

DE GRUYTER

Brandon Dotson, Lewis Doney

**PRODUCING
BUDDHIST SUTRAS IN
NINTH-CENTURY TIBET**

**THE SUTRA OF LIMITLESS LIFE AND ITS DUNHUANG
COPIES KEPT AT THE BRITISH LIBRARY**

**STUDIES IN
MANUSCRIPT CULTURES**

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Brandon Dotson, Lewis Doney

Producing Buddhist Sutras in Ninth-Century Tibet

Studies in Manuscript Cultures



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Volume 43

Brandon Dotson, Lewis Doney

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To my parents.

– B.D.

To Renée, with love.

– L.D.

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Conventions

We transliterate Tibetan according to the Wylie system, and Old Tibetan following the conventions articulated by Old Tibetan Documents Online.¹ Given our focus on the study of orthography, we make no attempt to correct misspellings or variant orthographies. This will pose no difficulty to those accustomed to reading Old Tibetan or even non-standard or broken Tibetan. Those not so accustomed might be confused by a few odd spellings, but context and reading phonetically (substituting voiced for voiceless, or aspirated for unaspirated consonants and vice-versa) solve this in most instances. Chinese characters are given in traditional, unsimplified form. We have glossed most non-standard variants in Dunhuang manuscripts (e.g. 无/無, 万/萬).

¹ See Imaeda 2011.

Introduction

“Mañjuśrī, those beings who will write or cause to be written the Dharma discourse called “Proclaiming the Praise of the Qualities of the Tathāgata Aparimitāyus,” or who hear his names or who hold it or who keep in their homes a copy written from its dictation, or who offer it flowers, incense, perfumes, garlands, or powders – these will, when their lives have run out, still be able to reach a hundred years of age.”

– *The Sutra of Limitless Life*¹

“Here we have in mere gibberish a prayer for long life, addressed to the Buddha, who taught that deliverance from life was the greatest of all blessings. While the beautiful utterances of the Buddha were forgotten, these miserable Dhāraṇīs spread all over the world.”

– Max Müller, *The Ancient Palm Leaves Containing the Praṅṅā-Pāramitā-Hridaya-Sūtra and the Ushnīshavigaya-Dhāraṇī*, 31

In the British Library’s Stein Collection of Dunhuang manuscripts there is a copy of a short Buddhist sutra with some editorial corrections. It is the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, known for short in Tibetan simply as the “Life Sutra” (*Tshe mdo*), and it is traditionally copied and recited to increase a person’s lifespan, to protect them from harm, and to secure for them a good rebirth when they die. In this copy, the scribe wrote out the sutra in a neat, clear hand in black ink. After the last line he wrote a colophon in a messier hand, simply stating his name as the scribe. Throughout the sutra, there are corrections by an editor who wrote in bright red ink. After the scribe’s colophon following the end of the sutra, the editor wrote an editorial colophon simply naming himself as having edited the sutra, and naming two other editors also credited with correcting or checking this sutra copy a second and a third time.

There are many ways in which this sutra copy is unremarkable. Scholars have found sutra copies like this one to be unworthy of their attention for being in the first place one of the most common of all the Dunhuang manuscripts, and in the

1 ITJ 310.645, ll. a8–11: ‘jam dpal sems can gang dag de dag de bzhin gshegs pa tshe dpag du myed pa de’i yon tan gyI bsnoggs pa yongs su brjod pa zhes bya ba’i ’chos kyi rnam grangs / yi ger ’dr’āM yi ger ’drir ’jug gaM mying yang nyan taM ’chang ba ’aM klog pa nas klegs baM la brIs ste khyim na ’chang ba’am men tog dang bdug pa dang spos dang preng ba dang phye ma rnam gyis mchod pa’I bar du byed pa de dag nI tshe yongsu zad pa las tshe yang lo brgya thub par ’gyur ro // See Appendix One for a transliteration of the entire text of ITJ 310.645 with differences found in the similar text, ITJ 310.651, recorded in the footnotes.

second place for lacking any content that was deemed worthwhile to the history of Buddhism, Dunhuang, Tibet, or China. To the first point, this edited copy of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* is one of 1,492 copies of this same sutra kept in the Stein Collection at the British Library. These sutra copies are all from Dunhuang, all copied by the same groups of scribes, and all edited by the same groups of editors. Moreover, there are hundreds of virtually identical copies, again with the same scribes and editors named in their colophons, that are kept in Dunhuang manuscript collections in Paris, Gansu, and St. Petersburg. Smaller collections in Taiwan, Japan, Europe, and the United States also hold Tibetan Dunhuang copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* very much like this one.

