiliation has decidedly martial overtones:

With [my] mind ever intent [on Him] I praise the Sugata, whose vast victory-drum that is the proclamation of the True Way sounds forth irresistibly to [bring about] an act of cognizing reality that is confined [entirely] to its object, being characterized by the fact that it is a [direct] perception, for the certain victory of those that follow His path and the [certain] refutation of those that adhere to false religions.<sup>83</sup>

Such is the epistemological doctrine defended in the PSi according to Go rams pa’s description (and quotation of PSi<sub>k</sub> 2ab):

‘Although something (*don*) is proven by a valid cognition, the validity (*tshad ma*, *\*prāmāṇya*) [of this valid cognition] is not (proven) by this same [valid cognition].’ (That means:) Although the respective object of activity (*’jug yul*) is ascertained by the two valid cognitions, an ascertainment of the definitory character (*mtshan ṅid*), [i.e.] reliability (*mi slu ba*) is not provided through itself. Therefore the general definition and [its] contrary concomitance (*’gal ’brel*) etc. are ascertained by a cognition called ‘examination’ (*dpyod pa*, *\*vicāra*) which occurred

<sup>82</sup>DhAk 3.18, MS A 15b1 and MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 31b1: *satkṛtya maunīndram udāradharmapradarśakam\* dharmam udārarūpam / yad arjitam naḥ\*\* śubham etad astu tanmārgasiddhyai jagato vibhūtyai //*. \* *udāradharmapradarśakam* (em. A. Sanderson) against *udāravamme pradarśakam* MS A 15b1 and *udāradharme pradarśakam* MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 31b1; \*\*against *na* MS A 15b1. *upajāti* metre. My interpretation of this verse is much indebted to A. Sanderson (electronic communication, May 2, 2010).

<sup>83</sup>PSi<sub>k</sub> 1, MS A 1b1–2 and MS G/PSi<sub>ms</sub> 1a1–2: *taṃ vande sugataṃ sadā prayatadhīḥ sannīti\*vādātmakas tattvajñānavidhau padārthaniyate pratyakṣatālakṣaṇe / tanmārgānugatair jayāya niyatam dustirthikāpākṛtau yasyāyam jayaḍiṇḍimahaḥ suvitato nīrādham udghoṣyate //*. \*Against *sanīti* ° MS A 1b2, unmetrical. PSi<sub>t</sub> D302b1–2/P325a8–b1: */ de ṅid śes tshul don nes mñon sum mtshan la de lam rjes žugs kyis // mu stegs can nan bsal bas rgyal phyir gaṅ gi rgyal rña rgyas\* chen nam // dam pa’i tshul lugs brjod pa’i bdag ’di gnod med nes par rab bsgrags pa // bde bar gśegs pa de la rtag tu rtse gcig blos ni phyag ’tshal lo /*. \*Against *rgyas* DP. *sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. My understanding of this verse owes much to A. Sanderson’s comments on an earlier translation. It is, of course, theoretically possible to construe *sannītivādātmakaḥ* with *sadā prayatadhīḥ* (against the evidence of the Tibetan translation) rather than *jayaḍiṇḍimahaḥ*.

subsequent to the valid cognition. As such the definitory character of a valid cognition is ascertained only by another (valid cognition).<sup>84</sup>

The SPAn opens with a homage to the omniscient being who, as the final stanza makes clear, is none other than the Sugata:

[I] pay reverence to the omniscient [being] who has proclaimed that the world (*\*jagat*), which is free of [any real] relation, is without self (*ātman*) and one's own (*ātmīya*), without an object (*grāhya*) and a subject (*grāhaka*) of cognition.<sup>85</sup>

To this omniscient one, Śāṅkaranandana ascribes three doctrines that are well attested in Dharmakīrti's works: the denial of all real relations, which is the doctrinal standpoint of the SP itself; the "Sautrāntika" definition of the Buddhist path in terms of perceptual realization of selflessness (*nairātmyadarśana*, etc., PV 2); the "Yogācāra" definition of the path in terms of direct realization of non-duality (*advaya*, etc., PV 3, PVin 1).<sup>86</sup>

<sup>84</sup>Translation Steinkellner 1992:262. PSik 2ab, MS A 1b2 and MS G/PSi<sub>ms</sub> 19b3: *siddhaḥ pramāṇato 'rtho 'pi pramāṇam tata eva na /*. Glo bo mkhan chen ascribes this half-stanza to Śāṅkaranandana's *'Brel pa brtag pa*; since Tib. *'brel pa* renders both *sambandha* and *pratibandha*, one should understand, not *Sambandhapariḥṣā(nusāriṇī)*, but *Pratibandha(siddhi)*. See Steinkellner 1992:262, n. 40. Go rams pa, *rNam bśad 127a5sq* as quoted in Steinkellner 1992:262, n. 40: *Bram zes — / tshad ma las don grub pa yañ / tshad ma de ñid las ma yin / zes tshad ma gñis kyis rañ rañ gi 'jug yul ñes par byed kyañ mtshan ñid mi bslu ba la ñes par rañ stobs kyis 'dren par mi byed pas tshad ma'i rjes su skyed pa'i blo dpyod pa zes bya bas spyi'i mtshan ñid dañ / 'gal 'brel la sogs pa ñes par byed pas na tshad ma'i mtshan ñid ni gžan kho na las ñes par byed do – zes bzed do //*. On *vicāra*, see, e.g., MS G/\*PSiS<sub>ms</sub> 29a5–6: *tadvicāra [i]ti vikalpadharmaḥ sūkṣmībhūtasvaviśayātmaniṣṭhā pratīti[śa]kṭiḥ / na tu pramāṇam kimcit /*. The \*PSiS consistently describes this *vicāra* as an insight (*prajñā*); note, e.g., MS G/\*PSiS<sub>ms</sub> 29a5: *vicārātmakayaiva prajñāyā...*, MS G/\*PSiS<sub>ms</sub> 29a8: *prajñāyā vikalpamatyā...*, and MS G/\*PSiS<sub>ms</sub> 28b3: *dharmaparikalpanātmakapratīti°...* Such was the aim of the \*PSiS (hence of the PSi also): *sthite dharmaikātmye na sambandhagrahaṇāpekṣā tatas tadātmany eva dharme pratipattir anu-mitir iti sañkṣepenopapādyate /* (MS G/PSiS<sub>ms</sub> 28a6).

<sup>85</sup>SPAN<sub>t</sub>, *maṅgala*, D21b4–5/P27a2–3: */ gañ gis 'brel pa spañs gyur pa // 'gro ba bdag dañ bdag gi min // gzuñ 'dzin med pa can gsuñs pa // kun mkhyen de la phyag 'tshal lo //*. SPAN<sub>t</sub>, final stanza, D35a2–3/P44a1–2: */ 'di la bdag gis gsal bar byas pa de ñid don // bde gśegs rigs pa zla ba'i gzugs brñan mtshon byed pa // ches rgya che ba'i blo la rnam\* gzigs bya bar ni // blo yi chu bo 'phel phyir myur bar 'byuñ bar 'gyur /*. \*DP *rnam*s. I cannot make sense of this stanza.

<sup>86</sup>On these last two issues, see Eltschinger 2005:162–179.

**4.6** Several works do not lend themselves to a clear location within the sequence of Śāṅkaranandana’s treatises. Whatever their place in the sequence, however, these works are no less unambiguously Buddhist than the ones considered so far. In the *maṅgala* of the SSi,<sup>87</sup> Śāṅkaranandana once again pays homage to the omniscient one and acknowledges being moved by compassion:

With [my] body, speech and mind, [I] bow down with devotion to the [one being] who sees everything and [shall now] present a proof [of the possibility] of this [omniscient being] out of compassion for [those] who are led astray by its denial.<sup>88</sup>

The treatise ends with a stanza that not only equates the omniscient one with the Sugata, but also testifies to the fact that Śāṅkaranandana longs for nothing but be(com)ing “himself” a Buddha:

We revere him, we salute him [respectfully], the Sugata who sees everything. May he be our great refuge until [we ourselves] attain the rank of a Sugata.<sup>89</sup>

The omniscient Sugata reappears in the *maṅgala* of the ĀS:

We [respectfully] salute the omniscient Sugata who, after having made [it] directly perceptible [to himself], taught the proper analysis (? *samyagbheda*) bearing on the factors, etc.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup>For an outline of the (fully Dharmakīrtian, though updated,) doctrine of the SSi, see Eltschinger 2008:140–145.

<sup>88</sup>SSi<sub>k</sub> 1, MS A 25a4–5 and MS B/SSi<sub>ms</sub> 1b1: *kāyavānīmānasair bhaktyā natvā sarvārthadarśinam / tatpratikṣepamūḍhānām tatsiddhiḥ kṛpayocyate //*.

<sup>89</sup>SSi<sub>k</sub> 47, MS A27a4–5 and MS B/SSi<sub>ms</sub> 26b2–3: *taṃ stumas taṃ namasyāmaḥ sugataṃ sarvadarśinam / ā saugatapadaprāpteḥ sa naḥ syāc charaṇaṃ mahat //*.

<sup>90</sup>ĀSk 1, MS A 29b3: *pratyakṣīkṛtya yaḥ samyagbhedaṃ dharmādigocaram / dideśa taṃ namasyāmaḥ sugataṃ sarvavedinam //*. The ĀS appears to be an anti-Mīmāṃsaka tract elaborating on the subject-matter of PV 1.213–338 and PVSV thereon. The treatise opens with a definition of scripture (ĀSk 2ab, MS A 29b3): *sarvajñasambhavajñānasiddhasambhava āgamaḥ*. Like Dharmakīrti, Śāṅkaranandana seems to admit that the knowledge derived from scripture is an inference (see already *Pramāṇasamuccaya* 2.5ab), but also indicates that this inference is far from flawless and only “practically” (not to say “pragmatically”) valid, i.e., as far as human religious practice is concerned (ĀSk 4ab, MS A 29b4: *tatpratītir amānatve ’py eṣṭavyā drṣṭavastuvat /*; ĀSk 48cd, MS A 31a6: *pramānatvāprasiddhāv apy āgamasya pariagrahaḥ /*). As for religious practice itself, Śāṅkaranandana defines it as follows (ĀSk 3cd, MS A 29b4): *pravṛttis tu... drṣṭātirikta-hetūtthasukhaduḥkḥāptihānaye*. True to Dharmakīrti’s way of dealing with scripture, the

Remember that the DhA equated *paramā śāntiḥ* with *nirvāṇa* and described the latter as the final uprooting of the defilements together with their after-effects; this very same *paramā śāntiḥ* occurs again in the final stanza of the ĀS:

Thanks to the merit (*kuśala*) caused by the belief (? *grahaṇa*), the [right] conduct and the right perception that are based on [the Buddha's] word, may the [entire] mass of living beings (*sattvadhātu*) always be committed to the supreme tranquility due to [having their] thought intent on abandoning [their] own good (*nijavastu*), however dear [it may be], which is assuredly the basis of a [new] embodiment.<sup>91</sup>

By identification and contrast, the final stanzas of the ĪA play on the notions of *śāstr* and *īśvara*. In the *maṅgala*, the *śāstr* (understand: the blessed Buddha) who revealed the path to *nirvāṇa* alone is *īśvara*:

Bowing down to him who is the teacher, the unique lord whose thought is intent on the good of [this] world saturated with suffering, who has expounded here all that is profitable for [attaining] *nirvāṇa* together with that which must be eliminated [in order to attain it, we now] speak concisely in order to lay down the method [according to which] one establishes the negation(/proceeds to the refutation) of [that] god whom others take for the origin of existence.<sup>92</sup>

treatise goes on with a lengthy advocacy of conventionalism in philosophy of language (e.g., ĀSk 5ab, MS A 29b4–5: *saṃketasaṃśrayā soktā vācyadhīr nāparābhīdhā /*). Śāṅkaranandana accordingly criticises the “realistic” accounts of the relation between words and objects (*śakti*, *sāmarthyā*, *yogyatā*), the factors responsible for *śābdabodha* (ĀSk 31ab, MS A 30b4: *nākāṃkṣādikṛtaikārthaviśayatve...* Note that Śāṅkaranandana is likely to be the first Buddhist philosopher to criticise this analysis of verbal understanding), the notion of a perceptual recollection (ĀSk 44cd, MS A 31a4: *nākṣajam pratyabhijñānam ...*). The ĀS also answers Kumāriḷa's arguments on the issue of *apabhraṃśa* (ĀSk 41–42, MS A 31a2–3) and criticises the doctrine of the authorlessness of scripture (ĀSk 45cd, MS A 31a4: *apauruṣeyatā sā tu na pratyakṣeṇa gamyate /*; ĀSk 46ab, MS A 31a4–5: *svasamīhāvasīyeta karaṇocāraṇāśrayā /*; ĀSk 47a, MS A 31a5: *pratyakṣam pauruṣeyatvam ...*).

<sup>91</sup>ĀSk 49, MS A 31a6–7: *iti pravacanāśrayagrahaṇānītisaddarśanapravṛttakuśalād ayaṃ bha{ {vatu sa ttva dhātu} }ḥ sadā / priye 'pi nijavastuni prakāṣam ātmabhāvāśraye prahāṇaparayā dhīyā paramasāntisamniśritah //*. *prthvī* metre. I leave *iti* untranslated.

<sup>92</sup>ĪAk 1, MS A 27b6–28a1: *duḥkhāghrātaḥ jagaddhitāhitamatīḥ sāsātaika eveśvaro nirvāṇāya hitam saheyam amuto yaḥ sarvam ākhyātavān / tam natvā bhavasambhāvāya kalitasānyair dviṣor' īśvarasyādhātum pratiśedhasādhanavidhim saṅkṣepataḥ kathayate //*. *śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. I leave *dviṣor'* untranslated.



According to the final stanza, this world devoid of a god is, however, not without a *sāstr* provided one admits the existence of an omniscient being:

Therefore, that world which[, as we have demonstrated,] is devoid of a [creator] god [and] arises on the basis of only [that] agent [that is *karman*,] can [nevertheless] have a teacher provided there is a proof [of the possibility] of an omniscient [being].<sup>93</sup>

**4.7** Be it by its dimensions or the number of quotations (especially in Pratyabhijñā literature), the PA seems by far the most important among the independent treatises of Śāṅkaranandana.<sup>94</sup> However, three factors make its overall interpretation quite difficult. (1) The most often quoted work is also the most poorly preserved: the stanzas of PA 1 and 2 are illegible in (the currently available photographs of) MS A, while the reading of PA 3 is, to say the least, often conjectural. (2) As we have seen (see above, SECTION 3), the PA has resisted all attempts to locate it within the internal chronology of Śāṅkaranandana’s works. (3) Although R. Gnoli recognized that “[t]he scanty fragments of this work hardly permit us to get an idea of its contents,”<sup>95</sup> he nevertheless viewed the PA as a work “that wanders far from Buddhist orthodoxy or that is frankly contrary to the Buddhist logic and gnoseology commonly accepted.”<sup>96</sup> According to this Italian scholar, the PA conforms at times so closely with the doctrine and terminology of Kashmirian Śaivism that, at least as far as this work is concerned, Śāṅkaranandana “must have been an important link between the Buddhist and the Śaiva gnoseology.”<sup>97</sup> This alleged heterodoxy would have prevented the PA from entering the Tibetan “canon” or, at least, from being translated

<sup>93</sup>ĪAk 27, MS A 29a3: *nirīśvaram idaṃ tasmāt kartṛmātrāśrayodbhavam / saśāstrkaṃ jagad yuktam sati sarvajñasādhane //*.

<sup>94</sup>The PA amounts to about 200 stanzas (ten folios in MS A), i.e., is five times longer than the AAS and two and half times longer than the DhA. From among the twenty-three fragments collected by Bühnemann (1980:193–196), eleven can be traced in the PA. Three further fragments definitely belonging to the PA resist identification in MS A either because they are in prose or because they belong to the illegible chapters 1 and 2.

<sup>95</sup>Gnoli 1960:xxiv, n. 3.

<sup>96</sup>Gnoli 1960:xxiv.

<sup>97</sup>Gnoli 1960:xxv, n. 3, *in fine*.

into Tibetan. Now in my opinion, and notwithstanding possible but certainly rare Śaiva terminological overtones, the PA by no means deviated from the Dharmakīrtian Buddhist orthodoxy.<sup>98</sup>

Let me start where Gnoli himself started. While commenting on “*viññānavādibhiḥ*” (ĪPV/Ṭ on ĪP 1.5.6), Abhinavagupta places Dignāga’s *Ālambanaparīkṣā*, Vasubandhu’s *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi(s)* and Śāṅkaranandana’s PA on the same doctrinal level.<sup>99</sup> This is tantamount to saying that, in denying the existence of the external world (or at least of any external object of cognition), the PA was meant to establish mind-only, the final philosophical stance of Śāṅkaranandana’s predecessors, viz. Vasubandhu, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti.<sup>100</sup> Whereas Gnoli discerned, in the “confutation of the atomistic view and, accordingly, of a reality external to consciousness,” “one topic” of the PA,<sup>101</sup> I am inclined to see it as the very *raison d’être* of Śāṅkaranandana’s *magnum opus*.

Although the rest of this treatise’s initial stanza is illegible, the following words can still be deciphered: *prajñāṃ viśuddhāṃ dvayanirmuktāṃ*,<sup>102</sup> which suggests that the PA was somehow related to the pure insight devoid of duality, an expression whose terminology and presuppositions are strongly reminiscent of Buddhist idealism. Let us consider now PA 3.1:

That the entities [commonly believed to be external in fact] only consist in cognition is called ‘consciousness-only.’ And [we draw] the absence of duality [between an object and a subject of cognition] from an inference.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>98</sup>See already Krasser 2001:496: “Since Abhinavagupta himself quotes a stanza from the *Prajñālaṅkāra* in his *Tantrāloka*, and interprets this as Buddhist doctrine (*uktaṃ ca... iti saugataiḥ* ...), it is difficult to interpret the *Prajñālaṅkāra* as a work that is entirely Śaivite and opposed to Buddhist doctrine.” On this passage, see Krasser 2001:504, n. 59 and Bühnemann 1980:196.

<sup>99</sup>ĪPVV II.144,11–12: *ālambanaparīkṣādau daiñnāge, vijñaptimātrādisiddh[au] āsambandh[vy]yāṃ, prajñālaṅkāradīṣu bhāṭṭadarśaneṣu*.

<sup>100</sup>ĪPVV II.144,13–16: *ayaṃ bhāvaḥ – dūṣanakalāpenānena viśayasyāsattvam āvedayatā bāhyārthaviśayam yat pramāṇam pareṇa pratyakṣam samabhāvayata, tad asamarthatayā pramāṇābhāsīkartavyam / tato niṣpramāṇako bāhyo ’rthaḥ katham sidhyet ...*

<sup>101</sup>Gnoli 1960:xxiv–xxv, n. 3.

<sup>102</sup>PAk 1.1, MS A 15b2.

<sup>103</sup>PAk 3.1ac<sub>1</sub>, MS A 20b3–4: *jñānātmataiva vastūnām uktā vijñaptimātratā / advayaṃ cānumānāt...*

In Dharmakīrti’s PV, the demonstration of mind-only proceeds not only through the refutation of the atomistic theories, but also by way of an inference generally referred to as the *sahopalambhaniyama*. Now, the *sahopalambhaniyama* appears very explicitly in PA 3: “Because they are necessarily perceived together, blue and the cognition of [blue] are not distinct.”<sup>104</sup> It is therefore hardly surprising that in another stanza, Śāṅkaranandana may claim: “Consciousness-only is [therefore] established, [and] it amounts to the refutation of an external object [of cognition].”<sup>105</sup>

The PA did not limit itself to establishing an idealistic ontology and gnoseology. True to Dharmakīrti’s PV 3 and PVin 1, Śāṅkaranandana didn’t neglect the closely related soteriology.<sup>106</sup> Through the mental cultivation (*bhāvanā*) of non-duality (*advaya*, itself prompted by the inferential reflections constitutive of *cintā / yukti*), through the gradual resorption of the fictitious polarity between the subject and the object of cognition (*grāhyagrāhaka*), and through the uprooting of the impregnation of duality (*dvayavāsanā*), the Buddhist saint realizes emptiness/non-duality directly. Such is the transformation of the basis-of-existence (*āśraya-parivṛtti*, which, to the best of my knowledge, Śāṅkaranandana does not allude to), which coincides with awakening (*bodhi*), with the attainment of the Buddha stage (*buddhabhūmi*), with the obtention of the rank of a Buddha (*buddhatvapada*). Śāṅkaranandana devotes several passages to the description of the path of elimination and its culminating stage. PAk 3.97cd–98, e.g., exhibits the sequence linking the rational determination of the salvational contents, their mental cultivation, the elimination of the impregnation of duality and the direct realization of non-duality:

[One then turns to the mental] cultivation of the empti[ness] of duality (*dvayaśūnya*) that was ascertained [previously] by this [argument]. Although this [emptiness] is made an object [of cognition at the beginning of the cultivation process], it annihilates, once [it has been duly] cultivated, the impregnation

<sup>104</sup>PAk 3.41cd, MS A 22b2: *sahopalambhaniyamābhedo nīlataddhiyoḥ //*. I read: *sahopalambhaniyamād abhedo nīlataddhiyoḥ //*.

<sup>105</sup>PAk 3.71cd, MS A 23b5: *viññaptimātratā siddhā sā bāhyārthanirākṛtiḥ //*. Note also PAk 3.86c<sub>2</sub>, MS A 24b1: *viññaptimātre ’pi*, and PAk 3.94c<sub>1</sub>, MS A 24b5: *viññaptidharmāḥ*. Note also PAk 3.83a<sub>2</sub>–c<sub>1</sub>, MS A 24a5, with clear idealistic overtones: ... *ādihīnatvād bhavasyoktāsyā kāraṇam / vāsanā ...*

<sup>106</sup>On what follows, see Eltschinger 2005:162–174.

[of duality] that is contradictory [to it, and] the dual appearance no [longer] appears.<sup>107</sup>

In PAk 3.96ab, Śāṅkaranandana provides an equivalent formulation of the same sequence (substituting the no less Dharmakīrtian *jānīyāt tattvam advayam* for *dvyābhāsaṃ nāvabhāsaṃ*):

The one who cultivates [non-duality] may cognize, once he has abandoned the impregnation [of duality], the true reality that is devoid of duality.<sup>108</sup>

PAk 3.95bd testifies to the fact that *prajñā*, for Śāṅkaranandana as for Dharmakīrti, does not exhaust the list of the *pāramitās*, and that its gradual development towards a spontaneous cognition of non-duality parallels the development that leads the so-called “immeasurables” (*apramāṇa*, such as benevolence and compassion) from their *sattvālbhana* type to their *anālbhana* type:

[We] admit that the [mental] cultivation [of non-duality] has such a result once it has provided (*ādhāya*) a cognition which, like a cognition such as [that of] benevolence [when it reaches its objectless stage], is empty of any object [whatsoever].<sup>109</sup>

As for the last didactic stanza of the PA, it connects the three key-terms of this idealistic soteriology:

Therefore the non-duality of cognition appears in the cognition of emptiness. The cognition of selflessness purifies(/improves) it [and, when it has been brought to its maximum intensity,] gives rise to the *summum bonum*[, the unsurpassable complete awakening].<sup>110</sup>

Whether Śāṅkaranandana accepted an *ālayavijñāna* or not, his picture of the Buddhist path is characteristically idealistic and Dharmakīrtian. We have met with a pure insight devoid of duality in PA 1.1. PAk

<sup>107</sup>PAk 3.97cd–98, MS A 24b6–25a1: *tenāvasīyamānasya dvayaśūnyasya bhāvanā // viṣayibhūtam apy etad bhāvya mānaṃ virodhinīm / vāsanāṃ pratisaṃhṛtya dvyābhāsaṃ nāvabhāsaṃ //*.

<sup>108</sup>PAk 3.96ab, MS A 24b5–6: *bhāvayan vāsanāṃ hitvā jānīyāt tattvam advayam /* .

<sup>109</sup>PAk 3.95bd, MS A 24b5: *...bhāvanāivamphalā matā / dhiyam ādhāya sarvārthaśūnyāṃ maitryādibuddhivat //*. On the type of *apramāṇa* called “*anālbhana*,” see Eltschinger 2011: §4.

<sup>110</sup>PAk 3.100, MS A 25a1–2: *tatas tac chūnyatājñāne jñānādvaitam prapadyate / tac chodhayati nairātmyasaṃvic chreyaḥ prasūyate //*.

3.101, one of two final stanzas of the treatise, has still more Mahāyānistic overtones:

[I] present respectfully the immensely precious Prajñāpāramitā with the honour of [this] well-contrived *Ornament [of insight]* along with an aid (*ādhāra*) to ruin [those] rival doctrines (*vādāntara*) that are born from the dirt of bad reasoning. From the high (*uccais*) merit acquired with this [composition], may this [Prajñāpāramitā] which is good to attain (*svadhigama*) be for this world the token (*pada*) of the perfections of Buddhahood.<sup>111</sup>

Of particular interest is the very last stanza of the PA, where Śāṅkaranandana, to the best of my knowledge for the first and only time in his *œuvre*, clearly exhibits his own religio-philosophical affiliation. Here, Śāṅkaranandana gives free expression to the bitterness—after all, was he not recognized as the “second Dharmakīrti”?—caused by a sense of isolation due to his being situated between Buddhist coreligionists (*svayūthya*) unwilling to accept his idealism and worthless non-Buddhist outsiders (*tīrthya*):

Knowing that [even our] externalist coreligionists have not made our own doctrine their final position because [they deem it] worthless, the false view of the vile outsiders does not seem to be worthy of our consideration. Though it was [indeed] great, this endeavour [of ours] appears therefore to be insignificant (*alpa*).<sup>112</sup>

Let me conclude this first outline of the PA. Contrary to R. Gnoli, I discern here all the features of the idealistic epistemology and soteriology as they were developed by Dharmakīrti in his PV 3 and PVin 1—two chapters that were almost *terra incognita* when Gnoli published his excellent edition of the PVSV. But, besides Śāṅkaranandana’s doctrine of

<sup>111</sup>PAk 3.101, MS A 25a2–3: *prajñāpāramitāṃ kutarkakaluṣaprodhbhūtavādāntara-dhvaṃsādḥārapuraḥsaraṃ sughaṭitālaṃkārasampūjayā / sampūjyārthyatamāṃ yad atra kuśalaṃ samprāptam uccais tato lokasyāsya bhavatv iyaṃ svadhigamā buddhatvasampatpadam // . śārdūlavikrīḍita metre.*

<sup>112</sup>PAk 3.102, MS A 25a3–4: *bāhyārthavādibhir asāratayā svayūthyaiḥ siddhāntatām na gamitāṃ svamatāṃ viditvā / gaṅṅyā na naḥ samaḥvabhāti kutīrthyadrṣṭir yatno\* mahān api vibhāti tato 'yam alpaḥ // . \*Against yatnā MS A 25a4. vasantatilakā metre.*

error,<sup>113</sup> two among his alleged doctrinal deviations are worthy of closer examination. I shall try to interpret Śaṅkaranandana's allusion to the *sphuradrūpatā* below (SECTION 5.3). But what about this prose fragment that is likely to point to Śaṅkaranandana's affinity with Kashmir Śaivism:

But if [it is] so, let the world be, in the aforementioned way, the body (*rūpa*) of a certain [being that would be] one [and] undivided[, viz. of Parameśvara who consists in pure consciousness]. How (*kim*) does it affect us?<sup>114</sup>

I am inclined to interpret Śaṅkaranandana in the following way. Once it is admitted that the supposedly external world is nothing but consciousness, as the Buddhist idealist claims, there can be no harm in letting someone, say a Śaiva, believe that this consciousness is Parameśvara. But whatever the correct interpretation of this statement might be, two things ought to be borne in mind: first, given the Buddhist idealist persuasion of the work, it seems hard to interpret *yathoktavidhinā* as referring to a preceding and more systematic elaboration of Śaṅkaranandana on the topic of Śiva's consciousness unless it was a critique of this doctrine; second, given Śaṅkaranandana's repeated refutations of (a creator) god (ĪA, ĪAS, PVAn), it seems difficult to read in this statement more than a rhetorical and rather condescending concession to his Śaiva environment.

<sup>113</sup>Gnoli (1960:xxv, n. 3) writes: "All that exists does exist to the extent to which it appears to our consciousness, and then the error, too, in so far as it appears, is reality; that is, it is, by itself, unreality (*ābhāsabhede tv arthaḥ kas tatrābhedo bhramo 'vapuḥ*, ĪPVV I.248 and III.35: note the word *ābhāsa*, this also proper to the Śaiva doctrine). This affirmation, thoroughly agreeing with the Śaiva position, upsets all the Buddhist gnoseology, according to which discursive knowledge is, truly speaking, erroneous." Besides the fact that *ābhāsa* is as regularly and much earlier attested in Buddhist logico-epistemological literature, note that the issue of error should be discussed in the perspective of Śaṅkaranandana's idealism. Now, while commenting on PVSV 50,16–51,5, Śaṅkaranandana remarks (PVAn, D264b5–6): *rnam par rig par smra ba ni 'jig rten pa'i tshad ma dan / tshad ma ma yin pa'i ran bzin dpyad pa na / bag chags brtan pa dan mi brtan pa tsam rgyu mtshan ne bar len to //*. "When he analyzes the nature of [that which] is and is not an ordinary valid cognition (*\*laukikapramāṇāpramāṇasvarūpa*), the advocate of consciousness[only] (*vijñaptivādin*) resorts to the criterion (*nimitta*) [that consists in] the mere stability or non-stability of the impregnation (*vāsanādārḍhyādārḍhyamātra*) [responsible for the cognition]." This is precisely the point at stake in Abhinavagupta's quotation, the explanatory prose on which explicitly refers to the *drḍhābhyaśavāsanā* (ĪPVV I.248,23). On this, see Eltschinger 2005:156, n. 8.

<sup>114</sup>TĀV 54,9–10: (*yad uktaṃ prajñālaṅkāre /*) *evaṃ tarhi jagad ekasyaiva kasyacid anamśasya yathoktavidhinā rūpam astu kiṃ naḥ kṣiyate /*. Quoted in Bühnemann 1980:196 and Gnoli 1960:xxv.

**4.8** Close examination of the initial/benedictive and final/votive stanzas bears an unambiguous testimony: from the beginning to the end of his *œuvre*, Śāṅkaranandana composed Buddhist treatises only. Two works likely to have been composed early in Śāṅkaranandana’s life, the \*BPrP and the PVAn, place themselves under the protection of the three Buddhist jewels: the Buddha, the Dharma and the Āryagaṇa in the \*BPrP, the Sugata, the Dharma and the Saṅgha in the PVAn. Two subsequent works pay homage to the Sugata (PSi, SPAn), two others to the omniscient Sugata (*sarvārthadarśin* SSi; *sarvavedin* ĀS), whereas three *maṅgalas* revere the omniscient one (AAS, SPAn, SSi). As for the DhA and the ĪA, they pay respect to the Śāstr, the only legitimate Īśvara. Finally, while the DhA twice places itself under the protection of the Dharma (*saddharma*, *udāradharma*), the PA places itself under the authority of the Prajñāpāramitā.

The properly votive parts of these stanzas testify to the agenda of a Mahāyānist bodhisattva. In the \*BPrP, Śāṅkaranandana expects from the merit (*śubha*, *kuśala*) gained by composing his treatises that it may hasten his way to awakening (*bodhi*); in the SSi, he takes refuge (*śaraṇa*) in the Sugata as long as he has not himself attained the rank of a Buddha (*saugatapada*), i.e., the final elimination of defilements together with their after-effects (*savāsana*). As a good bodhisattva, our “logician” doesn’t neglect for all of this his altruistic duties, the *parārtha*: For this world beset with suffering (*duḥkḥāghrāta*) and enslaved by *karman*, Śāṅkaranandana wishes the perfections inherent in the state of a Buddha (*buddhatvasampad*, PA), *nirvāṇa* (*paramaśānti*, ĀS), prosperity (*vibhūti*, DhA), the establishment of the Buddhist path (*tanmārgasiddhi*, DhA), itself regularly defined as selflessness (*nairātmya*, passim). Twice at least, Śāṅkaranandana confesses his being moved by compassion (*kṛpā*, etc.).

As for the “*svayūthya*” occurring at the end of the PA, it amounts to a confession. In conformity with the epistemological and soteriological doctrines he defends in this treatise, Śāṅkaranandana portrays himself as opposed to his “realist” coreligionists (*bāhyārthavādin*, PA). The non-Buddhist outsiders are regularly described in disparaging terms: they are rivals (*anya*, *para*, passim), dull-witted (*mūḍha*, SSi), vile or bad outsiders (*kutīrthya*, PA; *dustīrthika*, PSi) going on (an) erroneous path(s) (*unmārgaga*, \*BPrP) and professing theories born of the dirt of their vile reasoning (*kutarkakaluṣaprodhbhūtavāda*, PA). It belongs to a bodhisattva’s duties to fight against and to vanquish (*jaya*, PSi) those who

spread error: Śāṅkaranandana therefore endeavours to ruin (*dhvaṃsa*, PA) these theories, to eliminate the error inherent in them (*bhramam vini-√vrt*, AAS), to refute them (*apākṛti*, PSi). In so doing, he just gives voice to the word of the blessed one (*bhagavatpravacana*, DhA), which eliminates those things wrongly imagined/postulated by the adversaries (*paraparikalpita*, DhA) of Buddhism, indicates what is instrumental in or harmful to the *nirvāṇa* (*nirvāṇāya hitam saheyam... ākhyātavān*, ĪA; *heyopādeyavastusamdarśaka*, DhA), and defeats all of the non-Buddhist outsiders' intentions (*sarvatīrthyāśayaviḥjāyjin*, DhA).

Śāṅkaranandana is the representative of the most orthodox, i.e., idealistic version of the Buddhist logico-epistemological movement. He not only commented on four works of the “*ācārya*” (i.e., Dharmakīrti), but he also composed independent treatises dedicated to all the topics—with the remarkable exception of “logic” itself, i.e., the so-called *parārthānumāna*—that were of interest to this intellectual stream: identity relation (*tādātmya*, PSi); genesis of language, concepts and universals (*apoha*, AAS); issues related to scriptural and verbal authority: buddhology and omniscience (*sarvajñā[tā]*, SSi), refutation of the existence of God (ĪA), critique of the Mīmāṃsā's *apauruṣeyatā* (ĀS); proofs of momentariness and selflessness (*kṣaṇikatva*, *nairātmya*, DhA); the doctrine of (purely extrinsic) epistemic validity (*prāmāṇya*, \*BPrP), demonstration of the mind-only idealism (*viññaptimātratā*, PA).

Śāṅkaranandana quotes or refers with parsimony, but when he does, it is almost always to Buddhist and especially logico-epistemological works: the treatises of Dharmakīrti<sup>115</sup> that he himself commented upon, such as the PV<sup>116</sup> and the SP,<sup>117</sup> certain works of Dharmakīrti which, to the best of my knowledge, he did not comment upon, such as the *Santānāntarasiddhi*<sup>118</sup> and the *Hetubindu*;<sup>119</sup> Dignāga's *Traikālyaparīkṣā*<sup>120</sup> and

<sup>115</sup>Named, like Dignāga, *ācārya* (passim), and even “*śrīdharmakīrti*” (*dpal chos kyi grags pa*, in SPAn<sub>t</sub> D29a6/P37a2).

<sup>116</sup>In SPAn<sub>t</sub> D29b2/P37a7; in AAS<sub>t</sub> D298b1/P321a3.

<sup>117</sup>On DhAk 3.7cd–8ab (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 21a7–b1: *iti vipaṅcitam ācāryeṇa sambandhaparīkṣāyām*); on PSik 10 (MS G/PSi<sub>ms</sub> 23a8–b1: ... *uktaḥ sambandhaparīkṣāyām*).

<sup>118</sup>In SPAn<sub>t</sub> D22a1/P27a8; on \*BPrPk 65 (MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 24b6).

<sup>119</sup>In SPAn<sub>t</sub> D21b6/P27a5.

<sup>120</sup>On DhAk 3.5cd–6ab (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 18b2: *ācāryadignāgena traikālyaparīkṣāyām upadiṣṭā*, and MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 18b2–4 for the full quotation of *Traikālyaparīkṣā* 24, 25 and 27 [= VP 3.3.76, 77, 79]).



maybe *Sāmānyaparīkṣā*;<sup>121</sup> *Pramāṇāntarbhāva*;<sup>122</sup> Vasubandhu’s *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*.<sup>123</sup>

## 5 Conclusions and Conjectures

**5.1** Let me briefly outline the biographical/exegetical hypotheses proposed to date.

1. Most of them entail a conversion scenario:

a) from Brahmanism (with or without Śaiva leaning) to Buddhism, either

i. *before* the start of literary activity (Tibetan legendary and/or scholastic accounts, colophon of the P*Si*, S. Ch. Vid-yābhūṣaṇa, J. Naudou), or

ii. *late in life*, but before the composition of both the commentaries on Dharmakīrti and the “atheistic” treatises (H. Krasser);

b) from Buddhism (at least as far as the doctrinal stance of the works is concerned) to non-dualistic Śaivism (R. Gnoli).

2. Certain hypotheses renounce any conversion scenario: Śāṅkaranandana is portrayed as a Śaivite brahmin who, in a Kashmirian milieu characterized by syncretism, composed Buddhist treatises (T. Funayama); as someone, probably a brahmin by birth, who, without any conversion, wrote consistently and exclusively Buddhist works (A. Sanderson).

**5.2** In my opinion, the two Tibetan legends lack any probative value. In contradistinction to them, two elements speak in favour of Śāṅkaranandana’s having been a brahmin throughout his life (pardon the redundancy!): first (though conjecturally), the epithet “*bhaṭṭa*” which is con-

<sup>121</sup>In SPAn<sub>t</sub> D31b4/P39b8–40a1 (*gžan gyi ran bžin ŋid ci yin zes spyi brtag* [P: D brtags] *par bśad zin to //*).

<sup>122</sup>On \*BPrPk 58 (MS E/\*BPrP<sub>ms</sub> 22a1: *iti darśitaṃ pramāṇāntarbhāve*). On the *Pramāṇāntarbhāva*, see Steinkellner/Much 1995:111 (§42.1).

<sup>123</sup>On DhAk 2.5cd–6ab (MS D/DhA<sub>ms</sub> 3b2: *ity uktaṃ vijñaptimātratāsiddhau*).

sistently associated with him in most Sanskrit sources;<sup>124</sup> second, the colophon of the P*Si*, which is the likely point of origin for the Tibetan legends and is no less likely to have been translated from a Sanskrit original (and hence cannot be later than the 11<sup>th</sup>-century r*Ñog* lotsāba and Bhavyarāja).<sup>125</sup> As for the description of Śāṅkaranandana as an *upāsaka*, it is, at least in my opinion, difficult to interpret since the denomination of “lay adherent” (of Buddhism) remains sociohistorically shrouded in obscurity. This description may equally well mirror the brahmin’s effective leaning towards Buddhism, or reflect the translators’ embarrassment before

<sup>124</sup> Apart from *all* the colophons (except the thirteen “micro-colophons” of MS A, which never allude to Śāṅkaranandana by name), Abhinavagupta is the only one to call Śāṅkaranandana “*bhaṭṭa*” (ĪPVV I.236,1, 248,12, 272,13, 292,18, 293,11; ĪPVV II.16,10, 34,12, 71,14, 83,22, 132,16, 144,12, 220,23, 221,4, 250,15, 369,12) or to use the equivalent expression “*bhaṭṭapādāḥ*” (ĪPVV III.35,12). Let it be noted that, contrary to R. Gnoli’s opinion, these epithets accompany *all* the quotations from Śāṅkaranandana and not just those from the allegedly Śaiva PA. To judge from the dictionaries, it is certainly not obvious that the epithet “*bhaṭṭa*” should necessarily refer to a brahmin (PW: “*Gewöhnlich Bez. grosser Gelehrter*”; MMW: “also affixed or prefixed to the names of learned Brāhmins... also any learned man = doctor or philosopher”; Āpte: “a title used with the names of learned Brāhmaṇas... any learned man or philosopher”; SNR: “*titre ajouté iic. au nom d’un savant*”). Among the cases where “*bhaṭṭa*” undoubtedly refers to brahmins are those quoted by Witzel (1994:290, and nn. 194 and 216) and Scharfe (2002:184 and 235), to which one can add Arcaṭa, called “*bhaṭṭa*” when the name mentioned is “Arcaṭa,” but “*bhadanta*” (Buddhist title) when he is referred to under his Buddhist ordination name of “Dharmākara-datta” (see Sanghavi 1949:xi). According to W. Slaje (2007: 125), the epithets “*bhaṭṭa*,” “*svāmin*” and “*miśra*” refer to erudite brahmins taking up the state of life-long *grhasthas* (and among whom the ritualist Mīmāṃsakas would allegedly be recruited) by opposition to the *saṃnyāsins*. Slaje (2007: 125, n. 35) also quotes Kṣemendra’s *Lokapra-kāśa* (stanza 8): *rtviḥyo yājñiko yajvā sāmanto bhaṭṭa ucyate / trisandhyopāsakaś caiva vipraś caiva purohitaḥ //*. Among the more problematic cases, one may think of the Jaina philosopher Akalaṅka(ḍeva), who is regularly referred to as “Bhaṭṭākalāṅka” (but does Akalaṅka fall into the same category as Arcaṭa?).

<sup>125</sup> P*Si*, colophon, D303a5–7/P326a6–8 (for the Tibetan text, see Krasser 2001:499): “The *Pratibandhasiddhi* written by the teacher (*slob dpon*, \**ācārya*), the great scholar (*mkhas pa chen po*, \**mahāpāṇḍita*), the honourable (*dam pa*) Upāsaka Śāṅkarānanda has been completed. [Namely by the teacher Śāṅkarānanda,] born to the Brahmin caste (and) celebrated by the people (*jig rten na gтам du*) as a “second Dharmakīrti,” who destroyed the doctrines (*gзуn*) of the ordinary logicians, who is invincible (*gran zla med pa*, \**asapātna*) thanks to his unmatched (*thogs pa med pa*) spirit, which recognises how things really are (*don gyi de kho na*, \**arthatattva*), and who, since he highly appreciates (*gees spras su ’dzin pa*) the teachings of the Sugata, persists with his spirit (*sems*) in concentration of the enjoyment (*ro myaṅ ba*, \**āsvāda*) of [his] exquisite utterances.” Translation Krasser 2001:499.

a brahmin who has authored Buddhist works exclusively: one (socioreligious) foot in Brahmanism, and one (doctrinal) foot in Buddhism...

To the best of my knowledge, nothing contradicts this portrayal of Śāṅkaranandana as a brahmin householder (*grhastha*) sympathetic to Buddhism.<sup>126</sup> But we have to take into consideration another, less legendary and much better established series of *facts* in our appreciation of Śāṅkaranandana’s religious identity: the all-pervading ideology of a Mahāyānist bodhisattva; the only marker of religio-philosophical (and not, as far as I am aware, socioreligious) identity expressed by Śāṅkaranandana himself (“*svayūthya*,” in the specific context of the PA); and the ever repeated adhesion to the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha. It is indeed the main interest of the benedictive and votive stanzas to exhibit a Śāṅkaranandana who, in addition to defending the programme of late Buddhist philosophy, endorses all the religious ideals of Mahāyāna. But, here as elsewhere, our insufficient knowledge of the socio-institutional *realia* should inspire humility in us and prevent us from playing one series against the other, for they are perfectly compatible. To put it in a nutshell: I am inclined to portray Śāṅkaranandana as a scholar who was born a brahmin and made a career as a (lay) Buddhist bodhisattva.