The presence of this sutra copy in the British Library, and the dispersal of similar sutra copies all over the world, are the result of the discovery and ransacking of Mogao Cave Seventeen, the so-called “library cave” of Dunhuang, during the first two decades of the twentieth century. This yielded the largest and most significant body of Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts from the medieval period, with most of the manuscripts dating to the ninth and tenth centuries. The cache of manuscripts and objects in this three-cubic meter cave also included manuscripts in Khotanese, Uyghur, Sogdian, Sanskrit, and other languages, with some manuscripts dating as early as the fourth century. The vast majority of the manuscripts were Buddhist sutras or fragments of Buddhist sutras in Chinese or Tibetan.² In particular, there were hundreds of copies of the *Diamond Sutra*, the *Lotus Sutra*, and the *Heart Sutra*, in addition to hundreds of copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* in both Chinese and Tibetan.

After the Daoist monk Wang Yuanlu (c.1848–1931) discovered Cave Seventeen in 1900, and began to share some of its manuscripts with others, word of a cave full of ancient Buddhist manuscripts soon spread.³ When the Anglo-Hungarian explorer Marc Aurel Stein (1862–1943) and his learned secretary Jiang Xiaowan (1858–1922) reached the cave in May 1907, they had only about one week to sort through the bundles of manuscripts and objects that Wang brought out from the cave, selecting those that they would try to purchase for museums in London and Delhi, and leaving aside those that interested them less.⁴ This depended on logistics and transportation, and it created a sense of triage, and a necessity of making quick judgments about what sorts of manuscripts and objects to prize over others. The scholar Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) performed a similar task in 1908, but did so at a less hurried

2 For excellent introductions, see Rong 2013, Hao 2020, and Galambos 2020, 3–6.

3 On the circulation of Dunhuang manuscripts between Wang’s discovery of Cave Seventeen in June 1900 and Stein’s arrival in May 1907, see Rong 2013, 79–108.

4 Stein recounts the tale in *Ruins of Desert Cathay* in 1912, and again in *Serindia* in 1921. This is summarized briefly in Chapter One.

pace and also with a strong command of Chinese, allowing him to be a bit less scattershot than Stein in choosing what to take and what to leave behind. Pelliot staged a now-famous photograph of himself working by candlelight in Cave Seventeen, ostensibly making scholarly judgments about which manuscripts and objects to bring back with him to Paris, and which to leave behind.

Stein and Pelliot each took with them hundreds of copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* in Tibetan, though Pelliot took only half as many as Stein. Notably, they still left hundreds of copies behind, and these were taken by other European, American, and Japanese explorers, such as Sergey Oldenburg, who brought over two hundred copies back to Russia following his expedition in 1914–1915. Even after all of this activity, and even after most of the remaining manuscripts were taken to Beijing, those that were left behind, and which ended up in libraries and archives in Gansu, still included hundreds of copies of the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life*. One can therefore say that these sutra copies have the dubious distinction of being simultaneously the spoils of imperial exploitation, and the leftovers. Moreover, it would be fair to conclude from their ubiquity and from their being left behind in Cave Seventeen that copies of the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life* were among the least valued of all the Dunhuang manuscripts.

The first century of research on the Dunhuang manuscripts largely confirmed the prevailing view that these sutra copies were comparatively unimportant. The cataloguers of the Stein Collection in London and the Pelliot Collection in Paris, Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938), and Marcelle Lalou (1890–1967), each declined to properly document and catalogue their respective collection's hundreds of copies.⁵ Catalogues, anthologies, and photographic reproductions all tended to neglect these sutra copies in favor of secular documents.⁶ These resources served scholarship that valued the Dunhuang manuscripts for their *unica* – their remarkable texts that are found nowhere else.

Apart from its ubiquity, the *Sutra of Limitless Life* was also dismissed for its contents. In the field of Buddhist Studies, scholars have favored the specific contributions of Dunhuang manuscripts to our understanding of medieval Chinese Buddhism and Daoism, Esoteric Buddhism, and Chan, among other topics. The hundreds of copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* are of limited value to such projects. The *Sutra of Limitless Life* itself also occupies one of the traditional blind spots in the field. F. Max Müller articulates this well in our introduction's epigraph, where

5 La Vallée Poussin 1962; Lalou 1939; Lalou 1950; Lalou 1961.

6 In this same context, Imre Galambos cites the example of the fourteen volumes of facsimile reproductions of the Stein Collection of Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts published from 1990–1995 by the Sichuan People's Press, which included only the non-Buddhist manuscripts; Galambos 2020, 6.

he damns the sutra on two counts. First, he views a sutra for securing long life as being anathema to the Buddha's central message of escaping birth and death; second, he calls it a "miserable *dhāraṇī*," which is to say that it is essentially a spell, a further degradation of the Buddha's supposed rationalist disdain for magic.⁷ Such Victorian presuppositions informing the development of Buddhist Studies have been largely put to rest in favor of a more well-rounded approach, but they have nonetheless informed a traditional view of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* as being vacuous or "popular."