**5.3** I don’t hold the hypothesis of a conversion to Śaivism and a philosophical turn to the Pratyabhijñā to be more solidly established. R. Gnoli

<sup>126</sup>In this connection, I cannot help mentioning a story found in Tāranātha’s *rGya gar chos ’byuñ* (Schieffner 1868:182,10–183,11; see Chattopadhyaya 1980:301–302 for an English translation, and Scharfe 2002:139–140 for a summary). According to Tāranātha, Haribhadra belonged to a Kashmirian brahmin family renowned for its erudition. Haribhadra was once defeated in a debate, had to convert to Buddhism (*nañ pa la žugs* 182,14–15) and became an expert in the Buddhist *dharma* (*chos kyañ mkhas par mkhyen pa’i pa ṅdi tar gyur* 182,15). His son Ratnavajra was an *upāsaka* (*dge bsñen* 182,16) who studied all the branches of knowledge in Kashmir and then moved to Magadha in order to develop his scholarship further. There he was awarded the famous *patrā* of Vikramaśīla and taught the *mantrayāna* (*sñags kyi theg pa* 182,20), Dharmakīrti’s seven treatises on *pramāna* (*tshad ma sde bdun* 182,20–21) as well as Maitreya’s five works (*Byams pa’i chos lña* 182,21). At the end of his life he returned to Kashmir, where he defeated and converted a large number of outsiders (*mu stegs mañ po žig rtsod pas sun phyuñs nas sañs rgyas kyi bstan pa la dkod* 182,22–183,1). The story ends with the mention of Ratnavajra’s son (Mahājāna) and grandson (Sajjana). Of course I do not intend to imply that Śāṅkaranandana and Ratnavajra were one and the same person, but I would like to draw attention (on the basis of an admittedly late and not always reliable testimony) to the fact that the portrayal of Śāṅkaranandana as a \**mahābrāhmaṇa*, an *upāsaka* and a specialist in Buddhist *pramāna* may find an interesting Kashmirian parallel in the story of Ratnavajra.

interpreted a long epithet to “*bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandanena*” as bearing testimony to Śaṅkaranandana’s conversion:

[T]his is suggested by an eulogizing epithet that Abhinavagupta gives to Śaṅkarānanda, of whom he says that ‘he recovered illumination thanks to the force of asceticism and to a constant exercise of thought on consciousness, owed to the maturation of his good actions carried out earlier.’ Such an epithet fits well one who, after having followed a doctrine held to be false (in this case, Buddhism), finally opens his eyes and becomes aware of how things really are.<sup>127</sup>

Taking into consideration the immediate context of this strange (and endless) epithet, I feel inclined to read it, not as the eulogizing expression of an illumination and/or conversion, but as *sarcasm* at the expense of Śaṅkaranandana’s *Buddhist persuasion*. Let us have a closer look at this passage.

In his commentary on ĪPV on ĪP 1.5.14,<sup>128</sup> Abhinavagupta introduces the notion of *spanda* (“*vibration cosmique*”<sup>129</sup>) by authorizing himself with three quotations of Vasugupta (“*sūtrakārah*,” ĪPVV II.199,6): SK 2.6d, 2.3a and 2.5b (ĪPVV II.199,7–11). While explaining the word “*spanda*,” Abhinavagupta (ĪPVV II.199,7–13) quotes the following two *pādas*: *ūrmir eṣā vibodhābdher nistarāṅgasya kīrtitā*.<sup>130</sup> Having characterized the cosmic vibration as a wave on the conscious ocean, Abhinavagupta then explains *ūrmi* by quoting from Somānanda’s ŚD.<sup>131</sup> He concludes (ĪPVV II.199,16): “The energy of reflexive consciousness is therefore referred to by the word ‘*sphurattā*’ (*iti sphurattāśabdena sā vimarśaśaktir uktā /*). Abhinavagupta then declares: “Why [should we say] much/(more) [about this]?” (*kiṃ bahunā*, ĪPVV II.199,16), and it is at this point that the problematic reference to Śaṅkaranandana occurs (ĪPVV II.199,16–20): *prāktanakuśalavipākapravartitasamvitparāmarśābhyāsatapaḥ prabhāva pratilabdhonmeṣeṇa bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandanēpi... iti nirūpitam*. In my opinion, the whole of it relates to the

<sup>127</sup>Gnoli 1960:xxvi.

<sup>128</sup>See Torella 2002:121–122.

<sup>129</sup>TAK I.245 s.v. *ūrmi*.

<sup>130</sup>Sic! Is this the half-verse ascribed to the *Ūrmikaulatantra*: *ūrmir eṣā(/a) vibodhābdheḥ śaktir icchātmikā*? See TAK I.245 s.v. *ūrmi*, and TĀV 830,11–12 on TĀ 4.184.

<sup>131</sup>ĪPVV II.199,15: ... *sphurannivṛtacit* ... (ŚD 1.2).

sequence: *kiṃ bahunā... bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandanenāpi... nirūpitam*, “why [should we say] much/(more) [about this if/since] **even** Bhaṭṭaśaṅkaranandana has explained [it when he says, in his PA,] that...” My translation of *api* by “even” rather than “too/also” reflects my understanding of the epithet not as the eulogizing expression of Abhinavagupta’s agreement, even less as bearing witness to an “illumination” of any kind, but as the expression of sarcasm targeting Śaṅkaranandana’s Buddhist affiliation.<sup>132</sup>

In spite of the technical overtones of “*unmeṣa*” in the Spandapratyabhiññā tradition,<sup>133</sup> I am inclined to interpret the word in the meaning of a “(sudden) intuition” or “(sudden) revelation” the object of which is nothing but the *sphuradrūpatā*. In other words, Śaṅkaranandana has had the sudden revelation of a truth already taught in the Śaiva *āgamas* and *śāstras*. Did he obtain or *reobtain* it? Though I am inclined to favour the first hypothesis, the choice does not affect my interpretation.<sup>134</sup> Śaṅkaranandana does not owe this sudden intuition to his erudition or to his intellectual penetration, as one may expect, but to the “power of asceticism” (*tapahprabhāva*, as Dharmakīrti says, e.g., of the *śabara* “Bar-

<sup>132</sup>Dr. Isabelle Ratié (electronic communication, April 28, 2010) proposes the following interpretation of the passage, an interpretation that I make mine and that slightly differs from my initial understanding: “Il me semble que selon Abhinavagupta, même Śaṅkaranandana (qui pourtant est un bouddhiste) en vient à expliquer (tout comme les śivaïtes) que la manifestation consciente est une forme de fulguration, et Abhinavagupta insiste sur le fait que Śaṅkaranandana parvient à cette explication non pas grâce à sa science bouddhique, mais grâce à sa pratique ascétique et à son *saṃvidvimsāśābhyāsa* obtenu grâce à ses bonnes actions passées. (...) S’il y a bien une forme de sarcasme, je ne crois pas qu’il soit dirigé contre le ‘philosophical acumen’ de Śaṅkaranandana [which I initially held to be the target of Abhinavagupta’s sarcasm, VE] (d’ordinaire Abhinavagupta semble avoir de l’estime pour l’intellect de ses ennemis préférés; et puis *saṃvidvimsāśābhyāsa*, ce n’est pas rien... C’est même tout, d’un certain point de vue, pour les śivaïtes). Il me semble que le sarcasme est plutôt dirigé contre la logique et l’épistémologie bouddhiques (*en dépit desquelles* Śaṅkaranandana semble être parvenu à une position semblable à celle des śivaïtes—ce qui est finalement d’autant plus méritoire...): Abhinavagupta semble souligner le prodige par lequel un bouddhiste a pu, malgré son bouddhisme, comprendre quelque chose à sa propre conscience.” I. Ratié also attracts my attention to passages such as ĪPV I.213,2–4: *baudhair apy adhyavasāyāpekṣam prakāśasya prāmāṇyam vadadbhir upagataprāya evāyam artho bhilāpātmakatvād adhyavasāyasyeti /*.

<sup>133</sup>See TAK I.236–237 s.v. *unmeṣa*, and Krasser 2001:494–495, n. 26.

<sup>134</sup>One may understand “reobtained” as pointing to the fact that Śaṅkaranandana has regained what he had already been in possession of, be it in (a) former life/(lives) or (why not?) at the time of his education.

barians” who possess the capacity to “make *mantras*”<sup>135</sup>). Śāṅkaranandana owes this sudden intuition to the power of asceticism and to the “constant exercise of thought on consciousness” (Gnoli; *saṃvitparāmarśā-bhyāsa*) that has been “provoked by the maturation of former good deeds” (*prāktanakuśalavipākapravartita*), a likely allusion to Śāṅkaranandana’s beliefs as they can be grasped from the votive stanzas examined earlier in this essay (see SECTION 4). In other words, Śāṅkaranandana has obtained the intuition of the *sphuradrūpatā* in spite of a Buddhist persuasion that should have prevented him from discerning the true nature of consciousness.

As for the half-verse of the PA quoted by Abhinavagupta,<sup>136</sup> its obvious terminological proximity with the Pratyabhijñā<sup>137</sup> does not, in my opinion, force us to interpret it as testifying to Śāṅkaranandana’s assent to this doctrine. For, once the strictly Buddhist character of the PA is established,<sup>138</sup> it would seem more relevant to interpret this half-verse according to the Buddhist *topos* presenting the mind as radiant by its very nature (*cittaṃ prakṛtyā prabhāsvaram*, etc.),<sup>139</sup> and specifically along the “Sautrāntika” interpretation provided by Dharmakīrti in PV 2.205–210.<sup>140</sup> According to Dharmakīrti, this radiance (*prabhāsvaratā*<sub>PV</sub> ≈ *sphuradrūpatā*<sub>PA</sub>) of the *citta* / (*vi*)*jñāna* consists in the fact that, once it has rid itself of nescience (*avidyā*, a “counter-” or “anti-science”), the mind/cognition perceives the entities as they really are, i.e., in their real aspects of impermanence, selflessness, painfulness, etc.<sup>141</sup> This is tantamount to saying that the mind

<sup>135</sup>See PVSV 124:5–10, and more generally Eltschinger 2001:18–21.

<sup>136</sup>ĪPVV II.199,19: *sākṣātkāraḥ svataḥsiddhaḥ sā sphuradrūpatāsyā ca /*.

<sup>137</sup>See ĪPV 23,13 on ĪP 1.5.14: *sphuradrūpatā*. Note the following remark by Professor Raffaele Torella (electronic communication, August 14, 2005; note that R. Torella admits the Buddhist character of the PA): “The *pratīlabdha*- phrase is most probably to be taken as an allusion to the fact that now and then in his (Buddhist) works some unexpected Śaiva ideas come to the foreground, but integrated to the Buddhist context. This is very interesting as, so far, we were only aware of the very significant presence of Buddhist ideas in Śaiva philosophy. So this shows that, at least to a limited extent, also the other way round obtained, thus giving also a philosophical counterpart to the much debated issue of the reciprocal influence between the Śaiva and Buddhist tantras. The shade of sarcasm you detect in Abh.’s phrase is not to be excluded, but to my mind is rather unlikely.”

<sup>138</sup>See above, SECTION 4.7.

<sup>139</sup>See Seyfort Ruegg 1969:410–454.

<sup>140</sup>On this, see Eltschinger 2005:180–197, and especially 190–192.

<sup>141</sup>See PV 2.206–207a<sub>1</sub>.

now possesses the direct or perceptual realization (*sākṣātkāra*<sub>PA</sub>) of them, which is nothing but its originary or natural condition (*svataḥsiddha*<sub>PA</sub> < *prakṛtyā [siddhaḥ]*<sub>PV</sub>).

**5.4** What about the hypothesis of a late conversion to Buddhism? As we have seen,<sup>142</sup> it is *certain* that Abhinavagupta was aware of at least two of Śāṅkaranandana’s commentaries on Dharmakīrti, of which at least one contained “atheistic claims”: the PVinAn and the PVAn. This makes Krasser’s assumption, that Abhinavagupta praised Śāṅkaranandana because he was not aware of such works, problematic. Now what is true of the commentaries should be true of Śāṅkaranandana’s two *Īśvarāpākaraṇas*, which could only arbitrarily be held to be posterior to the ĪPVV or even to Abhinavagupta’s death. I am therefore inclined to believe that Abhinavagupta was aware of Buddhist works *only*. But in this case, no argument remains in favour of the contemporaneity of Abhinavagupta and Śāṅkaranandana. In other words, nothing prevents us from seeing Śāṅkaranandana as a junior contemporary of Dharmottara (provided Abhinavagupta is right when he claims that the former criticized the latter), i.e., at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> or the beginning 9<sup>th</sup> century.

But let me go a step further and speculate myself. For want of any better arguments, let me start from the following premisses:

1. Jayaratha is right when he holds Abhinavagupta’s TĀ to presuppose Śāṅkaranandana’s DhA and PA,<sup>143</sup>

<sup>142</sup>See above, SECTION 3.

<sup>143</sup>See Bühnemann 1980:194 and 196. In the French version of this essay, I considered a third premiss as relevant: Abhinavagupta is close enough a witness to Utpaladeva and Śāṅkaranandana to be trusted when he claims (which he actually does *not* do, see below) that Utpaladeva was aware of at least one work of Śāṅkaranandana, the work in which the following, still unidentified stanza occurs: *kāryaucityāt prāk svasamvidasamvitsmaraṇāntare* / (see Bühnemann 1980:197 and Krasser 2001:501). Rather than hypothesizing that one among Śāṅkaranandana’s commentaries on Dharmakīrti was a *miśra* (of the type, say, of Prajñākaragupta’s *Pramāṇavārttikālaṅkāra*), or that a versified work got lost, I am inclined to conjecture that these two *pādas* belong to (the illegible first two chapters of) the PA. Though on the basis of another argument, Krasser (2001:501, n. 44) also ascribes this stanza to the PA. Note, however, the following remark of A. Sanderson (2005[2010]:3): “As for his *terminus ante quem* of Śāṅkaranandana (940/50) Krasser depends on what he claims to be Abhinavagupta’s testimony in [ĪPVV II.369,9–14] that Utpaladeva criticises a statement of the *Prajñālaṅkāra* in his *Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivṛti*. But the passage does not allow this inference. Abhinavagupta does not say that Utpaladeva attacks the verse in question but only that he attacks a certain position which Abhinavagupta illustrates by citing this verse.”

2. the PA, Śaṅkaranandana's *magnum opus*, is a work of maturity.<sup>144</sup>

Let me follow here Gnoli's chronology of Abhinavagupta, i.e., 950 to 1020.<sup>145</sup> Both the MVV and the TĀ were produced rather early in Abhinavagupta's literary career.<sup>146</sup> Now, the MVV quotes the PA,<sup>147</sup> and the slightly later TĀ is supposed to be familiar with both the PA and the DhA. Since the DhA is posterior to such important works as the PVinAn, the PVAn and the AAS, I feel justified in hypothesizing that around 985, Śaṅkaranandana had published all of his major works. And if one admits that the PA belongs to his very last works, one may conjecture that Śaṅkaranandana was either old or already dead in 980–985, when Abhinavagupta started his prestigious career. On this hypothesis, one should put Śaṅkaranandana's dates back at least twenty to thirty years, and propose a birth around 910–920 at the latest (be it reminded here that Krasser proposed 940/950–1020/1030).

As is obvious, this revised chronology still presupposes that the dates of Śaṅkaranandana and Abhinavagupta somehow overlap. Now, I am aware of only one argument on the basis of which one could coordinate the two Kashmirian scholars. Interestingly enough, Abhinavagupta is rather talkative with regard to his own education, the teachings he attended and the interest one should take in studying with different masters: "As a black bee seeking the fragrance [of nectar] would go from one flower to the other, a student eager for knowledge should go from one teacher/(master) to the other."<sup>148</sup> A little later in the same work, Abhinavagupta declares that, "out of curiosity for the views of *śāstras* [that are] inferior to this

<sup>144</sup>I am aware of no reference to the PA in any of the other works of Śaṅkaranandana. It is also my feeling — and nothing more — that Śaṅkaranandana, in the PA, exposes his final philosophical standpoint, an idealistic doctrine that already appears in the *maṅgala* of the SPAn (as well as in the SSi, which cannot be located in the sequence either; see Eltschinger 2008:144–145). I am of course aware of the weakness of these arguments.

<sup>145</sup>Rastogi (1987:27) proposes 950–1020/1025; Pandey (2000:8–9) locates his birth around 950/960, and the end of the literary activity in 1014/1015; Deshpande (1989:14) proposes 950/960 for Abhinavagupta's birth and 1020 for the end of the *floruit*.

<sup>146</sup>On the relative/internal chronology of Abhinavagupta's works, see Pandey 2000:27–34. As I. Ratié informs me (*ibid.*), Pandey's chronology is likely to be flawed as regards the relationship between tantric and aesthetic works. See Ingalls *et al.* 1990:32 and McCrea 2008:363, n. 2.

<sup>147</sup>See the next paragraph.

<sup>148</sup>TĀ 13.335: *āmodārthī yathā bhṛṅgaḥ puṣpāt puṣpāntaraṃ vrajet / vijñānārthī tathā śiṣyo guror gurvantaraṃ vrajet //*.



one, I have also attended teachers who were Nāstikas, Jains, Buddhists, etc./reasoners, ritualists, Buddhists, Jains, Vaiṣṇavas, etc.)”<sup>149</sup> Could one, then, draw the hypothesis that the young Abhinavagupta attended teachings of the Buddhist master Śāṅkaranandana? Yes, one could if one were justified in interpreting MVV 1.431 (where 431cd = PAK 1.4cd/MS A 15b3–4) in this way: *etad eva tathā cāha guruḥ śāṅkaranandanaḥ / na mānatvāt tato ’nyatvān na bādhdā asthiteḥ sthitiḥ //*. On this hypothesis, the (say) twenty-year-old Abhinavagupta would have attended the teaching of the Buddhist Śāṅkaranandana whose career was already coming to a close, and this around 970. One might even imagine that Abhinavagupta owed his astounding familiarity with things Dharmakīrtian to his early frequenting of the lectures of such a noted *guru*.

As A. Sanderson kindly informs me,<sup>150</sup> however, Abhinavagupta does not apply the word “*guru*” to Śāṅkaranandana alone, but also to early Saiddhāntikas such as Brhaspati and Sadyojyotis, and to the Pāñcarātrika Vaiṣṇava author Vāmanadatta.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, Abhinavagupta normally does not refer to his own teachers as “*guru*,” but as “*asmadguru*.” Finally, Abhinavagupta does not allude to Śāṅkaranandana in the detailed list of his (lesser) teachers that appears in the TĀ.<sup>152</sup> In brief, “[t]he word *guruḥ* does not imply that Abhinavagupta was Śāṅkaranandana’s pupil but only indicates respect.”<sup>153</sup> We are left, then, with no other chronology than Gnoli’s: the bodhisattva brahmin Śāṅkaranandana must have been active in Kashmir some time during the 9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century. Further research will show the extent to which Śāṅkaranandana was familiar with the Pratyabhijñā system. In this case, the “second Dharmakīrti” and “great brahmin” Śāṅkaranandana might belong to the 10<sup>th</sup> century and his dates coincide roughly with Utpaladeva’s.

<sup>149</sup>TĀ 8.206 (quoted in Pandey 2000:734): *aham apy ata evādhaḥśāstradrṣṭikutūhalāt / nāstikārhatābauddhādīn upādhyāyān aseviṣam //*

TĀ 13.345cd–346ab (Dvivedī/Rastogi edition 2406,13–16; quotation in Rastogi 1987:33, n. 5): *aham apy ata evādhaḥśāstradrṣṭikutūhalāt // tārkikaśrautābauddhārhadvaiṣṇavādīn aseviṣi /*

<sup>150</sup>Electronic communication (May 2, 2010).

<sup>151</sup>See respectively TĀ 1.104ab, 6.134cd, 8.230ab, 8.345ab, etc., and TĀ 5.154c–155b.

<sup>152</sup>TĀ 37.62: *śrīcandraśarmabhavabhaktivilāsayogānandābhinandaśivaśaktivicitranāthāḥ / anye ’pi dharmāśivauāmanakodbhaṭaśrībhūteśabhāskaramukhapramukhā mahānataḥ /*. According to A. Sanderson (*ibid.*), only the name “Udbhaṭaśrī” could be interpreted as referring to a non-Śaiva, Buddhist master.

<sup>153</sup>A. Sanderson, *ibid.*

## Abbreviations

For the abbreviations of Śāṅkaranandana's works, see SECTION 2. For the abbreviations of the manuscripts, see SECTION 1.11.

**Āpte** V. S. Āpte. *The practical Sanskrit-English dictionary*. 4th ed. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.

**BHU** Benares Hindu University.

**BRS** Bihar Research Society (Patna).

**Chos 'byung** L. Chandra, ed. *The collected Works of Bu-ston*. Vol. 24 (ya). Śāta-Piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures 64. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971.

**CTRC** China Tibetology Research Center (Beijing).

**D** K. Hayashima et al., eds. *Tibetan Tripiṭaka Sde dge Edition: Bstan ḥgyur; Preserved at the Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo*. Tokyo: Sekai Seiten Kanko Kyokai Co., Ltd. for the Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo, 1981–.

**Go rams pa** Go rams pa. “Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' ba'i gnas rnam par bśad pa sde bdun rab gsal”. In: *The Collected Works of Kun-Mkhyen Go-rams-pa bsod-nams-seng-ge (Kun-mkhyen Go-bo Rab-'byams-pa Bsod-nams-seng-ge'i bka' 'bum)*. Vol. 3. Dehra-Dun: Sakya College, 1979.

**IKGA** Institut für Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens (Vienna).

**ĪP(V)** P. M. K. Shāstrī, ed. *The Īshvara-Pratyabhijñā Vimarshinī of Utpaladeva with Commentary by Abhinava-Gupta*. 2 vols. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, 22 and 33. Nirnaya-Sagar Press, 1918–1921.

**ĪPVV** P. M. K. Shāstrī, ed. *The Īśvarapratyabhijñā Vivṛtivismarśinī by Abhinavagupta*. 3 vols. Reprint of the Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Bombay 1938 [vol. 60], 1941 [vol. 62], 1943 [vol. 65]. New Delhi: Akay Book Corporation, 1987.

**IsIAO** Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Rome).

- MMW** S. M. Monier-Williams. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary: Etymologically and Philologically Arranged with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*. First edition Oxford 1899. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963.
- MV** P. M. K. Shāstrī. *Śrīmālinīvijayavārttikam of Abhinava Gupta*. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 31. Śrīnagar, 1921.
- NSU** Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (Göttingen).
- P** D. T. Suzuki, ed. *The Tibetan Tripitaka: Peking Edition; Kept in the Library of the Otani University, Kyoto*. Tokyo/Kyoto: Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, 1957.
- PV** Y. Miyasaka, ed. *Pramāṇavārttika-kārikā: Sanskrit and Tibetan*. Acta Indologica 2. Narita: Naritasan Shinshoji, 1971/1972.
- PVA** R. Sāṅkrtyāyana, ed. *Pramāṇavārttikabhāṣyam or Vārtikālaṅkāraḥ of Prajñākaragupta: Being a Commentary on Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇavārttikam*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 1. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1953.
- PVin** E. Steinkellner, ed. *Dharmakīrti's Pramāṇaviniścaya: Chapters 1 and 2*. Sanskrit Texts From the Tibetan Autonomous Region 2. Beijing, Vienna: China Tibetology Research Center, Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2007.
- PVSV** R. Gnoli, ed. *The Pramāṇavārttikam of Dharmakīrti: The First Chapter with the Autocommentary; Text and Critical Notes*. Serie Orientale Roma 23. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1960.
- PW** O. Böthlingk and R. Roth. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*. Reprint of the St. Petersburg Edition, 1855–1875. Osnabrück, Wiesbaden: Otto Zeller Verlagsbuchhandlung / Antiquariat Otto Harrassowitz, 1966.
- ŚD** P. M. K. Shāstrī, ed. *The Śivadriṣṭi of Somānandanātha, with the Vṛitti by Utpaladeva*. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 54. Śrīnagar, 1934.
- SK** J. Chatterji, ed. *The Spanda Kārikās: With the Vivṛiti of Rāmakāṇṭha*. Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies 6. Śrīnagar, 1913.

- SNR** N. Stchoupak, L. Nitti and L. Renou. *Dictionnaire Sanskrit-Français*. First edition Paris 1932. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Adrien Maisonneuve (Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne), 1980.
- SVR** M. L. Osavāla, ed. *Śrīmadvādīdevasūriviracitaḥ pramāṇanayatatvālokāṅkārāḥ tadvyākhyā ca syādvādaratnākaraḥ*. 5 vols. New Delhi: Bhāratīya Buk Kārporeśan, 1988.
- TAK I** H. Brunner, G. Oberhammer and A. Padoux, eds. *Tantrikābhidhānakośa: Dictionnaire des termes techniques de la littérature hindoue tantrique*. Vol. 1. Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens 35. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.
- TĀ(V)** R. Dwivedi and N. Rastogi, eds. *The Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Jayaratha*. 8 vols. First edition Śrīnagar 1918–1938. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987.
- VN** M. T. Much. *Dharmakīrtis Vādanyāyaḥ*. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Sprachen und Kulturen Südasiens 25. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991.
- VP** W. Rau. *Bhartrharis Vākyapadīya*. Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 42.4. Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Franz Steiner, Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1977.

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## Manuscripts *en route*

Helmut Tauscher

The contributions of our colleagues from the Department of Geography<sup>1</sup> demonstrate theoretical possibilities, means and methods of documenting cultural history data within spatial and temporal parameters, i.e., of documenting “cultural flows”. But how, in pre-modern times, did culture flow across the Himalayas? What was flowing and how?—People travelled: armies, traders, pilgrims, scribes, artists and craftsmen carried with them artefacts, ideas, styles and skills. And along the way, they exchanged these for new ones, which in turn were altered and further developed over the course of time.

Only very rarely were these travels recorded; the majority of them can only be inferred from their results, i.e., from the fact that similar cultural phenomena occurred in other places, and that it seems unlikely or can even be ruled out that they developed independently. In some cases, when one particular phenomenon is the sole object of investigation, it might suffice to know that it has been influenced by certain other phenomena, and it might be irrelevant to ask how exactly and along which routes this influence took place. However, with regard to the genesis and the development of a tradition, or with regard to a more comprehensive view of the cultural history of a larger area, even these details can be of importance.

This is true for all kinds of cultural phenomena, also for manuscripts. As our research project is concerned with old manuscripts, mainly of religious texts, i.e., with that body of literature that eventually was compiled into the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, the Kanjurs and Tanjurs, the topic of this paper is the travelling of religious manuscripts. For practical reasons, only Kanjur texts will be taken into consideration. Unfortunately, not too many details—in fact hardly any—are known. Thus questions rather than answers will be presented here.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. CHAPTERS 1 to 3 and 14 in this volume.

The term “canon” may be problematic or even inaccurate and misleading when speaking about Kanjur (*bka' gyur*) and Tanjur (*bstan gyur*), and even these terms themselves are problematic; it may not be clear in every context and at all times what they actually refer to.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience I use these terms and I apply them to the fully edited form of this body of literature as it is known from the fourteenth century onwards, structured in various sections and with a running numbering of volumes, either for the whole collection or at least within its sections. When used in the singular, these terms denote the literary genre in general; in the plural they refer to the various versions and editions. In addition, I use the term “proto-canonical” for religious literature consisting of translations of authoritative Buddhist texts that have not yet been organized in this way. In particular, “proto-Kanjur” refers to a collection of texts which represents, in terms of the development of Tibetan Buddhist canonical literature, an intermediate stage between *bka' bstan bcos* and fully developed Kanjurs and consists of a number of *mdo mans* volumes not organized into any particular order and containing all the Buddha's words a particular monastic community or princely court have collected.<sup>3</sup>

In a generally accepted distinction, the known versions of the Kanjur are usually divided into two main groups. One is based on the Kanjur of Tshal pa (1347–1351);<sup>4</sup> it is represented, among others, by the manuscript Kanjur of Berlin (B, 1680), and the xylographs of Cone (C, 1721–1731), Derge (D, 1733), 'Jan sa tham (J, 1606–1614), and Peking (Q, 1717–1720). The other, which can be traced back to the Kanjur of Them spans ma (1431), is represented by the manuscript Kanjurs of Śel dkar/London (L, 1712),<sup>5</sup> Stog (S, 20<sup>th</sup> c.),<sup>6</sup> Tokyo (T, 1858–1878) and Ulaanbaatar (V). It is widely accepted that both of these groups are descended from the Old Narthang manuscript Kanjur (ON, after 1310). Helmut Eimer does not derive Them spans ma directly from ON, but postulates an interme-

<sup>2</sup>This problem cannot be discussed here. See Skilling 1997; Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 10 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Tauscher 2008: xi–xii, Tauscher and Lainé 2008: 345.

<sup>4</sup>If not noted otherwise, the dates given in the following passage are according to Eimer 1992: xviii–xix.

<sup>5</sup>Date according to Pagel and Gaffney 1996: ix–x.

<sup>6</sup>The Kanjur edited and catalogued is a modern copy of an original produced during the reign of King Ņi ma rnam rgyal (1694–1729).

diate copy (“Zwischen-Hs.”) between them.<sup>7</sup> However, as Peter Skilling has shown, this relationship between ON and the two groups of Kanjurs is by no means firmly established.<sup>8</sup> According to his proposed stemma for Mahāsūtras 1–7, only Tshal pa is dependent on ON, whereas Them spañs ma is independent.

In the same way, the Kanjurs of Newark/Bathang and Phug brag, as well as the proto-canonical manuscripts of Gondhla<sup>9</sup> and Tabo (Ta pho), are also considered to represent independent collections that reflect several centuries of copying, revision and conflation.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, some of the Kanjurs that we know (or know of) do not fit within either of the two groups: the xylograph Kanjur of Narthang (N, 1730–1732) and the closely related xylograph of Lhasa (H, 1934) are considered to somehow stand between the two groups. Belonging primarily to the Tshal pa line of transmission, they show contaminations with Them spañs ma as well.

A number of Kanjurs, however, cannot be clearly related to either of the main lines; they must therefore be considered “independent”. This, of course, only means that they are not direct or indirect copies of either Tshal pa or Them spañs ma, but it does not mean that they do not belong to any tradition at all; we simply do not know what this tradition might be. Equally, it does not imply that the textual material they are based upon is unrelated to the source material of the two apparently most influential Kanjurs, Tshal pa and Them spañs ma.

The Phug brag manuscript Kanjur (F, ca. 1700)<sup>11</sup> is difficult to classify<sup>12</sup> as it appears to be the conflation of at least two Kanjurs or proto-Kanjurs stemming from different traditions. It shares many distinctive features with the roughly contemporary O rgyan glin Kanjur at Tawang

<sup>7</sup>See Eimer 1992: xviii.

<sup>8</sup>See Skilling 1997: 101, n. 101, and Skilling 1994: xl ff.

<sup>9</sup>They are referred to as “Lahul Ms” in Skilling 1997. As at that time the Gondhla material had not yet been thoroughly studied and only small portions of the manuscripts were generally accessible, Skilling gives the date “11/12<sup>th</sup> c.?” For dating the Gondhla collection to the late 13<sup>th</sup>–early 14<sup>th</sup> century see Tauscher 2008: li–liv.

<sup>10</sup>See the stemma for Mahāsūtras 1–7, Skilling 1997: 107.

<sup>11</sup>According to Skilling 1997: 107; cf. Samten 1992: iii–iv.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Silk 1994: 647 f.

in western Arunachal Pradesh (O),<sup>13</sup> which, of course, is not necessarily evidence of a direct relationship; this relationship might very well date back to earlier centuries. A number of conformities (discussed below) indicate a connection between F and Them spans ma or its sources. In addition, F shows a number of peculiarities that are seemingly unique (see pages 375 ff.).

Also an early manuscript Kanjur from Mustang (ca. 1436?) does not fit with either of the two main groups. Unfortunately, only its *dkar chag*<sup>14</sup> is extant. This might be the reason scholars have not yet taken it into consideration in discussions of possible lines of relationship and dependence. However, it shows a quite characteristic overall structure and arrangement of texts, in particular within the section of shorter sūtra (*mdo sil bu pa*), and it is certainly a valuable piece of evidence in this respect. The position of this Mustang Kanjur and its influence on other Kanjurs in Western Tibet is an object of current research in our project, although no definitive results can be presented at its present stage. For the time being it must suffice to mention that it appears to have influenced one line of Ladakhi Kanjurs which is represented at Hemis Tshom lha khan (ca. 1635) and at Basgo (probably a copy of one of the Kanjurs of Hemis). The connection between Mustang and Ladakhi Kanjurs of that time is not surprising; by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Mustang was apparently under the influence of the rNam rgyal empire.<sup>15</sup>

The seventeenth-century Ladakhi manuscript Kanjurs, in turn, appear to represent two distinct lines: Shey-Stog has close relations to Them spans ma; Stog is a copy of a Kanjur kept in Bhutan, most probably a copy of the Them spans ma Kanjur<sup>16</sup> acquired thanks to the good relations that King Ńi ma rnam rgyal (1691–1729) kept with the 'Brug pa monasteries in Bhutan. Shey, on the other hand, shows influences from a Western Tibetan tradition. Apart from that, these two Kanjurs are much closer to each other than would appear to be the case in the stemma (below); their exact relationship, however, is not yet clear. The Hemis-Basgo line de-

<sup>13</sup>See Samten 1994.

<sup>14</sup>Edited in Eimer 1999.

<sup>15</sup>See the statement in the La dwags rgyal rabs (Francke 1926: 41 and 110) that Señ ge rnam rgyal “brought Lho-mo-sdang into his power” (mñā' 'og tu bcug); see also the map in Francke 1907: opposite p. 90.

<sup>16</sup>See Skorupski 1985: xi ff.

pend on Mustang and shows influences from the same Western Tibetan tradition.

On the basis of this and other observations on the structures of the various canonical and proto-canonical collections, in particular the characteristic arrangement of the *Ratnakūṭa* texts (discussed below, page 381), one could propose a model as shown in the provisional stemma for the sūtra section of the Kanjur (FIGURE 12.1).

Of course, this model is highly hypothetical in various respects, in particular with regard to the assumed intermediate proto-canonical and/or canonical copies, and much—in fact everything—remains unclear with regard to the possible sources of the Kanjurs of Phug brag, O rgyan gliñ and Mustang, and the Ladakhi Kanjurs. A special problem is posed by the proto-canonical collection of Tholing. This collection shows strong similarities to the other Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs, but it does not share their arrangement of the *Ratnakūṭa* texts. Although it is tempting to suspect this political and religious centre of the Western Tibetan Kingdom to be the origin of the Western Tibetan manuscript tradition, at the present nothing can be said definitively in this respect. For the Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs of Gondhla (Go), Tabo (Ta) and Phukthar (Ph), one single “Western Tibetan” source is shown in the stemma. However, as will be discussed below, influences of various origins can be observed in these collections. Strictly speaking, the direct relationship indicated here can be postulated only for the *Ratnakūṭa* group of *sūtras*; for other sections the situation might be different.

Nevertheless, one thing is obvious, namely a strong cross- and inter-relationship between the various lines of textual transmission. Questions thus arise as to how, where, when and why these confluences and mutual influences took place. Most probably, these questions will never be answered fully.

What do we actually mean when we say “conflation”? In the course of producing a Kanjur, for various reasons it may be the case that not the entire body is copied from the same source. It may also be the case that editorial changes are applied on the basis of a different version of the Kanjur, as e.g. the repositioning of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* (*So sor thar pa'i mdo*) and the *Vinayavibhaṅga* (*'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*) in S and Z according to the “Tshal pa standard”. There is no written evidence for this change being made “according to the Tshal pa standard,” but the colophon

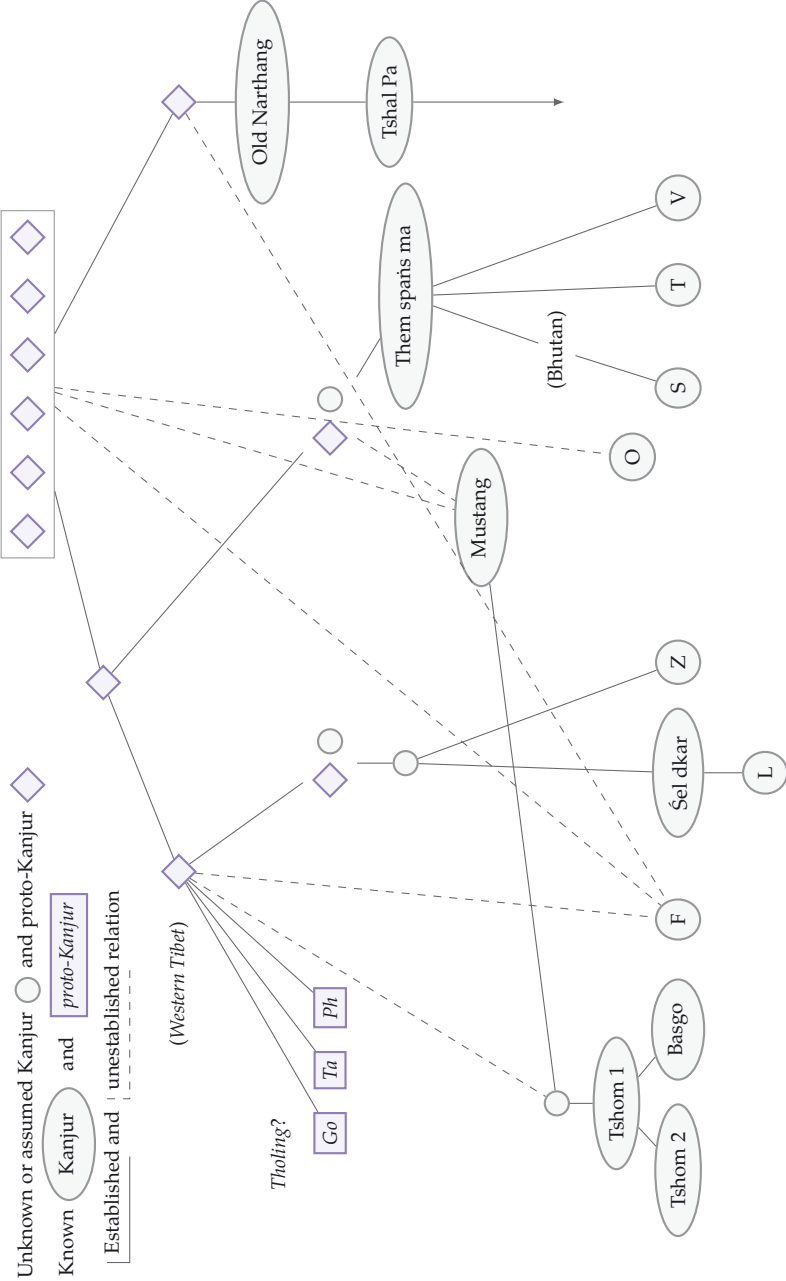


Figure 12.1 Provisional stemma for the mDo division of the Kanjur (simplified)



of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* in S and Z ('Dul ba, Ca)<sup>17</sup> testifies to an intentional change of the sequence of texts, which is preserved in the Them spañs ma Kanjurs LTV and has to be assumed also for the model of SZ.

We must, however, be aware of the fact that this refers only to the development from the fourteenth/fifteenth century onwards, when the famous Kanjurs of Narthang (ON), Tshal pa and Them spañs ma (and probably others as well) already existed and could be copied and re-copied. One could call this "Kanjur conflation". Untouched remain the questions as to how and from where the individual texts came to the particular place where a Kanjur was edited. Also, what their individual history might have been is not taken into consideration. So, what about "textual conflation"? As strongly emphasised already by Peter Skilling,<sup>18</sup> Kanjurs are not homogeneous, internally consistent bodies of literature. Their individual parts derive from various origins, places and sources. By the time the Kanjurs were compiled, the individual texts had already been on the road for several centuries and had undergone a number of changes due to editing, revisions, scribal errors, corrections and whatever else causes manuscripts to be altered. Nor were alterations necessarily made in a straight line of transmission.

The journeys of a great number of these canonical texts began some time in the ninth century in Central Tibet, and they carried them in all directions. But which roads did they travel and what happened to them before they were compiled into Kanjurs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? Of course, this exposition will not be able to answer these questions, and it does not claim to do so. Rather, some considerations shall be given to the question as to what kind of information regarding this matter can be gained from the manuscript collections themselves. At the present stage of research, no definitive answers have yet been forthcoming in this respect. This contribution is not meant to offer any solutions to the problem; it merely presents work in progress and discusses possible points of further departure.

<sup>17</sup> ... 'dul ba luñ gzan dag la bka' luñ so sor thar pa bzeñs pa mi snañ mod kyi / 'on kyañ 'dir gtso bor dge sloñ pha'i dgag pa'i bslab pa rgyas par ston pa / dge sloñ pha'i rnam par 'byed pa'i rtsa ba lta bu yin la / luñ rnam par 'byed pa ni 'grel pa yin pas dge sloñ pha'i so sor thar pa'i mdo 'di yañ luñ rnam par 'byed pa'i dbu ñid du bris so // (see Skorupski 1985: 4).

<sup>18</sup>Skilling 1997: 102 f.

In the attempt to find evidence for a textual transfer of Tibetan religious literature, proto-canonical collections might provide better evidence than fully edited Kanjurs, as they represent an earlier stage of the canonization of Tibetan religious literature and the editorial impact on them might be less than is the case with Kanjurs.

Proto-canonical collections can be *bka' bstan bcos* collections, i.e., manuscript holdings of monasteries or royal palaces that are catalogued and structured in some way, but that do not (yet) distinguish between Kanjur and Tanjur. Of course, no *bka' bstan bcos* has survived as such, although two collections from imperial times are represented by their catalogues, the *lHan dkar ma*<sup>19</sup> and the *'Phan than ma*<sup>20</sup>, allegedly compiled in the early ninth century.<sup>21</sup> Although the actual texts referred to are no longer extant, these catalogues may provide valuable information with regard to the contents of the respective collection, and, to some extent, also to the particular versions of the texts.

A second group of proto-canonical collections are the “proto-Kanjurs”. Unfortunately, no “complete” proto-Kanjur containing a considerable number of texts from all the divisions of a Kanjur has survived either — at least none is known to scholarly research at present. In fact, the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla<sup>22</sup> is presently the only known proto-Kanjur that deserves this name. It is fairly complete as far as the Sūtra division is concerned, but it contains very little Tantra, and no Vinaya or Prajñāpāramitā texts. Unlike Tabo, it consists of more or less complete texts.

The other proto-canonical collections shown on the map<sup>23</sup> (FIGURE 12.2) have been sufficiently discussed elsewhere<sup>24</sup> and need not be described

<sup>19</sup>See Lalou 1953, Herrmann-Pfandt 2008.

<sup>20</sup>See Halkias 2004; Kawagoe 2005.

<sup>21</sup>For the dating of these catalogues, see also Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 53 ff.

<sup>22</sup>Described and catalogued in Tauscher 2008.

<sup>23</sup>This map does not claim to show the locations of Kanjurs and proto-Kanjurs to a degree of accuracy that meets the standards of our colleagues from the CHIS cartographical project; it will be up to them to produce more precise entries. In particular, the exact location of Phug brag (F) is not clear to me despite the description in Samten 1992, and a question mark is therefore added to the respective entry. Similarly, I have no information about the location of the Bhutanese copy of Them spañs ma which was the model of the Stog palace Kanjur.

<sup>24</sup>For Phuktar see Tauscher and Lainé 2008: 349; for Tabo see Steinkellner 1994, 2000, and Harrison 2009; for Tholing see De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2007.

here in detail. Although they do not represent the same state of completeness as Go, they—or at least essential parts of them—appear to belong to the same stage of development of Tibetan canonical literature.

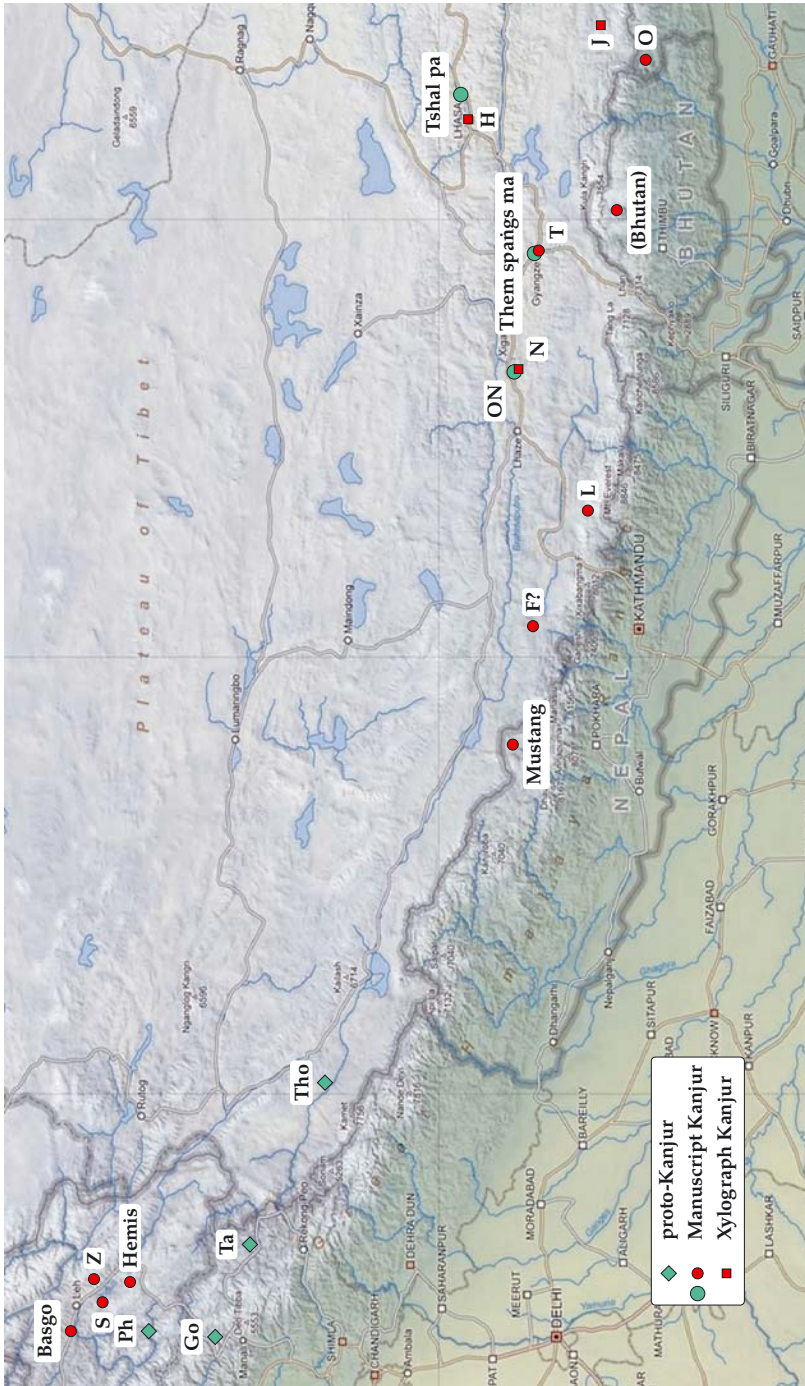
Other equally or even more substantial collections of this kind might have survived. If so, they either await discovery or have been studied insufficiently, such as the example at Khor chags,<sup>25</sup> or not at all, such as the manuscripts at Phyi dbang—both places are situated in present-day mNga' ris province of the PR of China—and at Charang in Upper Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh. None of these places is included on the map, as their material is not (yet) available to scholarly research. It is evident that external criteria like “paper, calligraphy, decoration, and lay-out”<sup>26</sup> are to be taken into account for describing a geographically defined *manuscript* tradition. With regard to a *Kanjur* tradition, contents and structure of the collections and the arrangement of the texts within them are more important. However, the individual texts have to be taken into consideration too, although this has been doubted by Skilling (1997: 104) with a view to the great mobility of manuscripts. They might have various origins and have had individual fates, but at some particular time they gathered at a particular place, and henceforth they came to have a common history as well.

Because Go is the only somewhat substantial proto-canonical collection that is accessible, it shall serve as the basis for the present considerations about possible evidence for the transfer of manuscript texts. For a structural and text-critical comparison the xylograph Kanjurs D, N and Q and the manuscript Kanjurs F, L and S are used. Although N and F—as mentioned above—cannot be clearly assigned to either of the two main groups of Kanjurs, N is evidently closer to the Tshal pa group, and F is closer to Them spañs ma. Therefore, these six Kanjurs are treated as representing two groups, DNQ : FLS. In addition, the accessible proto-canonical material is taken into account. However, due to the fragmentary character of these collections and the fact that they are not clearly structured, these possibilities are restricted. This, however, does not imply that meaningful results cannot be gained from these comparisons.

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<sup>25</sup>See Orofino 2007.

<sup>26</sup>Skilling 1997: 104, with regard to the manuscript material from Tabo and a Western Tibetan manuscript tradition, argues that these are the only relevant criteria.



**Figure 12.2** Location of Kanjurs and proto-Kanjurs (basic map: CHIS, University of Vienna)

## Contents and Structure

As Go is not complete with regard to all divisions of a Kanjur, and even for the sūtra division we do not know whether it might originally have consisted of more volumes than those that have survived, a comparison of titles contained in Go as well as in various Kanjurs is not meaningful. The analysis of contents has to be restricted to texts that are contained in Go, but *not* in the canonical collections.

Out of the 365 titles in Go, 53 are not to be found in F, 69 (25) in L, 27 in S, 21 in N, and 20 each in D and Q.

It has to be taken into consideration that, at this point, different stages in the development of the Tibetan canonical literature are compared with each other: the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla on the one hand, and fully edited versions of the Kanjur on the other. The material extant in Go might have been included also in the collections upon which the respective Kanjur editions are based. However, they simply may have not been taken into account for various editorial reasons. The texts, or the respective versions of a particular text, might have been available but simply not have been approved of by the editors. However—and I am fully aware of the fact that I am highly speculative at this point—, while this might have been the case more often with different versions (translations or otherwise) of a text, it is not to be expected on a large scale with a text as such; the criteria for including or excluding a particular text do not appear to have been understood as being that clearly and narrowly defined. Thus, in general, the absence of a particular text from a particular Kanjur can be taken as evidence that it was absent also from the proto-canonical collection the respective Kanjur is based upon. Accordingly, the presence of a particular text in a particular Kanjur can be taken as evidence for a relationship to other Kanjurs or proto-Kanjurs where the same text is preserved. Of course, the general stock of all Kanjurs is very much the same, and what has been said above applies to a very limited number of texts only.

The figure 69 for texts contained in Go but not in L is misleading. Four volumes of the original Śel dkar Kanjur are missing in the London copy; according to S, they should have contained 44 texts, which means that actually some 25 of the Go texts are missing in Śel dkar.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>The figures 80 and 36 for Go texts missing in L and Śel dkar given in Tauscher 2008 are according to Pagel and Gaffney 1996. However, some of the texts actually contained in the Kanjur do not appear in this catalogue. This matter will be discussed in the catalogue of the Shey Kanjur, presently being prepared by B. Lainé.

Based on this criterion, the picture seems rather clear: Go shows the closest relationship to the Tshal pa representatives DNQ and by far the greatest number of dissimilarities with F.

However, if this statistical analysis is extended a little, the result changes considerably. From the Go texts missing in any one of the six Kanjurs used for comparison, five texts are contained also in DNQ, four in F alone, and only one each in FS, FLS, FDQ and LS. Here, we see equally strong similarities with DNQ and F, and almost negligible similarities with the Them spañs ma Kanjurs LS.

The largest group, however, is formed by those twelve texts that are not contained in any of the six Kanjurs. Five of these texts are not to be found in any of the proto-canonical collections either. Among these texts, the *Theg pa chen po gsañ bas brgyand pa'i chos kyi yi ge* with its 42 folios is the only one of substantial size. The others are only minor texts ranging from four lines to six folios. Of the remaining seven texts, three are physically extant: two at Tholing, and one at Tabo and Dunhuang. Two of these and the remaining four are listed in 'Phañ thañ and/or lHan dkar.

These “non-canonical” texts in Go are listed and described elsewhere<sup>28</sup> and shall not be discussed here in detail. A few observations on some of them shall suffice.

In general, these texts show that the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla preserves an old stock of texts that were not transmitted through Central Tibet in later centuries. It could be the case that they were intentionally excluded when the Kanjurs were compiled. However, as stated above, this does not seem very likely, at least not in all cases. The origin of the five texts in Go that are not attested elsewhere remains a mystery.

Taking into account the fragmentary character of these collections, the one “non-canonical” text shared by Go and Ta, and the two “non-canonical” texts contained in Go as well as in Th may be viewed as evidence for a close relationship among these three Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs.

For obvious reasons, the *mDo sde brgyad cu khuñs* or, in its full title, *rNal 'byor chen po bsgoms pa'i don theg pa chen po'i mdo sde las btus pa*<sup>29</sup> is not included in any known Kanjur. It is a *mdo sde las btus pa*, an anthology of sūtra quotations, compiled in the eighth or ninth century by either sPug Ye shes dbyangs or Hwa shang Mahāyāna. As such, one would rather

<sup>28</sup>Tauscher 2008: ixx–xxii, Tauscher and Lainé 2008: 357f.

<sup>29</sup>See Tauscher 2007, 2008: xx.

expect to find it in the Tanjur section of the Tibetan canon, but it is not to be found in any known Tanjur either. It is, however, included in 'Phañ than (831). Fragments of one manuscript are extant at Dunhuang (PT 818 and ST 705), and fragments of three manuscripts at Tabo (provisional numbers 36, 89,<sup>30</sup> and 149 corresponding to 1.4.3.5 in Harrison 2009); apparently the only complete copy that is extant—apart from Go—is kept at the old library of 'Bras spuñs monastery.<sup>31</sup>

At Dunhuang and 'Bras spuñs this text is obviously preserved separately and is not included in a *mdo mañs* volume. Nothing can be said about 'Phañ than in this respect. The volume signatures *Ka* in Ta 36 and 89 indeed suggest inclusion in such *mdo mañs* volumes, but according to the pagination in both cases, the texts would have been the first ones in their respective volumes, and nothing is known about succeeding texts. Thus the situation is not clear. However, Ta 149, which consists of seven leaves between fol. 283 (*Ka–Ma* 83) and 313 (*Ka–Ña* 13), is obviously part of a larger volume. Nevertheless, the *mdo mañs* as a whole cannot be the same as in Go, where the *mDo sde brgyad cu khuñs* covers folios 199 (*Ka–Na* 99)–240 (*Ka–Ma* 40).

The *Sañs rgyas kyi(s) thabs chen po(i) drin la lan blan pa'i chos kyi yi ge/Sa'i thabs chen po'i drin la glan ba'i chos kyi yi ge* is presumably the same text which is listed as *Sañs rgyas kyi thabs chen po drin lan glan pa* in 'Phañ than (232) and ('*Phags pa*) *Thabs la /pa mkhas pa chen po sañs rgyas kyi drin la lan gyis blan pa'i chos kyi yi ge* in lHan dkar (253). It is a different translation of the text transmitted in the canonical collections as *Thabs mkhas pa chen po sañs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo* (F 31, L 124, S 180, N 340, D 353, Q 1022), and is contained also in Go.<sup>32</sup>

The *Lan ts(h)a'i chu bo'i mdo* is a rather short text of less than two folios. Although it poses questions rather than providing answers, it is interesting in several respects, also with regard to its particular history. Apart from Go, it is preserved only in Th (1334.2), and it is not mentioned in either 'Phañ than or lHan dkar. Apparently it was popular during the time of the *phyi dar*, particularly in mÑa' ris. This was perhaps due to some personal preference for this sūtra on the part of Atiśa and/or Rin chen bzañ po; perhaps it was not even known in other parts of Tibet. Could

<sup>30</sup>For these two fragments see Otokawa 1999.

<sup>31</sup>'Bras spuñs dpe rñiñ dkar chag: 1655, no. 018810.

<sup>32</sup>On this text see Tauscher 2008: xx–xxi.

it be an example of a manuscript that did *not* travel, or that at least did not travel far, and not beyond the areas of Tholing and Gondhla? Is it, in its Tibetan translation, a typical “Western Tibetan sūtra”?

According to its colophon it was translated by Dharmapāla and Ye śes brtson ’grus. Dan Martin suggests it was “translated at about the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, probably in fact at Tholing, where Dharmapāla, the Indian master named in the colophon, started the Highland Monastic Ordination Lineage.”<sup>33</sup> A *Lan tsha’i chu bo’i mdo* is quoted in Buddhāśānti’s *vṛtti* to Candragomin’s *Deśanāstava*,<sup>34</sup> and as this text was translated into Tibetan by Rin chen bzañ po in collaboration with the author, it might even have been composed at about the same time in Western Tibet.

The *Sattvārāadhanastava* ascribed to Nāgārjuna (Q 2017 and 5429) appears, according to the colophons, to be the metric summary of a sūtra entitled *Ba tshwa’i chu klun*. One colophon names Atiśa and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba as translators of the *stava*; the other colophon names Buddhākaravarman and Chos kyi śes rab, both of whom were contemporaries and collaborators of Atiśa and Rin chen bzañ po.<sup>35</sup>

A *Ba tsha’i chu klun gi mdo* is also quoted by Atiśa in the commentary of his *Bodhipathapradīpa*.<sup>36</sup> Both *Lan tsha’i chu bo’i mdo* and *Ba tsha’i chu klun gi mdo* could be translations of Sanskrit *Kṣāranadīsūtra*.<sup>37</sup> Such a sūtra is quoted in the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkārahāṣya*. In its Tibetan translation, this title is rendered as *Chu bo tshwa sgo can gyi mdo*, and as *Tshwa’i ’bab chu bśad pa* in Sthiramati’s sub-commentary.<sup>38</sup>

However, neither the three quotations from a *Lan tsha’i chu bo’i mdo* in the *Deśanāstavavṛtti*, nor the short sentence from a *Ba tsha’i chu klun gi mdo* quoted by Atiśa (the passage in *Mahāyānasūtrālamkārahāṣya* still has to be checked) could be identified in the Go and Th manuscripts. The latter, however, resembles very much stanza 4cd and 6c of the *Sattvārāadhanastava*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup>Martin 2009.

<sup>34</sup>Q 2049 (vol. 46) 243a6-b1, 243b5–6, 246b3–5 ; see Hartmann 2007: 250f.

<sup>35</sup>See Hartmann 2007: 248f.

<sup>36</sup>For this reference I am indebted to Dan Martin, personal communication.

<sup>37</sup>Tatz 1985: 19, 50, 56 f. reconstructs the Sanskrit title as *Lavanadanadīsūtra*; see Hartmann 2007: 251.

<sup>38</sup>See Hartmann 2007: 250.

<sup>39</sup>*Bodhipathapradīpa*:



Did a second sūtra by that name exist? This is possible, although not very likely. The “salty river” (*lan tsh(w)a'i chu bo* or *ba tsh(w)a'i chu klun*) is not a common Buddhist symbol, and this title rather gives the impression of being unique.<sup>40</sup> Did a different version exist, or is the one preserved in Go and Th simply incomplete? More detailed analysis of the material will be needed to find answers to these questions.

The only text that Go shares exclusively with L and S is the *Saṅs rgyas rjes su dran pa'i tiñ ñe 'dzin kyī rgya mtsho* (*Buddhānusmṛtisamādhisamudra*).<sup>41</sup> Extant in Go is only a short fragment of some seven lines from the very end of the text. Nevertheless, this part has not survived in other Kanjurs, and it provides valuable information about the original extent of twelve chapters in ten *bam po*. Both L and S end mid-sentence somewhere in *bam po* seven, chapter six, with a note added that the text is incomplete; roughly one quarter of the original text is missing.

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*sems can mgu bar byed pa yañ de bzin gsegs pa la mchod pa bla na med yin te* / “Giving delight to creatures is also a form of supreme Worship [of the Tathāgata].” (Text and translation from Sherburne 2000: 50–51, my amendment.)

*Sattvārāghanastava* 4cd:

*sems can phan pa chud yañ des ni mchod pa 'byuñ 'gyur ste // gañ gis yid ni mgu bar byed pa mchod pa yin pas so //* (Q 2017, 86b4 f.)

“Also by giving benefit to the beings worship is brought about, because what causes delight to the mind is worship.”

*pūjā tu sā bhavati sattvahitekṣaṇāpi pūjyasya yā manasi tuṣṭim upādadāti /*  
“Verehrung (*pūjā*) aber ist, was auf das Heil der Wesen zielt und was im Sinne des zu Verehrenden Freude aufkommen lässt.”

*Sattvārāghanastava* 6c:

*des na sems can phan pa byas na ña la mchod pa'i mchog* (86b7)

“Therefore, it is the highest [form of] worship of me, if benefit for the beings is caused.”

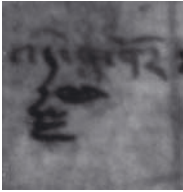
*sattvopakāraparamā hi mamāgrapūjā*

“Bei der höchsten Verehrung für mich ist das Wohl der Wesen entscheidend, ...” (Sanskrit text and translation from Hartmann 2007: 254 f.)

<sup>40</sup>There is a *Loṇaphala* (“A Grain of Salt”) *sutta* in the Pāli canon (*Anguttara-Nikāya* III.99), but there is no reference to a “salty river”; it derives its name from the simile of a grain of salt being thrown into a cup of water and into the river Ganga, and the different effects on the taste of the water in each case.

<sup>41</sup>For this text, see also Tauscher 2008: xvii and xxiii. Due to an undetected typo it appears as *Saṅs rgyas rje su* ... in Tauscher 2008, in the catalogue as well as in the index.

The fact that this text is present in Go and in Kanjurs of the Them spañs ma group<sup>42</sup> points to a common source for these collections. However, as the complete text was no longer extant at the time of the production of L and S, a direct and immediate dependence can be ruled out.



Whether the model for Go contained the complete text cannot be determined. In Go, the preceding text (which itself appears in two parts at different places in the same volume) passes seamlessly into this fragment mid-sentence; the point of intersection is not indicated, and only a small (but “nicely decorated”; see the figure on the current page, as a curiosity) note in the margin reading *'di na nor* indicates that something has gone wrong here. Similar cases can be found several times in Go,<sup>43</sup> and it is very well possible that the remaining part of the text could once have been found in a different volume that is now lost. In any case, the assumed common source of L, S and Go certainly represents an earlier stage of transmission, prior to the production of any of these manuscripts.

Although the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśa* is contained in all Kanjurs, the particular form in which it is preserved in Go and F suggests a relationship between these two collections. Apparently, it is a compilation of five originally separate tractates on *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, and *dhyānapāramitā*. The canonical versions reflect this situation by beginning and ending each section in the manner of separate texts; Go and F, however, preserve in addition the individual colophons.

Evidently, with regard to the structures of the collections, not much conclusive information can be gained from a proto-Kanjur, as it has no overall structure. Only those groups of texts can be taken into account that formed a unit already before being translated into Tibetan and that were subsequently transmitted in a standardized sequence, such as the *Ratnakūṭa* and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. The arrangement of the texts within a particular proto-Kanjur volume may also be considered, but in this respect, and as already demonstrated in Tauscher and Lainé 2008, Go does not show any appreciable similarities with any Kanjur.

<sup>42</sup>In addition to the Kanjurs compared here, this text is extant also in T (No. 131) and V (No. 180).

<sup>43</sup>See Tauscher 2008: xliii–xlv.

A short text in Th, however, might provide evidence for a close relationship with Go. The *bKra śis su bya ba tshigs su bcad pa/Maṅgalagāthā* is one of the twelve “non-canonical” texts in Go. It is extant in Th and listed in lHan dkar (479) and ’Phaṅ thaṅ (437). In addition, it appears in Th as the second text in a series of four (Th 1340.38–41) that are found in exactly the same sequence as in Go (35.42–45). This sequence is not attested in any of the Kanjurs, not even among the other three texts.

The most significant structural evidence for a common Western Tibetan tradition is, for the time being, the peculiar arrangement of *Ratnakūṭa* texts. Obviously for logistic reasons, in order to avoid breaking up text 12 (*Bodhisattvapīṭaka, Byaṅ chub sems dpa’i sde snod*) into two parts (as it is done in D and Q), it is placed as the first text in vol. Ga, and the much shorter text 15 (*Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetragaṇavyūha, ’Jam dpal gyi saṅs rgyas kyi śiṅ gi yon tan bkod pa*) is placed as the last text in vol. Kha (in a traditional set of six volumes) immediately after text 11 (*Raśmisamantamuktonirdeśa, ’Od zer kun tu bkye ba bstan pa*); the remaining texts follow in the standard order.<sup>44</sup> This sequence can be found exclusively and consistently in the Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs Go, Ph, Ta<sup>45</sup> (although not in Th), in L, and in the Ladhaki Kanjurs of Shey (Z), Tshom (Hemis), and Basgo.<sup>46</sup>

## Variant Readings

The majority of the variant readings contained in these manuscripts might be unique, individual scribal errors or peculiarities of the respective manuscript that are not found in any other manuscript. As such, they are not at all suited as evidence for the origin of a particular manuscript; certainly they cannot be cited as criteria for postulating a “tradition”.<sup>47</sup> Only occasionally can one find obvious mistakes shared by different manuscripts which would, most probably, not occur twice independently.<sup>48</sup> In such

<sup>44</sup>See Tauscher 2008: xxiv, Tauscher and Lainé 2008: 353 ff.

<sup>45</sup>Cf. Harrison 2009: xxxiii–xxxiv.

<sup>46</sup>The Kanjur kept at Shey Palace, three incomplete Kanjurs that were recently discovered at Tshom lha khaṅ at Hemis Monastery, and three Kanjurs (two of them incomplete) at gSer zaṅs lha khaṅ, Basgo Palace, are presently being documented and studied by our research project and will be presented to the academic community in due time.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. Skilling 1997: 104.

<sup>48</sup>See, e.g., Tauscher 2007: 91.

cases one can, with some justification, assume mutual dependence. However, there has not yet been a systematical investigation of an adequate amount of material, and conclusive statements in this regard are therefore not possible.

Probably more conclusive than most of the other variant readings (and definitely easier to trace) are variants in the titles of text — both in Tibetan and Sanskrit — and chapters thereof, and in the colophons. A number of texts are transmitted under titles that are divergent — and sometimes to a considerable degree. Some of these are evidently different translations of the same Sanskrit terms, e.g., rendering *pariprcchā* by *žus pa* or *dris pa*. Some, however, indicate a different title in the Sanskrit original. Occasionally, the initial title does not conform to the one given in the colophon. All these deviations would most probably not appear several times independently, and they can therefore be taken as evidence for a mutual relationship.

For Go, these variants have already been listed in detail<sup>49</sup> and shall not be repeated here; only some random examples shall be given.

In general, an analysis of these variants reveals a great diversity of transmission lineages represented in Go; there are agreements and disagreements with the canonical collections in various combinations, with an obvious tendency, however, towards the Them spangs ma Kanjurs L and S, and F.

A majority of deviating titles, however, are unique in Go. Twenty-six of its 356 titles (this represents more than 7% of the total) are transmitted in a form that is not attested in any known Kanjur or proto-Kanjur. Some of these variants are obviously due to “individual errors” in Go, but a number of them apparently indicate a separate origin that still remains to be identified. Only in a few of these cases do all versions deviate from each other; normally all the others agree more or less against Go:

- *gCuñ me'u dga' bo mñal du 'jug pa bstand pa* (Go)  
*gCuñ me'u 'ga' bo žes bya ba'i theg pa chen po'i mdo* (L), *gCuñ / bCuñ mo'u dga' ba mñal na gnas pa bstan pa* (SN), *Tshe dañ ldan pa dga' bo mñal na gnas pa bstan pa* (F), *mÑal na gnas pa bstan pa'i le'u* (F colophon), *dGa' bo la mñal na gnas pa bstan pa* (D), *dGa' bo mñal na gnas pa bstan pa* (Q, S colophon, Eimer 1999).

<sup>49</sup>Tauscher 2008: xxv–xxxv.

- *Avalokiteśvaraparipṛcchāsaptadharmaka*: *sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug gis źus pa / byaṅ chub sems dpa'i slab pa bdun pa* (Go)  
*sPyan ras gzigs (kyi) dbaṅ phyug gis źus pa ('i) chos bdun pa* (FLSNDQ)
- *Hastikakṣya*: *Glaṅ po che stsald* (Go)  
*Glaṅ po'i rtsal* (FLSDQ), *Glaṅ po che'i rtsal lta bu'i mdo* (N)
- *Mañjuśrīparipṛcchā*: *'Jam dpal gyis źus pa* (Go)  
*'Jam dpal gyis dris pa* (FLSNDQ)
- *gNod sbyin chu'i dbaṅ po rdo rje btsan gyi mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa* (Go)  
*gNod 'dzin* (N: *sbyin*) *gyi mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa* (FLSNDQ, Th)

A quite interesting but also mysterious case is the *Acintyabuddhaviśayanirdeśa*. An editorial introduction quotes its usual Tibetan title *Saṅs rgyas kyi yul bsam gyis myi khyab pa bstand pa*. This is followed immediately by the Sanskrit title in its usual form. The Tibetan equivalent, however, appears as *'Phags pa lHa'i bu dpal bzaṅs kyis źus pa*, which would correspond to \**Ārya Śrībhadradevaputraparipṛcchā*—which is otherwise unknown to me—as its original title. However, this might simply be a case of corruption of the Go manuscript.

The *sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug gi yid bzin gyi nor bu'i 'khor lo sgyur ba*, which is extant in Go and F, and listed in the Early Mustang Kanjur Catalogue, lHan dkar, and 'Phaṅ thaṅ, might give evidence for three different lines of transmission. In F the title reads *sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug gi pad ma yid bzin gyi 'khor lo'i/los sgyur ba*.<sup>50</sup> In Mustang it appears as *sPyan ras gzigs yid bzin 'khor lo bsgyur ba'i gzuṅs*,<sup>51</sup> in lHan dkar (352) as *sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug yid bzin gyi nor bu 'khor lo sgyur ba'i gzuṅs*,<sup>52</sup> and in 'Phaṅ thaṅ (312) under the same title with the addition ... *snags cho ga daṅ bcas pa*. However, it might also be an example of a chronological sequence, where Go—in agreement with lHan dkar and 'Phaṅ thaṅ—represents an older version than F, and Mustang a stage between the two, with ... *nor bu* ... already omitted and ... *pad ma* ... not yet added.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Samten 1992: xxv, No. 7, and 187, n. 1.

<sup>51</sup>Eimer 1999: No. 292.

<sup>52</sup>lHan dkar 343, *sPyan ras gzigs yid bzin 'khor lo(s) sgyur ba'i gzuṅs*, is more than twice as long and is therefore probably a different text.

Its unique position is also illustrated by the colophon of the *Śrīsenāvadāna*, where only Go gives the name of the translator Rin chen bzañ po with the epithet *khwa tse g.yu sgra gśen*<sup>53</sup> *pa* according to his native place and family.

Fourteen titles of Go agree with the FLS group and deviate from NDQ, e.g.:

- the Sanskrit title of the *'Phags pa Chos kyi tshul* appears as *Ārya Dharmanetrī* in GoFS—it is not included in L—and as *Ārya Dharmanaya* in NDQ;
- *'Phags pa lHag pa'i bsam pa brtan ba'i le'u* is given as a translation of *Ārya Dr̥ḍhādhyāśayaparivarta* in GoFLS and of *Ārya Sthirādhyāśaya*<sup>o</sup> or *Sthirādhyāśaya*<sup>o</sup> in NDQ;
- the text entitled *gTzug tor chen po bam po dgu pa las bdud kyi le'u 'byuñ ba* in GoFLS is transmitted as *bDud kyi (le'u) ñi tshe phyuñ / 'byuñ ba* in NDQ.

However, in seven cases Go agrees with NDQ against FLS, e.g., *Daśa-cakrakṣitigarbha* is rendered as *'Dus pa chen po las sa'i sñiñ po'i 'khor lo bcu pa* in GoNDQ, and as *'Dus pa chen po las ('phags pa) byañ chub sems dpa' sa'i sñiñ po(i) 'khor lo bcu pa* in FLS, and the *Saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa gzuñs sñags dan bcas pa* (GoDQ) appears as *Saṅs rgyas 'khor dan bcas pa'i mtshan ...* in FLS, and as *Saṅs rgyas kyi mtshan ...* in N.

The peculiar status of F might be illustrated by the fact that in five cases it shares its version of a title exclusively with Go. The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-nāma-mahāvaiṣṭyāśūtra* is called *Śin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo saṅs rgyas phal po che* in Go, and *Śin tu rgyas pa chen po'i saṅs rgyas phal po che'i mdo* in F. In all the other Kanjurs, from the Tshal pa as well as from the Them spañs ma group, it appears as *Saṅs rgyas phal po che zes bya ba śin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo*.

The text called *Ārya Vināyaka-sūtra* in GoF is listed in the other versions as *Ārya Vighnavinayakāratra-sūtra* (Q 421), *Ārya Vighnavināyaka-dhāraṇī* (N), *Ārya Vighnavināyakāra-dhāraṇī* (D 959, Q 584), and *Ārya Vighnavināyakāratā-dhāraṇī* (LS, D 655). Although it is called *-sūtra* in GoF and in one version of Q, except for Go they all agree on the Tibetan title *'Gegs pa sel pa'i gzuñs*; however, *-mdo'* is attested only in Go and in one version contained in the Mustang Kanjur (Eimer 1999: No. 150).

<sup>53</sup>The MS reads *gcen*.

On the other hand, F also shows seven exclusive disagreements with Go, e.g., the *Ārya Vidyutprāptapariprcchā* (*Ratnakūṭa* text 20, the Sanskrit title is extant only in NDQ), which appears as (*'Phags pa*) *Glog thob kyi źus pa* in all versions except for F and Mustang (Eimer 1999: No. 779), which have respectively *Mi zad pa'i gter bstan pa(i le'u)* and *-pa'i mdo*.

These few examples may be sufficient to provide as clear a picture of the general situation as possible “at the present stage of our ignorance”.<sup>54</sup> In the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla we find various lines of textual transmission represented. One of these (for the time being let us suppose that it is one, although it might be more) is otherwise unknown, but is dominant and probably of Western Tibetan provenience. It is evident in the particular arrangement of *Ratnakūṭa* texts, which is to be found — apart from Gondhla — at Tabo (Spiti), Phukthar (Zanskar), Shey, Hemis, Basgo (Ladakh), and Śel dkar (southern Tibet). In addition, it reveals connections with Phug brag (south-western Tibet) — which, in turn, is related to Tawang (Arunachal Pradesh) — and with Mustang. As would be expected, lines of relationships become visible also between Gondhla and the Western Tibetan centres of Tholing and Tabo.

Apart from this “local” tradition, also the traditions of Tshal pa and Them spañs ma (or their sources) are represented at Gondhla. While the analysis of the contents of the various collections seems to suggest a predominance of Tshal pa, the particular form of the titles and other text-critical observations clearly testify to a stronger connection with the Them spañs ma line of transmission.

In short, an analysis of the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla conveys the picture of a rather wide and free textual transfer, with, of course, an emphasis on more “local” connections. Without appropriate historical evidence that is still lacking, further conclusions are speculative. Gondhla, the Tinan during the time that we are concerned with, is situated at the foot of the sacred mountain Dril bu ri,<sup>55</sup> on the route following the rivers Chandra and Bhaga. This was a major highway to Zanskar and Ladakh and to pilgrimage sites such as Triloknath in Lower Lahul,<sup>56</sup> as testament to this

<sup>54</sup>This very accurate formulation is adopted from Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 10.

<sup>55</sup>Present-day Dril bu ri, named Ghan dha la or Gan da la and called “one of the eight sacred places of Tibet” (... *spu rgyal bod kyi yul // gnas chen brgyad kyi yan lag* ...) in dedicational poems in the Gondhla manuscripts (see Tauscher 2008: 12 and 43), is worshipped as a *mañdala* of Cakrasaṃvara; for this ritual, see Widorn and Kinberger 2009.

<sup>56</sup>Cf. the contribution of Verena Widorn in the present volume, CHAPTER 7, and see FIGURE 7.10 in that contribution for a picture of the bodhisattvas.

fact, larger-than-life-sized stone carvings of bodhisattvas, which were generally made only along routes of some importance, still keep guard by the roadside in the village of Gondhla, as well as in other places along the same route, such as Kardang, Keylong and Khangsar. Many monks and pilgrims from all parts of Tibet must have passed through this place and spent some time there. Occasionally, they left traces in the form of particular versions of manuscripts they carried with them.

This impression is supported by the fact that among the texts duplicated in Go, occasionally different traditions are represented: either a local and a common canonical tradition, or the Tshal pa and the Them spans ma line.

In one copy of the *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa*, e.g., the Tibetan title is *dPal gyi lha mo chen mo luṅ bstand pa*, a form which is not attested anywhere else, whereas another copy has *lHa mo chen mo dpal luṅ bstan pa* in agreement with all the canonical versions.<sup>57</sup>

Likewise, the *Mahāśrīyasūtra* (*Mahālakṣmīsūtra* in D) appears once as *dPal lha (mo chen) mo'i mdo'*, and once as *dPal chen mo'i mdo* as in all the other Kanjurs.

In one copy of the '*Jam dpal rnam par 'phrul ba'i le'u*, the text's Sanskrit title is given as *Mañjuśrīvikurvitaparivarta* according to Them spans ma and F; in another copy it is given as *Mañjuśrīvikurvāṇaparivarta*, which can be found in the Tshal pa tradition.

This phenomenon is not restricted to Gondhla or to proto-canonical collections; it can be observed in Kanjurs as well.<sup>58</sup> With regard to the general situation, too, Gondhla was certainly not unique, and we can expect to find a similar scenario also in other places where manuscript collections were compiled and eventually turned into Kanjurs. In these places, too, manuscripts of various origins were gathered, and what later became a "tradition" was, in fact, the result of many centuries of collecting and copying manuscripts, and it will certainly not be possible to trace the individual histories of these manuscripts and the routes they travelled to their sources. Perhaps it is true what Skilling (1997: 102 f.) writes:

Texts lying side-by-side in a given Kanjur volume have different histories, and most probably are bed-fellows there for the

<sup>57</sup>An exception is one of the two copies in N, which gives *lHa mo dpal luṅ bstan pa*.

<sup>58</sup>However, I am not aware of any systematic studies of this phenomenon. For an incidental observation see, e.g., Braarvig 1997.



first time. ... Thus no Kanjur Sūtra Division is a unitary and consistent body of texts: each is a tapestry woven from diverse strands of transmission, probably impossible to unravel.

With more material from various regions becoming accessible and being analysed, it might, however, be possible to outline at least the main routes of textual transfer in the Himalayas and on the Tibetan plateau.

## Sigla and Abbreviations

**'Bras spuñs dpe rñiñ dkar chag** Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rñiñ žib 'jug khañ, ed. *'Bras spuñs dgon du bžugs su gsol ba'i dpe rñiñ dkar chag*. 2 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khañ, 2004.

**La dwags rgyal rabs** In: Francke 1926: 19–148.

### proto-Kanjurs

**Go** *Gondhla*.

**Ta** *Tabo*.

**Ph** *Phukthar*.

**Th** *Tholing*.

### Kanjurs

**B** *Berlin*.

**O** *O rgyan gliñ (Tawang)*.

**C** *Cone*.

**ON** *Old Narthang*.

**D** *Derge*.

**Q** *Peking*.

**F** *Phug brag*.

**S** *Stog*.

**H** *Lhasa*.

**T** *Tokyo*.

**J** *'Jañ sa tham*.

**V** *Ulaanbaatar*.

**L** *Śel dkar/London*.

**Z** *Shey*.

**N** *Narthang*.

### Varia

**IHan dkar** Cf. Herrmann-Pfandt 2008.

**PT** *Pelliot Tibétain*.

**'Phañ thañ** Cf. Kawagoe 2005.

**ST** *Stein Tibetan Collection*.

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# Of Epigraphic Palimpsests and Similar Phenomena

## Some Notes on Tibetan Wall Inscriptions

Kurt Tropper and Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

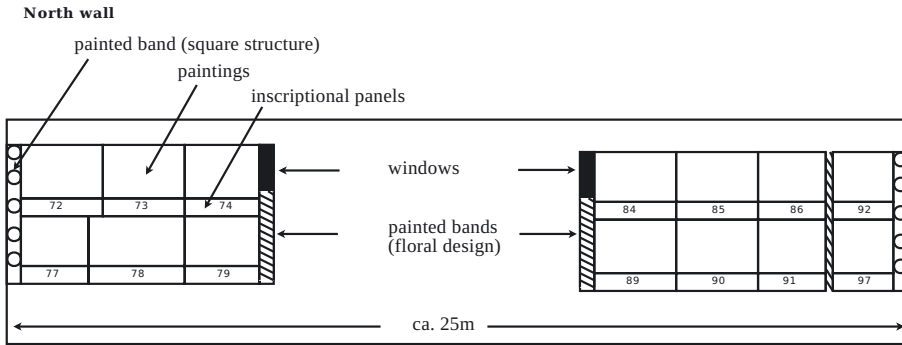
In two previous studies<sup>1</sup> we have already briefly touched upon epigraphic palimpsests in the Tibetan cultural realm<sup>2</sup> and the present paper aims to expand on these short remarks by discussing several inscriptions that

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Much of the fieldwork and research for this paper was financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) within the framework of three projects on Tibetan inscriptions (project nos. S 8705-G06, S 9804-G08, S 9811-G21). We would also like to thank Jürgen Schörflinger for his technical support and Patrick Mc Allister for correcting our English.

<sup>1</sup> Tropper 2007: 942; 2008: 197.

<sup>2</sup> While palimpsests in general are of course mostly known from the European middle ages when Latin and Greek paper, papyrus, or parchment manuscripts were frequently overwritten with other texts, the phenomenon is also attested for other cultural spheres, including the Indian subcontinent. For examples in Indian epigraphy, see Salomon 1998: 118, who lists several “palimpsests, wherein an old and presumably invalid copper plate was reinscribed after the old inscription had been obliterated”. Various aspects of spurious, forged and touched-up Indian epigraphs are also discussed in Salomon 2009. Probably some of the earliest evidence for palimpsests in a Buddhist context is provided in the *Sūtrālamkāra/Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* that has been variously ascribed to Aśva-ghoṣa or Kumāralāta (cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2009: 37 f., n. 11) and was translated into Chinese (*Da zhuang yan lun jing* 大莊嚴論經; Taisho No. 201; <http://w3.cbeta.org/result/T04/T04n0201.htm>) by Kumārajīva around 405 CE (cf. Nanjio 1883: 261, No. 1182). The first chapter of this text contains the story of a Brahmin from the area of Pāṭaliputra, who bought a Buddhist manuscript called “The *sūtra* of the twelve *nidānas*” (*Shi er yuan jing* 十二緣經), intending to wash off its letters (*xi que qi zi* 洗卻其字), and then to write some “*Vaiśeṣikasūtra*” (毘世師經) on it (259b14; for a French translation of the passage, see Huber 1908: 13; the story was also summarised in Lévi 1908: 98). The narrative suggests that this was primarily meant as a symbolical act, but the Brahmin’s intentions could also have been due to economical reasons, as it was usually the case with palimpsests in the Greco-Roman world.



**Figure 13.1** Zhalu—sketch plan of the *skor lam*'s north wall

have been overwritten or restored in a number of different ways. The problems resulting from such tampering have received little attention so far, and one may even contend that there is hardly any awareness that these problems exist. Their implications are far-ranging, nonetheless, as they concern not only the dating of inscriptions but also the evaluation of their contents.

A basic distinction must be made between inscriptions that are engraved on a rock or stone-slab and those where the text is written on the surface of a wall with a special kind of ink or paint. The latter type is usually found inside a temple or half-open porch, whereas the former is predominantly located in the open. In the present context, wall inscriptions are most relevant, and all the examples discussed below belong to this category.<sup>3</sup>

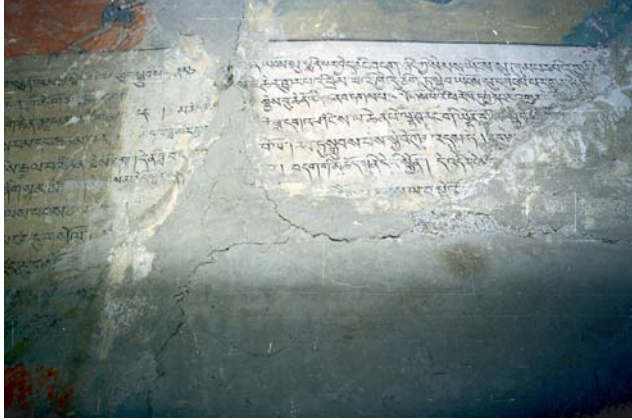
## Zhalu

The outer walls of the *skor lam chen mo* at Zhalu monastery are covered by an extensive cycle of inscriptional panels containing long excerpts from

In this context, it is somewhat surprising that palimpsests of Tibetan manuscripts in codex form do not figure prominently (indeed, no cases are known to us), as from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards many copies of various voluminous corpora, most notably the Kanjur and the Tanjur, were produced, and paper (or wood) was not so easily available in many parts of Tibet.

<sup>3</sup>While there are some indications that lithic inscriptions have also been restored or tampered with, such cases are probably much less common. For a substantial discussion it will be necessary to collect more evidence, which we hope to provide in a follow-up paper.





**Figure 13.2** Zhalu—detail from the middle part of panel no. 79

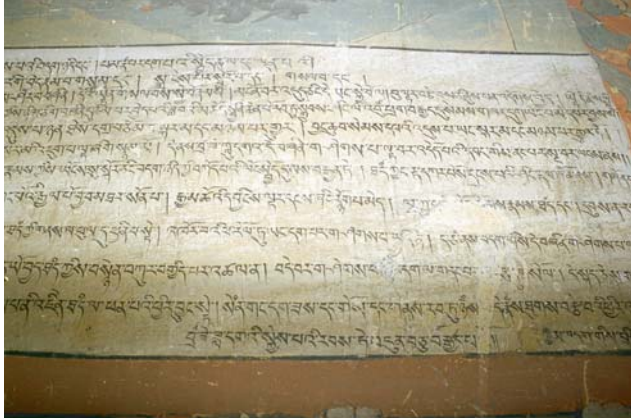
Rang byung rdo rje's *Skyes rabs brgya pa*. The panels are arranged in two rows and have large illustrating paintings above them. Detailed plans of the entire cycle have already been provided elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> and here it is sufficient to point out that the regular arrangement of the inscriptions and paintings is interrupted for about 10 meters in the *skor lam*'s northern section. The central part of that wall was painted over with some murals that do not correspond at all to the rest of the original cycle (cf. FIGURE 13.1).<sup>5</sup> In the process, three of the four inscriptional panels adjacent to the area painted over (i.e., nos. 74, 79 and 89) were also touched up. These panels respectively render excerpts from *Jātakas* no. 73, 78 and 88 of Rang byung rdo rje's voluminous text.

FIGURE 13.2 shows the middle part of panel no. 79, whose left side is original (most likely dating from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>6</sup> while its right

<sup>4</sup>Tropper 2005: 67, 70–73.

<sup>5</sup>As Vitali (1990: 121, n. 206) points out, the north wall (i.e., the weather side) of Tibetan temples is often in the worst condition, thus particularly encouraging restoration. On the occasion of his visit to Vienna in March 2001, Tenzin Dhargyal, a painter who was born in 'Phan po in 1964 and moved to Kathmandu in 1994, told us that some time in the 1970s he accompanied his father to do large-scale renovation work in Zhalu. He could not remember any specifics but considered it likely that the over-painting in the central part of the *skor lam*'s northern section was part of the general refurbishment that was carried out at that time.

<sup>6</sup>On the dating see Vitali 1990: 105 ff., Tropper 2005: 88-96, and Tropper 2007: 942.



**Figure 13.3** Zhalu — right side of panel no. 79



**Figure 13.4** Zhalu — detail from the middle part of panel no. 89

side was rewritten at a more recent date.<sup>7</sup> Obviously, the scribe who restored the inscription must have used a manuscript or block print of the *Skyes rabs brgya pa*. In the first two lines he seems to have had some problems to match the available space with the amount of text that had to be inserted into the restored part of the panel, since both lines end well before its right margin (cf. FIGURE 13.3).

<sup>7</sup>As can be seen from the picture, the restoration was not carried out properly and in some areas the plaster had to be reapplied at some later date, without ever being inscribed again.



**Figure 13.5** Zhalu—panel no. 74

Perhaps frustrated by this, from line 3 onwards he did not try to match the end of the restored lines with the preserved beginning of the following ones any more, and simply filled the available space with one continuous segment from his master copy.<sup>8</sup> As far as readability is concerned, the result of this is of course far from perfect, because for the larger part of the panel there is no connection between the preserved original text and the restored one. Yet to a casual observer the inscription at least gives the *impression* of being complete.