The *Sutra of Limitless Life* (Tib. *Tshe dpag tu med pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; Ch. *Wuliangshou zongyao jing* 無量壽宗要經; Skt. *Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra*) does indeed belong to the rather slippery genre of *dhāraṇī* scriptures or "spell scriptures." This includes scriptures largely devoted to introducing and expounding upon a given *dhāraṇī*.⁸ The term *dhāraṇī* can be used interchangeably with "incantation" or "spell" (Ch. *zhou* 咒) and mantra (Tib. *sngags*), and also with the "names" of a given Buddha. It refers to a string of syllables that are meant to invoke or embody a particular Buddha or bodhisattva and/or activate certain benefits or powers. The term *dhāraṇī* can also be used, pars pro toto, to refer to the sutra or scripture that expounds it, which is one reason why the *Sutra of Limitless Life* is sometimes referred to as the *Dhāraṇī of Limitless Life*.

The *Sutra of Limitless Life* contains no discourses on emptiness, skillful means, compassion, ethics, or meditation. Besides expounding its *dhāraṇī* and its powers, the sutra belongs also to the genre of Mahāyāna Buddhist devotional cosmology and its articulation of various Buddhas and their Buddhafields. The sutra has the Buddha teach the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī about a Buddha named Amitāyus/Aparimitāyus and about the power of his *dhāraṇī*. Each of its paragraphs enumerates a benefit that one may receive from, for example, writing or chanting this *dhāraṇī* or from writing or chanting the sutra. One such benefit appears as this introduction's other epigraph, which captures the gist of its contents. In over half of its forty short paragraphs, the sutra enjoins that it be recited, copied, or worshipped in order to obtain one benefit or another. This sort of message about the necessity of writing down, copying, and spreading a sutra is found in many other Mahāyāna sutras, such that their preoccupation with self-preservation and with reproducing themselves has prompted one scholar to call them a "nervous genre."⁹ The *Sutra of*

7 Müller 1884, 31.

8 See Hidas 2015, 129–131.

9 Eubanks 2011, 23. Eubanks adds, "[a]ware of their vulnerabilities to the ravages of time and convinced they are always in danger of dying, they evince a strong reproductive drive. Mahāyāna sutras are careful to include within themselves instructions about how they should be propagated,

Limitless Life is distinguished from most other Mahāyāna sutras, however, by having self-reproduction as its central aim, to the exclusion of teaching any moral or philosophical content. In line with Max Müller's lament, the sutra is indeed concerned with life and the preservation of life. The sutra's preoccupation both with its own survival and its ostensive powers to extend human life together motivated the production of so many copies across the Buddhist world.

In these contexts of Dunhuang manuscript studies and Buddhist Studies, the hundreds of copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* have been the proverbial haystack that one had to sort through to find a precious needle, that is to say, a secular document, colorful ritual text, or lineage history. In this vein, one might say that in their approach to the Dunhuang manuscripts, these fields have shaped themselves in the romantic image of Paul Pelliot in Cave Seventeen reading a manuscript by candlelight amidst stacks of manuscript bundles. This sort of scholarship on a small body of unique and fascinating texts has also informed an instrumentalist approach to the Stein Collection and to other archives of Dunhuang manuscripts: scholars dip in and out of a collection to consult one manuscript at a time for its contents, and often do so with little knowledge of where and how that manuscript may have been kept both in temple libraries in Dunhuang and in modern libraries in London, Paris, Beijing, etc. This informs, and is also shaped by, curators' preferences and library policies that restrict a scholar to consulting only one manuscript at a time, and to only a half dozen or so manuscripts per day.