The same applies to panel no. 89, the only difference being that here it was the left side of the inscription that was restored (cf. FIGURE 13.4).<sup>9</sup> Again, it is obvious that in the first two lines the scribe could not align the restored part with the preserved original text and then simply decided to render a continuous segment from his master copy in the rest of the restored section.<sup>10</sup>

In certain respects the most interesting of the three touched-up panels is no. 74 (FIGURE 13.5). There, the new grounding on the right side of the panel was completed, but for some reason it was never inscribed again. Perhaps panels nos. 79 and 89—located in the lower of the two rows of

<sup>8</sup>Corresponding to KG 512.20–515.18.

<sup>9</sup>As in panel 79, both the new grounding and script were executed in a rather crude way, and it seems that in some areas of the transition from the old to the new section the plaster came off again and had to be reapplied at a later date.

<sup>10</sup>Corresponding to KG 594.17–597.7.



**Figure 13.6** Gyantse—right side of the south wall and left side of the west wall

inscriptions—were restored first and the somewhat unsatisfactory results left the scribe discouraged. Alternatively, the restorers may have thought that the position of panel no. 74, some 3.5 metres above the ground, would not allow for the reading of the text anyway.<sup>11</sup> But whatever the case may be, the fact that parts of the panel were provided with a new grounding which then remained empty provides valuable evidence for some of the inscriptions that will be discussed below.

What also needs to be stressed with these examples from Zhalu is that the inscriptions were copied from some other work—unlike most historical epigraphs, which are usually unique original documents. In Zhalu it was therefore comparatively easy to restore the inscriptions, and if the scribe had done his job properly, the original text and the restored one would not differ significantly from each other. It goes without saying, however, that the master copy that was used for the original inscriptions and the one that the restorers had at their disposal need not be the same. For text-critical studies, the rewritten sections thus have to be taken as witnesses in their own right, again a point that is of relevance for some of the inscriptions discussed further on in this paper.

<sup>11</sup>It is an altogether different question whether these (and similar) inscriptions were meant to be read in the first place. On this, see Tropper 2005: 37–44, 75–78.



Figure 13.7 Gyantse—detail from the left side of the west wall

## Gyantse

Another unfinished restoration of an inscription is to be found on the west wall of the dGa' ldan lha khang in the sKum 'bum of Gyantse. Like the *skor lam chen mo* in Zhalu, the chapel features several bands of inscriptions which are combined with illustrating paintings, but here the inscriptions contain excerpts from more than a dozen different texts.<sup>12</sup> On the southern part of the west wall, the right side of the lower inscriptional band was provided with a new grounding, but, as in the last example from Zhalu, no new text was applied (FIGURES 13.6 and 13.7).<sup>13</sup>

The reason that the restored grounding of the panel remained empty is again unknown. It may well be due to the fact that the Tibetan translation of the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarikasūtra*, from which the inscriptional text was excerpted, amounts to some 200 folio-pages in the various Kanjur versions. Identifying the relevant passage<sup>14</sup> simply may have turned out to be too much of an effort.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Tropper 2005: 61.

<sup>13</sup>As can be clearly seen in FIGURE 13.7, the illustrating paintings above the inscriptions were also restored in the process.

<sup>14</sup>Derge Kanjur: *mdo sde, cha*, 144a7-b7 (The Tibetan Tripitaka: Taipei Edition. Taiwan 1991, vol. 50).

## Nako

The rGya 'phags pa lha khang in Nako (Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh) holds several painted figures that are combined with identifying captions. One



**Figure 13.8** Nako — caption in the rGya 'phags pa lha khang



**Figure 13.9** Nako — right side of the caption in the rGya 'phags pa lha khang

of these short texts refers to a certain “Chos rje dārma mtshan can”<sup>15</sup> and was originally written in a brownish colour. In the course of time it seems to have faded and was then overwritten in black letters (FIGURE 13.8).

The new text does not completely align with the original one, and parts of the latter cannot be read with certainty any more, but it appears that the new text was intended to be a more or less faithful copy of the original. For, while there are some variants, they are relatively insignificant and certainly do not yield two altogether different readings of the text. At the end of the first line, the last syllable of the original was *ma*, preceded (and followed) by a *tsheg*, whereas in the restored version the line ends in *dārma*, without any *tsheg* between *dā* and the ligature *rma* (cf. FIGURE 13.9). Interestingly, in the original text *mtshan can* was followed by another syllable, most likely *la*, and thus it could have ended in *la na mo*, with *na mo* written either at the beginning of a

third line or at the rightmost side of line 2. In either case, this suggests that originally the panel was somewhat larger than it is now, which is also corroborated by the fact that the left side of the prescript *m* in the original *mtshan* is covered by the black frame-line of the present panel.

<sup>15</sup>For a discussion on the identity of this figure, see Kerin 2010 and Tropper 2010.

## Sumda chung

A rather special case of a restored epigraph can be found in the temple of Sumda chung in Ladakh. The original document belongs to what De Rossi Filibeck 1999 has termed “paper inscriptions”, i.e., texts that were written on a sheet of paper that was then glued to a wall. The inscription in question is made up of five *mangala* verses addressing various deities, and a more extensive section that provides information on the history and geographical setting of various places in Ladakh, including Sumda chung.

The paper on which the document is written has become slightly tattered and its lower part is covered by blotches of soot (FIGURES 13.10 and 13.11). In an attempt to preserve the text and make it easier to read, the inscription has recently been copied onto a piece of wood or cardboard, which was then posted on a pillar of the temple (FIGURE 13.12).<sup>16</sup>

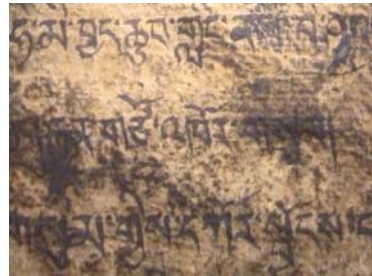
Looking at the beginning of the restored text (FIGURE 13.13), we thus find the same wording as in the original (FIGURE 13.14), two minor variants<sup>17</sup> (and the different use of colours) notwithstanding: “\*\*\* // *om sva sti sid dham / ston pa mnyam med kun mkhyen shākya'i gtso //*”.

## Tabo

The monastery of Tabo (Spiti, Himachal Pradesh) holds several inscriptions that have been dated to the late 10<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> cen-



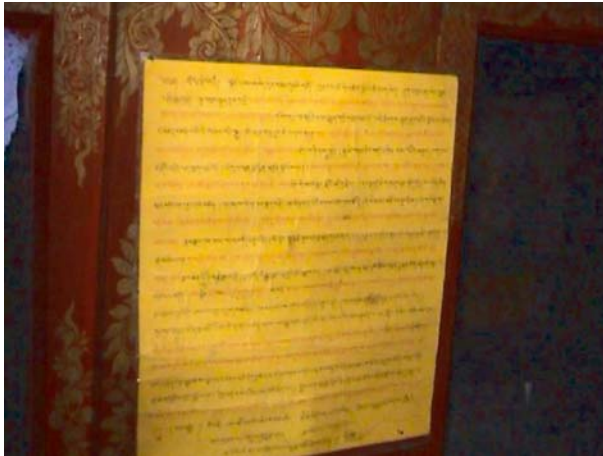
**Figure 13.10** Sumda chung—frayed edge on the right side of the paper inscription



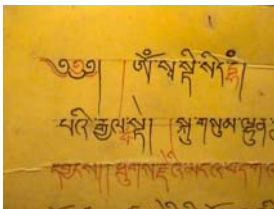
**Figure 13.11** Sumda chung—blotches of soot on the paper inscription

<sup>16</sup>An edition and annotated translation of both the original and the recent copy will be provided elsewhere.

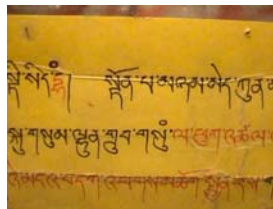
<sup>17</sup>“\*\*\* : \*\*\*\*” and “/ : //”.



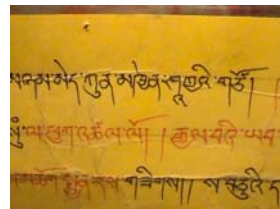
**Figure 13.12** Sumda chung—recent copy of the paper inscription



(a)

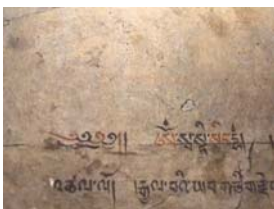


(b)

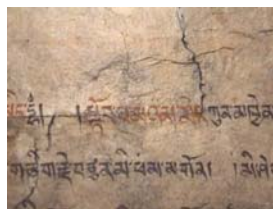


(c)

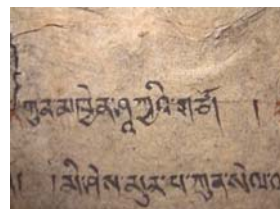
**Figure 13.13** Sumda chung—beginning of the paper inscription’s copy



(a)



(b)



(c)

**Figure 13.14** Sumda chung—beginning of the paper inscription





**Figure 13.15** Tabo—the “renovation inscription” (WHAV; CL 94 68, 36)

ture.<sup>18</sup> The most well-known of these is usually referred to as “renovation inscription” (FIGURE 13.15), as it tells of a renovation carried out 46 years after the temple’s foundation, the latter most likely having taken place in 996.<sup>19</sup> The inscription has been edited and translated three times already, namely by Tucci (1935: 195–204), Steinkellner and Luczanits (1999), and Thakur (2001: 252–257).<sup>20</sup>

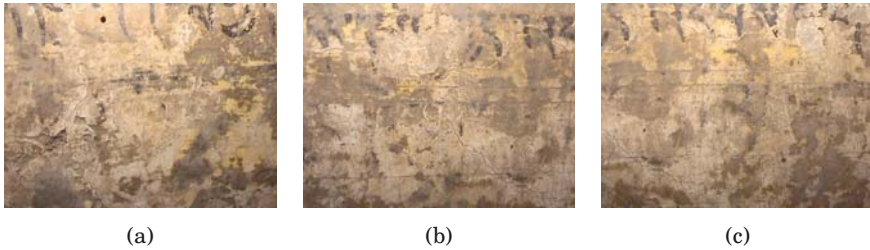
An interesting piece of information about this epigraph was provided by Steinkellner and Luczanits (1999: 11), who copied the inscription *in situ*, but later also had a colour photograph taken by Thomas Priztker at their disposal when they prepared their edition:

The colour photograph reveals faint traces of two lines of writing in the space just below the lower edge of the inscription,

<sup>18</sup>For editions, translations and discussions on the dates of these inscriptions see the collection of articles published by Petech and Luczanits 1999, as well as Steinkellner 1995, 1999.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. Klimburg-Salter 1985: 14 f., 1997: 45 ff., and Petech 1997: 233.

<sup>20</sup>Some new evidence on the inscription was recently found among A.H. Francke’s unpublished works and evaluated in Tropper 2008.



**Figure 13.16** Tabo—traces of earlier writing below the last line of the “renovation inscription”

i.e. not covered by the writing of the inscription. We did not observe these traces on the spot, and they are illegible in the photograph. All that can be said is that there is a possibility that when the ground for the renovation inscription was applied, it was applied over an older inscription in the same place, whose contents and function are no longer known.

Note that Steinkellner and Luczanits do not speculate about the contents of this presumed earlier inscription, but in the light of the examples presented above, we think one should make room for the possibility that the inscription as we have it now is a more or less faithful copy of an earlier version. If so, the obvious question would be: “How faithful?” If the original text was damaged and no master copy on paper was preserved,<sup>21</sup> the scribe would have been forced to come up with his own conjectures for the *lacunas*. The more extensive the damage, the greater, of course, the possibilities for divergences between the original and the restored text.

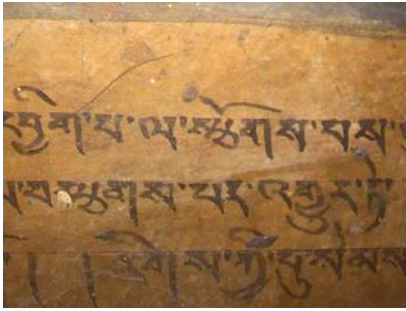
The same situation could apply to another inscription in Tabo that contains long excerpts from the Tibetan translation of the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* (FIGURE 13.17). It was edited by Tauscher (1999), whose tentative dating of the epigraph to the 11<sup>th</sup> century was followed by Steinkellner (1999).

Their main arguments for the 11<sup>th</sup> century dating were the inscription’s palaeographic and orthographic features, some of which can be seen

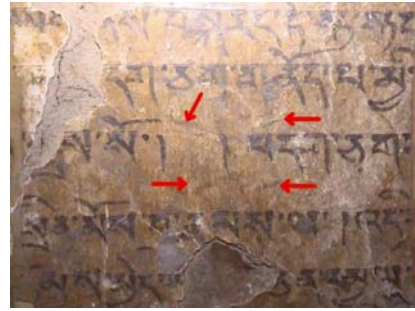
<sup>21</sup>The practice of retaining the original text of an inscription is already attested in an edict cut into the western face of a pillar at Zhwa’i lha khang (ed. and transl. in Richardson 1985: 46–53). This epigraphic document records the privileges granted by Khri lDe srong brtsan to Myang Ting nge ’dzin and mentions (ll. 52–54) that the edict’s original text and two copies of it were stored at different places. For details, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 265–266 and 265, n. 10, as well as the sources cited there. We have no information about such copies of the “renovation inscription”.



**Figure 13.17** Tabo—the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* inscription (WHAV; CL 94 96, 35)



**Figure 13.18** Tabo—detail from the beginning of the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* inscription



**Figure 13.19** Tabo—detail from the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* inscription (arrows marking what appear to be traces of an earlier text)

in FIGURE 13.18. The horizontal ligature *sts*, occurring in *stsogs* (l. 1) and *bstsags* (l. 2), as well as the spelling itself certainly tally well with such an early dating,<sup>22</sup> but the general appearance of the panel and the freshness of the colours make it hard to believe that the inscription was executed some thousand years ago. The orthography and palaeography thus should not be considered a very strong argument, because such features can of course be used on purpose to make an inscription appear ancient. If we assume that the text replaced an earlier one that already contained archaic orthography and palaeography, the use of such features in the restored version would be even more understandable. That the inscription was indeed written over an earlier text, albeit one with unknown contents, was already indicated by Tauscher (1999: 30 f.), who pointed to some “traces of an older text underneath the present one”. Judging by our own photographic documentation, these traces appear to be less distinct than in the “renovation inscription”, however (cf. FIGURE 13.19).

Some additional pieces of evidence are equally hard to evaluate. Immediately to the right of the text there is another panel, separated from the inscription by a thin greenish line (cf. FIGURE 13.17). As Tauscher (1999: 29 f.) notes, this panel “shows only the drawing of a wishfulfilling gem on a lotus in the upper left quarter and a few solitary *akṣaras* not related to anything, obviously dating from a much later time than the inscription”. Moreover, he states that this panel does not have “traces of any older writing underneath”. With regard to the drawing, it is interesting

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 1999, Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002.

to note that in documents from Central Asia and Dunhuang such auspicious symbols were added to particularly important or sacred texts to both protect and “close” them, thus precluding any subsequent falsification or forgery.<sup>23</sup> One may speculate whether the drawing in Tabo was meant to serve the same purpose, and whether it was considered especially appropriate because the text had already been “restored” once. Furthermore, the panel with the drawing clearly appears to have been prepared to receive some text as it shows the typical red rulings that are widely used in both inscriptions and manuscripts in codex form to enable the scribe to write in a straight line. Perhaps the original inscription was longer and the restoration was carried out incompletely, or—similar to some of the examples from Zhalu—the scribe simply failed to match the size of the letters with the available space.

Compounding matters, Klimburg-Salter (1997: 51) proffers that the inscription itself covers a painted figure dating back to the late 10<sup>th</sup> century. No traces of this painting seem to have survived, but its erstwhile existence can be assumed with some probability, as the opposite wall on the north side of the transition zone from the assembly hall to the *cella* still has a clearly visible painting of a nine-headed green figure (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1997: 50, fig. 20). Thus there may actually be three layers, with the painting coming first, the original inscription second and the restored one third.

Against the background of the examples presented so far, we would like to conclude the discussion of the epigraphic material in Tabo by looking at an extensive cycle of inscriptions that has also been dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Covering the lower parts of the assembly hall’s south wall, as well as the southern sections of its east and west wall, this cycle consists of forty-two inscriptional panels containing excerpts from the Tibetan translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*. Like the *Skyes rabs brgya pa* inscriptions in Zhalu, it is combined with illustrating paintings and some of them are identified by small insets. The inscriptions and insets were edited by Steinkellner (1995), who points out the following fact:

A number of inscriptional panels and some of the insets in the painted scenes are empty. All these panels have been well grounded for receiving their inscriptions, in some cases even

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 258–259.



**Figure 13.20** Empty panel (no. xxxiv) of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* cycle in Tabo

ruled lines are clearly visible. ... Why was this work not finished? Did the scribes have to move out before the first heavy snows, and was there a reason why they did not come back the next year, or why nobody else continued the work? Was the original motive for adding the inscription in the first place lost immediately after the painted frieze was finished?<sup>24</sup>

In the light of the previous examples, it certainly seems possible that these panels *had* in fact been inscribed, but that eventually they were damaged or that their letters faded away, and that—similar to the examples from Zhalu and Gyantse—they were then provided with a new grounding, which never received any text.

## Concluding Remarks

In most of the presented cases the overwriting or (attempted) renewing of the inscriptions is obvious and easy to detect. Naturally, this raises some suspicions as to whether there are not also less obvious cases that have escaped our attention so far. In the future, the use of modern technology may enable us to better determine if certain Tibetan inscriptions were restored or written over an earlier text, and whether some of the hypotheses

<sup>24</sup>Steinkellner 1995: 5.

provided above are correct. For the time being, we would merely like to draw attention to the possibility that quite a few epigraphic sources in the Tibetan cultural realm may actually be palimpsests or copies of earlier inscriptions.

Obviously, this constitutes a serious problem with regard to both the dating of inscriptions as well as the appraisal of their contents. As is well known from copies of manuscripts in codex form, copyists not only introduced accidental mistakes, but they sometimes also altered the original text on purpose. Such tendencies must certainly have been compounded if a severely damaged inscription was touched up or entirely rewritten. In this connection, the dubious text-critical value of restored inscriptions that render excerpts from Kanjur or Tanjur texts particularly needs to be kept in mind.

As in many other areas of research in Tibetan Studies, a more cautious approach to epigraphic sources thus seems appropriate to us. In other words, one should not automatically take the contents of inscriptions at face value, nor should one assume that they necessarily date back to the times they refer to.

## Abbreviations

**KG** Rang byung rdo rje. *Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi skyes rabs brgya ba*. Ed. by Krung go bod brgyud mtho rim nang bstan slob gling gi slob gzhi rtsom sgrig tsho chung. Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig 22. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang / Minzu chubanshe, 1995.

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# Temple Complex ‘Virtual Nako’

## 3D Visualization of Cultural Heritage in Google Earth

Ben Nausner and David Schobesberger

### Abstract

The preservation of cultural heritage and the communication of its vital importance for modern society represent an increasing and demanding challenge for the scientific community. Due to the occurrence of cultural objects in geographic space and time, cartographers are questioned, amongst others, to deal with new forms of geo-visualization. These new visualizations improve communication between scientists and a broad audience by facilitating a more efficient information exchange. A national research network gave the setting for cartographers at the University of Vienna to develop and implement a Google Earth 3D visualization of a Buddhist temple complex built during the early second millennium.

## 1 History of Cartography and Relief Depiction

Cartography has a long history beginning with maps as cave paintings and rock carvings executed some ten-thousand years ago. Later examples are maps carved on clay tablets, maps painted on walls, and papyrus maps. These early maps were very naturalistic, mostly inaccurate and reflected the beliefs at the respective time. In the middle ages a variety of so called *mappae mundi* were produced. These maps depicted situation and relief in a strongly generalized manner. Towns and mountains were sketchily drawn in front view. FIGURE 14.1 shows the area of today’s Italy in the Ebstorf world map (around 1300).

Later, when the first complete topographic surveys of European countries were conducted, mountains were depicted from above more characteristically with hachures that showed the terrain’s steepness by varying



**Figure 14.1** Ebstorf world map, around AD 1300. Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ebstorfer-stich2.jpg>

density and/or hachure weight. Other forms used hachures that mimicked natural illumination and thus tried to create pseudo-3D effects. Similar effects are still employed in mapping today. Shading techniques (shaded relief) are commonly applied to create a more naturalistic depiction of mountains and valleys.

## 2 Maps as Representations of Place and Space

Maps in orthogonal projection (view from above) are undoubtedly the most popular and widely applied medium for communicating place and space. With a certain degree of abstraction they represent real or fictitious objects and conditions which feature a spatial component, position or extent. Most often these maps provide a combination of topographic as well as thematic content. While topographic information describes the space itself—relief, morphology, land cover, natural and artificial situation—thematic information in maps can be of almost any kind comprising spatial and temporal reference. Information density and the selection of content are strongly dependent on map scale and the intended map purpose. These classical maps have been in use for ages and have rapidly gained complexity during the last century through the advances in technology—printing,

data acquisition (remote sensing, GPS), and computer technology. For understanding more complex maps and gaining knowledge from such depictions, sound interpretational skills—described as graphicacy (Balchin 1976)—and context awareness are a prerequisite.

### 3 From 2D to 3D Mapping

Nowadays cartography is a very diverse science encompassing a wide range of media and techniques from classical maps to oblique views, from paper maps to interactive Web-mapping and multimedia applications, from desktop screens to mobile consumer electronics. Cartographic artifacts like panoramas or oblique views have long been used to convey information of rugged or mountainous terrain in a pseudo-3D fashion. These depictions are well-suited for overview purposes, since they mimic what people are used to see when looking from mountain tops or plane windows and thus convey terrain characteristics in an easily comprehensible way (cf. Schobesberger 2007, Häberling 2003). 3D maps allow the user to more easily understand the geography and relations of places without having to be expertly trained in map interpretation.

This knowledge and the advancement of computer technology, together with the availability of broadband internet connections, have led to the development of so-called earth browsers (also virtual globes, geobrowsers) that allow free navigation in three-dimensional space and the tilting of viewing angles in all directions. By seamlessly zooming and panning, the users can look at all parts of the world in varying scales and get a better understanding of the interrelation of places. Earth browsers generally offer satellite images or orthophotos (rectified images from airborne photogrammetry) that are stored on the servers of the software providers and downloaded on demand. Additional information can be added by third parties or end-users via the Web. Prominent examples of earth browsers are Google Earth, NASA WorldWind, and Microsoft's Virtual Earth<sup>1</sup>.

Google Earth—a Google Maps spin-off—is an earth browser by Google that is available for free on various computer platforms. It features satellite and aerial photogrammetric images and can easily visualize user

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<sup>1</sup> See, respectively, <http://earth.google.com>, <http://worldwind.arc.nasa.gov/>, and <http://www.microsoft.com/maps/>.

generated overlays (stored in KML or KMZ files). The software uses a digital elevation model to allow pseudo-3D views of areas all over the world. 3D navigation and tilting of viewing angles allows observing places from virtually any viewing point. Additionally, temporal navigation facilitates the communication of historic circumstances and the viewing of objects as they change over time.

Over the last years true 3D display technology has found its way into consumer devices and thus allows immersive experiences for users when exploring space or georeferenced data. Virtual reality and augmented reality technologies are advancing rapidly, and cartographers are researching the vast opportunities of these methods for geographic knowledge transfer. Powerful and affordable mobile consumer electronic devices with constant access to the Web have changed and will further change the ways of mapping and using maps.

Against this background the cartography group at the University of Vienna has decided to research the potential of communicating geographic and cultural-history information by means of a 3D application for Google Earth within an interdisciplinary research network.

## 4 Cultural History of the Western Himalaya

The national research network *The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya from the 8th Century* (CHWH),<sup>2</sup> financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), was founded in 2007 at the University of Vienna. As part of this research network, the Department of Geography and Regional Research has developed a map-based online information system for visualizing cultural history in the area of the western Himalayas. Within this Cultural History Information System<sup>3</sup> (CHIS) special views form a complementary component of the comprehensive information architecture.

Special views represent interactive applications that depict certain research objects relevant to the national research network in large-scale detailed visualizations using integrated-media techniques. The specific use of new media techniques is primarily intended to improve and simplify geo-communication processes in an interdisciplinary setup. The implementations vary according to the requirements and objectives of the special view, and form a substantial part of scientific research. Thus special

<sup>2</sup> See <http://www.univie.ac.at/chwh>.

<sup>3</sup> See <http://www.univie.ac.at/chis>.



views within the CHIS provide the possibility of a deeper examination and better understanding of selected research objects (cf. Kriz et al. 2009, and CHAPTER 1 in this volume).

In the following, the design and modeling processes of the multimedia application *Virtual Nako* will be described in detail. The focus is on outlining methods for the virtual reconstruction of the Buddhist temple complex and on potential future developments for 3D visualizations of cultural heritage.

## 5 The Nako Research and Preservation Project

Nako is a small village in the district Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh, northern India, situated at about 3,600 meters above sea level and surrounded by the impressive Himalayan mountain range. The Buddhist temples of Nako give evidence of a particular cultural heritage and a former centre of Buddhism in the Western Himalaya. The complex is among the oldest foundations in this area and can be dated back to the early second millennium (11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century; cf. Luczanits 2003).

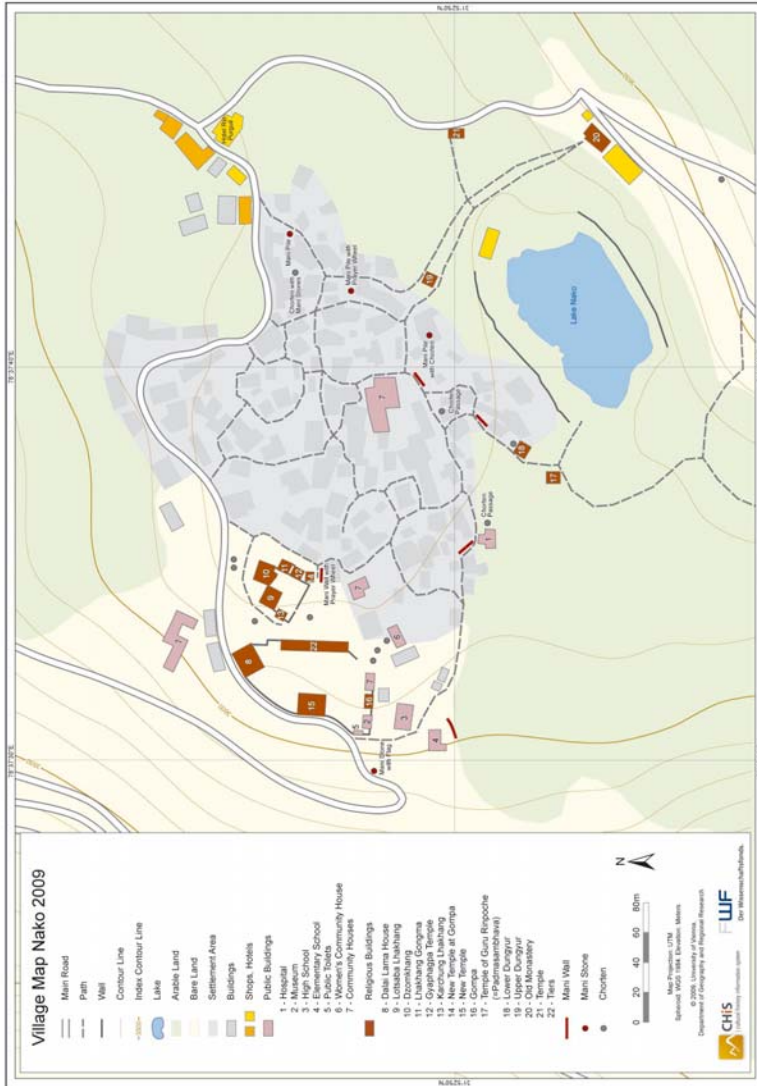
Four temples and a number of associated structures occupy an area of about one thousand square meters, which gradually slopes from the eastern to the northern edge. Due to the imminent corrosion of the temples' fabric and the precious wall paintings within, the villagers asked for help to restore and preserve the sacred temple complex (cf. Klimburg-Salter 2003).

FIGURE 14.2, a village plan of Nako which was created in a joint effort by scholars from the Vienna University of Applied Arts and cartographers at the University of Vienna, shows the general layout of the village and the position of the temple complex.

Since 1998 the University of Vienna and other institutions took charge of this problem and supported the local community via different channels. With the foundation of the Nako Preservation Project<sup>4</sup> (later Nako Research and Preservation Project—NRPP), involving architects, conservation experts, art and religious historians and cultural anthropologists, the main rebuilding and conservation activities were realized between 2002–2007. In 2007 His Holiness, the Dalai Lama, held a consecration ritual and gave Buddhist teachings in the restored temples of Nako (cf. NRPP)

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.univie.ac.at/nako>



**Figure 14.2** Village Map of Nako, 2009

The NRPP is associated with the national research network CHWH, and therefore the conception of a 3D visualization relating to this research object was an obvious choice. The mission statement of the NRPP, “*Preserving the past in order to serve the future*”, underlined the potential for a scientific examination for the geo-visualization of cultural heritage.

## 6 Defining the Concept of *Virtual Nako*

Based on the collected data and outcomes of the NRPP, requirements for an interactive special view had to be formulated and outlined.

This task led to the idea of *Virtual Nako*—a 3D digital reconstruction of the Nako temple complex embedded in the virtual surroundings of Google Earth. Following this, the geospatial location and placement of the model in its exact position in the Himalayan mountain range and the integration of additional multimedia content (text, images, virtual-reality panoramas, map-overlays) were assured.

The added value given by a 3D perspective in combination with an interactive and intuitive navigation concept allows the user to explore and learn about cultural objects more effectively and intensely.

Further emphasis was put on visualizing the structural changes of the temple complex before and after the restoration in a comprehensible way and thus offering the user a direct comparison between different periods.

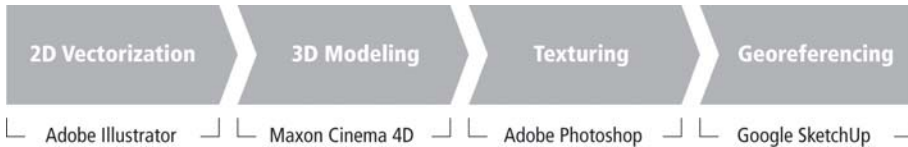
## 7 The 3D Modeling Workflow

The composition of the special view *Virtual Nako* followed a standardized workflow from data acquisition, over the 3D modeling process, to the integration of supplemental multimedia content. In the following the different implementation stages of the concept will be discussed in more detail.

**7.1 Base Data** The level of detail and quality of a 3D model strongly depends on the available base data. Fortunately, the data collected by the NRPP offered a large variety of pictures, architectural plans and drawings. Furthermore, the expertise and knowledge of scholars from the national research network assured the visualization quality and correctness.



**Figure 14.3** Architectural floor plans of the temple complex in Nako (NRPP 2003)



**Figure 14.4** 3D-modeling workflow

**7.2 From Scratch to a 3D-Model** In order to expound the characteristic architectural elements of the temple complex and its geo-localization, a consistent visualization workflow and the required tools (cf. FIGURE 14.4) had to be defined.

By starting with the vectorization of the overview floor plan, it was assured that the sometimes slightly curved and asymmetric temple walls were captured. The depiction of structural alterations during the restoration period was facilitated by two different basement drawings, which show the complex before (ca. 2003) and after (ca. 2007) the preservation work.

In a next step the digitized line data was imported into a 3D modeling software, extruded and transformed into appropriate objects. During this phase of the workflow, special focus was put on the temples' correct scaling and their relative proportions. The modeling of characteristic stabilizing stone piles that surround the temples represented a significant task.

In order to meet the requirements of an easily perceptible and differentiated 3D model, textures were produced from the available pictorial information. Adhering to the technical and visual limitations of Google Earth,



**Figure 14.5** Views of the textured 3D models

the level of detail and complexity of the buildings and their textures were adjusted in such a way that a pleasing output could be obtained. Following this, a detailed but not photorealistic model, displaying the main features of the temple complex like its shapes, colors and textures, was produced.

A supplemental 3D-base block was created on which the 3D model was placed in order to compensate the hanging slope from the complex's east to north edge. By using the architectural floor plan of the temples (before the restoration work in 2003) as a textural overlay the visual perception of this base block could be improved.

In a last phase the model was imported into the geo-spatial environment of Google Earth. Its placement was done according to the available satellite imagery by Google Earth and using GPS data recorded during a field trip. A prerequisite for this step was the capability of the modeling software to export into a 3D studio scene file format.

Finally the imported 3D objects were optimized concerning their textures' file size and the amount of polygons to improve overall performance.

**7.3 Integration of Additional Multimedia Content** A central intention of the special view *Virtual Nako* was the additional integration of descriptive multimedia content. By enriching the visual information, the application enables the user to gain a deeper examination and understanding of the displayed objects. According to the concept of Google Earth, a consistent storyline of interchangeable overlays from small-scale

overview maps (globe view) towards large-scale detailed object information (panoramic view) was designed. It consists of the following key elements:

- **Map overlays:** Various maps covering the area of this part of northern India offer a general overview of the research region for detailed geographic orientation. Large-scale level detailed site plans and architectural floor plans enrich the information content.
- **Textural and pictorial information:** Specified, interactive hotspots contain additional textural and pictorial information about the temples, certain sculptures and wall paintings.
- **Virtual-reality panoramas:** The integration of hotspots with navigable virtual-reality panoramas offers a photo-realistic view and therefore enables direct comparison of the existing temple complex with the 3D model.

**7.4 Final Composition and Summary** The final composition represented the last step in the workflow. It included the addition of an imprint, styling of the navigational tree as well as further refinements in the 3D visualization and addition of multimedia content. The integration into the CHIS as a special view finally provided a wider audience with the possibility to study the cultural heritage of Nako.

## 8 Outlook and Future Development

Positive responses from the research network partners and the obvious benefits which digital 3D visualizations have for the communication of object characteristics and changes in time to a broader audience verified the existing concepts. The further development and refinement of special views like *Virtual Nako* were strongly encouraged. The improvement in the 3D models' level of detail, as well as the possibilities to add multimedia content and the visualization of time periods, offers a great potential for communicating and preserving information about objects of cultural heritage.

A step towards a more immersive 3D visualization could even improve the depth and quality of the visualized information. Following this concept, tests with a virtual reality wall (single-channel, rear projection) have been conducted at the University of Vienna. Allowing the user to navigate

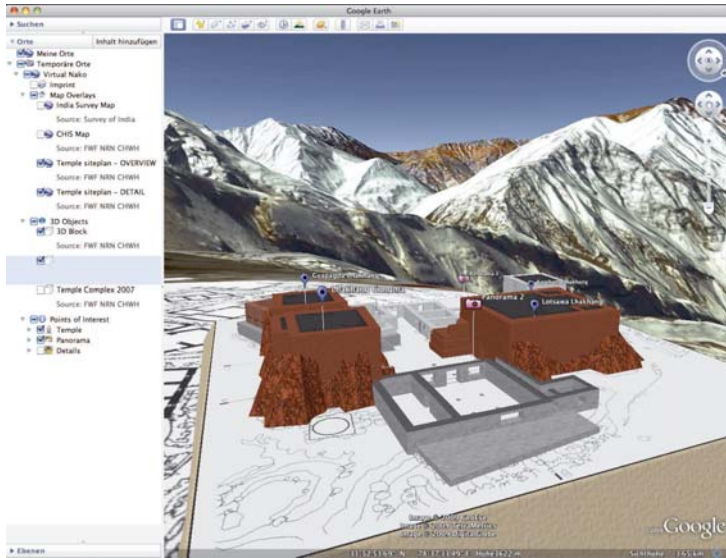


Figure 14.6 Screenshot in Google Earth

through the sacred temple complex with a traceable joystick and looking glasses offers a new dimension of interaction and immersion. But still the availability, poor usability, and high complexity of such virtual-reality systems represent a significant obstacle.

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## The Tibetan Himalayan Style

### The Art of the Western Domains, 8<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries

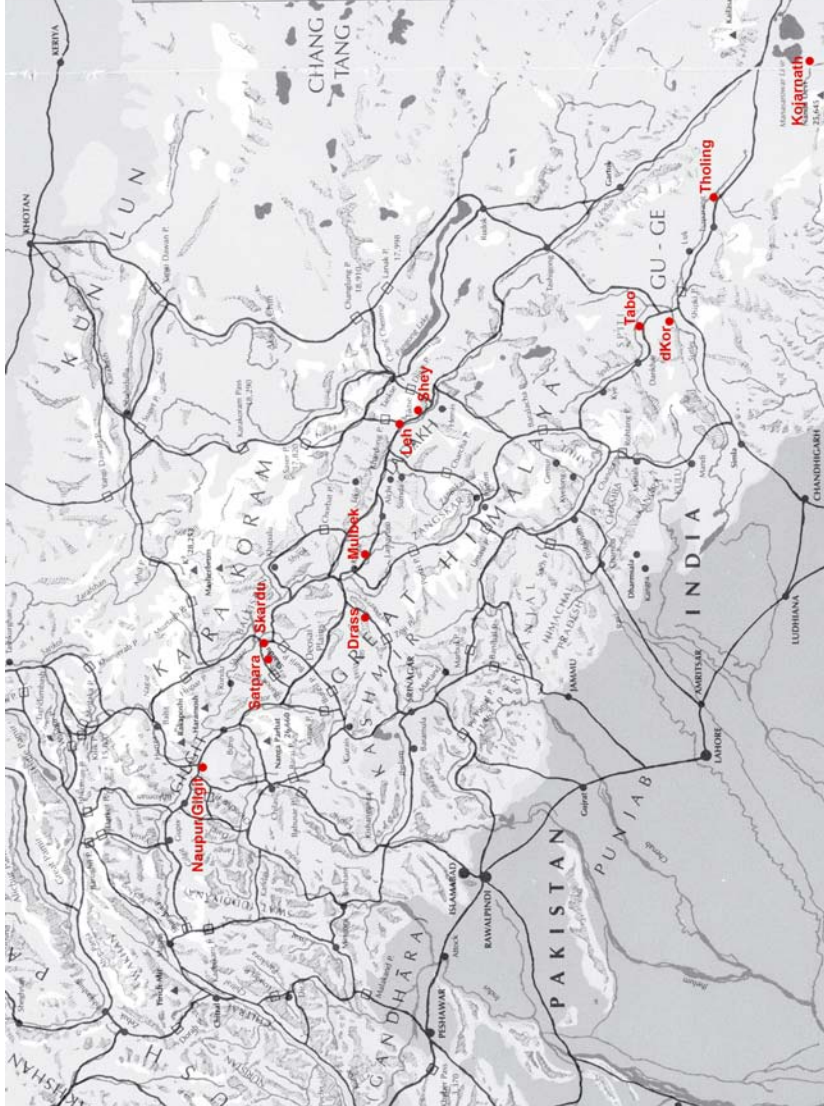
Deborah Klimburg-Salter

During the second quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century the political aspirations of Imperial China, Imperial Tibet, the Kingdom of Kabul, and Kingdom of Kashmir collided in the high mountainous regions of the north-west of the Indian sub-continent, today divided between Pakistan and India. The intense mobility of the period—motivated by political, religious, economic goals—was made possible by a vast network of routes of ancient origin (Klimburg-Salter 1982: Map 1; see FIGURE 15.1). The routes crossing the Great Pamirs and the Karakoram converged at Gilgit and Skardu respectively. The high valleys of this region were inhabited by different ethnic groups speaking different languages and practicing different religious cults. The richness of this cultural diversity has been largely obscured or destroyed by subsequent historical events. Contemporary literary witnesses from this period are minimal. For a discussion of surviving witnesses see Scherrer-Schaub (2001: 707–719). Therefore an analysis of the visual culture is of great importance for understanding the cultural history of this region during a period of intensive cultural transfer and change.

From at least the 7<sup>th</sup> century Tibetans participated in the international exchange systems that crossed this area via trans-national trade routes (still the most concise and lucid description of these routes is Maximilian Klimburg 1982: 25–37; for the region discussed here see the details in his Map 2, Historical Northwest India, and Map 4, the Western

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Last presented in a lecture for the Oriental Institute and Pitt Rivers Museum Oxford Univ. May 11<sup>th</sup>, 2011. Research for this article was conducted with the generous support of the Austrian Science Fund: The Cultural History of the Western Himalaya from the 8th Century (S98) and the sub-project Art History (S 9802), both directed by Univ. Prof. Deborah Klimburg-Salter.



**Figure 15.1** India. Based on Map 1 by M. Klimburg-Salter 1982, with modifications by the WHAV.

Trans-Himalaya). The impact of this region on the evolution of various aspects of Tibetan culture is indicated in the primary sources and extensively discussed in the secondary literature. The evolution of distinctive Tibetan cultural forms is more complex than the commonly found historical narrative. To take the example of the Tibetan script, Scherrer-Schaub (2012b) proposes that the script ultimately adapted in Tibet was based on a script that evolved in the region under discussion, and was a reflection of a script used in ancient northern India; and that the Tibetan script was most probably not “invented” but was unified or codified on the basis of “the various forms of Tibetan writing circulating in the border regions” (Scherrer-Schaub 2012b: 233).

I will attempt to demonstrate that an analogous process can be observed in the evolution of the earliest Tibetan style used in the western borderlands of the Yarlung Empire. In the earliest known examples of rock art under Tibetan patronage, attributed to ca. the 8<sup>th</sup> century, one can identify different modes of a single style which I have termed the Tibetan Himalayan style. Although the style is distinct from the Kashmiri style found in the same region ca. 8<sup>th</sup> century, the iconographic vocabulary of both styles derives from northern India. This group of artefacts has received little attention, with the exception of a recent article by Denwood (2007).

This present article is the second of a two part discussion of the art of the western domains from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Because of the fragmentary nature of the evidence it has proven easier to start at the end of this process of cultural transformation and work backwards, attempting to identify the origins of the distinctive Tibetan Himalayan style. The latest presently known evidence for this artistic tradition was discussed in part one, *“Imagining the world of Ye shes ’od. 10<sup>th</sup>-century painting in Tabo”* (Klimburg-Salter 2008). In this latter study I concentrated on the representation of historical personages, with a focus on the painted program of the Founding Phase of the Tabo Monastery Main Temple, that is, ca. 996 CE.

This present article (part two) will discuss the visual representation of religious images within the same artistic corpus: the rock art located along the routes crossing the geographic area extending from Gilgit (Palar) and Baltistan, through Ladakh, Zangskar, Lahul, Spiti, and/or upper Kinnaur, Guge, and Purang (FIGURE 15.1); large scale sculptures that are part of monastic iconographic programs; as well as portable arts attributable to this same period and region.

The terms used to identify this region changed with time. Around 650 CE, at the time that Srong btsan sgam po conquered the region, it was called Zhang zhung—the exact western extent is contested by contemporary scholars (compare the maps in FIGURES 15.2 to 15.4). This region is referred to in Tibetan sources as sTod—upper regions—and only from the latter part of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, following the occupation by the dynasty of the kings of Purang-Guge, is the region included in the designation mNga' ris bskor gsum (Wangdu 2008: 297 f.). The Bon tradition also considers the western regions—particularly Gilgit, northern Pakistan, and Kashmir—central to their cultural heritage. In contemporaneous written sources, there is no consistently used term for this region during the 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> century.

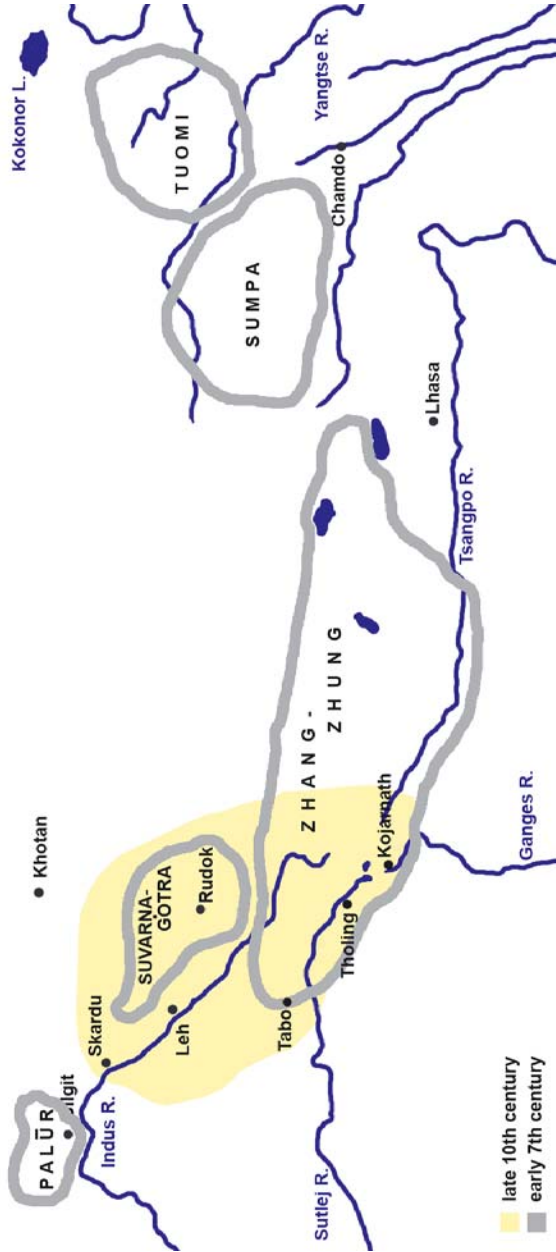
The unique compositional and genre features of the paintings in the Tibetan Himalayan style can only be appreciated when compared to the totally new and different style found in the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century paintings in the Main Assembly Hall, Tabo Monastery. The comparative analysis of the representation of historical figures in the paintings of both the Founding Phase (Phase I, ca. 996) and the Renovation Phase (Phase II, 1042) in the Entry Hall (*sGo khang*) and Assembly Hall (*'Du khang*) respectively of the Tabo Main Temple (*gTsug lag khang*) revealed that the two sequential chronological phases of artistic production could be identified with totally different artistic schools, each with different social and political contexts (Klimburg-Salter 2008: 277–280).

The art of Phase I is the most complex and latest known example of the Tibetan Himalayan style—a summary, if one will, of the visual culture that evolved in the region from at least the 8<sup>th</sup> century, but probably even earlier. The Phase I Tabo wall paintings are unique in Tibetan and Indian art history for the unusually detailed depiction of all the various segments of contemporary society. On the south wall of the Entry Hall the royal patrons are depicted at the center of the composition (FIGURE 15.5). Monks, nuns, and lay people, originally identified by inscriptions, are hierarchically organized in rows (Klimburg-Salter 2008: figs. 6, 14). Directly opposite on the north wall, are the local princes seated like their royal counterparts (Ye shes 'od and his two sons) on low thrones under canopies. At the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century the local princes were equally or perhaps even more important, as can be seen by their size and placement (Klimburg-Salter 2008: figs. 26, 27a,b). The lowest ranking lay men on both walls are represented kneeling.



Figure 15.2 Map of Zhang zhung. After Karmay and Watt 2007: 16.





**Figure 15.4** Proposed borders of countries to the west and north-east of central Tibet in the early seventh century. After Denwood 2008: 21, map 4 (with modifications).



**Figure 15.5** Ye shes 'od and his two sons. Tabo *sGo khang*, south wall. Photo: Christian Luczanits 1994 ©WHAV.

During the next half century a total social transformation occurred. In the Phase II paintings (ca. 1042) the local princes and their distinguishing attributes have disappeared, never to appear again. In the painting above the Renovation Period Inscription at Tabo the hieratic representation of the single royal lama (FIGURE 15.6) surrounded by monks and lay donors depicted according to a strict hierarchical order is the perfect synoptic image of the ruler of an ecclesiastical estate (see below). I have elsewhere identified this image as the “*lha bla ma* template” and demonstrated how the polemical function of this image was projected through the iconographic program of the Assembly Hall at Tabo (Klimburg-Salter 2007b: 438–40, 2008: 276–7). This visual rhetoric finds parallels in the slightly later art of central Tibet. However, as we shall see, the style of the religious images derives from the Mahāyāna monastic art of Kashmir. In order to understand how the resulting visual tradition, the Indo-Tibetan style, eventually obliterated the identity of the earlier regional Tibetan cultures, it is necessary to try to trace the earliest examples of the Tibetan Himalayan style. The brief historical summary of key political events at this time suggests that the originally heterogeneous Tibetan culture evolved distinctive new identities, only two of which can be mentioned here: the Buddhist monastic arts patronized by the royal elite, that





**Figure 15.6** Donor depiction. Tabo *sKor lam*, inner east wall, south side.  
Photo: Jaroslav Poncar 2001 ©WHA.V.

is, the Indo-Tibetan style, and, in response, the evolution of the “Yandrug” Bon.

## The Current State of Art Historical Research

The existence of a distinctive early style (Phase I, the Tibetan Himalayan style) is scarcely acknowledged and is overshadowed in modern scholarship by discussions of the Kashmiri inspired art which can be characterized as Indo-Tibetan. This style has been identified with the Phase II artistic program in the Tabo Main Temple. Both the painting and the sculpture which belong to this artistic tradition are characterised by a post-Gupta style that can be easily distinguished by the Kashmiri mode of representation. The present article seeks to define the Tibetan Himalayan style. Following a description of the formal properties of the latter visual tradition, we will review the present state of art historical studies and propose a descriptive terminology. A concluding section outlining a future research agenda will raise the problem of the last phase and eventual disappearance of the Tibetan Himalayan style—allowing us also to consider the evidence for the processes of cultural transfer, adaptation, transformation, and change in visual culture.

Interpreting and contextualising the arts of this region and period remain very difficult. With a clearer sense of the distribution and characteristics of the artistic corpus identifiable as the Tibetan Himalayan style it may be possible to better coordinate evidence from contemporaneous sources, particularly written ones. Tibetan inscriptions demarcate a group of images as having been produced under Tibetan patronage. These benchmark pieces are the core around which we have been able to identify the earliest Tibetan art in the western domains.

## The Tibetan Himalayan Style

The earliest examples of the Tibetan Himalayan style currently known from Central Asia are accompanied by informal Tibetan inscriptions. The style of the standing bodhisattvas depicted on the oblong silk banners from Dunhuang (FIGURE 15.7) are depicted in a simple, linear, two dimensional figure style with straight, tubular legs (Klimburg-Salter 1982: 117 f.). At the time these paintings were first exhibited in the west (ibid.) the Tabo *sGo khang* paintings lay buried under hundreds of years of dust, and were still unsuspected. In the first discussion of the Tabo *sGo khang* paintings (1997: 77) I postulated that the paintings could be related to the oblong painted silk banners from Dunhuang (FIGURE 15.7) identified by Vandier-Nicolas (1976) as one variant of a Himalayan style. In the depictions on the silk banners, as also in the art of Tabo, all the figures wear simply drawn Indian style clothing and jewellery, but with distinctive patterns. As there is also a variant of the Himalayan style in the art of Dunhuang (Klimburg-Salter 1982: 117 f.) with features deriving from Chinese art, it would be appropriate to distinguish this former group (associated with Tibetan inscriptions) as the Tibetan Himalayan style. It has been proposed that the banners were produced in Khotan (Gropp 1974). According to Tibetan tradition the art of Khotan influenced the early art of Tibet.

The same rigid, flat, two dimensional figure style can be seen in the rock art, for example in the large scale representation of the Five Buddha Families with donor figures at Shey (FIGURE 15.8). The comparative art historical analysis demonstrated relationships to a large number of rock engravings and low relief sculptures from present northern Pakistan to western Tibet: the low relief sculptures at Naupur, Gilgit (FIGURE 15.9, ca. 9<sup>th</sup> century); Satpura, Skardu (FIGURE 15.10); around Leh and Shey there are images in the Tibetan Himalayan style at Smanla, Changspa,



**Figure 15.7** Mañjuśrī. Painting on silk. Dunhuang, Qianfodong. Ca. 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century CE. 53.4 x 14.6 cm. National Museum, New Delhi (Ch.Ivi.005). Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1981.



(a) Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1981.



(b) Detail of Figure 15.8(a). Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1981.

**Figure 15.8** Five Buddhas, rock carvings. Shey, Ladakh.

Choglamsar and in Kinnaur at dKhor near Poo; in Purang in Cogro; and in Kardong in Lahul. Similar stylistic characteristics can be identified in large scale sculptures modelled in unbaked clay and sometimes wood.

Monumental free standing sculpture served as the focus of ritual activity in the western Himalayan temples. Considering that the sculptures are approximately 1000 years old, made of fragile materials, and inhabit an earthquake prone zone, it is astonishing that so much has survived at all, and understandable that the clay images have so often been repaired. Again the sculptures of the Founding Phase (996) in Tabo serve as a benchmark. At first glance one is misled by later additions, such as crowns, and it is often difficult to extrapolate back to the original condition. At the time that the Main Temple was founded, the main icon (it is now painted red) was placed, as was usual, in the cella, was painted white, and was understood as Vairocana (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 146). Contemporaneous with this figure and belonging to the original program were also the two attendant bodhisattvas in the cella and the two bodhisattvas in front of the cella (*ibid.* Figs. 143, 146). Despite awkward repairs, the essential stylistic features noted in the large scale rock art are also found here—rather stiff figures with a flat figure style, hardly any articulation of the body parts, and long, straight, tubular legs.

Despite its small size, the Translator's Temple at Ropa in Kinnaur (Ropag in Rin chen bzang po's biography) is a treasure trove of small and large scale early sculptures. As in the Tabo cella, both the Tibetan Himalayan style and the Indo-Tibetan style are present. What is unique to Ropa, however, is that one can trace, to some degree, the changing styles. Probably the finest surviving example of a large clay sculpture in the Tibetan Himalayan style is the red Hayagrīva (Klimburg-Salter 1994: 56). Detailed comparison of particular stylistic, iconographic, and technical elements suggests that the two guardian figures, the two bodhisattvas, and the five Buddhas in the apse of the small chapel at Ropa may also be dated to the late 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century (Klimburg-Salter 1994: 67–74; Luczanits 2004: 57–59). The Buddha sculptures were covered with cloths on my several visits, and in their present condition only core elements appear to be original. Features which would suggest that the nine clay images were originally modelled in the Tibetan Himalayan style are the hairstyles and some aspects of the face (Klimburg-Salter 1994: figs. 14, 53). However, as I have earlier demonstrated (compare Klimburg-Salter 1994: figs. 54, 55), the Buddha images were redone around the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. At the apex



**Figure 15.9** Buddha, rock sculpture. Naupur near Gilgit. Photo: Klimburg-Salter.



(a) Photo: Schuh 2011.



(b) Detail of Figure 15.10(a). Photo: Schuh 2011.

**Figure 15.10** Rock carvings, Skardu.

of the pointed oval halos associated with each of the five Buddha images at Ropa is a *stūpa* with a *stūpa* base, a circular body, and a pyramidal series of nine umbrellas crowned with the sun and moon symbols that is almost identical to the same motif sculptured in wood and placed over the heads of each of the four images of Mahāvairocana in Tabo. This form of *stūpa* is used throughout the western Himalaya from the Hindu Kush to western Tibet, but the exact articulation and placement are so close that they must be considered to indicate a shared artistic school.

A fascinating iconographic detail is that the Buddha images have long hair hanging to their shoulders. This detail is only found in the art located in the earliest surviving Buddhist monuments of this region—the Vairocana on the lintel of the portal at Ribba (Klimburg-Salter 2002: pl. 45) and the cella Vairocana at Tabo.

While the distinctive straight legged stance (FIGURES 15.7 to 15.9) is of course only found with standing figures, the same puppet like limbs, rounded broad shoulders, shovel-shaped head, all depicted in a flat, two-dimensional style, is also to be seen in seated figures, such as the seated Buddha figures in the rock engraving from Satpura (FIGURE 15.10). The salient characteristics of this style can be clearly seen in painting as well. A rare, albeit fragmentary, standing image (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 191) shows the same stiff form depicted on the large scale rock art, for example at Shey. On a smaller scale are the paintings of seated deities in the Tabo *sGo khang* (FIGURE 15.11). It is, for instance, interesting to note the close similarities of the drawing of the painted figure from the Tabo *sGo khang* with the incised image on the Ye shes 'od stele from dKhor near Poo (FIGURE 15.12). Note the pillow-like shape of the folded legs, but most particularly the manner in which the scalloped line at the waist, above the lower garment, is a graphic reference to the stomach muscles. In summation, in all media, the images of the “Tibetan Himalayan style” are strictly frontally represented. The legs are absolutely straight with no joints implied, the feet are usually parallel to each other. The shoulders are broad. The heads are shovel-shaped, that is, broad and narrowing to u-form at the chin, and the *uṣṇīṣa* has a relatively high profile. There is practically no implied volume even when a sculpture such as in the Naupur example is in low relief (FIGURE 15.9). In this sculpture, even though the drapery is shaped in high relief, there is still no volume or implied movement.

Consistent cultural features associated with this stylistic group are the use of Tibetan language (though not necessarily present on each image)





**Figure 15.12** Yes shes 'od stone. dKhor near Poo, Himachal Pradesh. Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1989.



**Figure 15.11** Moon-God Chandra. Tabo *sGo khang*, south wall. Photo: Christian Luczanits 1994 © WHAV.

and clothing of a western Tibetan style, as well as the consistent representation of historical figures in distinctive positions according to their status. Non-royal devotees, when represented, are depicted kneeling. There are a variety of kneeling postures, kneeling on both knees or with one knee raised (FIGURES 15.6 and 15.8(b)). The most descriptive visual imagery we have from this period are the wall paintings in the Tabo Monastery Entry Hall (see Klimburg-Salter 2008 for a detailed description).

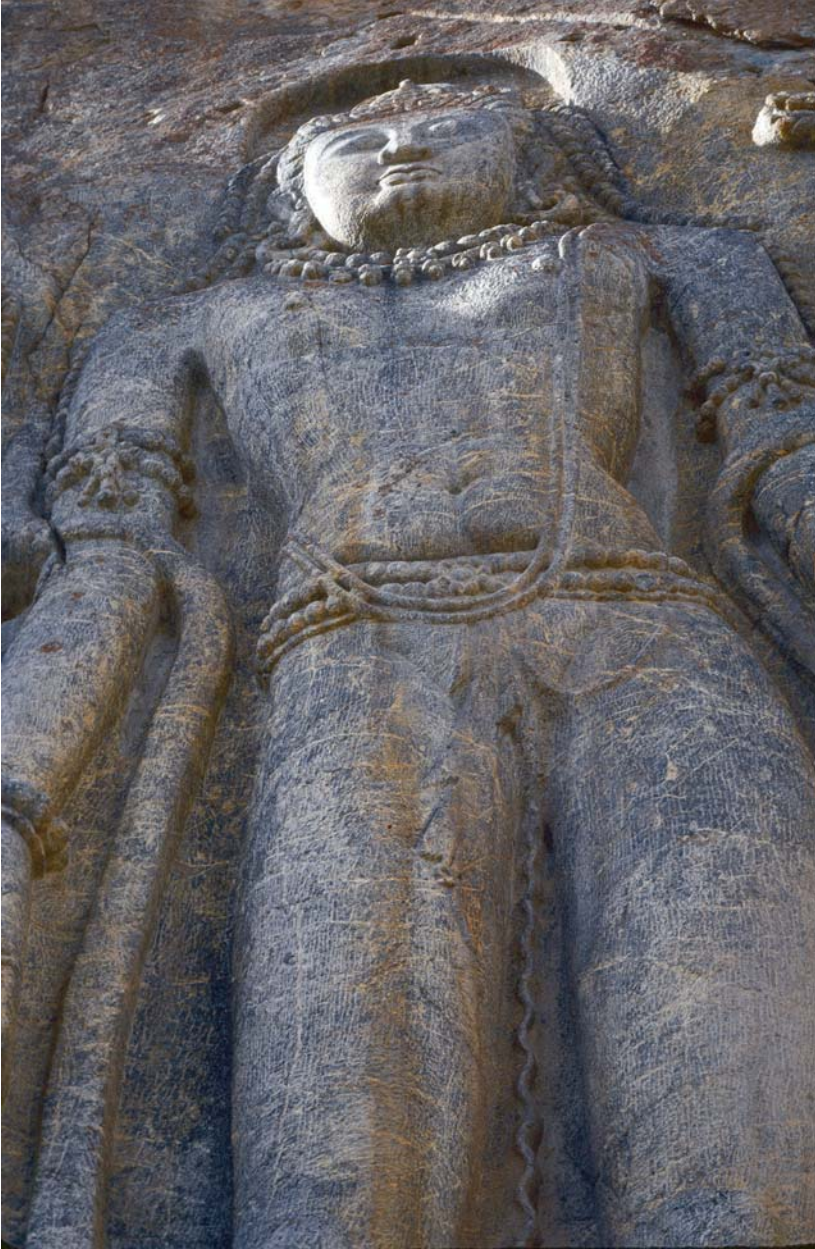
Within the same region and period a volumetric style can be identified in the same media with distinctly post-Gupta Kashmiri stylistic characteristics. Donors, when represented, are depicted standing. Only occasionally are kneeling donors found but the posture is different from that used in the Tibetan Himalayan style (see below). Both groups seem to have patronized a similar repertoire of Buddhist Mahāyāna iconographic types.

Monumental bodhisattvas in high relief are found in the same geographic area at Dras ('Bras) (FIGURE 15.13) and Mulbek (FIGURE 15.14). In Ladakh and in Zangskar some of these images are associated with Śāradā inscriptions. The rounded forms of these images are depicted in a volumetric, post-Gupta style, the slightly bent knee and the implied *tribhaṅga* which grows out of an asymmetrical placement of the feet are characteristic of the Kashmiri style as it is known from around the 8<sup>th</sup> century. There is relatively little *in situ* evidence for the Buddhist art of Kashmir. The standing, stone Buddha image excavated from Parihasapura and attributed to the second quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (FIGURE 15.15) allows us to attribute the more monumental standing bodhisattvas mentioned above to the 8<sup>th</sup> century as well. In the rare instances when donor figures are represented they are depicted standing, as on the base of the Mulbek bodhisattva, following the Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa tradition. These latter sculptures may be seen as representative of the artistic tradition that later developed into the Indo-Tibetan style—which was closely identified with the monastic centers patronized by the kings of Purang-Guge.

The Tibetan Himalayan style is virtually replaced in the 11<sup>th</sup> century by a Kashmiri inspired style which may be termed Indo-Tibetan. At Tabo this latter style first appears in a highly sophisticated program of ca. 1042 (The Renovation Phase). However, the style certainly existed prior to 1042, as we have seen further west, in the 10<sup>th</sup> century or before. This brief summary has established that both the Tibetan Himalayan style and post-Gupta Kashmiri style are used over the same wide geographic area. Often



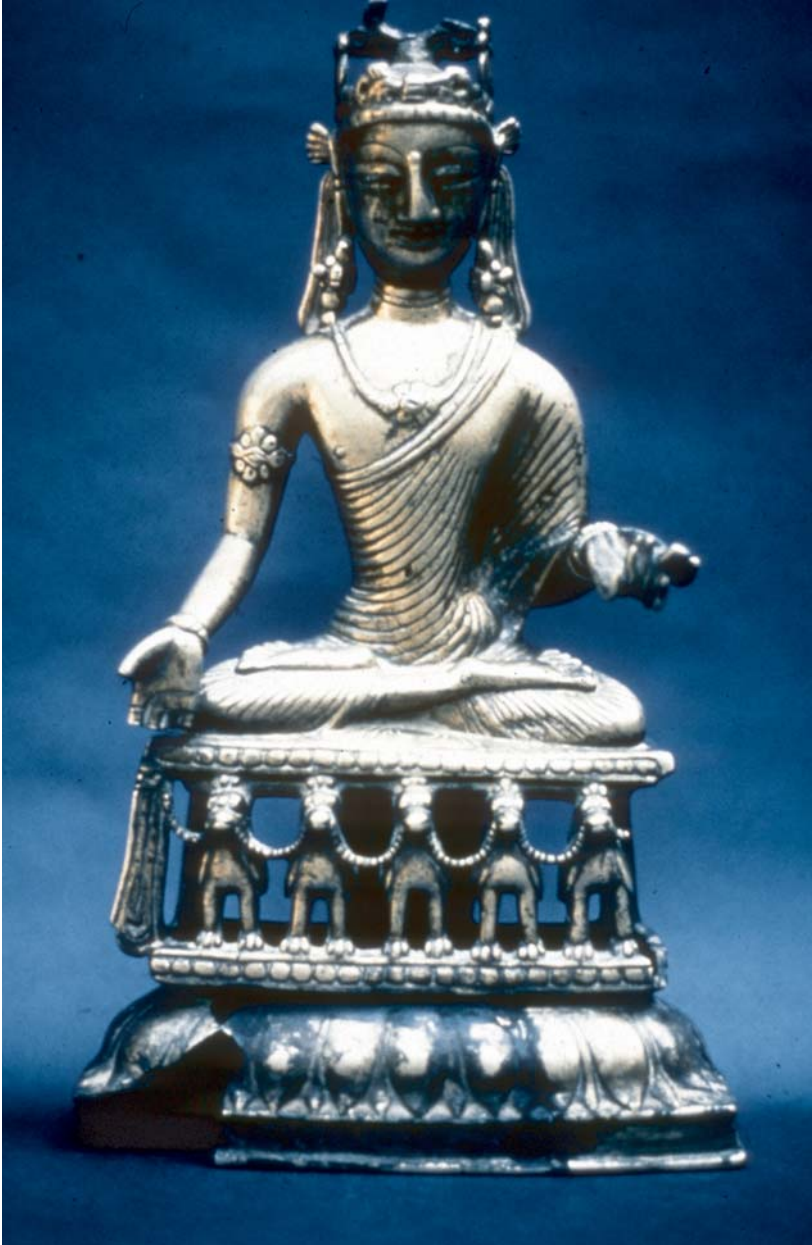
**Figure 15.13** Dras ('Bras), Ladakh. Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1982.



**Figure 15.14** Maitreya. Mulbek, Ladakh. Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1982.



**Figure 15.15** Stone Buddha image. Parihasapura. Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Shrinagar. Photo: Klimburg-Salter.



**Figure 15.16** Amoghasiddhi. Copper alloy. Ladakh or Northern Pakistan. Ca. 10<sup>th</sup> century CE. H. 34.3 cm. Pacific Asia Museum, Pasadena. Promised gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert King. Photo: Klimburg-Salter ©Pacific Asia Museum.

they are used in close geographic proximity to each other. These two styles may have been used contemporaneously by different patronage groups, as indicated by the different languages used.

Another interesting fact is that the so-called Tibetan Himalayan style is rarely found in surviving portable objects. In addition to the seated Jina Amoghasiddhi (ca. 10<sup>th</sup> century, FIGURE 15.16; cf. Klimburg-Salter 1982: pl. 83, p. 172) there are some relatively rare examples of standing images in the straight-legged style. They are invariably small, as in the example of a standing Mañjuśrī on a lion throne in the British Museum in London (FIGURE 15.17).

An image of a twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara in the Potala Li ma lha khang (FIGURE 15.18) possesses the distinctive straight legs, but the figure is generally more fleshy. Von Schroeder attributes the sculpture, together with a small number of others, to the Zhang zhung Kingdom and the 7<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. As von Schroeder does not explain how he arrives at the Zhang zhung attribution, I can not at present comment on this proposed category (von Schroeder 2008: 52–55).

Summarizing the above discussion: across this very large area from northern Pakistan to western Tibet and into Central Asia, there was a heterogeneous artistic culture where Tibetan and “Indian” patrons commissioned large-scale, rock-cut images, portable objects, and Buddhist architectural decoration. Each of these groups of patrons was associated with a particular style and a preferred language for dedicatory inscriptions. The presence of the Tibetan language suggests that Tibetan patrons were associated with a flat, two-dimensional style characterised by puppet like limbs (including straight legs) and shovel-shaped heads, while patrons coming from an Indic cultural milieu, indicated by the Śāradā inscriptions, were associated with a post-Gupta Kashmiri inspired style.

The degree of interaction between the Buddhist groups associated with a Tibetan cultural milieu on the one hand, and an Indian cultural milieu on the other, is difficult to evaluate. The Gilgit region, the westernmost point where a rock-cut sculpture in the Tibetan Himalayan style can be found (FIGURE 15.9) should be most promising for this enquiry. Unfortunately, neither the sculpture at Naupur nor the various rock engravings of figurative imagery in the region have been adequately considered in light of the Tibetan occupation of the region in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. A potentially fruitful area of enquiry would be a comparative analysis of the images



**Figure 15.17** Mañjuśrī on a lion throne. Copper alloy. Western Himalayas. 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century CE. H. 12.4 x W. 6 x D. 6 cm. The Trustees of the British Museum, London. (1905.5.19.15). Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1981.





**Figure 15.18** Twelve-armed Avalokiteśvara. Attributed to the Zhang Zhung Kingdom. 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup> century CE. Copper alloy. Height 23.2 cm. Po ta la: *Li ma lha khang*; inventory no. 1569. Von Schroeder 2008.



(a) Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1981.



(b) Detail of FIGURE 15.19(a). Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1981.

**Figure 15.19** Sun-dried brick. Gilgit. Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Shrinagar.



**Figure 15.20** Manuscript and covers. Gilgit. Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Shrinagar. Photo: Klimburg-Salter 1981.

(donor figures, religious figures, *stūpas*) with a view to possible Tibetan—Buddhist or Bon—parallels. Also with regard to this question, the historical testimony of the Gilgit *stūpa* deposits has, until now, been neglected. The latest text contained in the Gilgit *stūpa* deposit is the *Samghātasūtra* dated 627/8, the covers found with the text are, however, later than the text, and I have suggested a 9<sup>th</sup> century date for the covers based on stylistic evidence (Klimburg-Salter 1992). I have reconsidered this dating in a forthcoming publication. In the painted decoration of the covers, neither the style of the bodhisattva figures nor the kneeling posture of the donors speaks of the Tibetan cultural milieu. With regard to the representation of the kneeling male and female donors (FIGURE 15.20) the lower part of the body is completely lowered and horizontal to the ground, whereas the Tibetan depictions of the kneeling figures are half raised, and

sometimes one knee is on the ground and one knee is raised. However, in the same *stūpa* deposit was a very large number of large-sized, sun-dried “bricks” (Klimburg-Salter 1992; see FIGURE 15.19). They all have the same design which must have been produced with a wooden mould. The elongated proportions of the figures and particularly the standing bodhisattva attendants have the long, thin, puppet-like legs known from the Tibetan Himalayan style. One obvious possibility is that, by the time of the burial of the *stūpa* relics, the Tibetan Himalayan style was being used in an area where previously there were Indian Buddhist communities who followed the post-Gupta Indian artistic traditions.

## The Chronological Parameters of the Tibetan Himalayan Style

Unfortunately none of the examples of the Tibetan Himalayan style except the paintings in the Tabo Main Temple can be securely dated. A consistent visual vocabulary throughout this extensive iconographic program and the relationship to other images such as the rock art suggest that this style was in use for a considerable time before 996, when the *sGo khang* was built and decorated. There is in fact no reason to believe that Tabo was the earliest Buddhist monastery decorated in this style under Tibetan patronage. The very small size of the temples at Ropa (Ro pag; Klimburg-Salter 1994), the original Translator’s Temple at Poo (sPu) and perhaps the temple in Tiak, Tibet, indicates that they may well have predated the Main Temple at Tabo. A more detailed archaeological examination of all the earliest paintings and sculptures may make it possible to establish an internal chronology. But for the moment we are restricted to chronological evidence provided by inscriptions. The dates suggested for the other sculptures discussed here are general estimates, based on a comparative art historical analysis, with almost no securely dated points. More comparative analysis on the inscriptions related to these images might provide some chronological points of reference. A very useful survey of old Tibetan inscriptions (Iwao, Hill and Takeuchi 2009: map on p. xxxiv; list and bibliography pp. 86–96) provides an excellent list and bibliography, but few dates.

We can roughly suggest the 8<sup>th</sup> century as the hypothetical beginning of this style. Many of the rock art examples published in this article are

attributed by Denwood (2007) to a broad period ranging from the 8<sup>th</sup> to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. However, the ancient Tibetan texts tell us that this region became part of the Tibetan Empire from at least the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. But contacts between central Tibet and this region certainly existed earlier—as is demonstrated by the story of the origin of the Tibetan script from this region (Scherrer-Schaub 2012b). Linguistic studies confirm that some of the Tibetan languages or dialects used in that area can be traced to the period of the Yarlung dynasty. So theoretically the style could certainly have originated as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

Dating the demise of the Tibetan Himalayan style is even more complicated. We know that this style had totally disappeared by 1042 when the renovation of the Tabo Assembly Hall resulted in a new iconographic program executed in a fully developed Kashmiri inspired style, the Indo-Tibetan style. The extremely skilled artists also used materials of the highest quality—for both painting and sculpture. The sophisticated artistic program is the result of a highly experienced workshop. But surviving in Tabo are the only examples of the fully developed Tibetan Himalayan style and the fully developed Indo-Tibetan style—associated with the two chronological phases (late 10<sup>th</sup> and mid-11<sup>th</sup> century), the founding and renovation of the Main Temple respectively.

## A Visual Polemic

At Tabo, the Tibetan Himalayan style was replaced by the (western) Indo-Tibetan style, each style representing distinctly different social and political contexts. While contemporary and later Tibetan Buddhist sources describe the conflict between the local Tibetan groups and the elite associated with the Purang-Guge kings in ideological terms, the goal was certainly political domination by the latter, as discussed by Petech (1997, 1999: 2–5). As can be seen from the extraordinary quality of the art produced from the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the Indo-Tibetan style, the expanding political domination of the kings of Purang-Guge was accompanied by control of the economic resources. We know little of the contemporaneous economy except for two key features—profit from long distance trade, and the exploitation of mineral wealth, particularly gold. The link with trade routes from an early date can be clearly seen in FIGURE 15.1. All of the monumental rock engravings are located along the main “corridor of communication” from Gilgit to Purang. Interestingly, two of the surviving monu-

mental images in Kashmiri style with Śāradā inscriptions are located in the middle of the sequence of Tibetan-patronized, large-scale, rock-cut images. The significance of the location of these Kashmiri sculptures is yet to be appreciated. However, the strength of the Indic Buddhist communities here may explain why the temple in Nyar ma in Ladakh (Mar yul) was founded in a subsequent phase of chapel building by Rin chen bzang po after Tabo and Tholing were founded by Ye shes 'od in 996, according to Petech (1999: 3).

The establishment of the ecclesiastical estate in 996 by Ye shes 'od and his sons, descendants of the royal central Tibetan lineage, proceeded by sustained verbal attacks on local Tibetan groups. This offensive was so successful that the memory of the earlier Tibetan groups has been practically erased. The story of this conflict is known almost exclusively from the viewpoint of the winner. Indeed, we are unsure who exactly the losers were. Based on later sources and subsequent developments we can associate some of the practices attacked in the "ordinances" with Bon and rNying ma Buddhist practices. These ritual practices were certainly associated with imagery. None have been securely identified to date. In the absence of contemporaneous witnesses it is only possible to understand the cultural history of this early period by reference to later sources. Although art historians tend to derive their historical narrative for this period from the Tibetan Buddhist, mostly later, sources, the cultural history of this region is in fact a multi faceted discourse where all the players both affected, and were affected by, the rapidly changing regional and international economic and political events. Naturally the convergence of these forces affected the communities differently. But both Bon and Buddhist sources identify the same periods as having been crucial for their own history.

The art historical evidence falls into chronological phases that can also be identified in the literary sources. The post-Gupta Kashmiri style of the early 8<sup>th</sup> century was the visual source out of which the (western) Indo-Tibetan style evolved. The 8<sup>th</sup> century is also the earliest date attributed to images in the Tibetan Himalayan style. The latest monuments in this style are attributed to the late 10<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup>/11<sup>th</sup> century. It is certainly not a coincidence that both Bon and Buddhist groups see the same period from 996 to the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century as critical in the formation of their political and religious identities.

At least since the 7<sup>th</sup> century the western regions of the Yarlung Empire were crossed by trade routes linking this region to the broader Eurasian culture zone. Trade and natural resources were important economic factors throughout the area. This was a multicultural world with an ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous population and diverse religious practices.

From the negative polemic against the local Tibetan groups in the successive ordinances issued by the kings of Purang-Guge we can infer that there were intense and long lasting differences between the new political rulers, descended from the ancient Yarlung dynasty, and some of the local Tibetan communities (Klimburg-Salter 2008). What sort of power struggles preceded the realignment of forces resulting in the ecclesiastical estate in 996 and the eventual disappearance of the visual culture associated with some of the local Tibetan communities?

From the 8<sup>th</sup> century on, the region under discussion was the scene of particularly crucial events, as Tibetan, Chinese, Arab, and local Turkic rulers vied for political control. This was a period of intense political engagement with severe and long lasting consequences. One of the greatest rulers of Kashmir, Lalitāditya, an important patron of Buddhist art and architecture, reigned in the first quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest evidence for Buddhist art in the region (Kinnaur and Ladakh) shows a direct link to the Buddhist art of Kashmir of that period (FIGURES 15.13 and 15.15). Kashmiri monastic Buddhism must also have been important, but the archaeological evidence in Kashmir is minimal. We know nothing about either the patrons of the large scale rock sculptures with Śāradā inscriptions in Ladakh or the patrons of the large scale rock art with Tibetan inscriptions. Also the associated Buddhist practices of both groups are unclear.

At this time the Arab armies enter the scene. From the 8<sup>th</sup> century the Hindu Śāhi and the kings of Kashmir were the most important opponents of the Arab forces, and sometimes allies of Tibet. The expansion of the Muslim armies impacted the Buddhist institutions and forced the movement northwards and then eastwards (towards Tibet) of Buddhist clergy and artists. As a result of the expansion of the Arab armies and their struggle for ascendancy against local rulers, there was a complete realignment of political forces in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. And in Central Asia the expansion of local Muslim rulers, referred to in Tibetan sources as the *Gar log* (Petech 1997: 239), brought an end in the 12<sup>th</sup> century to the already greatly diminished dynasty of the kings of Purang-Guge.

According to Bon sources, the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century was a period of catastrophic events resulting in the loss or seclusion of the Bon sacred texts, written in the Zhang zhung language.<sup>1</sup>

Ye shes 'od's active rejection of all non-orthodox Buddhist practices and practitioners is forcefully articulated in two "ordinances", tentatively attributed by Karmay (CHAPTER 16 of this volume) to ca. 985 and to 988. These local Tibetan groups did not identify with the goals of Indian monastic Buddhism as espoused by Ye shes 'od and his sons. About this time Ye shes 'od sent Rin chen bzang po and a group of other young lamas to India and Kashmir—in order to secure the correct Indian Buddhist teachings. The goal was to secure and translate original—Sanskrit—sacred texts as a basis for the true transmission of Indian monastic Buddhist culture. The administrative mechanism and political culture were inherited from central Tibet (Petech 1997: 234–236; Stoddard 2004). Together with members of the important Bro family, who originated from Zhang zhung, members of the aristocratic families—Cog ro and Pa tshab—were also part of the original migration westward of the dynasty of the kings of Purang-Guge. These noble families supported the missionary activities of Ye shes 'od. The *lha bla ma* and his descendants continued to be supported by these noble families for several generations, as both monastic foundations as well as translations are associated with their names (Petech 1997: 236).

At the time that Ye shes 'od was formulating his ecclesiastical estate a variety of religious practices were current among the Tibetan population, including Bon and rNying ma practices. These traditions are to some degree mirrored in the first phase of artistic production at Tabo painted in the Tibetan Himalayan style (see below). Vitali is surely correct that there was more interaction of the old and new traditions during Ye shes 'od's time than is generally admitted by the later sources (Vitali 1996: 225 ff.; see also Klimburg-Salter 2008).

The local Tibetan groups who did not choose to adapt the newly imported Indian monastic Buddhism actively proselytised by Ye shes 'od and his family from the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century all developed different survival strategies. It would appear that the Bon practitioners reconfigured their image in face of the increasing power of the ecclesiastical prin-

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<sup>1</sup> The Kingdom of Zhang zhung was conquered by Tibetan imperial forces ca. 650. This was the beginning of a process of acculturation which eventually involved also the loss of the Zhang zhung language.



ciality ruled by Ye shes 'od and subsequently Byang chub 'od and their descendants.

As a result, it is very difficult to understand what would have constituted Bon practice and ritual imagery prior to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Scholars are in disagreement about the identity of the culture or religious practices that can be identified with what we today call Bon. Indeed, until the recent discovery of an ordinance tentatively attributed by Karmay (CHAPTER 16 in this volume) to 988, where Bon is clearly said to exist in the western regions, even this fact was debated. Due to the uncertainty regarding all features of these religious practices, it is not possible to identify Bon visual imagery at that time. This situation may contribute to the difficulty in identifying some of the iconographic forms represented in Tabo in the Tibetan Himalayan style. How can one hope to identify iconographic forms that can no longer be understood? As this problem is central to understanding the distinctive character of the Tibetan Himalayan style, iconographic problems will be discussed in the concluding section.

Given the fact that Bon texts from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onward demonstrate in some areas an adaptive process, it is instructive to consider the close chronology between key moments in the history of “new” Bon and the history of the (new) Indian monastic Buddhism under the patronage of the kings of Purang-Guge.

Despite the great importance of this period for the history of Tibet and the history of both Buddhism and Bon, it remains difficult to establish an unequivocal chronological narrative of the events and personalities. Petech made many important contributions to this topic (see bibliography). Here I largely follow Petech 1997, which was written and sent to the press before Vitali 1996, an important study based on the 15<sup>th</sup> century official chronicle the mNga' ris rgyal rabs (a text not then known to Petech). Accordingly, Petech (1999) corrected a few points in his own narrative or registered a dissenting view. For present purposes, I cite here only Petech 1999. The tremendous artistic and religious renaissance presided over by successive generations of the dynasty of the kings of Purang-Guge for almost 100 years resulted from a skillful blending of successful political and economic policies with a focused ideological goal. Petech (1999: 3) proposes that Ye shes 'od founded a sort of ecclesiastical principality in the western parts of Guge, Spiti, and upper Kinnaur, “under the suzerainty of the kings of Purang” (Petech 1997: 235) whose political capital remained in Purang. The new theocratic political order can be traced in stages

marked by great assemblies, four of which have been identified. The first was convened in 992 at sPeg mkhar of the Cog-la region (Petech 1997: 233; 252, n. 20). The latter was in lower Spiti, where also Tabo is located. At this time the hermitage of Pa (or Sa) sgam in Rum, located in Guge, was founded or renovated. This monastery, named Byams snyoms gling, was the site of at least two recorded assemblies in 996 and 1016. The main donor for the renovation of Tabo monastery in 1042 was also a man from Rum (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 140). At the great assembly instituted in 996 by Ye shes 'od (Petech 1999: 3) the *lha bla ma* as well as his oldest son Devarāja, together with eighty-seven other “subjects”, were probably also ordained at the same time (Vitali 1996: 241). In the same year, according to Petech, Tholing and Tabo Monasteries were founded. Nyar ma was founded subsequently by Rin chen bzang po (Petech 1999: 3) and Kha char in Purang was founded by Ye shes 'od's younger brother Khor re who became king of Purang-Guge, following Ye shes 'od's abdication. Thus Petech diverges from Vitali who dates the foundation of all four monasteries to 996. The scanty art historical information might be seen as supporting Petech—no trace of the Tibetan Himalayan style is seen at either of the latter two monasteries, but this evidence is thin indeed, and the question should be considered open.

Rin chen bzang po's influence on the monastic Buddhism of the region in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century is confirmed by all sources. However, there is no firm evidence that he was present at Tabo (Klimburg-Salter 1997). In fact, Rin chen bzang po is completely missing from the extensive representations of the Tabo monastic community. I see no reason not to accept this evidence. Accordingly, Rin chen bzang po was neither present at the founding of Tabo in 996 because he was in Kashmir, nor did he belong to the “great Tabo monastic community” depicted in the renovation inscription image of 1042 because he was residing at that time at Tholing.<sup>2</sup>

Later Bon tradition also identifies 996 as a critical point in their institutional development. This was the year of the birth of the important Bon master gShen chen kLu dga' (996–1035; Petech 1997: 237). Luga is “considered to be the initiator of the Bon religious movement of the eleventh

<sup>2</sup> In earlier articles (1982, 1994) I attempted to integrate the oral tradition for Rin chen bzang po's active involvement at Tabo with the archaeological evidence, that is, the absence of any reference to his presence. Thus I proposed (1994) that there were two early 11<sup>th</sup> century phases of artistic production, the first initiated by Rin chen bzang po. I subsequently decided for a simpler solution, as explained here.

century” (Karmay 2007: 58). According to the chronology found in later Bon sources, it would appear as if Bon was transforming its institutions in pace with the key phases in the extension of the ecclesiastical estate in western Tibet.

Rin chen bzang po may have returned from Kashmir ca. 1003, at which time he may have received his final ordination (Petech 1997: 234). All scholars accept Rin chen bzang po’s return from Kashmir as marking the beginning of the active introduction of Kashmiri monastic Buddhism to Tibet. It is likely that the founding of the temples mentioned in the biography began at this time. Petech (1997: 234) suggests that Rin chen bzang po’s last trip to Kashmir, which lasted for six years, started sometime between 1010–1015. According to his biography, he returned from Kashmir with a number of artists, texts, and liturgical objects. The tremendous expansion in the production of sculptures in the Kashmiri inspired Indo-Tibetan style begins at this time (Petech 1997: 252, n. 35), as will be discussed below.

In 1016 (Petech 1997: 235) another great assembly was held, again at Byams snyom gling hermitage. At this time the political and theocratic institutions were expanded and Nāgarāja, the younger son of *lha bla ma* Ye shes ’od, received his final ordination (Vitali 1996: 241).

Several dates important to the new Bon traditions are clustered around this event. In 1014 Luga received important Bon teachings and he began to meditate at Dragkar. In 1016 Luga married Paldon, a woman of the Naga family. In 1017 Luga revealed a number of important *gter ma* texts (Karmay 2007: 58), including the “Bon Abhidharma text *Srid pa’i mdzod phug*” (Petech 1997: 237). A number of other important Bon teachers are also said to have taught during that period (Karmay 2007: 60–61).

Resistance to orthodox Indian monastic Buddhism continued as is evidenced by two further “ordinances”, both issued in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The earlier one, attributed to Pho brang Zhi ba ’od, the only translator in the royal family, contains similar accusations as the earlier ordinances. An important figure, Zhi ba ’od may have been depicted in the cella Tabo Assembly Hall (Klimburg-Salter 1997: fig. 151). And later, rTse lde (r. 1060–1080) also felt compelled to issue an “ordinance” in much the same tone as Ye shes ’od’s earlier “ordinance”.

The extraordinary productivity—translating of texts into Tibetan, founding and decorating religious establishments with art works of the highest quality—reached its high point in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. King rTse lde and his uncle, the translator Zhi ba ’od, again convened

a great assembly as the focus of their political-religious activity. The famous *chos 'khor* (religious conference) convened at Tholing around 1076 was the last of the recorded periodic assemblies convened by the kings of Purang-Guge. The separation of Purang-Guge dates to the period following rTse lde's death in 1080.

## The Rhetorical Function of the (Western) Indo-Tibetan Style

The stylistic evolution from an 8<sup>th</sup> century Kashmir style (FIGURE 15.15) to the elegant Indo-Tibetan style (see below) of the renovation period (Klimburg-Salter 1997: figs. 61, 169) can be followed by reference to surviving artistic examples in Kinnaur. As noted above, the introduction of this style most likely began in the second decade of the 11<sup>th</sup> century with Rin chen bzang po's return from his last visit to Kashmir.

The art historical evidence points to significant differences between the artistic production of the two stylistically defined groups considered here, the Tibetan Himalayan style and the Kashmiri inspired Indo-Tibetan style patronized by the kings of Purang-Guge. The surviving evidence is that these two artistic traditions may even have been chronologically sequential—the Tibetan Himalayan style beginning at about 8<sup>th</sup> century and the latter in the first quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Some overlap at the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century is reasonable, but the material evidence is so far missing.