When we were sitting in the British Library's Asian and African Studies Reading Room, considering this unremarkable copy of a rather common sutra from Dunhuang, we came up with a different set of questions from those that one would ask about an intriguing text that occurs in just one Dunhuang manuscript. What is this sutra copy's relationship to the nearly 1,500 other copies of the same sutra in the Stein Collection? Why was this sutra copy edited while other copies were not? Who copied and edited these sutras? What types of mistakes did they correct? Did scribes always copy the same version of the sutra? Who oversaw the project? Why were these sutras produced? What did people do with the sutras? How and where were they kept? By taking this large body of sutra copies as our topic of study, we have had to contend with a large cross-section of the Stein Collection, and we have also looked beyond this collection to take account of the sutra copies kept in collections in Paris, Gansu, and St. Petersburg. As a result, we have provided a thick documentation of one of the single largest groups of the Dunhuang manuscripts. Rather than consulting one manuscript at a time, we have had to come to terms with

promises of reward for those who agree to do the propagating, and threats to inflict pain on those who don't comply."

different, larger units, specifically the bundle in which a sutra copy was rolled up together with other sutra copies. As such, our work is part of a recent trend, gaining momentum over one hundred years on from the dispersal of the Dunhuang manuscripts from Cave Seventeen, to take stock of this cave's contents more holistically.¹⁰

This book is a case study of a particular body of Dunhuang copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, a social history of the project that produced these copies in the 820s, and a history of how they were documented, conserved, and catalogued in England in the twentieth century. For reasons that will soon become clear, the book's chapters proceed in reverse chronological order, beginning in the twentieth century and ending in the ninth. Because of this, it will be useful to give here a brief history of these sutra copies from their inception to the present day.

1 Sutras for the emperor

In the mid-820s, an unknown patron sponsored an unknown number of copies of the Tibetan version of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* as a gift for the Tibetan emperor. These were to be copied in Dunhuang, a center for scriptural production, and then were probably to be sent all over the Tibetan Empire. The Tibetan Empire (c. 608–866 CE) had grown from a small kingdom in the Yarlung Valley in southern Tibet to a multi-ethnic and multi-lingual empire. The empire reached its greatest extent during the reign of Emperor Khri Srong lde brtsan (756–c. 800), stretching northward up to the Uyghur and Turkic territories, westward as far as the borders of Khurasan, and eastward to the Gansu corridor. This emperor also presided over the growing institutionalization and promotion of Buddhism as a state religion. As such, “Tibetan Buddhism” was at this time in conversation with the older Buddhist cultures surrounding the empire, most notably South Asia and China.

During Khri Srong lde brtsan's reign Tibet annexed important cities in the Gansu corridor, including Dunhuang/ Shazhou, which Tibet likely seized in 786.¹¹ Tibet thereby gained control of not only an important center on the regional trade and transportation networks later known as the Silk Roads, but also of an important center for Buddhist artistic and scriptural production. Dunhuang's inhabitants were already oriented outwards as a result of their strategic location near the meeting of the northern and southern Silk Roads around the Taklamakan Desert. Dunhuang's multi-ethnic and multi-lingual make-up, which rendered it foreign from a

¹⁰ In this connection, see Doumy and van Schaik 2023.

¹¹ For a discussion of an earlier date in the 760s, see Horlemann 2002.

Han Chinese perspective, was further enriched by the six-decade period of Tibetan rule that extended until 848.¹²

Dunhuang's lay and monastic scribes and editors, who had been employed to produce Chinese sutra copies for various patrons for centuries, now copied sutras in both Chinese and Tibetan. They were also enlisted to write official and personal letters, to draft contracts and legal charges, and to do official work for the Tibetan administration. Over the course of over sixty years of Tibetan rule, many of the local inhabitants learned Tibetan, and some adopted Tibetan personal names. Even after the end of Tibetan rule, the language continued to be used in legal, administrative, and religious writings.

Dunhuang's scribes and editors produced Tibetan copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* for Emperor Khri Gtsug lde brtsan (reigned 815–841; known to posterity as Ral pa can), the grandson of Khri Srong lde brtsan. The *Xin Tangshu* (*New Tang Annals*) states that he suffered from ill health, and it is quite possible that these sutras were intended to combat his illness and to extend his life.¹³ While these sutras were being copied and edited, another sutra-copying project was initiated in Dunhuang in the horse year 826, also by an unknown sponsor, also as a gift for the Tibetan emperor. This was a gift of multiple copies of the longest versions of the *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras in Tibetan and Chinese: eight copies of the Tibetan *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra in 100,000 Lines* (Skt. *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*; hereafter, *SP*) and three copies of the even larger Chinese omnibus of the *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras, known as the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (*Daboreboluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經; Skt. **Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*; hereafter, *MP*).