The monastic arts represented in the Indo-Tibetan style had apparently a far more substantial economic base, as is seen in the high quality of the arts of the Tabo Renovation period. The use of high quality alloys and even precious metals such as silver is also indicative of this trend. The surviving portable sculptures in the Tibetan Himalayan style are rather poorer quality with regard to materials and manufacture. Many of the sculptures in the Kashmiri post-Gupta style are nothing short of spectacular—both with regard to materials and craftsmanship. This too certainly has contributed to the far greater fame of this artistic corpus, compared to the almost forgotten arts in the Tibetan Himalayan style.

All the recent exhibition catalogues proudly display elegant examples of Indo-Tibetan art, many objects only recently acquired on the art market. The simpler arts of the Tibetan Himalayan style, in contrast, are

missing. This discrepancy has also resulted in a descriptive terminology which *de facto* obscures the existence of a different and earlier artistic school. The same catalogues often acknowledge that the artistic remains of the region and period are not homogenous. However, as the Tibetan Himalayan style images are missing from the historical retrospective in the catalogues, there is no motivation to explore this visual tradition. The picture is different when the art historical discussions evolve in the context of a study of the *in situ* monastic arts. Thus the only studies known to me where the early style, that I call here the Tibetan Himalayan style, appears, is in discussions of the monastic arts of Himachal Pradesh—in temples dated to around the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>3</sup>

The transition to the earliest phase of the Indo-Tibetan style may be represented by the standing wooden sculptures of bodhisattvas in the Kashmiri style at Ropa in Kinnaur (Klimburg-Salter 1994: figs. 57–59). Also important for an understanding of the chronology of the style are the so-called Nāgarāja bronzes (Warnung-Balogh 2003) that must be dated after his final Buddhist initiation at the great assembly in 1016 (Petech 1997: 235), since only after that time would the title *lha btsun pa* have been appropriate for Nāgarāja. Based on an analysis of all the known examples of images with inscriptions containing the name Nāgarāja, Warnung-Balogh (2003: 68) comes to the conclusion that the large and masterful bronze Buddha image in the Cleveland Museum (FIGURE 15.21) marks the earliest phase of this group and may be dated to the beginning of the second quarter of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

Particularly important for the present discussion is the fact that, in all the representations of historical personages in the Indo-Tibetan style, every trace of both stylistic features and genre elements present in the late 10<sup>th</sup> century images is totally missing in the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century paintings. The new iconographic program at Tabo (Klimburg-Salter 2007b, 2008), executed in a magnificent and completely integrated style, signals to us that political and social dynamics moved the ecclesiastical estate and its Buddhist monasteries away from the 10<sup>th</sup> century regional Tibetan character visually described in the assemblies in the Tabo Entry Hall.

The iconographic choices and the visual presentation of both religious and historical themes in the ca. 1042 iconographic program from the Tabo Main Temple show the influence of Kashmiri Mahāyāna monastic Buddhism and a political culture related to the imperial period and influenced

<sup>3</sup>See bibliography for works by Klimburg-Salter; Luczanits.



**Figure 15.21** Buddha. Copper alloy. Tibetan inscription on pedestal: *lha bt-sun pa na ga ra dzahi thugs dam* (Priest (*lha btsun*) Nāgarāja's private image). Kashmir. 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> century CE. H. 98.1cm. The Cleveland Museum of Art. Purchase, John L. Severance Fund. (66.30). ©Cleveland Museum of Art.

by contemporaneous events in central Tibet (see Klimburg-Salter 2007b). What has been uncovered and published from the period at Tholing would seem to be consistent with what is found at Tabo in the late 10<sup>th</sup> and the 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. The opposing political interests rallied around different ideological and social systems and their associated visual cultures.

An important question is, what happened to the local Tibetan elite depicted in the Tabo Entry Hall? And how can we explain the disappearance of the iconographic choices also expressed there? Of course Tabo and Tholing are royal monasteries and the prevailing preferences expressed there were not necessarily shared throughout the realm. The problem is that until now the art history of this region and period has been told only from the perspective of the dominant, royal elite—the winners.

## Iconographic Problems and the Tibetan Himalayan Style

The renovation of the Tabo Main Temple was undertaken only 46 years after the founding of the temple. Since there is no reason to believe that the Temple would have deteriorated in such a short time, it is necessary to seek the explanation for the renovation elsewhere. The Renovation Inscription tells us that it was necessary to renovate the temple, that is, the interior decoration, because it was considered “old”. I have interpreted this to mean that the old “*rnying*” arts and iconographic system were no longer acceptable (Klimburg-Salter 2008: 241, 278), and indeed some of what the edicts describe as the unacceptable rituals or ideas current in the region in the 10<sup>th</sup> century can be found in surviving contemporary *rNying ma* texts. In their discussion of *rNying ma* texts before the *gSar ma pa* (new translation) period, Cantwell and Mayer (e.g., 2010), describe a very complex situation where texts were produced, and used, in both institutional and informal settings. The possible impact of the *rNying ma pa*, who returned to central Tibet beginning around the 960s, (Petech 1997: 253, n. 50), on the Buddhist institutions within the Kingdom of Purang-Guge merits further discussion (Stoddard 2004).

We know that the Renovation Phase in Tabo was preceded by some sort of violent confrontation resulting in the Admonition Inscription at the entrance to the *Dri gtsang khang*. We also know that the inscription literally obliterates a 10<sup>th</sup> century guardian figure (a small fragment of the same



**Figure 15.22** Nine-headed protector deity. Tabo 'Du khang, passage between Assembly Hall and Ambulatory. Photo: Uwe Niebuhr 2006 ©WHA.V.



type of mandorla as seen in FIGURE 15.22 is visible at the upper, proper left corner). Such guardian figures always come in pairs. The paired figure on the opposite (north) side of the entrance to the ambulatory (FIGURE 15.22) clearly belongs to that category of “old” local images which disappeared from the Tabo Buddhist iconographic program in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Indeed the figure is still not satisfactorily identified.

There are also other examples of religious images in the 10<sup>th</sup> century paintings at Tabo that have not yet been explained. While the basic iconographic scheme must have originated within the broad matrix of contemporary rNying ma practices, some aspects such as the protective deities may derive from local non-Buddhist traditions. It is difficult to know exactly where to search for the unidentified iconographic elements surviving from the 10<sup>th</sup> century paintings at Tabo.

For instance—what is the meaning of the left-turning swastika on the seat-carpets of some of the monks painted on the south wall in the *sGo khang* (FIGURE 15.23)? I have attempted to explain their function in this composition (Klimburg-Salter 2008: 241–269). At that time I assumed that the iconographic program belonged to the same cultural context as the unknown language and proper names identifying the figures in this composition. Bon scholars whom I queried in 1992 and the following years—Tenzin Namdak and Samten Karmay—could not identify these names or places in Bon literature. The later study by Christian Luczanits (1999) also could only identify a few of the proper names in the ancient Tibetan sources. Returning to the left-turning swastikas, my point of departure was the analogous placement of images of the left-turning swastikas on seat carpets during contemporary Bon rituals (FIGURE 15.24). But an ethno-art historical explanation is no more than a working hypothesis. I again raised the question during the Shimla conference. The Bon, Buddhist, and western scholars all agreed that the left-turning swastika, while having an ancient and widespread function in pan-Indian culture, is to be understood in Tibetan culture from at least the second millennium CE as associated with Bon. With regard to the presence of Bon in the western Himalaya during the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the participants confirmed that, although a subject of debate among western scholars, traditional sources identify Bon as present in the later 10<sup>th</sup> century in Zhang zhung. Spiti was a part of Zhang zhung. New information supporting this thesis was presented in Samten Karmay’s talk, “A newly discovered ‘ordinance’” (see CHAPTER 16 in this volume). That ordinance confirms the existence of Bon in the kingdom at that time, but makes no specific mention of



**Figure 15.23** Monk sitting on cushion with left-turning swastika. Tabo *sGo khang*, south wall, II/P25. Photo: Christian Luczanits 1994 ©WHAV.



**Figure 15.24** Left-turning swastikas painted on seat carpet, Mustang. Photo: Charles Ramble 2008.

Tabo. So just how much “proximity (of Bon to *chos*)” (Vitali 1996: 112) was actually present at Tabo monastery remains unresolved (Klimburg-Salter 2008: 240 f.).

In the Entry Hall of the Tabo Monastery, there are other examples of iconographic forms that cannot at present be identified. For example, there is the protectress of Tabo at the time the monastery was founded. She is identified by inscription as *Wi nyu myin*, until now totally unknown. The goddess is surrounded by two times nine female attendants. Her name was unknown among the many learned Bon po scholars whom I consulted over the years. However, it is impossible to know if there is any connection to *Srid pa rgyal mo* and her twenty-seven (three times nine) female attendants (daughters), as there is as yet no reliable information for this deity during the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Tracing *Wi nyu myin*’s iconography and context, we see that she was transformed into the Tibetan protectress, *rDo rje chen mo*, a form in which she is still important in Tabo today (Klimburg-Salter 1997: 87, 2008: 247–254).

Thus we see that almost all critical questions regarding the Tibetan Himalayan style remain open. The iconology of the surviving images represented in this style suggests that one must consider the larger context of a Zhang zhung culture as discussed by Karmay in CHAPTER 16 of this volume. Bon sources have long maintained that the western regions—Kashmir, Swat (Uḍḍiyāna), Gilgit, “collectively called *sTag gzig*s by Bon po sources” (Vitali 1996: 326)—were important sources for Zhang zhung culture.

The brief historical summary has demonstrated that the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries saw a period of historical shift where all major factors—economic, political, social—changed dramatically. Greater economic affluence permitted a new political structure in western Guge, the ecclesiastical estate. This appears to have resulted in an eastward shift of political power, away from the old western borderlands (e.g., Gilgit and adjacent areas according to Bon sources). Thus both monastic Buddhist and Bon institutions in the latter half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century were very radically different from their 10<sup>th</sup> century predecessors. The nature of Zhang zhung culture also changed accordingly—but how to describe this change? Given the very limited and one-sided written records surviving from the 10<sup>th</sup> century and earlier, the artistic corpus may be our only window on to the heterogeneous nature of contemporary Zhang zhung culture.

The surviving art historical record would seem to support this perspective. Both the Tibetan Himalayan style and the Kashmiri inspired

Indo-Tibetan style were exotic plants nurtured in the soil of ancient Zhangzhung, from the same sources but under different conditions. They flowered each for a short time, and then experienced very different fates in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The Indo-Tibetan style, that began in the early 11<sup>th</sup> century, eventually matured into the western Tibetan art of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The Tibetan Himalayan style either became extinct or was transformed by the emerging artistic traditions of the new Bon. As almost nothing is at present known of the early Bon visual tradition, the answer to this puzzle remains for future scholars.

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## A Decree of lHa Bla ma Ye shes 'od

Samten G. Karmay

In 1980 I published an article on what appeared to be an ordinance (*bka' shog*) of lHa Bla ma Ye shes 'od (947–1024).<sup>1</sup> This ordinance was quoted line by line at random but in full and commented upon in a work by Sog zlog pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1553–1624), a polemicist writer of the rNying ma school. This was the only work that contained the ordinance, and I did not come across it anywhere else. It shed light on the kind of Buddhist practices, particularly tantric rituals, that were prevalent in Western Tibet and that provoked a very strong reaction on the part of lHa Bla ma. It finally led him to send young Tibetans to Kashmir and India to study Buddhism and find out whether the Buddhist practices which were then current should be regarded as “authentic Buddhist teachings” or not. Several of these young Tibetans became highly prominent translators of Buddhist texts, especially Lotsawa Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) who, as is well known, initiated what was later regarded as the New Tantra (*sngags gsar ma*). This was the dawn of the Second Diffusion of Buddhism (*bstan pa phyi dar*) in Tibet in the eleventh century CE.

The ordinance I published is mainly a criticism of a variety of Buddhist ritual practices, but also of philosophical teachings such as rDzog chen (Karmay 1988). It does not, however, mention the Bon religion as one might have expected. Its absence, I thought, was rather odd.

Sixteen years later a monumental study of the 15<sup>th</sup> century historical work, the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs*, was published by Roberto Vitali (1996).

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I would like to express my gratitude to my colleague Charles Ramble who kindly read this article and made a number of suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Karmay 1980: 150–62, 1998: 3–16. The *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* by Nga dbang grags pa refers to a *bka' shog chen mo* (p. 54). Vitali (1996: 185–86) takes the *bka' shog chen mo* to be the ordinance I published, and he reckons that it was issued in 986. Vitali also gives two possible dates for lHa Bla ma: 953–1012 and 947–1024. He prefers 947–1024 (pp. 181, 183).

This was followed by a publication of the Tibetan text itself by Tashi Tsering of the Amnye Machen Institute (bKra shis Tshe ring 1996a). The work was totally unknown even to the Tibetan bibliographers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the preface to this publication Tashi Tsering, after thorough research, established the author's identity and identified his name as Gu ge mkhan chen Ngag dbang grags pa, a disciple of Tsongkhapa (1357–1419). Amongst other important historical questions, it shed some light on the chronology of lHa Bla ma and his immediate royal descendants. Further enlightened studies focusing on lHa Bla ma were made by Deborah Klimburg-Salter (2008), especially in connection with the paintings in Tabo Monastery.

In 2004 what looked like fragments of decrees of lHa Bla ma, which are similar in content to the ordinance, came to light. They were published in the *Bod ljongs zhib 'jug* (Ch. *Xizang Yanjeu*, No. 2, pp. 117–25) under the title *bTsan po khri lde srong btsan gyi bka' gtsigs kyi yi ge thor bu*, 'Fragments of Decrees of the bTsan po Khri lde srong gtsug btsan.'

These fragments are copies made from manuscripts and are presented by Ra se dKon mchog rgyal mtshan. They are printed in *dbu can* in two rows on each page. Ra se is a scholar of the 'Dri gung tradition and presently lives in Lhasa. Here is what he says about the fragments in a short introductory note:

In the very well known historical works sketchy biographical accounts of Lha Bla ma are given, but the name Khri lDe srong gtsug btsan as his name is not attested anywhere else. There is no record showing that he issued any decrees. Consequently when one wishes to carry out research into the Second Diffusion of Buddhism one comes across many difficulties. For many years I have been in search of old documents. I found the manuscript fragments of the decrees among the old books that were collected at the time of the Fifth Dalai Lama and this collection was sealed and kept in the library of Drepung. I thought that these manuscript fragments were valuable for research and I am therefore presenting them to those who are engaged in Tibetological research.

Let us begin with the author's title of his article. He has used the word *bka' gtsigs*, which is in fact not very common although the second word, *gtsigs* ("edict"), was current in the imperial period, that is, from the 7<sup>th</sup> century to 850 CE. This we know thanks to the intensive studies of

the early Tibetan inscriptions of edicts by Hugh Richardson (1985). As we have noted, Ra se's remark about the name Khri Srong lde gtsug btsan being unknown is probably correct, but in the fragments of decrees which he presents the name Khri Srong lde gtsug btsan is not mentioned. There is only the name Khri lDe srong gtsug (Ra se 2004: 125, row 2, line 17).<sup>2</sup>

The library to which he refers is probably the one situated in the Ganden Phodrang in Drepung. It was there that the fifth Dalai Lama (1617–1682) resided for most of the time before he moved to the Potala in 1649.

Ra se has arranged the fragments by dividing them into six sections and marked them with the letters *Ka*, *Kha*, *Ga*, *Nga*, *Ca* and *Cha*. However, he does not explain why he has divided them into six sections. Were the manuscripts in six separate sections when he found them or were they in one whole manuscript copy that he subsequently divided into six sections? It is unfortunate, to say the least, that no description whatsoever of the manuscripts is given. Were they in the form of folios or scrolls? What kind of writing, *dbu can* or *dbu med*, were they in?

## The Section *Ka* of the Fragments

The section *Ka* is the longest of all, but Ra se considers that it is incomplete. At the end of the document he has added a note that states: “The end of this section is absent. In the future if the missing part is found it should be added here” (*di'i 'jug mi 'dug pas slad mar rnyed na bsab rgyu*). It seems that Ra se is right to consider that the end of the decree is missing. However, within this decree there are four parts. All four are presented as components of one single decree by Ra se. The first part begins on p. 117, row 1, line 1 of Ra se 2004.

The title of this part reads: “The condensed summary of the activities of the three — the father and the two sons (*yab sras gsum gyi mdzad tshul gyi dril*). Here “father” refers to lHa Bla ma<sup>3</sup> and “two sons” refers to his two sons Devaraja and Nagaraja.<sup>4</sup> It then begins with a sentence as

<sup>2</sup>The *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* has: *khri lde srong gtsug btsan* (p. 51).

<sup>3</sup>In my article (1980: 3) I have stated that lHa Bla ma Ye shes 'od (=Srong nge) was the elder of the two brothers. According to the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (p. 51), he was the younger one.

<sup>4</sup>According to the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (p. 51): they are called Khri lDe mgon btsan and lHa 'khor btsan. The same source states they had a sister called lHa'i me tog, who became a nun (pp. 51, 60). For a detailed discussion of the dates of the two brothers, see Vitali 1996: 241–42.

follows: “In the third month of the spring of the mouse year<sup>5</sup> lHa btsan po Ye shes ’od, the father and his sons were residing in the palace dBen (g)nas byam(s) snyom gling.”<sup>6</sup> It then gives a short account of monasteries and temples founded by lHa Bla ma in various places such as Kha khyer (char)<sup>7</sup> and Tholing. This section is essentially concerned with monastic codes (*dge ’dun gyi khrims*), and it ends on p. 118, in row 2, line 11.

The second part begins on p. 118, row 2, line 11. This is about Gautama’s lives in the past, his achievement of enlightenment, and the preaching of his doctrines as the Buddha. It then admonishes us, stating that we are now in a degenerated age and that there are very few followers of the teaching. It urges that one must practise in accordance to *sūtras*, *vinaya* texts and the books written by earlier generations of the royal family (*gdung snga ma*).

The third part starts on p. 119, row 2, line 1. It is called ‘The code that forbids monks from practising the wrong religion’ (*dge ’dun gyi(s) chos log mi spyad pa’i khrims*). It is this part that I shall be focusing on in this article. It is short compared with the other parts, but contains extremely interesting elements that one rarely finds elsewhere. I have made a tentative English translation of this part below and will be devoting more discussion to it.

The fourth part begins on p. 119, row 2, line 17. It is entitled “The codes of monks” (*dge ’dun kyi khrims*). This again contains admonitions against taking up practices with selfish interest. It emphasises the importance of observing the *vinaya* rules and generally studying Buddhist scriptures. It then brings up the subject of the Bodhisattva vows. This leads to the teachings of Mantrayāna. Here it stresses that these teachings are to be taken up by those who are appropriately qualified. It ends on p. 120, row 2, line 23. It is incomplete, and Ra se makes the same statement: “The end of this section is absent. In the future if the missing part is found it should be added here.” (*’di’i mjug ma mi ’dug pas slad mar rnyed na bsab rgyu /*)

In an article that is focused on part *Cha* of the decrees published by Ra se, I have shown how the author of the *mNga’ ris rgyal rabs* has borrowed

<sup>5</sup>It is too hazardous to suggest anything for this vague indication. Nevertheless, there are three possibilities: 988, 1000 and 1012, which are all mouse years.

<sup>6</sup>This is Ba sgam byam snyom gling; see the *mNga’ ris rgyal rabs*, p. 59 (Vitali 1996: 251 ff.).

<sup>7</sup>A place in Pu hrangs; see the *mNga’ ris rgyal rabs*, p. 54 (Vitali 1996: 258 ff.).

from, or rather has paraphrased, the decrees without acknowledging his sources.<sup>8</sup>

### The Third Part of Fragment *Ka*

#### The Tibetan Text

*dge 'dun gyi chos log rnams mi spyad (spyod) pa'i khrims la /<sup>9</sup>*  
*sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyis bstan pa dang sems can la*  
*phan pa dang bde bar 'gyur ba'i lam / dam pa 'di sgrub pa las /*  
*gzhan dag (dam) pa'i chos ltar bcos pa phyin ci log gi spyod*  
*pa dag ni spang bar 'os pa yin pas / sngags log pa dang / lung*  
*dang man ngag tu gsol ba'i chos nor ba dang / phyi rol ba'i*  
*lta ba dang / gzhung dang / atipa dang / bon dang / mo dang /*  
*zhang zhung gi gtsug lag skar stad kyi rtsis log pa lung dang*  
*mi mthun zhing / tshad ma dang 'gal ba'i ma dag pa rnams*  
*mi slob / gzhan la yang mi snyad / yi ge yang mi bcang / gal ste*  
*slob pa'am / 'chang ba byung na / chos bzhin du chad pas btab*  
*pa / chung ba la / lha phyag brgya yan chad bgyid du 'tshal /*  
*ma 'chis na phral mer bsreg / phyis 'di lta bu ma spyod ces lan*  
*gsum bka' bsgo / skyed ma mchis zhing blo ngan ma zhi na /*  
*log par spyod pa 'di lta bu lags / ces yi ger bris te rgyal khams*  
*gzhan du dbyug go (spyug go) //<sup>10</sup>*

#### Translation

*The code that forbids monks from practising the perverted  
 religion*

Monks should strive for adhering to the holy path that leads to happiness and that is beneficial to the sentient beings and to the interest of the doctrine taught by the Buddha. The perverted practices that masquerade as the holy *Chos* of the others are fit to be rejected. These are: the perverted Tantras,

<sup>8</sup>This article, under the title “Bon Institutions Referred To in the Newly Discovered Decrees of lHa Bla ma Ye shes 'od”, will appear in the proceedings of the 12<sup>th</sup> Seminar of the IATS, Vancouver 2010.

<sup>9</sup>Here is a *yig mgo*, a head letter.

<sup>10</sup>Ra se 2004: 119, row 2, lines 1–17.

the wrong books that disguise themselves as the authoritative texts and those that contain oral instructions, books that contain the view of the *tīrthikas* and their primary texts. The followers of the Ati, the Bon, divination, the “astrological science” from Zhang zhung such as the perverted astrology of sKar stad stand in contradiction to the *āgama* and oppose logical reasoning. These erroneous matters are not to be taught and not to be exposed to others. The books that deal with them are not to be kept. Those who teach them and keep the books shall be punished in accordance with the *Chos*. For the minor action [offences, the culprit] shall do more than one hundred prostrations. If the person still keeps the books, the books shall be burnt and the person shall be told three times not to keep the books again. If there is no improvement and his bad spirit is not calmed, he shall be banished to another country with a written letter stating, “This is how he committed the perversion.”

**Comments** The term *atipa* refers to those who follow the *atiyoga*, which normally designates the rDzogs chen doctrine. In the rNying ma tradition it is the last and topmost of the nine categories of Buddhist teachings (Karmay 1988: 172–74). Bon is mentioned among the category of perverted religions. As stated earlier, the absence of it in the ordinance was somewhat curious given the combative spirit of lHa Bla ma against all practices regarded as un-Buddhist. However, the most intriguing point here is the phrase *zhang zhung gi gtsug lag*, the “religious culture of Zhang zhung”. The phrase echoes similar expressions that are found in the early rock inscriptions of royal edicts (Richardson 1985): *chos gtsug lag ni lugs kyis bzang* (p. 38), *lha'i gtsug lag ni ma nyams* (p. 38), *g.yung drung gi gtsug lag chen po* (p. 86). Various meanings of the term have been suggested. Richardson renders it by “order of the world”, but for Stein (1985) it generally designates “political savoir-faire”, “art of ruling”, “wisdom of institution” and “ethical conduct”. Stein’s suggestions of course depend on the context in which it is used.

The term is also used in the *mNga' ris rgyal rabs* (p. 51): *mnga' ris 'dir / gtsug lag ni bon/* (“Here in mNga' ris, the religious culture is of Bon”



or “Bon, a part of the Zhang chung culture”).<sup>11</sup> Here I have no wish to go further into a detailed discussion concerning the usage of the term in later sources as it varies considerably from one source to another.

As it stands sKar stad looks like a proper name, but as such it is unknown to me. However, there is also the term *skar ltas*, a kind of astrology that involves stellar observations.

## Concluding Remarks

As we have seen, the decree is mainly concerned with two non-Buddhist doctrines, the philosophical views of the adherents of Hindu schools of thought, usually designated by the terms *phyi rol pa* or *mu stegs pa* (*tīrthika*) and the question of Bon. The king clearly considered Bon as a kind of religion that was somehow associated with the practice of divination and the “religious culture of Zhang chung”, traditions that were prevalent in mNga' ris when the king attempted to re-establish Buddhist monasticism. In this regard, we therefore have a 10<sup>th</sup> century account that bears witness to the presences of Bon, a religion that needed to be officially refuted and banned by a person of high authority such as lHa Bla ma.

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<sup>11</sup>Vitali (1996: 214) does not make any specific comment on the phrase *gtsug lag ni bon*. The phrase is also used in the lHa bla ma ye shes 'od kyi rnam thar rgyas pa (p. 3). I would like to express my thanks to Gu ge Tshe ring rgyal po who kindly let me have a digital version of this work.

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## གངས་ཅན་དོལ་པོའི་ཚོས་རིག་ དོལ་པོ་དགེ་བཤེས་ལུང་རྒྱུ་ཚོགས་ཉི་མ།

In this article,<sup>1</sup> whose title can be translated as “Religion and Culture of the Dolpo Himalaya,” Geshe Phuntshog Nyima explores the religious landscape of the Dolpo district in northern Nepal. He focuses on the religious infrastructure of the Bon tradition, its lineages of transmission, religious institutions, and the holy sites in this area bordering the Tibetan Autonomous Region.

Geshe Phuntshog Nyima starts off with a general introduction to the Dolpo region and a sketch of its political history, from its ancient past under the reign of Zhang zhung, over the shifting control through various Tibetan rulers, to its becoming part of the modern nation state of Nepal.

This is followed by some anthropological observations. Dolpo is populated mainly by semi-nomadic farmer-pastoralists who make their living through the sale of products from livestock and agriculture. Before 1959, the region acted as an important node of salt and grain trade, which also had significant impact on the demographic and cultural development of the area.

Religion is very important to the inhabitants of Dolpo, who adhere to different traditions of Tibetan Buddhism—Nyingma, Kagyü, with its different subschools, and Sakya—as well as to the Bon tradition. Interestingly, the Jonang tradition is not found in the region though its founder hails from Dolpo. Nor is the Geluk tradition present there.

The main part of the article then provides an overview of the religious landscape of the Bon tradition. Geshe Phuntshog Nyima’s elaborations start with a listing of the nine most important religious lineages and their historical development:

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<sup>1</sup>This English summary of Geshe Phuntshog Nyima’s article was written by Dr. Markus Viehbeck, from Heidelberg University’s “Cluster Asia and Europe”. The editors of this volume thank him for his help.

- |                     |               |
|---------------------|---------------|
| 1. snyel            | 6. 'bru zhig  |
| 2. bla ma yang ston | 7. shel zhig  |
| 3. tre ston         | 8. ldong rigs |
| 4. mtha' bzhi       | 9. gu rib     |
| 5. khyung po        |               |

This is followed in a similar fashion by a detailed list and short description of the thirty religious institutions:

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. bsam gling dgon                           | 15. mtha' srung ma mtsho gling dgon               |
| 2. zur dkar yul pa'i dgon                    | 16. shug ri nyi shar dgon                         |
| 3. gser dgon                                 | 17. sa le 'od dgon                                |
| 4. bkra pa'i rnam rgyal dgon                 | 18. zas sgang dpal gyi dgon                       |
| 5. smer bu brag steng dgon                   | 19. gzim khang dgon                               |
| 6. srib yang dgon bde ldan phun tshogs gling | 20. bkra shis gsas khang dgon                     |
| 7. tshwa dga' rkog lang dgon                 | 21. g.yung drung phyug mo dgon                    |
| 8. tshwa dga' star rdzong phun tshogs gling  | 22. spungs mo pad gling dgon                      |
| 9. tshwa dga' yang dgon mthong grol gling    | 23. bde chen gling                                |
| 10. ban tshang bsam yas gling phu dkar po    | 24. gzim khang dgon                               |
| 11. bar gle bla brang bar pa                 | 25. hros kyi dmu dkar dgon                        |
| 12. bar gle g.yung drung shug tshal dgon     | 26. tshal lung srid rgyal dgon                    |
| 13. bar gle brag dgon                        | 27. mon ri zur gsum dgon                          |
| 14. byang gi som brag dgon                   | 28. ljags 'dul man Dal dgon                       |
|  | 29. yul ri skor g.yung drung 'gro 'dul gling dgon |
|  | 30. dol po g.yung drung bon tshogs gling          |

The register is rounded off with a list of the ten mountain sites that figure as holy places in the Bon tradition of Dolpo:

1. mon ri zur gsum
2. gnas chen bla ma chu mig
3. ljags 'dul
4. khyung phug
5. gnas chen ri bo dpal 'bar
6. shel gyi bon ri
7. yi dam mgon po rnam gsum  
gyi gnas ri
8. rta rab kyi dpa' bo 'bru lnga
9. ban tshang gi gnas chen
10. dol po tshwa dga'i brag ma  
brag rdzong dang rmu ri  
smug po





བམོ། ལྷང་། ར། ལུག་ ཉ་བཅས་ཡིན། དོལ་པོ་ཚོས་ཚོང་ལས་ཀྱི་སྐོར་རྒྱ་ཚུན་དེ་འདྲ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་མེད་  
 གུང་འཚོ་བ་འདད་རེས་ཅན་ཡོད། ལྷ་དུས་ནས་ཕྱི་ལོ་༡༧༥༧ ཅས་ཀྱི་ནང་བར་དུ་དོལ་ཡུལ་ནི་གུང་གི་  
 འབྲོག་པ་དང་རོང་གི་མོན་པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚ་འབྲུའི་ཚོང་འབྲེལ་བྱེད་མའི་བསྐྱེ་གནས་གལ་ཆེན་ཞིག་གུང་  
 ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད། དོལ་པོ་བས་རོང་འབྲོག་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ཚ་འབྲུའི་ཁེ་སློབ་མི་དམན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་ཀྱི་ཡོད།  
 རྩོན་དུས་ནས་ད་བར་དོལ་པོ་བའི་འཚོ་བ་ནི་རྒྱ་ཆ་ལྷ་བཅུ་ཅེས་གུང་ཐང་གི་འབྲོག་པ་དང་རོང་གི་མོན་  
 པ་གཉིས་ཀྱི་ས་ནས་ཡོང་གི་ཡོད་ཅིང་། གུང་ཐང་ནས་ཚ། ཤ། མར། ཚེལ་ལུ་བཅས་བཟའ་ཆས་ཀྱི་  
 རིགས་དང་། བལ། ལུ་ལུ། རྩིད་པ་སོགས་གོན་ཆས་བཟོ་བྱེད་ཀྱི་རིགས། ར། ལུག་ ཉ། གཡལ་  
 འབྲི་སོགས་སྒོ་རྩོད་ཀྱི་རིགས་བཅས་ཡོང་གི་ཡོད། མོན་རོང་གི་ས་ནས་འབྲུ་རིགས་ཉ། མ་ཚེས་ལོ་ཉོག་  
 རས། འབྲས། མོ་བ། བྲ་བོ། རྩན་མ་དང་། ཀར། ལུ་མམ། ལྷང་ཅི། རས་ཆ། ཚོན། རྩོད་ཆས་ཀྱི་  
 རིགས་སོགས་ཡོང་གི་ཡོད། དོལ་པོ་བ་ཚོས་དེ་དག་གི་ཁེ་སློབ་ལ་དོས་དེ་དང་སྦྲུམ་དེ། ལུ་དེ། ལུག་དེ།  
 བདུན་དེ་ཟེར་བ་སོགས་ཚ་གཡལ་རྒྱབ་གཅིག་ལ་འབྲུ་གཡལ་རྒྱབ་གཉིས་རེ་ནས་བཅུ་རེ་བར་ཡིན་ཀྱི་ཡོད།

### དོལ་པོའི་མི་རིགས་ཀྱི་གོམས་གཤིས།

མི་རྒྱུས་ཚོས་དད་ཅན་མཉམ་དང་ཁས་ལེན་ལ་གྲོ་བཏུན་པ། རང་རྒྱུད་བྱང་བ། མོ་ཅིས་གཏོ་དཔུང་ལ་  
 ཡིད་ཆེས་པ། བྱ་ལས་གང་ཞིག་བྱེད་པར་གཟའ་སྐར་འཕྲོད་སྐྱོར་བཅོམ་ཅན་ཡིན།

### དོལ་པོའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་ཁག

དོལ་པོའི་ཡུལ་ལྷང་དུ་བོད་ཀྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་ཁག་ནས་གཡུང་དུང་བོན་གྱི་ཚོས་ལུགས། ལྷ་འགྲུར་རྩིད་  
 མའི་ཚོས་ལུགས། རྒྱལ་བ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཚོས་ལུགས། དཔལ་ལྷན་ས་རྒྱའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་བཅས་ཡོད།  
 རོ་ནང་གི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་སྲོལ་འབྲེད་ཀུན་མཁུན་དོལ་པོ་སངས་རྒྱལ་དོལ་པོར་སྐྱེ་འབྲུངས་པ་ཅེས་ལས་རོ་  
 ཅན་གྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་དོལ་པོར་དར་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མེད། དེ་བཞིན་རི་པོ་དགེ་ལུན་པའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་གུང་དོལ་  
 པོར་དར་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་མེད། དོལ་པོའི་ཡུལ་དུ་དར་བའི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་རྒྱ་ཆེ་ཤོས་རྩིད་མ། དེ་ནས་བོན་པོ།  
 དེ་ནས་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད། དེ་ནས་ས་རྒྱ་བཅས་ཡིན། བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་ཚོས་ལུགས་ནི་འབྲི་གུང་པ། ཀས་  
 ཚང་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད། དུགས་པོ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད། ཤངས་པ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་བཅས་ཡིན། དེའི་ནང་ནས་ཀས་  
 ཚང་དང་འབྲི་གུང་པ་རྒྱ་ཆེ། གཡུང་དུང་བོན་གྱི་ཚོས་བརྒྱུད་ནི་ལྷ་དར་ནས་ཡོད།

# དོལ་པོར་དར་པའི་པོན་གྱི་བྲམ་རྒྱུད།

སྒྲེལ་བྲམ་ཡང་སྒྲོན། རྩེ་སྒྲོན། མཐའ་བཞི། ལྷུང་པོ། འདུ་ཞིག་ཤེལ་ཞིག་སྒྲོང་རྒྱུ་གྲུ་  
 རྩེ་པོ་སོགས་ཡོད། དེ་དག་གི་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་སྒྲོར་བརྗོད་ན། སྒྲེལ་གྱི་བྲམ་རྒྱུད་ནི་སྒྲོ་བོའི་ཡུལ་ཏུ་སྒྲོན་ཆད་  
 ཉམས་ཡོད་པའི་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་གི་མི་རྒྱུ་སྒྲོང་རྩེ་དེ་ཡིན། དེའི་རྒྱུད་པ་ལ་ལྷུང་ལྷུང་སྒྲུབ་རྒྱུད་གྱི་ནང་གི་སྒྲོ་བོའི་  
 སྒྲེལ་སྒྲོས་འཇུག་ཞིག་ཟེར་བ་སོགས་སྒྲམ་སྐབས་མང་དག་ཅིག་ལྟོན་ཡོད། མྱ་མ་ཡང་སྒྲོན་གྱི་རྒྱུད་པ་ནི་  
 པོན་གྱི་པོ་རྒྱུ་སྒྲུ་ཡོངས་སྒྲུ་གྲུགས་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད་ལོན་ཏུ་གཤམ་ཆེ་བའི་པོན་གྱི་བྲམ་རྒྱུད་ཅིག་ཡིན།  
 སྒྲོན་མ་སྒྲོན་པ་གཤམ་སྐབས་མི་པོ་སྒྲུ་འཇུག་པའི་ཏུས་སྒྲུ་སྒྲིན་པོན་ལ་དཔལ་གྱིས་གོང་ཟེར་བ་སྒྲིན་པོ་  
 འདུལ་བའི་སྒྲམ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། བོད་རྒྱལ་གཞུང་གི་བཅའ་པོའི་ཏུས་སྒྲུ་རྒྱལ་པོ་གཞུང་གི་དཔལ་ཡོད་ཡིན།  
 སྒྲོན་པའི་ཉམས་ཐུང་མདོ་འདུས་དང་། སྒྲོན་པའི་མཐའ་སྐབས་ཉམས་གསུམ་པ་ཉི་མ་བསྒྲུན་འཛོལ་གྱི་སང་  
 ཉམས་ཏུ། སྒྲོན་པ་གཤམ་སྐབས་མི་པོའི་གདུང་སྒྲུས་གོང་ཆ་གཤུང་བུར་དབང་སྒྲུན་ལ་དཔལ་གྱིས་གོང་བའི་  
 རྒྱུད་པ་ཡིན་པར་བཤད། གང་ལྟར་བོད་གྱི་རྩི་རྒྱུད་སྒྲུ་གྲུས་ཤིག་ཡིན། ཡང་དཔལ་གྱི་རྩི་རྒྱུད་ཐོག་མར་  
 དར་སའི་ས་གནས་ནི་གོང་པོ་སྒྲུག་ཆེ་བུ་མི་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ཡིན། དེ་ནས་རྩི་བཞེན་སྒྲོ་བོ་དང་དོལ་པོ་སོགས་  
 སྒྲུ་དར་བ་མ་ཟད་ད་ལྟ་ལ་དཔལ་གྱི་བྲམ་རྒྱུད་དོལ་པོ་གྱི་གཅེར་དང་། ཏུ་སྐབ། ཆ་དགའ་བཅས་སྒྲུ་ཡོད།  
 རྩེ་སྒྲོན་གྱི་བྲམ་རྒྱུད་དེ་ནི་སྒྲོན་མཐའ་རྩིས་ཏེ་བ་སྒྲོགས་ཉམས་ལྷུང་བ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེའི་བྲམ་རྒྱུད་ལ་ཏེ་སྒྲོན་པོན་  
 ཉིད་བཟང་པོ། རྩེ་སྒྲོན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་དཔལ་ལ། རྩེ་སྒྲོན་ཀུན་བཟང་དཔལ་ལ། རྩེ་སྒྲོན་ཉམས་མཐའ་རྒྱལ་མཚན།  
 རྩེ་སྒྲོན་ལུ་ཚོགས་གྲགས་པ། རྩེ་སྒྲོན་ཆ་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན། རྩེ་སྒྲོན་པོན་ཉིད་རྒྱལ་མཚན། རྩེ་སྒྲོན་  
 རྩེད་རྒྱལ་བཟང་པོ། རྩེ་སྒྲོན་ཉི་མ་སེང་གི། རྩེ་སྒྲོན་ཆ་དབང་རྒྱལ་གྲིམས། མཐའ་བཞིའི་བྲམ་རྒྱུད་དེ་ཡང་  
 ཐོག་མར་བོད་ནས་ལྷུང་བ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དེའི་བྲམ་རྒྱུད་ལ་མཐའ་བཞི་འདུལ་བ་སེང་གི་ཟེར་བ་སོགས་སྒྲམ་  
 སྐབས་སྐྱད་གྲགས་ཅན་མང་པོ་ལྷུང། ད་ལྟ་ཡང་དོལ་ཡུལ་ན་མཐའ་བཞི་སྒྲམ་མའི་རྒྱུད་པ་ཡོད། ལྷུང་  
 པོ་ནི་ཁམས་ཡུལ་ལྷུང་པོ་སྒྲོགས་ཉམས་ལྷུང་བའི་མི་རྒྱུད་ཡིན་ཅིང་དེ་ཡང་ལྷུང་པོ་དཀར་ཉམས་སེང་གསུམ་  
 གྱི་ནང་གི་ལྷུང་པོ་དཀར་ཏུ་ཟེར་བ་དེ་ཡིན། གང་ལྟར་ལྷུང་པོའི་བྲམ་རྒྱུད་ལ་ལྷུང་པོ་རྒྱལ་གྲིམས་ལེགས་པ།  
 ལྷུང་སྒྲོན་རྒྱལ་གྲིམས་འདོད་ཟེར། ཡལ་ཉམས་ཉམས་རྒྱལ་ཤེས་སེང་རྒྱལ་མཚན། ལྷུང་མོ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་རྩིན་  
 པོ་ཆ། གོ་ལོད་རྩིན་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་སོགས་སྒྲམ་སྐབས་ཅན་ཏུ་མ་ལྷུང། དེ་བཞིན་སྒྲོང་གི་མི་རྒྱུད་  
 དང་ཞིག་པོ་བཅོམ་རྒྱུད་གྱི་ནང་གི་འདུ་ཞིག་ཤེལ་ཞིག་གི་མི་རྒྱུད་དང་བྲམ་རྒྱུད་ད་ལྟ་ཡོད། རྩེ་སྒྲོན་དང་།

2 ཁོང་ནི་མཚན་ཉིད་གྱི་རྩིག་པ་ལ་དོ་སྒྲུང་ཡོད་པའི་མཐའ་བ་ཞིག་ཡིན། ཁོང་གིས་དཀར་ལྷུང་གྱི་ཡི་འབྲེལ་བ་པོན་ -  
 སྒྲོ་གསལ་ལྷུང་ཟེར་བའི་དཔེ་ཆ་དེ་མཛད་ཡོད།

3 ཁོང་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྒྲུང་སྒྲོགས་སྒྲུ་བའི་ལྷུང་འབྲེལ་ཅན་ཞིག་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད་ཏེ་སྒྲོན་གྱི་བྲམ་སྐབས་ནང་ཉམས་སྐྱད་གྲགས་ -  
 ཅན་ཞིག་ཡིན།

སྒྲིལ་གྱི་མི་རྒྱུད་ནི་ལོན་ཏུ་སྒྲ་བའི་ཞང་ཞུང་གི་གནའ་བོའི་མི་རིགས་ཡིན། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་པའི་  
ནང་དུ་སྒོན་པ་ཡང་སྒོན་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་སྒྲོབ་རྒྱུད་ཡིན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཡོད། གྲུ་རིབ་པ་རབས་  
ཟེར་བའི་ཡིག་རྒྱུད་རྣམས་ན་དོལ་ཡུལ་དུ་སྒོན་མ་གྲུ་རིབ་གྱི་མི་རྒྱུད་དར་བའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་ཁ་གསལ་ཡོད།

### དོལ་པོའི་བོན་གྱི་དགོན་སྡེ་ཁག

- ༡༽ ཡང་སྒོན་གྱི་གངན་ས་བདེ་ལྷན་བསམ་སྤྱིང་དགོན་པ། མིང་ཡོངས་གྲགས་སུ་བསམ་སྤྱིང་དགོན་  
ཟེར། དགོན་པ་འདི་ནི་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གསུམ་པའི་ནང་དུ་ཡང་སྒོན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་རྩིན་ཚེན་གྱིས་  
ཕུག་བཏབ་པའི་བོན་དགོན་ཞིག་ཡིན། དོལ་པོའི་བོན་དགོན་ཁག་གི་ནང་ནས་མ་དགོན་རྩུ་བུ་རྟེན་  
ད་ལྟ་ཡང་སྒོན་རྒྱ་མ་ཤེས་རབ་བསྟན་འཛིན་གྱིས་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་གནང་བཞིན་ཡོད་ཅིང་དགོན་པ་དེ་  
ལ་སྐ་སྡེ་མི་སྡེ་ཡོད།
- ༢༽ ལུང་དགར་ཡུལ་པའི་དགོན། འདི་ལ་མིང་ཡོངས་གྲགས་བོན་པོ་སྐ་ཁང་ཟེར། དུས་རབས་བཅུ་  
གསུམ་པའི་ནང་དུ་ཡང་སྒོན་རྒྱ་མ་སྐགས་པས་ཕུག་བཏབ། དགོན་པ་དེ་ནི་བསམ་སྤྱིང་དགོན་  
པའི་སྒོན་དུ་ཡོད། དགོན་པའི་དབུ་རྒྱ་ཡང་སྒོན་རྒྱ་མ་བསྟན་འཛིན་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཡིན།
- ༣༽ གསེར་དགོན། ཤལ་ཆེར་དུས་རབས་བཅུ་གཅིག་ཙམ་གྱི་ནང་དུ་ཕུག་བཏབ་པ་འདྲ། ད་ལྟ་ས་  
འབྲུང་ཞིག་ལས་མེད།
- ༤༽ བག་པའི་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་དགོན། མིང་ཡོངས་གྲགས་བག་པའི་སྐ་ཁང་ཟེར། ཡང་སྒོན་རྒྱ་མ་གཡུང་  
དུང་དག་འདུལ་གྱིས་ཕུག་བཏབ། ད་བར་ལོ་གངས་བཞི་བཅུ་ཙམ་སྤིན་པའི་དགོན་པ་ཞིག་ཡིན།  
དའི་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་བག་པའི་ཡུལ་པས་བྱེད་བཞིན་ཡོད། དགོན་པ་དའི་དབུ་རྒྱ་ནི་ཚོས་འཁོར་ཆང་  
དགོ་བཤེས་ཉི་མ་འོད་ཟེར་ཡིན།
- ༥༽ སྒྲིབ་བུ་བྲག་སྒྲིབ་དགོན། སྐས་ཕུག་བཏབ་མ་ཤེས། ད་ལྟ་དགོན་དེ་ཞིག་རལ་དུ་སྤིན་ནས་འཛིན་  
སྐྱོང་སོགས་མེད་པར་གྲུང་རོ་ཡིན།
- ༦༽ སྒྲིབ་ཡང་དགོན་བདེ་ལྷན་སྟན་ཚོགས་སྤྱིང། མིང་ཡོངས་གྲགས་སུ་སྒྲིབ་སྤོགས་དགོན་ཟེར། ཡང་  
སྒོན་གཡུང་དུང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཕུག་བཏབ། དུས་རབས་དེ་ཙམ་སྒྲ་བོ་མིན། དགོན་པའི་དབུ་  
རྒྱ་ཡང་སྒོན་རྒྱ་མ་བསྟན་འཛིན་རྒྱ་བ་ཡིན། དགོན་པ་དེ་ལ་སྐ་སྡེ་མི་སྡེ་ཡོད།
- ༧༽ ལྷ་དགའ་རྟོག་ཡང་དགོན། དོལ་པོའི་ནང་གི་དགོན་པ་སྐ་གས་ཤིག་ཡིན་ཀྱང་ཕུག་འདབས་  
མཚན་སུ་ཡིན་མ་ཤེས། ད་ལྟ་ཞིག་རལ་དུ་གྲུར་ནས་གྲུང་རོའི་རྣམ་པར་གྲུང། དགོན་པ་དའི་  
ནང་རྟེན་རྣམས་ལྷ་དགའ་རྟོག་རྫོང་སྟན་ཚོགས་སྤྱིང་དུ་སྒོས་པར་གྲགས།

- 171 ལྷ་དགའ་ལྷར་རྫོང་ལྷན་ཚོགས་གྲིང་། དགོན་འདི་ནི་ལྷ་དགའ་རྟོག་ལང་དགོན་པ་ཞིག་རལ་དུ་  
གྲུང་བའི་རྗེས་སུ་རྟོག་ལང་དགོན་པའི་ཚབ་དུ་བཞེངས་པར་གྲགས།
- 172 ལྷ་དགའ་ཡང་དགོན་མཐོང་གོལ་གྲིང་། དགོན་པ་འདི་ནི་ད་ལྟོ་འདེབས་པ་པོ་ནི་ཡང་སྟོན་ལྷ་  
བཀྲ་ཤིས་རྒྱལ་མཚན་ཡིན། ལྷ་དགའ་ལྷར་རྫོང་ལྷན་ཚོགས་གྲིང་གི་དགོན་པ་དང་ལྷ་དགའ་ལྷལ་  
གཉིས་ཀྱི་བར་དུ་གཙང་རྒྱས་བཅད་ནས་བསྟོད་དགའ་བའི་དབང་གིས། ལྷར་རྫོང་ལྷན་ཚོགས་གྲིང་  
གི་རྟེན་དང་བརྟེན་པ་རྣམས་ཡང་དགོན་མཐོང་གོལ་གྲིང་དུ་གནས་སྟོས་པ་ཡིན།
- 173 བན་ཚང་བསམ་ཡས་གྲིང་སུ་དགའ་པོ། དགོན་པ་དེ་ལྟོ་འདེབས་པ་པོ་ནི་འ་མ་འོད་ཟེར་ཡིན་  
ཅིང་། དུས་རབས་བཙོ་སྤྲི་ནང་ཅམ་དུ་ལྷག་བཏབ་པ་འདྲ། གང་ལྷར་དགོན་པ་དའི་འཛིན་  
སྐྱོང་གནང་མཁན་ལྷ་མ་ཉི་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚོ་ཡིན། དགོན་པ་ལྷག་འདེབས་པ་པོ་འ་མ་འོད་ཟེར་  
ནས་ལྷ་མ་ཉི་མ་དབང་རྒྱལ་བར་ལྷ་རབས་བཅུ་དབུན་ལྷག་ཅམ་སྟེན་རྒྱན་འདུག་བོན་གྱི་གྲོང་  
པ་གཅིག་ལས་མེད་ལུལ་སྤེའི་མི་མང་རྣམས་རྫིང་མ་པ་ཤ་སྟག་ཡིན་ཀྱང་བོན་གྱི་སྲུང་མ་བསྟན་  
བཞིན་ཡོད་རྒྱན་ཐོས།
- 174 བར་སྟེ་ལྷ་ཡང་བར་པ། དགོན་འདི་ལྷག་འདེབས་པ་པོ་ནི་བྱང་སེམས་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་རིན་ཆེན་ཡིན།  
ཁོང་ནི་ཉི་ལྟོ་ལྷན་ཚོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་ཀྱི་སྟོབ་མ་རེད། ཞིག་རལ་དུ་གྲུང་ནས་མེད།
- 175 བར་སྟེ་གཡུང་དུང་ལྷག་ཚལ་གྲིང་། དགོན་འདི་ལྷག་འདེབས་པ་པོ་ནི་ཉི་ལྟོ་ལྷན་ཚོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་  
ཁྲིམས་ཡིན་ཅིང་། ད་ལྷ་དགོན་པའི་སྤྱི་ནང་གི་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་རྣམས་པར་སྟེ་ལུལ་དང་དབུ་ལྷ་ལྷ་མ་  
ནས་མཁའ་དབང་ལྷན་གྱིས་གནང་བཞིན་ཡོད།
- 176 བར་སྟེ་བྲག་དགོན། བར་སྟེ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གཙུག་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ལྷག་བཏབ། ད་ལྷ་ཞིག་  
རལ་དུ་གྲུང་ནས་གྲང་པོའི་རྣམ་པར་བཞུགས་ཡོད།
- 177 བྱང་གི་སོམ་བྲག་དགོན། ལུས་ལྷག་བཏབ་མ་ཤེས། དགོན་པ་དའི་ལྷ་སྟེ་གྲོང་པ་གཉིས་ཡོད།  
འཛིན་སྐྱོང་རྒྱས་པོ་མེད།
- 178 མཐའ་སྲུང་མཚོ་གྲིང་དགོན། ཉི་ལྟོ་ལྷན་ཚོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་གྱིས་ལྷག་བཏབ། དེ་སྤྱི་ཉི་ལྟོ་དང་  
མཐའ་བཞིའི་ལྷ་རབས་མང་པོས་བདག་གཉེར་བྱས་པ་ཡིན། ད་ལྷ་འབྲུ་ཞིག་དགེ་བཤེས་མཁན་  
པོ་བསམ་འབྲུབ་ཉི་མས་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་གནང་བཞིན་ཡོད།
- 179 ལྷག་རི་ཉི་ཤར་དགོན། ཉི་ལྟོ་ལྷན་ཚོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་ཁྲིམས་གྱིས་ལྷག་བཏབ། ཉི་ལྟོ་གྱི་ལྷ་རབས་  
མང་པོའི་གདན་ས་ཡིན།
- 180 ས་ཡེ་འོད་དགོན། ཉི་ལྟོ་ལྷན་ཚོ་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ལྷག་བཏབ། ད་ལྷ་ཁང་པ་རེ་གཉིས་ཡོད།

༡༥༽ ཟས་སྒྲུང་དཔལ་གྱི་དགོན། ཅི་སྟོན་སྟོན་ལམ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཕྱག་བཏབ། ཞིག་རལ་དུ་གྱུར་ནས་མེད།

༡༦༽ བཞིམ་ཁང་དགོན། ཅི་སྟོན་ཚེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཕྱག་བཏབ། དགོན་དེ་ཕྱག་འདབས་སའི་ས་གནས་ལ་བགྲ་ལ་སྒྲུང་ཟེར།

༢༠༽ བགྲ་ཤིས་གསལ་ཁང་དགོན། ཅི་སྟོན་གཙུག་ལྷན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཕྱག་བཏབ།

༢༡༽ གཡུང་དྲུང་ཕྱག་མོ་དགོན། དགོན་འདི་ནི་ཐོག་མར་ཅི་སྟོན་རིན་ཆེན་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཕྱག་བཏབ་པའི་དགོན་པ་གསལ་སྒྲུང་ཟེར་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཅིང་། སྤྱིས་སུ་དགོན་རྫིང་དེ་ཉིད་ཡབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཞིག་གསོ་དང་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་གནང་བས་དགོན་པའི་མཚན་ལ་གཡུང་དྲུང་ཕྱག་མོ་དགོན་ཞེས་མཚན་གསོལ་བ་ཡིན། ད་ལྟ་དགོན་པའི་དབུ་མ་དགོ་ཤེས་རབ་ཤེས་རབ་ཉི་མས་གནང་བཞིན་ཡོད།

༢༢༽ སྤངས་མོ་པད་སྤིང་དགོན་ནམ་ཐེག་ཆེན་རབ་རྒྱས་སྤིང་། སྤང་མོ་ལྷུབ་ཐོབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཕྱག་བཏབ། དགོན་པ་དའི་མཚན་ལ་ཐེག་རབ་རྒྱས་སྤིང་ཞེས་པ་ནི་སྤྲུན་རིའི་ཡོངས་འཛིན་སྟོབ་དཔོན་བསྟན་འཛིན་རྣམ་དག་རྩི་པོ་ཆེས་གསོལ་བ་ཡིན། སྤང་མོ་ལྷུབ་གྱི་དགོན་པ་རེད།

༢༣༽ བདེ་ཆེན་སྤིང་། ཞང་སྟོན་སྤིན་པ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཕྱག་བཏབ་པའི་སྤང་གྱི་དགོན་པ་གསལ་མ་ཞེས་པ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ཀྱང་སྤྱིས་སུ་ཡབ་རྣམ་རྒྱལ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་ཞིག་གསོ་དང་འཛིན་སྐྱོང་གནང་བས་དགོན་པའི་མཚན་ལ་བདེ་ཆེན་སྤིང་ཞེས་གསོལ་བ་ཡིན། དགོན་པའི་དབུ་མ་མ་ཚོར་བྱ་དང་སྲས་པོ་གནས་སྲས་སོགས་ཡིན།

༢༤༽ བཞིམ་ཁང་དགོན། ཅི་སྟོན་ཚེ་དབང་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་སྤྱུབ་གནས་ཡིན། སུས་ཕྱག་བཏབ་མ་ཤེས། ཞིག་རལ་དུ་གྱུར་ནས་མེད།

༢༥༽ རྩོམ་གྱི་དམུ་དགའ་དགོན། རྩོན་མ་ཅི་སྟོན་གྱི་མ་པ་དག་གི་དགོན་པ་ཡིན་ཀྱང་ཞིག་རལ་དུ་གྱུར་ནས་མེད།

༢༦༽ ཆོལ་ལུང་སྤིང་རྒྱལ་དགོན། ཅི་སྟོན་སྤིང་རྒྱལ་བཟང་པོས་ཕྱག་བཏབ། བར་སྐབས་དགོན་པ་ཉམ་ཆག་ཏུ་སོང་ནས་དགའ་དལ་ལུང་། མཚོ་དང་སྤང་མོ་བར་སྐྱེ་སོགས་ནས་ལོ་སྤྱི་ལྷ་ལྷ་མང་པོ་གྲུབ་མཚོད་ཚོགས་པར་ཤེས་སྤོལ་བཟང་པོ་འདུག ད་ལྟ་མ་ཤེས་རབ་ལུན་ཚོགས་གྱིས་སྤང་གསོ་མཚོད་བཞིན་ཡོད། དགོན་པ་དའི་ལྷ་སྤེ་སྤོང་པ་བཞི་བརྒྱ་ཙམ་ཡོད་ཟེར། དགོན་པའི་བསྟན་བཤག་ཀྱང་མ་ཤེས་རབ་ལུན་ཚོགས་ཡིན།



༤༽ ལྷན་ཕྱག་ གནས་རི་འདི་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྤོང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད། བོན་གྱི་སྐྱ་མ་མཐའ་བཞི་འདུལ་པ་  
སེང་གི་དེ་གྲུབ་གནས་ཡིན་ཅིང་ཕྱིས་སུ་སྤྱད་མོ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱིས་  
གནས་སྡོམ་ཕྱིས་པ་ཡིན། ད་ལྟ་དེའི་ལུལ་གྱི་བོན་འབངས་རྣམས་ནས་ལོ་དུས་སུ་གནས་མཇལ་  
བྱེད་བཞིན་པ་ཡིན།

༥༽ ལྷན་མཚན་རི་པོ་དཔལ་འབངས། གནས་རི་འདི་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྤོང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད། རྡོ་རྒྱུ་སུ་ཞང་  
ལྷན་གྱི་གྲུབ་ཚེན་ཚོའི་གྲུབ་གནས་ཡིན་ཅིང་། བོན་གྱི་སྐྱ་མ་མཐའ་ལྟ་དང་འགྲེལ་གྲུབ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་  
གྱི་སྐྱ་མ་མཐའ་པོ་འཛུལ་མེད་གཞིས་གྱི་གྲུབ་རྒྱལ་འགྲུན་སའི་གནས་རི་ཡིན། གནས་སྡོམ་འབྲེད་  
མཐའ་སྤྱད་མོ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་རྣམས་རྒྱལ་ཤེས་རབ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་མཚོག་ཡིན་ཅིང་དོལ་པོ་དེ་  
ཅུ་རྩ་དྲུག་གྱི་བན་བོན་གཞིས་གྱི་ལྟ་སྟེ་མི་སྟེ་རྣམས་གྱིས་ལོ་དུས་སུ་གནས་མཇལ་བྱེད་བཞིན་  
པ་ཡིན།

༦༽ ཤེལ་གྱི་བོན་རི། གནས་རི་འདི་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྤོང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད། ལྷན་ཞང་ལྷན་གྱི་སྐྱུབ་ཐོབ་མང་  
པོའི་སྐྱུབ་གནས་ལྱིན་ཅན་ཡིན། དེའི་གཤམ་རྒྱུ་ན་དོལ་པོ་ཤེལ་གྱི་རི་པོ་འདུག་སྐྱ་ལྷན་པ་དེ་ཡོད་  
ཅིང་དེ་ཡང་ལྷན་ཞང་ལྷན་གྱི་དུས་སུ་བོན་གྱི་གནས་རི་ཡིན། ཕྱིས་སུ་འགྲེལ་གྲུབ་པ་གྲུབ་ཐོབ་སེང་  
གོ་ཡེ་ཤེས་གྱིས་གནས་སྡོམ་ཕྱིས་ནས་བརྒྱུད་བོན་ཚོས་གཞིས་ཀའི་ཐུན་མོང་གི་གནས་རི་མགས།  
བོན་གྱི་སྐྱ་མ་རྩུ་ཉི་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐྱུབ་གནས་ཡིན་པ་མ་ཟད་ད་ལྟ་ཡང་ཤེལ་རི་བཅོག་ཁང་  
གི་ཚོས་པའི་དགོན་པའི་ནང་ན་རྩུ་ཉི་མ་རྒྱལ་མཚན་གྱི་སྐྱ་བརྒྱུ་དང་ཞབས་རྗེས་མཇལ་རྒྱ་ཡོད།

༧༽ ཡི་དམ་མཐོན་པོ་རྣམས་གསུམ་གྱི་གནས་རི། གནས་རི་འདི་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྤོང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད། དེ་  
ཡང་རི་མ་བཞིན་ལྷན་ན། ལྷ་བཅོན་སྐྱུག་པོ་རྩོད་ཀྱི་སྐྱུབ་སྡོམ་མཛེས་པོ་རྩོད་བཅས་ཡིན། གནས་  
མཚོག་དེ་དག་ནི་ལྷན་ཞང་ལྷན་གྱི་སྐྱུབ་ཐོབ་མང་པོའི་སྐྱུབ་གནས་ཡིན་པ་འབྲེད་སྟེལ་ཡོད།

༨༽ རྩ་རབ་གྱི་དཔའ་བོ་འདུ་སྐྱ། གནས་རི་འདི་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྤོང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད། དེའི་ལུལ་གྱི་བོན་  
ཚོས་རིས་མེད་གྱི་མི་སྟེ་མང་པོས་ལོ་རྒྱུད་གནས་སྡོམ་དང་ལྷག་མཚོད་འདུལ་བཞིན་པ་ཡིན།

༩༽ བན་ཚང་གི་གནས་ཚེན་སྐུ་ལ། གནས་རི་འདི་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྤོང་ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད་ལྷ་རྒྱ་ལས་གཞན་  
མི་ཤེས།

༡༠༽ དོལ་པོ་ཚུ་དགའི་བྲག་མ་བྲག་རྩོད་དང་ཚུ་དགའི་སྐུ་རི་སྐྱུག་པོ། གནས་རི་འདི་ནི་དོལ་པོ་སྤོང་  
ཕྱོགས་སུ་ཡོད། ལྷན་ཞང་ལྷན་སྐྱུད་གྱི་སྐྱུབ་ཐོབ་དག་གི་གནས་རི་ལྱིན་ཅན་ཡིན། དེའི་  
ལུལ་གྱི་བོན་འབངས་དག་གིས་དེང་དུས་གནས་མཇལ་བྱེད་བཞིན་པ་ལགས་མོ། བ་ཚན་སུ་ཚུགས་  
སྐྱུ་རྩོ། །





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# The Deer as a Structuring Principle in Certain Bonpo Rituals

A Comparison of Three Texts for Summoning Good  
Fortune (*g.yang*)

Charles Ramble

## Introduction

This article aims to examine the motif of the deer that features in a number of Tibetan ritual texts. I shall confine myself here to the presentation of some textual findings from the west-central Himalaya that will, I hope, contribute to the exploration of a theme that has already been the subject of investigation by certain scholars. This relatively narrow scope forbids more general reflections on the cultural and historical significance of the deer in Tibetan and adjacent civilisations, a theme that nevertheless deserves — and would surely reward — systematic investigation in the future.

The research presented here is part of a wider study of Bon rituals based on a manuscript compendium in the possession of Lama Tshultrim, a tantric priest from the village of Lubrak in Nepal's Mustang district.<sup>1</sup> The rituals constitute the repertoire of Lama Tshultrim, and while some of them are rarely, if ever, carried out, others feature relatively prominently among the ceremonies he is requested to perform by his network of patrons. One of these is the "Summoning of good fortune" (*g.yang 'gug*), a ritual that is commonly performed by Bonpos and Buddhists alike, for the benefit of both private clients and whole communities. I have seen Lama

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<sup>1</sup>I am indebted to Khenpo Tenpa Yungdrung for helping me with difficulties in these texts, and to Françoise Robin for her valuable comments on an earlier version of this article.

Tshultrim perform the ritual on several occasions, and in 2008 he kindly permitted me and Kemi Tsewang to film a performance that he conducted for a private household in Lubrak itself.

For the purposes of the present article, the *g.yang* 'gug ritual is relevant only insofar as the ritual manual features the motif of the deer, and details concerning the performance and other aspects of the text will not be given here. However, a few words may be said by way of introduction about the term *g.yang*. Although the nature of these notions has been addressed by several writers, a particularly succinct account is given by Samten Karmay in his prelude to the *Mu ye pra phud*, one of the texts with which we shall be concerned here. The translation he proposes for the term is "quintessence of fortune", adding that it might be combined with other terms to signify their essence, as in the compound *rta g.yang*: "The 'g-yang of horse' is not the horse itself, but the 'super horse', so to speak" (Karmay and Nagano 2002: x–xi; see also Karmay 1998 [1975]: 149). This definition is vividly illustrated by one of the texts discussed below, in which we are told that a horse without *g.yang* is no different from a wild ass, and a yak without *g.yang* is like a 'brong, a wild yak. It is *g.yang* that gives these animals their 'horseness' and their 'yakness'.<sup>2</sup>

A term that is closely associated with *g.yang* is *phya*. As Karmay points out, this word has two meanings: 'prognosis' and 'vital force' or 'life' (Karmay and Nagano 2002: x; see also Karmay 1998 [1986]: 247, fn. 9), and that when it is combined with *g.yang* it is in the latter sense that it should be understood. The evidence of our texts suggests a complex relationship between *phya* and *g.yang* that deserves closer examination in the future. Even from the excerpts cited below it is clear that *phya* is more closely associated with humans, and *g.yang* with animals: *phya* is to humans what *g.yang* is to livestock, lustre is to turquoise, warmth to clothing and nutrition to food (*Yab lha bdal drug*: fol. 3r). But the difference is not quite as straightforward as this. There are passages (though not in the excerpts presented here) where humans, too, have *g.yang*, and animals—and inanimate objects—have *phya*. Indeed *g.yang* itself has *phya*, though it does not seem to be the case that *phya* has *g.yang*.

<sup>2</sup>When a preliminary version of this paper was presented at Shimla, Matthias Pfisterer of the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna observed that, on the basis of these examples, *g.yang* appeared to be associated with domestication. Although this is not the occasion to pursue the notion, the suggestion is an intriguing one that deserves further investigation.

A final point to be made is that *phya* is not the same as *Phywa*, which designates a category of divinities. Both terms appear in our texts, but the orthography is random, and it is not always clear from the context which word is intended.

## The Deer in Tibetan Rituals

Magical deer of one sort or another are extremely common in the folktales and myths of Central Asia and Europe, and there is little to be gained by establishing the kinship of the particular deer with which we are concerned here to that great herd.<sup>3</sup> At the present stage of research, a relatively restricted range of comparisons may well be more instructive. Three studies in particular will be mentioned here.

The work in which the significance of the deer in Bonpo ritual receives the fullest treatment is Blondeau and Karmay's "Le cerf à vaste ramure" (1988). The study is based on the text of a *mdos* ritual, *Bon sha ba ru rgyas*, but includes extensive discussion of references to the ritual in other Tibetan works, as well as a consideration of Tibetan and Himalayan cultural activities—including hunting and dance—in which deer play a central role. There is insufficient space here to pursue the numerous avenues of enquiry opened by this important work, but it is worth drawing attention to a few of the features shared by the *Bon sha ba ru rgyas* and the works examined here. The effigy of the deer that is constructed in the *Bon sha ba ru rgyas* ritual is intended as a ransom. Although no effigy is constructed for the rituals to be discussed here, in both cases different parts of the deer's body and behaviour are enumerated and explained in terms of certain values or objects in the world that they represent, either as analogies or as the source of their manifestation. The implicit dismemberment of the deer in all the texts invites the question of whether the rituals ever entailed animal sacrifice. Blondeau and Karmay address this matter and conclude that, although later Buddhist accounts maintain that the Bonpo rite did entail blood offerings, the claim is too far in time from the alleged practice to constitute a reliable witness, and that the use of an effigy does not by itself imply substitution for a real animal. In two of the texts considered here the deer is hunted, but there is no mention of the quarry being

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<sup>3</sup>For a survey of the distribution and variants of this motif see, for example, Harald von Sicard's "Der wunderbare Hirsch" (1971).

killed and dismembered; indeed, in one of the two (*Mu ye pra phud*) the animal is explicitly released after its qualities have been transferred into a sheep.

A remarkable account of a sacrifice among the Gurungs of Nepal is given in Mumford's *Himalayan Dialogue* (1989: 63–79). The ritual features a number of themes that leave little doubt about its conceptual relationship to the *Bon sha ba ru rgyas*—for example, in the relationship between the bird, the tree, and the deer that is developed in both. But the fact that the two rituals reveal a shared set of cultural values does not in itself constitute evidence that the Tibetan ritual ever entailed animal sacrifice. And if the texts examined below contain themes of hunting and dismemberment, in this case too we should avoid drawing apparently obvious conclusions that may well have no foundation.

A vivid idea of the significance of deer in Tibetan oracular religion is conveyed by John Bellezza's important study of spirit-mediumship in Western Tibet, *Calling Down the Gods* (2005). In addition to manifesting as gods or constituting divine offerings, deer (of various species) feature extensively in oracular narratives and stories, most commonly in the context of a hunt. In the texts examined in this work deer provide the mounts for many divinities (passim, but esp. 149, fn. 140). Bellezza's study also highlights the importance of the concept of *g.yang* among the spirit-mediums with whom he worked (ibid.: 53–172; see especially 146–51). One of them goes so far as to maintain “that the main purpose of spirit-mediumship is to bring *g.yang* (good fortune) to families afflicted with misfortune” (ibid.: 88). The penultimate section of the book is devoted to ritual texts for summoning *g.yang* (ibid.: 456–83). While the three texts presented by the author give some idea of the considerable diversity of this genre, it is the last of these, *Mu ye pra phud*, that is particularly relevant to the present article because of its association of *g.yang* with deer.

Just as the deer provides the focus of different kinds of rituals (such as the *Bon sha ba ru rgyas*), it is also true that the animal may not be a *necessary* feature of *g.yang*-retrieval rites: like the mandala, it may be an organisational principle that can be applied in a variety of ritual contexts. In two of the three texts examined by Bellezza, as well as another *g.yang* text from eastern Tibet,<sup>4</sup> deer are entirely absent from both the

<sup>4</sup>*Pha mtshun sgra bla'i g.yang skyobs 'dod dgu char 'bebs bsam pa don grub*. I am grateful to Dangsong Namgyal for showing me this work.

mythic narrative and the imagery of the ritual itself. Of the numerous animals that feature in the latter work, it is the sheep that is particularly associated with the *g.yang*. The possibility that this association may be due to the derivation of the Tibetan *g.yang* from the Chinese *yang*, meaning sheep, is well known. While I am not qualified to comment on the plausibility of this etymology, I would like to raise the possibility of the interchangeability of the deer and the sheep in a ritual context.

In the performance of the *g.yang 'gug* ritual the meat that is used to represent the body parts of the deer is mutton: the ritual requires that a sheep should have been butchered (but not sacrificed, and not necessarily for the express purpose of the ritual). When the priest's assistant goes onto the roof to summon the *g.yang* from the four directions he holds in his right hand the arrow with coloured cloths and in his left the foreleg of the sheep, which he uses to gather the *g.yang* towards him. But the sheep leg is considered a substitute for the leg of a deer, which should be used if available. In the performance I attended in Lubrak the foreleg of a musk deer was used on the first day; but Lama Tshultrim considered it a poor specimen: it had been dried and kept in the rafters of the house for a long time, and mice had gnawed it down to a few inches above the hoof. Consequently on the second day, after a sheep had been butchered, he declared that a leg of fresh mutton should be used instead.

Evidence for an association between deer and sheep among Tibet's erstwhile neighbours is to be found in a fourteenth-century history of the Liao Dynasty (*Liao Shi*). A study by Linda Cooke Johnson of a mural painting in a Khitan tomb discusses the significance of a deer that features in the depiction of a marriage procession. The animal is standing next to a cart, and was assumed by the archaeologists who reported the find to be a draft animal. But the deer is too small to be used for this purpose, and its more likely function is explained by the *Liao Shi*. The work states that, at the time of her wedding, an imperial princess was provided with a funeral carriage for use at her future burial. Inside the carriage was a sacrificial animal described by the text as *yang*. As the author explains, "the term *yang* literally means 'sheep', but is often used generically as in 'red deer'. The bones of deer, sheep and goats were all found in Liao tombs" (Johnson 1983: 126, fn. 51).<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>I am indebted to Berthe Jansen for drawing my attention to this work. Whatever the funeral associations of the deer may be, it is worth noting that the dialogue between

## Presentation of the Texts

Many of the divinities (and places) in the narratives are well known from other Bonpo works, though in some cases the role and identity they are accorded in the present texts are very different from those with which they are usually associated. For the sake of brevity, the present treatment will avoid discussion of the various protagonists, and the numerous terminological problems raised by the works will also be passed over in silence.

The first text I shall consider here is the one used by Lama Tshultrim of Lubrak in his *g.yang 'gug* performances. It bears the title *Phywa g.yang g.yang len dgu bskor*. The second *g.yang* of the title may or may not be superfluous, but in any event it may be glossed as “Fetching the *phywa* and the *g.yang*, in nine sections”. It opens directly with an account of the miraculous appearance of a primordial deer.

Homage to the presence of the *phywa* (= *phya*) *bon* and the *g.yang bon*. First, as for setting out the base for the *phywa* of the phenomenal world, [recite as follows]: *Kyai!* When the sky first came into being, at the beginning of the world-ages, at the boundary of being and non-being, there came into existence a white conch-shell deer with crystal antlers. What came into existence? It was the first of the world-ages that came into existence; what descended? It was *phywa* and *g.yang* that descended. Call “*khu'i*” to summon that *phywa* undefeated; call “*khu'i*” to summon the *g.yang* undefeated! There was an emanation from that deer’s heart, and from the head of that emanation there came into existence the *Phywa* (= *phywa*?) castle [called] *gYang Heart*.... From the right antler of that emanation there came into being the long bright spear for the top, and from that there came into existence the five *pho wal* siblings.... From the left antler of that emanation there came into being the mothers’ life-force spindle with the turquoise whorl (lit. leaves), and from that there came into existence the five *mo wal* siblings...

Various parts of the deer’s body are transformed into objects representing the items that feature on the altar in the course of the ritual. The

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the hunter and his coy quarry in *Mu ye pra phud* is somewhat reminiscent of the formal discourses that mark the confrontations between the parties of the groom and the bride in Tibetan pre-nuptial ceremonies.

coherence of the components of the altar is therefore provided not by virtue of their location in an integrated mandala, but insofar as, taken together, they reconstitute the body of a deer.<sup>6</sup> Each of the texts under consideration here contains a similar list in which parts of the deer's body are paired with ritual items, and these lists will be presented below in tabular form for the sake of easier comparison.

<sup>6</sup>'Creative dismemberment' is of course a well-known motif in Tibet and the Himalayas, generally as a template for social divisions, and the topic has been discussed by a number of authors. However, Françoise Robin has kindly drawn my attention to two stories that deserve special mention here insofar as they relate to the manifestation of dwelling-places—a tent in one case and a palace in the other—from the dismembered bodies of animals. Both the translations given below are based on Dr. Robin's bilingual (Tibetan-French) edition of the *Mi ro tse sgrung*. In the first episode a boy, mounted on a yak-cow (*bri*), is fleeing from a demoness:

They reached an area of meadows, and the piebald yak-cow said to the boy, "Slaughter me quickly. Spread out my hide on the ground with my heart in the middle, place my hooves in the four directions, circle it with my intestines, scatter my black fur on the shady side, my white fur on the sunny side and my piebald fur between the two. Put my kidneys beneath my hind legs. Once you've done that go to sleep and you shall have whatever you wish for."

The boy remonstrated, but at the animal's insistence he

did as the piebald yak-cow had told him, and went to sleep. When he woke up again and looked around—would you believe it!—the hide had turned into a huge tent, the white fur into sheep, the black fur into yaks, the piebald fur into horses, the two kidneys into dogs and the heart into a lovely woman. Because he'd been flustered during the butchery and had nicked the heart with his knife, the woman bore the trace of a scar on the tip of her nose. (Robin 2011 [2005]: 174, 175)

In the second account a woman and her son are fleeing from danger on horseback:

They came to an empty, uninhabited pastureland and the horse said, "My lady, slaughter me and spread my hide on the ground. Set my four hooves in the four directions, heap my bones up in the middle, scatter my mane to the four quarters and four interstices. Set aside my heart, my lungs, my liver and my eyes—they will be of great benefit to you". Since she didn't dare to do any of this, the grey horse fell over by itself and died, and the woman then did as the horse had instructed her. The following day, there appeared a great palace, surrounded on all four sides by a row of trees. There were towers at the four corners, and in the middle a house with a pitched roof. There was also a clear, cool spring, and inexhaustible wealth in the treasury. After this had happened, she lived there with her son. (Robin 2011 [2005]: 298–300, 299–301)

While going through a private collection of manuscripts in Lubrak I came across another text for the summoning of *phya* and *g.yang*. This work, comprising fifty folios, is entitled *Srid pa yab lha bdal drug gis phya gzhung chen mo gzhugs-s+ho*, the “Great Main Text of the *phya* Ritual of Srid pa Yab lha bdal drug”. The collection in which this work was discovered consists largely of works that I believe are original compositions of dKar ru grub dbang bsTan ’dzin rin chen (1801–1860), as well as other works that may have formed part of his library. The evidence of his autobiography reveals that he was often called on to perform *g.yang ’gug* rituals for his patrons, especially in the Himalayan regions, and it may be the text that he used in his performances. The work is actually a compilation of excerpts from a number of pre-existing writings. While this scissors-and-paste method does produce some rather jarring discontinuities, at least the provenance of some of the passages is provided. However, it is not clear if dKar ru himself was the compiler of the volume or if he was even the author of some of the unidentified sections.

In any event, the opening of the text is a great deal more elaborate than the account given in *Phya g.yang g.yang len*. Instructions for the preparation of the ritual paraphernalia are given as follows:

Homage to the body of sNang gshen gtsug phud, the Teacher who is the primordial *gshen*, the magical Bonpo! With respect to this propitiatory *phya* ritual composed by the *sugata* Srid pa Yab lha bdal drug for the retrieval of the lives of humans and the *g.yang* of animals, the purpose is expressed through a variety of components (?). First, divine barley is spread out on top of the divine base, a piece of white felt. Above that is placed the *phya* pouch, filled with barley, and above that the *phya* vase, filled with essential nectar. Above that place the [*gtor ma* named] *Phya ’phrang zhal dkar*, and the arrow with the coloured ribbons to its right. To the left, place a glorious spindle, and behind it the powerful leg of meat. In front of it place the sternum that is the *phya* meat, the circular *g.yang* noose, the *rdzi* meat, the *g.yang* pouch and so forth. Then the *phya* requisites such as the nectar and the various items of food, metals such as gold, silver, copper and iron, different precious objects, armour, trappings such as a saddle, a bridle and a halter; a tethering-line, tethering ropes, and [other ropes; *’byor skyogs, sgyi thag*]; measures such as a *bre*, a *srang* and



a 'bo. Arrange all these items nicely and then recite the scripture of whichever tutelary divinity is preferred.

The text continues with instructions for summoning the *phya* and the *g.yang*. Later sections of the text contain much more elaborate recitations for the acquisition of these properties, but they will not be considered here.

First, establish the ritual precincts, and then perform the *phya* vase as follows. *Khuye*, come, *phya*! From the east comes *Phya sman rgyal mo*; make a prayer on this *phya* beer, make a prayer on this *phya* vase! Bring hither the life-*g.yang* of humans; bring hither the cattle-*g.yang* of the livestock; bring hither the nutrition-*g.yang* of food; pray, be seated unmoving and firm in the middle of the secret *phya* row. Say *khuye* so that all the marvelous things we wish for might appear. Recite this five times, once for each of the directions and the centre.

The passage immediately following this is especially valuable inasmuch as it helps us to appreciate, by a series of well-chosen examples already mentioned in the introduction, what *phya* and *g.yang* are conceived to be. Without these qualities, the things listed would be much-diminished versions of themselves:

Now that the *phya* base has been laid out, chant as follows: *Phya khuye!* come unharmed and secure! First a base must be sought for the eternal *phya*. If there is no base, it is as if there were no seat beneath the officiating priest (*sku gshen bon po*). A base must therefore be sought for the eternal *phya*, a seat must be sought to place beneath the officiating priest. Next, a support must be sought for the eternal *phya*. If there is no support for the eternal *phya*, it's as if the officiating priest had no turban on his head. A support must therefore be sought for the eternal *phya*; a turban must be sought for the officiating priest. Finally, requisites must be sought for the eternal *phya*. If the eternal *phya* has no requisites, it is as if the officiating priest had no beer in his throat. Requisites must therefore be sought for the eternal *phya*; beer must be sought for the throat of the officiating priest. *Khuye*, come, *phya*, come undefeated and stable! First, *phya* must be sought for humans. If humans have no *phya*, how do they differ from the wild men

(?) of the southern ravines?<sup>7</sup> *Phya* for humans must therefore be sought. Next, *g.yang* must be sought for horses; if horses have no *g.yang*, how do they differ from the wild asses of the Northern Plateau?<sup>8</sup> *gYang* for the horses must therefore be sought. Finally, *g.yang* must be sought for the yak-cows. If the yak-cows have no *g.yang*, how are they different from the wild yaks of the Northern Plateau? *gYang* must therefore be sought for the yak-cows. *Khuye*, come, *phya*! First, lustre must be sought for the one-sixth-red turquoise. If the one-sixth-red turquoise has no lustre, how does it differ from a stone? Lustre must therefore be sought for the one-sixth-red turquoise. Next, warmth must be sought for the clothing we wear. If the clothing we wear has no warmth, how does it differ from ginger-peel? Warmth must therefore be sought for the clothing we wear. And finally, nutritional content should be sought for the food that is eaten. If the food that is eaten has no nutritional content, how is it different from tawny clay? And so nutritional content must be sought for the food that is eaten. *Khuye*! Come undefeated and steady! Well, where shall we seek for the *phya* base, the *g.yang* base? Where shall we seek for the *phya* requisites and the *g.yang* requisites?

Here, as elsewhere in the three texts with which we are concerned, *phya* is associated particularly with humans and *g.yang* with animals. The response to the question posed at the end of the last section is a remarkable narrative that begins with a perfunctory cosmogony before moving rapidly on to an account of a deer hunt.

*Kye*! At the beginning of the earliest times, at the beginning of the earliest age, at first, before anything had come into existence, there came into being the merest atom; from that there came into being a droplet of moisture; from that there came into being a vast ocean. In that ocean there appeared bubbles, and the bubbles rolled up into eggs, and nine precious eggs came into being. There were three conch-shell eggs, three

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<sup>7</sup>*lho rong gis mo'*; the context suggests that the term *mo'*, which is unknown to me, may correspond to something like *mi'u*.

<sup>8</sup>On the theme of the separation of the horse from the wild ass, see for example Stein 1971: 485–91.

golden eggs and three iron eggs, nine in all. The conch-shell egg dissolved into the sky, and from it there appeared the gods, the white ones, and the support. From the golden egg that had appeared next there came into being humans, *smra*, and *gshen*; from the iron egg that had fallen down, there came into being the *'dre*, the *srin*, and the *'byur*. At the time those three came into being, in the land of Mi yul kyin sting, in the palace Sa mkhar Idems pa, the one father Sangs po bum khri and the one mother Chu lcam rgyal mo had a son, and that son was 'Phrul gyi mi pho. When the father, the mother, and the son were there, humans had no *phya*, and there was much illness; beasts had no *g.yang*, and deadly epidemics were rife; food had no nutrition, and gave little strength. Then the father, the mother, and the son held a council, and invited lHa bon thod dkar. They wound a white turban around his head, and spread a silken seat beneath him, and gave him the pure first-offering of beer to drink. They besought him to summon the *phya* and the *g.yang*. lHa bon thod dkar said, "To summon the *phya* and the *g.yang*, you must seek the nine different requisites." At this, gYung drung 'phrul gyis mi po bound a white turban on his head, and donned his white cloak. In his right hand he took his magic sun-ray noose, and in his left his bow and arrows of means and knowledge. To seek for the nine different *phya* requisites he went to the east of Mount Meru, where he met a white conch-shell deer. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the white conch-shell deer. The deer spoke to him clearly in a human voice: "Do not catch me, do not catch this deer; let me go, let this deer go. I am a divine support, intended for the gods. Man, your deer is in the north." And so gYung drung 'phrul gyis mi po travelled to the north of Mount Tise, where he met a red copper deer. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the red copper deer. The deer spoke to him in a human voice: "Do not catch me, do not catch this deer; let me go, let this deer go. I am a support for the *btsan*, intended for the *btsan*. Man, your deer is in the west."

Again, Yung drung 'phrul gyi mi po travelled to the west of Mount Meru, where he encountered a brown agate deer. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the brown agate deer. The

deer spoke to him in a human voice: “Do not catch me, do not catch this deer; let me go, let this deer go. I am a support for the *dmu*, intended for the *dmu*. Man, your deer is in the south.” Again, Yung drung ’phrul gyi mi po travelled to the south of Mount Meru, where he encountered a black iron deer. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the black iron deer. The deer spoke to him in a human voice: “Do not catch me, do not catch this deer; let me go, let this deer go. I am a support for the *bdud*, intended for the *bdud*. Man, your deer is in the centre.” Again, Yung drung ’phrul gyi mi po travelled to the centre of Mount Meru, where he encountered a jewel deer. The deer’s foreparts were white, and made of conch; its middle was yellow, and made of gold, while its hindparts were brown and made of agate. Its clear white antlers were made of crystal; its tongue was made of celestial lightning, and its variegated eyes were made of *gzi*; its hooves were made of iron. This was the deer he encountered. He cast his sun-ray noose, and lassoed the jewel deer. The jewel deer spoke to him in a human voice: “I am the stable base (*brtan ma*) of *phya* and *g.yang*; the nine *phya* items are fully present in me; Man, I am your deer.” ’Phrul gyi mi pho said, “I have obtained the requisites we needed; I have found the precious items we sought,” and he presented that jewel deer to lHa bon thod dkar, and asked him to perform the summoning of the *phya* and the *g.yang*.

*Khuye*, come, *phya*, come undefeated and firmly! Through the [action of] lHa bon rgyal gyis thod dkar the four portals of the Secret *Phya* Castle came into existence from the head of the jewel deer. From that deer’s hooves the four turrets of the Secret *Phya* Castle came into being....

As in the case of the first text, the section continues with a list of the transformations of different parts of the deer’s body into the various components of the altar arrangement. Here, too, the passage in which the transformations are itemised will not be translated in its entirety, but will be summarised in tabular form for the sake of convenient comparison across the three texts.

In 2002 Samten Karmay published a collection of eight Bonpo works from Dolpo under the title *The Call of the Blue Cuckoo*. The second item in the collection is the text for a *g.yang*-summoning ritual, entitled simply

*Mu ye pra phud phy'a'i mthar thug bzhugs s+ho*, “The Ultimate *Phya*; the Celestial Head-Ornament”<sup>9</sup> (Karmay and Nagano 2002: 35–90). In this text, too, it is the body of a deer that provides the organisational motif for the altar. At a first glance, I supposed that *Yab lha bdal drug* and *Mu ye pra phud* must be versions of the same text. A closer examination, however, revealed that, in spite of certain structural similarities, there were substantial differences between the two.

A valuable discussion of this work, along with an English translation of the opening charter myth and the corresponding edited text, is provided in John Bellezza’s *Calling Down the Gods* (2005: 472–83), and the following presentation of the story may therefore be confined to a summary of the points of main relevance to the present article. For the citations given in this outline I have preferred to use my own English renderings, rather than Bellezza’s, simply for the sake of consistency with the translations given above.

Following a brief cosmogonic introduction, the scene shifts to the land of *Phywa yul snang ldan* where there stands a castle, *Rin chen mdzes pa*. The king of the *Phywa* gods convokes the *phy'a gas* divinities and announces that the great *Phywa Yab lha bdal drug* is bereft of a *phy'a* base (*phy'a gzhi*). *Srid pa Sangs po* explains that the absence of *Yab lha*’s *phy'a* base is due to demonic activity that resulted in the dispersal of the five *Srid pa* gods (*srid pa'i lha lnga*), leaving a vacancy that has been occupied by demons. A volunteer to seek for the missing base is found in Prince *sGam po*, the son of *'Od de gung rgyal* and *Phywa lcam lo ma*. The prince rides to the summit of Mount Meru where he meets *gNam phyi gung rgyal*, who indicates where he can find what he is seeking:

To the north of Mount Meru, where we are, in the centre of the turquoise lake *Mer ba* (“the Brimming”) is *gYung drung brag gu zur bzhi*, the “Eternal Four-sided Little Crag”. On top of *gYung drung brag gu* are a stag, *gNam sha ru ring* (“Long-antlered Sky Deer”) and a hind, *dMu sha yu mo*. The son they produced (*sprul*) is named *Dung sha shel ru* (“Conch-shell Deer with Crystal Antlers”). It is from him that you should make the eternal *phy'a* base.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup>*Mu ye* and *pra phud* are Zhang zhung terms that the Lexicon glosses respectively by Tibetan *nam mkha'* and *dbu rgyan zhig*.

<sup>10</sup>The image of a lake-shore with three deer, one of which is the rightful quarry of the hero, also features in *Gesar* (Hummel 1998: 54).

The prince duly goes to the designated location, where he meets the deer. The deer explains “in clear human speech” that its father is a manifestation of the god *gNam lha dkar po* and its mother a manifestation of *dMu btsan rgyal mo*, and that the *lha*-lake and the *dmu*-crag are respectively its soul lake and soul-mountain. The prince explains the situation and asks the deer to accompany him and become the *phya* and *g.yang* base for *Yab lha bdal drug*, lord of the *Phywa*. The deer replies as follows:

“The sun and moon that abide in the sky: if the sun and moon were removed from the sky, living beings would be enveloped in darkness and would die; the fish and the otter that live in the lake: if they were removed from the lake they would die as a result; the deer that lives on the crags: if the deer were taken from the crags it would die. Man with an understanding mind, do not say such things to me!” The *Phywa* prince *sGam po* replied, “Listen, Conch-shell Deer with Crystal Antlers! You are the deer in which all qualities are combined: the five points on each of the antlers that grow on your head signify the presence of the five families of *gsas* lords; the jewelled whorl in your forehead signifies the presence of the Celestial Head-ornament (*Mu ye pra phud*); the ridge of your neck and so forth signify the presence of the five *nor lha* siblings in the council of the gods; the fact that you speak in a human voice signifies communication from gods to men; your whiteness, brighter than conch, signifies the clearing away of karmic residues; your four iron hooves signify the drying-up of the four demonic rivers; the fact that you eat medicinal leaves signifies liberation from physical illnesses. Since all qualities are represented in you, please, come for the *phya* of humans!”

The deer replies that the features enumerated by the prince are actually signs of defects, and requests that it should not be taken away by the prince. As it makes to flee, the prince lassoes it and tries to calm it down, extolling its superior qualities — which the deer continues to deny, insisting that its inferiority disqualifies it from the expectations the prince has of it. But the prince insists, and the deer wavers. It requests a pleasant environment where it will not suffer from excessive heat or cold or from hunger and thirst, or from fear. The prince reassures it:

Once you have gone to the land of the *Phywa*, you will have rice to eat and sugar-cane juice to drink — there will be no question

of hunger and thirst!<sup>11</sup> You will dwell in the centre of the royal enclosure — there will be no question of heat or cold! Your neck will be adorned with gold and turquoise, and your head decked with silks and brocades, and your body painted with vermilion and indigo. You will be set up as a support for the *lha* and *gsas* divinities, and laid out as a base for *phya* and *g.yang*— there is no question of fear or terror!

They reach the land of the Phywa, where the Prince presents the deer to Yab lha bdal drug, who is duly delighted. He gives the deer exactly the lavish treatment promised by the prince, and:

For three days he prayed for the *phya*; for three days he summoned the *phya* of humans and the *g.yang* of livestock; for three days he gathered brightness and splendour. After these nine days had passed, and through the magic of Yab lha bdal drug and from the emanations effected by the eternal deer, the fourfold *phya* castle as well as a range of requisites for *phya* and *g.yang* came into being. In this way was the *phya* base sought.

The text continues by itemising the correspondence between various ritual items and the body-parts of the deer. Since the section is of central concern to this article, and Bellezza does not include it in his study of the work, it is presented here in some detail.

And now the manifestations of the deer as supports for the *phya* are set up as follows:

*Kye!* First, what is the meaning of the so-called *phya*? What is the meaning of the so-called *g.yang*? The *phya* base, the *g.yang* base, this White Conch Felt—first, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? What is its purpose today? The *phya* castle, the *g.yang* castle, this “Possessing Nine Secrets”: First, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? What is its purpose today? The *phya* arrow, the *g.yang* arrow, this Arrow

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<sup>11</sup>This enticement of the deer with the promise of culinary delicacies recalls the similar blandishments extended to the mortuary sheep in a Dunhuang manuscript, PT 1194: “You, favourite animal, be brave on the pass! After eating [nothing but ordinary] grass in the land of the living, [henceforth] you shall have rice shoots, buttered tsampa, and sugar in the land of the dead, ‘Bres dang.” (From the French translation in Stein 1971: 514.)

with the Cloths of Five Colours: First, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? What is its purpose today? The *phya* spindle, the *g.yang* spindle, this Golden Spindle with the Turquoise Whorl: First, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? The *phya* beer, the *g.yang* beer, this Dewdrop of Nectar: First, from what substance was it made? Next, for what was it set up as a support? The *phya* requisites, the *g.yang* requisites, these Various Support Items: First, from what substance were they made? Next, for what were they set up as supports? What is their purpose today? Goddess of the Srid pa, pray tell us!

First, the characteristics of the so-called *phya*: it signifies descent from the sky to the earth. The characteristics of the so-called *g.yang*: it signifies the acquisition of nutrition.<sup>12</sup> The characteristics of “*khu*”: it signifies massing together like clouds in the sky. And as for the characteristics of “*ye*”: it signifies inducing the *phya gsas* divinities to come from space. From the rays of light from the heart of the *phya gsas* divinities [there came the deer, and] from the hide of that deer there came into being the White Conch Felt. First, that was the substance from which it was made. Next, it was set up as a support for the *phya*. It is there today for the sake of the *phya* and the *g.yang*. Call out, “Do not be diminished! *Khuye!*” From the heart (*thugs*) of that deer there came into being the *Phya* palace “Possessed of Nine Secrets”. First, that is the substance from which it was made...

The hide and the heart are the first two of twenty parts of the deer from which the altar is constituted. The general structure of the narrative is broadly similar to that seen in *Yab lha bdal drug*: a cosmogonic account, followed by a palatial setting in which the protagonists are concerned by the loss of the main priest’s *phya*. The loss has resulted in a general reduction in the quality of life, and must be restored. The figure who accomplishes this is a heroic youth, who dons the appropriate apparel and sets off on his horse in quest of the material for the *phya*. The hunter’s quarry is a deer that he successfully captures and that agrees to act as the basis

<sup>12</sup>*dmu yad zas bcud*: a bilingual pleonasm: *zas bcu* is one of the Tibetan glosses for the Zhang chung term *dmu yad* (Lexicon: 194).



**Table 18.1** Comparison of names in *Yab lha* and *Mu ye*

<b>Name</b>	<b>Yab lha bdal drug</b>	<b>Mu ye pra phud</b>
The setting	Mi yul skyin sting	Phywa yul snang ldan
The castle	Sa mkhar ldems pa	Rin chen mdzes pa
The hero's father	Sangs po 'bum khri	'Od de gung rgyal
The hero's mother	Chu lcam rgyal mo	Phywa lcam lo ma
The hero	'Phrul gyi mi pho	lHa sras sgam po
The priest	lHa bon thod dkar	Yab lha bdal drug

for the *phyä* that is to be retrieved. There are, nevertheless, significant differences, as TABLE 18.1, which compares the names of the protagonists and places, makes clear.

In the case of the first text considered above, *Phya g.yang g.yang len*, the charter myth, the *smrang*, is absent altogether. However, all three texts feature a section in which each of the items on the altar is explained as an emanation of a part of a deer. In order to facilitate a comparison across the texts, the essential points of each are presented in summary form in TABLE 18.2 The order in which the body parts are presented is the same in *Phya g.yang g.yang len* and *Yab lha bdal drug*; in *Mu ye pra phud* it is different. In each column, the order is indicated by the numbers in brackets.

**Table 18.2** Comparison of body parts and their manifestations in the three texts

Part of deer	Phya g.yang g.yang len	Yab lha bdal drug	Mu ye pra phud
Name	Conch[-white] deer with crystal antlers	Jewel deer	Conch[-white] deer with crystal antlers
Head	(1) <i>gYang</i> heart phywa castle (steng gis phywa mkhar <i>g.yang</i> thugs)	(1) Secret <i>phyva</i> castle with four doors	
Four hooves		(2) Four turrets of the castle	(19) Four <i>phyva</i> castles
Right antler	(2) Spear	(3) Spear	
Left antler	(3) Mothers' life-spindle with turquoise whorl	(4) Arrow with coloured cloths	
Blood		(6) Beer	(12) Beer
Three hairs OR three siblings	(4) [ <i>spu(n) gsum</i> ] Three glorious meanings ( <i>dpal kyi don pa rnam gsum</i> ). Itemised as meanings of <i>lha, gsas</i> and humans.	(19) [ <i>spu gsum</i> ] The three sharp <i>rom po</i> ( <i>dbal gyis rom po rnam gsum</i> ). Itemised as <i>rom po</i> of <i>lha</i> , of <i>gsas</i> , of <i>srog</i> .	(20) [ <i>spu gsum</i> ] Three sharp meanings ( <i>dbal gyi don po rnam gsum</i> ). Not itemised.
Head <sup>13</sup>	(5) Phywa 'brang zhal dkar (torma)		
Diaphragm	(6) Primordial curtain for <i>phyva</i> and <i>g.yang</i>	(7) Silken ribbons	
Heart ( <i>don snying</i> )		(8) [ <i>don snying</i> ] Phyva 'brang zhal dkar (torma)	(2) <i>Phya</i> castle of the nine-fold secret
Heart ( <i>thugs</i> )			

<sup>13</sup> In view of the fact that the head has served earlier as the basis for the *phyva* castle we might have expected to find some other body part here.

**Table 18.2** Comparison of body parts and their manifestations in the three texts (cont.)

Part of deer	Phya g.yang g.yang len	Yab lha bdal drug	Mu ye pra phud
Life-vein	(7) <i>Phya</i> arrow with white fletching		(3) Arrow with coloured cloths
Stomach chamber ( <i>pho ba</i> )	(8) Vase	(5) Vase	(9) Pouch
Gall bladder/bile	(9) <i>Phya/g.yang</i> beer		(?) See <i>mchin khritis</i> below, no. 15
Foreleg	(10) Foreleg of <i>phya</i> meat	(12) [ <i>lag.g.yon</i> ] Foreleg of <i>phya</i> meat	(18) Foreleg of <i>phya</i> meat
Sternum	(11) <i>Phya</i> sternum	(13) <i>Phya</i> sternum	(17) Fragment of <i>g.yang</i> breastplate ( <i>g.yang srab sil ma</i> )
<i>tshe zhi</i>	(12) Blue spindle of the mothers		
Innards	(13) All (lit. nine) kinds of <i>phya</i> ritual items	(20) Various kinds of <i>phya</i> ritual items	(8) [ <i>grod pa</i> ] tent
Stomach chamber ( <i>yang grod/ grod pa</i> )	(14) [ <i>yang grod</i> ] pouch		
<i>spu thog</i> (?)	(15) Barley		(10) Curd
Brains	(16) Curd		(7) Butter
Fat	(17) Butter		(5) <i>Phya</i> soul-lake
Kidneys			(4) Molasses drops
Liver	(18) <i>Phya/g.yang</i> base		(1) Felt base
Hide			(6) Soul mountain
Lungs			(11) Barley
Dung			(13) <i>g.yang zhag mgo dgu</i>
Small intestine		(14) <i>g.yang zhag sgor mo</i>	(14) Rope
Intestines			

**Table 18.2** Comparison of body parts and their manifestations in the three texts (cont.)

Part of deer	Phya g.yang g.yang len	Yab lha bdal drug	Mu ye pra phud
<i>mchin 'khris</i>			(15) Curtain
<i>rdzi sha</i>		(15) <i>g.yang</i> pocket	(16) <i>g.yang</i> pocket
Skull		(16) Bowl	
<i>mkhril pa</i>		(18) Oil/melted butter	

## Conclusions

Might a comparison of these three texts tell us something about how widespread the motif of the deer was in this part of the Himalayan region? Or alternatively, might the motif have been confined just to these three works?

While there is insufficient space here for a detailed discussion of the correspondences revealed by TABLES 18.1 and 18.2, it is nevertheless possible to make some general observations about the relative proximity of the texts. Two features of the list suggest that the two Lubrak texts, *Phya g.yang* and *Yab lha*, are more closely related to each other than they are to *Mu ye pra phud*:

1. In all three texts there is roughly the same number of body parts (19, 20, 20). However, the order of body parts listed in the two Lubrak texts is very similar, while that of *Mu ye pra phud* is significantly different.
2. *Mu ye pra phud* has more body parts that are unique to its list than those in the two Lubrak texts:
  - Unique to *Phya g.yang*: *tshe zhi*; *spu thog*.
  - Unique to *Yab lha*: skull; *mkhril pa*.<sup>14</sup>
  - Unique to *Mu ye*: lungs; dung; intestines; *mchin 'khris*.<sup>15</sup>

These observations argue in favour of *Mu ye pra phud* being the odd one out. However, there are certain body parts that feature in two of the texts but are absent from the third, and according to this criteria, it is *Phya g.yang g.yang len* that is the outsider:

- Absent from *Phya g.yang*: hooves; heart; kidneys; liver; lungs; small intestine; *rdzi sha* (7).
- Absent from *Yab lha*: life-vein; stomach chamber *grod pa / yang grod*; hide (3).
- Absent from *Mu ye*: head; antlers; diaphragm; heart; innards (5).

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<sup>14</sup>Unless the *thod pa* of *Yab lha* is taken as corresponding to the *mgo* of *Phya g.yang*, and *mkhril pa* is read as *mkhris pa*.

<sup>15</sup>*mchin 'khris* could plausibly be taken to signify the gall bladder, were its manifestation (curtain) not more obviously associated—as in the two other texts—with the diaphragm.

It should be pointed out that, even where a body part appears in two or all three of the texts, its manifestation is not always the same. There are at least five instances of such a discrepancy. Four of them are as follows:

- Four hooves: turrets *vs* castles
- Left antler: spindle *vs* arrow
- Stomach chamber *pho ba*: vase *vs* pouch
- Blood = beer *vs* bile = beer

But it is the fifth example that is particularly significant. It provides compelling evidence (supporting that of the body parts common to them that are absent from *Yab lha*) to suggest that *Phya g.yang* and *Mu ye* are heirs to a transmission that *Yab lha* does not share. The part in question is *spu gsum*, literally ‘three hairs’, though it is by no means certain what this signifies. As stated earlier, this has been tentatively amended in *Phya g.yang* to *spun*, but the amendment could be simply a sign of the unknown editor’s bewilderment at the term. In *Phya g.yang* and *Mu ye* the *spu gsum* manifest as, respectively: *dpal kyi don pa rnams gsum* and *dbal gyi don po rnam gsum*. The latter might be translated as “the three awesome meanings”, but no further elaboration is given. In the first case, the “three glorious *don pa*” are identified as *lha*, *gsas* and humans. A term that seems much more at home in this context than either *don po* or *don pa*—which has no obvious meaning—is *Yab lha*’s *rom po*, which denotes a category of divinities associated with the four directions. A confusion between *rom* and *don* would not be unlikely in certain cursive hands, and it would appear that both *Phya g.yang* and *Mu ye* inherited a scribal variant that did not find its way into *Yab lha*.

If the textual evidence is taken at face value, it must be concluded that the three works under consideration are not directly related, but represent three witnesses connected through a probably complex stemma of lost or undiscovered hyparchetypes. This in turn suggests that the dismembered deer is—or was—a very common motif, at least in Mustang and Dolpo and at least in the context of *g.yang*-retrieval rituals. In all probability, however, we are faced with a situation in which the scribes of our texts were not attempting to be faithful copyists but may have been actively composing new works. The fact that the names of places and protagonists in TABLE 18.1 are *systematically* different is almost suspicious: might this be a case of one—or both—of the authors reaching into the well-stocked

reservoir of epic Bonpo names to create a superficially distinctive cast of heroes and settings for a patented variant of the ritual?

But this perspective leads us to the same conclusion: that the topos of the hunted and dismembered deer was a well-established, culturally sanctioned template on which new combinations of elements might be arranged.

## Transliterated Texts

Since the text of *Mu ye pra phud* has been published—both in facsimile and a retyped *dbu can* version (Karmay and Nagano 2002: 35–90) as well as, substantially, in roman transliteration (Bellezza 2005: 479–83)—it need not be reproduced here. The following excerpts comprise only the opening sections of *Phya g.yang g.yang len* and *Yab lha bdal drug* that are partially translated above.

**Note on Transliteration** The transliterated text is presented without any attempt to amend orthographic irregularities. Contracted forms (*bs-dus yig*) are spelled out in full, but the syllables are separated with hyphens. Unorthodox spellings within the contractions are not, however, reproduced in the extended transliteration. The smaller cursive hand in which the text gives instructions related to the performance of the ritual is represented by italics.

The normal *shad* is represented by the oblique stroke (/), the broken *shad* that corresponds to a “ditto” mark to signify a refrain is indicated by a vertical line (|).

**Phya g.yang g.yang len** (*fol. 1r*) *Phywa g.yang g.yang len dgu bskor dbus phyogs bzhugs pa legs-s+ho / (fol. 1v) phywa bon g.yang bon sku la phyag-'tshal-lo / dang po srid pa phywa gzhi btings pa ni / / kyai gnam snga srid pa'i dang po la / zhe tsam bskal pa'i thog ma la / srid pa yod med gnyis kyi 'tshams shed na / dung sha dkar mo shel ru can cig srid / srid ni bskal pa'i dang po srid / 'bab ni phywa dang g.yang du 'bab / phywa de yang ma 'phang khu'i gsungs / yang de yang ma 'phang khu'i (fol. 2r) / /gsungs / sha wa thugs kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i mgo bo la / steng gis phywa mkhar g.yang thugs srid / srid ni bskal pa'i dang po srid / 'bab ni phywa dang g.yang du 'bab / phywa de yang ma 'phang khu'i gsungs / yang de*

yang ma 'phang khu'i gsungs / sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa las / sprul pa de'i  
 ra co g.yas pa la / steng gi phywa mdung gsang ring srid / pho wal mched  
 lnga de la srid / srid ni skal | 'bab ni pya | phywa de yang ma 'phang khu'i  
 (fol. 2v) gsungs / yang de yang ma 'phang 'khu'i gsungs / sha ba thugs-kyi  
 sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i ra co g.yon pa la / yum gyi srog 'phang g.yu lo  
 srid / mo wal mched lnga de la srid / srid ni skal pa'i | 'bab ni phywa |  
 phywa de yang ma 'phang | yang de yang ma 'phang khu'i gsungs / sha ba  
 thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i spun gsum la / dpal kyi don pa rnam  
 gsum srid / gcig ni lha'i don po yin / gcig ni gsas kyi don po yin / gcig ni  
 mi'i don po yin / srid ni skal | 'bab ni | phywa de yang ma 'phang | yang  
 de yang ma | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i mgo bo la / ye  
 srid phywa 'brang zhal dkar srid / srid ni skal | 'bab (fol. 3r) ni phywa |  
 phywa de yang ma | yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi | sprul pa de'i yol dri  
 la / ye srid phywa yol g.yang yol srid / srid ni skal | 'bab ni | phywa de  
 yang ma 'phangs khu'i | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la /  
 sprul pa de'i srogs rtsa la / ye srid phywa mda' sgro dkar srid / srid ni |  
 'bab ni phywa dang | phywa de yang ma 'phang | g.yang de yang | sha ba  
 thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i pho ba la / ye srid phywa bum g.yang  
 bum srid / srid ni skal pa'i | 'bab ni | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang  
 | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i mkhris pa la / ye srid phywa  
 chang g.yang chang srid | srid ni skal | (fol. 3v) 'bab | phywa de yang ma  
 | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i lag pa la /  
 ye srid phywa sha lag pa srid / srid ni skal | 'bab ni | phywa de yang ma  
 'phangs khu | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i  
 nam dong la / ye srid phywa sha nam dongs srid / srid ni skal | 'bab ni |  
 phywa de yang | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa  
 de'i tshe zhi la / ye srid mo 'phang sngon po srid / srid ni skal pa'i | 'bab ni  
 phywa | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang ma | sha ba thugs-kyi | sprul  
 pa de'i nang grol la / ye srid phywa rdzas sna dgu srid / srid ni skal | 'bab  
 ni phywa | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang | sha ba (fol. 4r) thugs-kyi  
 sprul | sprul pa de'i yang grod la / ye srid phywa skyes g.yang skyes srid /  
 srid ni skal | 'bab ni | phywa de yang | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs kyi  
 | sprul pa de'i spu thog la / ye srid phywa nas g.yang nas srid / srid ni skal  
 pa'i | 'bab ni | phywa de yang | g.yang de yang | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul  
 | sprul | sprul pa de'i glad pa | ye srid phywa zho g.yang zho srid / srid ni  
 | 'bab ni | phywa de yang | g.yang de yang ma | sha ba thugs-kyi sprul  
 pa la / sprul pa de'i tshi-lu la / ye srid phywa mar g.yang mar srid / srid ni  
 skal | 'bab ni phywa | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang ma | sha ba



thugs-kyi sprul pa la / sprul pa de'i lpags (*fol. 4v*) pa la / ye srid phywa gzhi g.yang gzhi srid / srid ni | 'bab ni | phywa de yang ma | g.yang de yang ma 'phang khu'i gsungs / sngon gyis srid pa dang po la / phywa rje srid pa'i phywa gzhi yin / de ring rgyud-sbyor yon bdag gis / phywa gzhi ling phying dkar po'i stengs / phywa rten g.yang rten tshangs par bsogs / sprul pa'i phywa bon g.yang bon gyis / phywa glud g.yang glud phyogs bzhir 'bul / khu'i ma 'phang g.yang du blan / *ces phywa gzhi tshar* /

**Yab lha g.yang 'gug** (*fol. 1r*) srid pa yab lha bdal drug gis phywa zhung chen mo gzhugs+ho /

(*fol. 1v*) ston pa ye gshen 'phrul gyis bon po / snang gshen gtsug-phud kyis sku la phyag-'tshal-lo / *bder-gshegs srid pa yab lha bdal drug nas bgyis pas / mi tshe nor g.yang 'gugs pa'i phyai bsgrubs pa 'di la / don rnam pa sna-tshogs kyi sgo nas ston ste / dang po lha gzhi phying dkar gyi steng du lha nas bcal du bkram / de steng phywa sgye nas kyis bkang ba bzhags / de steng phywa bum bdud-rtsi bcud kyis ltams pa / de steng phywa 'phrang zhal dkar g.yas-su mda' dar / g.yon du dpal 'phang / rgyab du dbal sha lags pa / mdun du phywa sha nam 'dong / g.yang zhags sgor mo / rdzi sha g.yang khug la sogs te / bdud-rtsi / zas sna-tshogs kyis phywa rdzas dang / gser dngul zangs lcags la-sogs rin-chen sna-tshogs dang / go khrab sga srab sgrogs mthur / sdang thags star thags 'gyor skyogs sgyi thag / bre srang 'bo gsum la-sogs pa'i yo byad kyi rdzas rnam legs par bshams la / yi-dam gang byed kyi gzhung bsrangs dgos / dang po 'tshams (*fol. 2r*) bcad / de nas phywa bum bca' ste // phywa kyu yai / shar nas phywa sman rgyal-mo byon la / phywa chang 'di la smon lam thob / phywa bum 'di la smon-lam thob / shar phyogs dri za'i phywa g.yang 'di ru 'gugs / mi'i tshe g.yang 'di ru 'gugs / nor gyi phyugs g.yang 'di ru 'gugs / zas kyis bcud g.yang 'di ru 'gugs / phywa gral gsang ba'i dbus phyogs-su / mi-'gyur brtan par bzhugs-su-gsol / phun-tshogs 'dod dgu 'byung par khu ye gsung / *ces pas / phyogs bzhi dbus dang lnga khar tshig 'dres pa'o / da ni phywa gzhi gting ste / 'di skad gyer-ro / phywa khu ye ma 'pham brten la byon / dang po g.yung-drung gis phywa la gzhi cig 'tshal / g.yung-drung gis phywa la (*fol. 2v*) gzhi med na / sku gshen bon po'i 'og na gdan med 'dra / de phyr g.yung-drung gis phywa la gzhi cig 'tshal / sku gshen bon po'i 'og na gdan cig 'tshal / bar du g.yung-drung gis phywa la brten cig 'tshal / g.yung-drung gis phywa la brten med na / sku gshen bon-po'i dbu la thod med 'dra / de phyr g.yung-drung gis phywa la brten cig 'tshal / sku gshen bon-po'i dbu la thad cig 'tshal / mtha mar g.yung-drung gis phywa la rdzas cig 'tshal / g.yung-drung gis phywa la rdzas med na / sku**

gshen bon-po'i 'gur du skyem med 'dra / de phyir g.yung-drung gis phya  
 la rdzas cig 'tshal / sku gshen 'gur du skyem cig 'tshal / phya khu ye ma  
 pham brten la byon / dang po sko legs mi la phya cig 'tshal / sko legs mi la  
 phyed med na / lho rong gis mo' dang ci ma snyams / de phyir sko legs-gis  
 mi la phya cig (*fol. 3r*) 'tshal / bar du gyi ling gis rta la g.yang cig 'tshal  
 / gyi ling gis rta la g.yang med na / byang thang gis skyang dang ci ma  
 bsnyams / de phyir gyi ling gis rta la g.yang cig 'tshal / mtha' ma zil dkar  
 gyis 'bri la g.yang cig 'tshal / zel dkar gyis 'bri la g.yang med na / byang  
 thang gis 'brong dang ci ma snyams / de phyir zel dkar gyis 'bri la g.yang  
 cig 'tshal / phya khu ye ma pham brtan la byon / dang po drug dmar g.yu  
 la bkrag cig 'tshal / drug dmar g.yu la bkrags med na / gur mo'i rdo dang  
 ci ma snyams / de phyi drug dmar d.yu la bkrag cig 'tshal / bar du gon pa'i  
 gos la drod cig 'tshal / gon pa'i gos la drod med na / go smug gi shun dang  
 ci ma bsnyams / de phyir gon pa'i gos la drod cig | (*fol. 3v*) mtha' ma za  
 ba'i zas la bcud cig 'tshal / za ba'i zas la bcud med na / kham pa'i 'dam  
 dang ci ma | / de phyir za ba'i zas la bcud cig | / phya khu ye ma pham  
 brtan | / 'o na phya gzhi g.yang gzhi gang nas rtsal / phya rdzas g.yang  
 rdzas gang nas rtsal /// kyai gnas snga bstod kyis dang po la / zhes snga  
 bskal pa'i thog ma la / dang po ci yang ma srid par / de la bag tsam brdul  
 tsam srid / de la zil tsam phra-mo tsam srid / de la rgya-mtsho mer bar  
 srid / rgya-mtsho de la sbu bar chags / sbu ba la ni sgong du 'dril / rin-chen  
 sgong nga dgu ru srid / dung sgong gsum dang gser sgong gsum / lcags  
 sgong gsum dang dgu ru srid / dung sgong gnam du yal ba la / de la lha  
 dkar rten gsum srid / gser sgong bar du chags pa la / de la mi smra gshen  
 gsum srid / lcags sgong mthur du (*fol. 4r*) bab pa la / de la 'dre sring byur  
 gsum srid / srid pa de gsum chags dus la / yul ni mi yul kyin sting na /  
 mkhar ni sa mkhar ldems pa na / yab cig sangs po bum khri dang / yum  
 cig chu lcam rgyal-mo la / sras nas 'phrul gyis mi pho 'khrungs / yab-yum  
 sras gsum bzhugs pa la / mi la phya med snyung cig mang / nor la g.yang  
 med god kha sdang / zas la bcud med phan bstobs chung / der yab-yum  
 sras gsum bka' gros nas / lha bon thod dkar spyang drangs ste / dbu la dar  
 dkar thod cig bcing / 'og na za 'og gdan cig gting / zhal du skyems phud  
 gtsang ma drang / phyang dang g.yang du 'gug dgos zhush / lha bon thod dkar  
 zhal na re / phyang dang g.yang du 'gugs pa la / phyang rdzas sna dgu tshol cig  
 gsung / de la g.yung-drung 'phrul gyis mi po yi / dbu la dar dkar (*fol. 4v*)  
 thod cig bcing / sku la dar dkar 'jol ber gsol / g.yas pa nyi zer 'phrul zhags  
 bsnam / g.yon pa thab shes mda' gzhu bsnam / phyang rdzas sna dgu 'tshol  
 ba la / ri rgyal lhun po'i shar du byon / dung sha dkar mo ci dang 'phrad /

nyi zer 'phrul zhags 'phangs pa yi / dung sha dkar mo sgyir gyis bzungs /  
 sha ba'i mi skad lhang gyis smras / sha ba nga ma 'dzin sha ba nga thong  
 / nga lha la btsugs pa'i lha brten yin / mi khyod gyis sha ba byang na yod  
 / yang g.yung-drung 'phrul gyis mi po yi / ri rgyal lhun po'i byang du byon  
 / zangs sha dmar po cig dang 'phrad / nyi zer 'phrul zhags 'phangs pa yi /  
 zang shwa dmar-po sgyir gyis bzungs / sha ba'i mi skad lhang gis smras  
 / sha ba nga ma 'dzin sha ba nga thong / nga btsan la btsugs pa'i btsan  
 rten yin / mi khyod gyis sha ba nub (*fol. 5r*) na yod / yang g.yung-drung  
 'phrul gyis mi po de / ri rgyal lhun po'i nub du byon / mchong sha smug po  
 cig dang 'phrad / nyi zer 'phrul zhags 'phangs pa yi / mchong sha smug po  
 sgyir gyi | sha bas mi skad | sha ba nga ma 'dzin | nga mu la btsugs pa'i  
 dmu rten yin / mi khyod kyis sha ba lho na yod / yang g.yung-drung 'phrul  
 | ri rgyal lhun po'i lho ru | lcags sha nag-po cig dang | nyi zer 'phrul zhags  
 | *gong gi 'dre'o* / lcags sha nag po sgyir | sha ba'i mi skad | sha ba nga ma  
 'dzin | nga bdud la btsugs pa'i bdud sha yin / mi khyod kyis sha ba dbus  
 na yod / yang g.yung-drung 'phrul gyis | ri rgyal lhun po'i dbus-su byon  
 / rin-po-che'i sha ba cig dang 'phrad / sha ba'i khog stod dkar po dung la  
 byas / sked pa ser po gser la byas / khog smad smug po mchong la (*fol. 5v*)  
 byas / rwa gnyis dkar gsal shel la byas / lce mo bar-s nang glogs la byas /  
 spyang mig khra bo gzi la byas / rmig bzhi nag-po lcags la byas / rin-chen  
 sha ba de dang 'phrad / nyi zer 'phrul zhags 'phang pa yi / rin-chen sha ba  
 sgyir gyis bzung / rin-chen sha ba'i mi skad smras / sha ba nga phyang dang  
 g.yang gis brtan ma yin / phyang rdzas sna dgu nga la tshang / mi khyod kyis  
 sha ba nga yin zer / 'phrul gyis mi po'i zhal na re / da 'dod pa'i rdzas dang  
 'phrad nas byung / rtsal ba'i nor rdzas rnyed nas byung / rin-po-che'i sha  
 ba de / lha bon thod dkar phyag tu phul / phyang dang g.yang du 'gug tshal  
 zhus / phyang khu ye ma pham brtan la byon / lha bon rgyal gyis thod dkar  
 gyis / rin-chen sha ba'i mgo-bo la / phyang mkhar gsang ba'i sgo bzhi srid /  
 sha ba de'i sug bzhi la / phyang mkhar gsang ba'i (*fol. 6r*) lcog bzhi srid / sha  
 ba de'i ra g.yas la / steng gis phyang mdung zang ring srid / sha ba de'i ra  
 g.yon la / dpal gyis mda' dar sna lnga srid / srid ni skal pa'i dang po la /  
 rgyu ni g.yung-drung sha ba'i rgyu / brten ni phyang dang g.yang gis brten  
 / gyer ni mi gshen bdag-gis gyer / sngon tsam srid pa yab lha bdal drug  
 phyang / do nub rgyud-nor yon-bdag la / babs ni phyang dang g.yang du babs  
 / phyang babs mi ngan phyang bab bzang / phyang bab bzang ba'i khu ye gsung  
 / sha ba de'i pho ba la / ye srid phyang bum g.yang bum srid / sha ba de'i  
 khong khrag la / ye srid phyang chang g.yang chang srid / sha ba de'i dar yol  
 la / 'gul ching rgya dar sna lnga srid / srid ni skal pa'i dang po la / rgyu

ni g.yung-drung sha ba'i rgyu / brten ni phyang dang g.yang gis brten / gyer ni mi (*fol. 6v*) gshen bdag-gis gyer / sngon tsam srid pa yab lha bdal drug phyang / do nub rgyud-sbyor yon-bdag la / babs ni phyang dang g.yang du bab / phyang babs mi ngan phyang bab | phyang bab bzang ba'i khu ye | sha be de'i don snying la / ye srid phyang 'brang zhal dkar srid / sha ba de'i tshil bu la / ye srid phyang yi dkar rgyan srid / sha ba de'i mkhal ma la / ye srid tsher ril bcud ldan srid / sha ba de'i mchin pa la / ye srid bu ram til grol srid / srid ni skal pa'i dang po la / rgyu ni g.yung-drung sha ba'i rgyu / brten ni phyang dang g.yang | gyer ni mi gshen | sngon tsam srid pa yab lha bdal | do nub rgyud-nor | babs ni phyang dang g.yang | phyang bab mi ngang phyang bab | phyang bab bzang ba'i khu ye gsung / sha ba de'i lag g.yon la / ye srid phyang sha lag pa srid / sha ba de'i nam (*fol. 7r*) 'dong la / ye srid g.yang sha nam 'dong srid / sha ba de'i zhag rgyu la / ye srid g.yang zhag sgor mo srid / sha ba de'i rdzi sha la / ye srid g.yang gis khug ma srid / srid ni skal pa'i dang po la / rgyu ni g.yung-drung sha ba'i rgyu / brten ni phyang | gyer ni mi gshen | sngon tsam srid pa yab lha bdal | do nub rgyud-sbyor | babs ni phyang dang | phyang bab mi | phyang bab bzang ba'i khu ye gsung / sha ba de'i thod pa la / ye srid phyang phor g.yang phor srid / sha ba de'i glad pa la / phyang zho gad pa bkri ldan srid / sha ba de'i mkhril pa la / bcud ldan mar khu'i rgyal-mo srid / srid ni skal pa'i dang | rgyu ni g.yung sha ba'i rgyu / brten-ni phyang dang | gyer ni mi gshen | sngon tsam srid pa yab | do nub rgyu-sbyor | bab ni phyang dang | phyang bab mi ngan | phyang bab bzang ba'i | sha (*fol. 7v*) ba de'i spu gsum la / dbal gyis rom po rnam-gsum srid / cig ni lha'i rom po yin / cig ni gsas gyis rom po yin / cig ni srog gis rom po yin / sha be de'i nang grol dang / rgyu srog lha ma sna-tshogs la / gzhan yang phyang rdzas sna 'tshogs srid / srid ni skal ba'i dang po la / rgyu ni g.yung-drung sha | brten ni phyang dang | gyer ni mi gshen | sngon tsam srid pa yab lha | do nub rgyu-nor | bab ni phyang dang | phyang bab mi ngan | phyang bab bzang ba'i | sngon tsam phyang gzhi phyang rdzas de ltar srid / do nub rgyud-sbyor yon-bdag 'di'i / phyang gzhi phyang rdzas 'di rnam la / phyang dang g.yang la 'gugs-so khu ye gsung / *da ni phyang brten g.yang brten btsug ste / 'di skad-do //*

## Abbreviations

**Lexicon** P. T. Tenzin, C. T. N. Nyima and G. L. Rabsal (2008). *A Lexicon of Zhangzhung and Bonpo Terms*. Osaka: National Museum of Ethnology.

## Works in Tibetan

*Pha mtshun sgra bla'i g.yang skyobs 'dod dgu char 'bebs bsam pa don grub*. Thirty-one folios, *dbu med* manuscript. Photocopy.

**Phya g.yang g.yang len** *Phywa g.yang g.yang len dgu bskor bzhugs-s+ho*. Thirty-two folios, *dbu med* manuscript. Privately-owned manuscript in Lubrak, Mustang.

**Mu ye pra phud** *Mu ye pra phud phya'i mthar thug bzhugs s+ho*. Thirty-six folios, *dbu med* manuscript, transcribed in *dbu can* in Karmay and Nagano 2002: 35–90.

**Yab lha bdal drug** *Srid pa yab lha bdal drug gis phya gzhung chen mo gzhugs-s+ho*. Fifty folios, *dbu med* manuscript. Privately-owned manuscript in Lubrak, Mustang.

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# Facts and Questions as a Way of Conclusion

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Deepak Sanan in his magisterial opening speech, vividly depicting his personal experience as a civil servant in Spiti and Kinnaur, recalled the fact that economic and political factors may induce severe and drastic changes in society in a relatively short span of time. In evoking the conflicts that may exist between “tradition” and “change” he thus underlined the necessity of recording local festivals, songs and languages that possibly will no longer exist in a near future.

The region of Himachal Pradesh and the neighbour regions of Western Tibet, the present regions of northern Pakistan, Jammu-Kashmir and Xinjiang, have been, since the neolithic period, part of a vast territory traversed by quite a variety of social groups whose linguistic and cultural diversity, as well as mutual exchange, may be followed nowadays through the reading of the survey of material’s traces, and of mediated expressions, be they artistic representations, written records or other intellectual marks.

The interpretation of a corpus of data and its critique by a person or a team from different perspectives and with different theoretical approaches activate, so to speak, the underlying structural affinities among data and, at the same time, the specific cultural and historical features from where new hypotheses, if not directions of research, may be initiated, and this is obviously nothing new.

It is difficult to say if working in a team, in the case of human sciences, will improve the comprehensive view of the subject matter with respect to the result that may be gathered in the case of individual research. Teamwork and particularly multi-disciplinary cooperative research necessitate the coordination of information and its communication that are ordinarily supplied by the individual working as a person. From a descriptive point of view, the collected data may be “externalized” into a cartographic representation (see W. Cartwright’s contribution, CHAPTER 2) and quickly made accessible as numerical data. This however poses some fundamental questions that have been the concern of scholars since remote antiquity, and

that may become more acute in the case of a team: data needs to be as reliable as possible (cf. the case of palimpsests, K. Tropper, CHAPTER 13) a fact that thereby implies the problem of competence, the existence of a scientific protocol, and the constant application of critique.

An imaginary voyage across the Western Himalaya may be experienced in reading the record of Sven Hedin's "Southern Tibet", particularly in following the variations in the representation of space that may be noticed in the maps annexed to the first volume.<sup>16</sup> Each map speaks for itself and calls into mind the history of technique, of intellectual and material culture, of politics and religions that may be initiated taking its stand upon the documents that that particular period has handed down and made accessible to the historians of the time. When confronted, maps and narratives tell us much about the peculiarity of their authors' vision, and upon this diversity the historian will build his own perspective. And in this respect, the survey of a corpus of data with a different scale of definition of space (viz. the GPS operating on "terrestrial ground", see K. Kriz, CHAPTER 1), and the "survey of a survey" that the satellite is tracing, for better or worse, are but another mode of "reading the past in the present".

During the three days in Shimla, a variety of elements for a diachronic, as well as synchronic, esquisse of the phenomenon of "Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya" was presented, painting various stages of the intellectual, artistic and religious milieu of the regions that were, at some point of their history, in close or long distance contact with Tibet, as for instance the study of the collections of manuscripts demonstrate (H. Tauscher and B. Lainé, and see CHAPTER 12).

There is thus a shared underlining affinity between the writing of history of a single person, a historian, and the multi-disciplinary approach of a team working on a specific region and epoch, though the results may be rather different. In both cases, that of the historian dealing with a variety of documents and that of a team presenting a complex interwoven corpus of data, strong attention has to be paid to the structural components and the theoretical (and even ethical) issues inherent to the collation of data.

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<sup>16</sup> S. Hedin (1917). *Southern Tibet: Discoveries in Former Times Compared With My Own Researches in 1906–1908*. Vol. 1: *Lake Manasarovar and the Sources of the Great Indian Rivers: From the Remotest Antiquity to the End of the Eighteenth Century*. Reprint Delhi 1991, B. R. Publishing Corporation. Stockholm.



Contrary to what may have been and, at times, still is presupposed, philology, the “art of reading slowly”<sup>17</sup>, may supply important elements. Fascinating in this respect is the contribution of Anne MacDonald (see CHAPTER 9) that, starting from an extremely rigorous philological analysis, leads us to important micro-historical facts, and reveals some aspects of the practice of translating attested in Western Tibet, and, at the same time, raises questions about the biblio-economic practice, the specific usage of texts, exercised in the Tibetan monasteries. She also hints at a provisional or ad hoc “delocalisation” of the translating teams of Indian and Tibetan scholars working in Kāśmīr, the blessed land praised by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*.<sup>18</sup> Also in Kāśmīr at that time, as Vincent Eltschinger (CHAPTER 11) and Patrick McAllister (CHAPTER 10) show, highly sophisticated philosophical discussions were the hallmark of an intellectual pluralistic milieu, in which Śaiva and Buddhist traditions were competing on the scene. There, too, theoretical inquiries into the art-process, as Parul Mukherjee (CHAPTER 8) has shown, were continuing the elaboration of aesthetic concepts following a plurisecular attested Indian tradition.

Kāśmīr is not far from the region where the painted shelters reveal various religious practices, question the mode of life of the itinerant religious (Anna Filigenzi, see CHAPTER 5), and, like other markers of long-distance pilgrimage (e.g., the portable objects, Erika Forte, CHAPTER 6) *cum* seminomadic routes, may be compared with analogous shelters studded along the impressive cliffs of the mNa’ ris canyons.<sup>19</sup> A comparable complexity of religious “connivance” equally results from the survey of artistic sites and images done by Verena Widorn on the basis of later reports made by Tibetan pilgrims en route via Lahaul (see CHAPTER 7).

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<sup>17</sup>This is the definition of Roman Jakobson quoted frequently, see p. 933 and n. 11 in S. Pollock (2009). “Future Philology? The Fate of a Soft Science in a Hard World”. In: *Critical Inquiry* 35.4, 931–961.

<sup>18</sup>Cf. p. 719, n. 103-104 in C. A. Scherrer-Schaub (2001). “Contre le libertinage: Un opuscule de Tabo adressé aux tantristes hérétiques?” In: *Le parole e i marmi: Studi in onore di Raniero Gnoli nel suo 70° compleanno*. Ed. by R. Torella et al. Vol. 2. Serie Orientale Roma 92. Rome: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, 693–733.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. W. Huo (2008). “Archaeological Survey of the Khyung lung Site in the Glang chen gtsang po Valley in Western Tibet”. In: *The Cultural History of Western Tibet*. Ed. by D. Klimburg-Salter et al. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 71. Beijing: China Tibetology Publishing House; Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 211–231.

And this religious diversity bursts forth also from new documents on the famous “ordinance” of king Ye śes ’od, alluding to the “*Žaṅ-žuṅ gtsug lag*”, a “cultural expression” as noticed by Charles Ramble, since, as he argued during the discussion, the region was at that time called “*mNa’ ris*”. This evidence, according to Samten Karmay (CHAPTER 16), may attest the practice of Bon by the king, a fact that seems to be echoed in the artistic representation of Ye śes ’od capping the famous inscription in the ’Du khan of Tabo. Deborah Klimburg-Salter, building upon her analysis of the two artistic phases of Tabo, identifies and questions the model representing the social hierarchy as attested in a variety of scenes, thus confirming the role of art history as a complementary important source of historical data (see CHAPTER 15).

Each contribution, in breaking seemingly justified frontiers, presented various modes of recomposing the “fractality” of knowledge that has characterized the recent past. In pointing to the indispensable “ferment” of a continuous critical approach, the Shimla days granted that open space where new ideas can find a propitious and fertile ground.

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Vienna, 9th May 2012