These sutras and their manner of production contrasted sharply with the *Sutra of Limitless life* and its hundreds or perhaps thousands of copies. Most obviously, they are massive, such that if one measures them in terms of paper, a single copy of the Tibetan *SP* is roughly equivalent to 1,580 Tibetan copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. One copy of the Chinese *MP* would be equivalent to more than 3,000 copies of the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life*. These longest *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras were also probably the most prestigious of all the Buddhist sutras at this time. The *Kaiyuan Catalogue* from the year 730 begins with the *MP*, which was often referred to as the “mother of all Buddhist sutras.”¹⁴ The first extant catalogue of Buddhist translations into Tibetan, the *Ldan dkar ma Catalogue* of approximately 812, similarly

¹² On Dunhuang's political and cultural position between China and Central Eurasia, see Rong 2013, 19–49; Galambos 2020; and Wen 2023.

¹³ Richardson 1981; Iwao 2012, 104.

¹⁴ Li 2016, 112.

begins with the *SP*.¹⁵ Both the *SP* and the *MP* were emphasized in state-sponsored rituals in Dunhuang in which their chapters were read out simultaneously in a ritual of “sutra rotation,” sometimes held at multiple temples.¹⁶ These sutras not only sanctified the places where they were copied, read, or kept, but also protected those places from attack by both human and demonic armies, and bolstered one’s own military forces with the troops of the four heavenly kings.¹⁷ Besides performing these practical and apotropaic functions, the *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras were often viewed as the quintessence of the Buddha’s teachings on emptiness, and the foundation of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

The sacred and powerful contents of the Tibetan *SP*, as well as its massive size, effectively mandates that it be produced as an impressive object that is worthy of reverence. Each copy’s four massive tomes (Tib. *dum bu*) consisting of hundreds of 20 × 73 cm *pothi*-format leaves was likely housed between beautifully carved book covers. The Chinese *MP*, which ran to about twice the length of the Tibetan *SP*, consisted of 600 rolls (*juan* 卷), which were housed in packets (*zhi* 秩) of ten rolls each.¹⁸ The Tibetans levied a silk tax in part to manufacture beautiful wrappers for these rolls and/or packets. The leaves of the Tibetan *SP* and the panels of the Chinese *MP* were also pleasing to behold. The former has large margins that offset the text from the paper, and the latter also has large margins and nicely spaced lines of seventeen characters each (see below, Figs 5 and 37, respectively). No scribal or editorial insertions were allowed to mar these royal sutras, so each leaf or panel is a clean, final copy. Over a thousand discarded Tibetan leaves and discarded Chinese panels marked as discards are full of insertions and corrections, and testify to this editorial process. These discards bear witness to rigorous editorial norms standing behind the clean copies, and which the finished product effectively conceals.

We know about the horse-year (826) project to copy these massive *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras from two main classes of sources: leaves and rolls of the sutras themselves, discarded panels and leaves, and documents relating to their production. The latter include editorial notes, lawsuits, administrative documents, tax records, scribes’ writing boards, and their jottings. An informative administrative document, ITJ 1254, informs us about the project and the difficulties it faced. It reveals that the sutra copies were possibly lost, and remained incomplete after ten years. It further refers to sutra copies being sent to Guazhou, shows that some copies were

15 See Lalou 1953, 319, and 327; see also Herrmann-Pfandt 2008, 2 and 199–201. Meanwhile, the *Sutra of Limitless Life* is entry 350 out of 736 in the *Ldan dkar ma Catalogue*.

16 Ding 2019, 665–666.

17 Ding 2019, 672–674.

18 Drège 1991, 229.

intended to be deposited in Dunhuang, and that others were to be sent to various parts of Bde blon gams (that is, the northeastern area of the Tibetan Empire). This document also mentions an order to produce copies of the Chinese version of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, though it does not mention copies of the Tibetan version.¹⁹

The massive undertaking of producing these sutras, coupled with what looks to be some confusion about the proper mix of public taxation and private donation that supported it, made what should have been a one- or two-year project into a decades-long fiasco that may have never concluded. From the start, the project's administrators were concerned about graft. They put in place a highly punitive regime whereby scribes were whipped ten lashes for each sheet of paper they couldn't account for. This was achieved by subtracting the amount of panels (i.e. sheets) or folia of completed sutra copies they submitted from the number of sheets or folia they had been issued, minus any that had been excused as discards due to damage or scribal error. The record for the first two years of the project, 826 and 827, tallies over 4,000 missing sheets, and records the debts of over ninety scribes.²⁰

Many of the same scribes and editors who copied and edited the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life* also copied and edited the Tibetan *SP*. Since the latter project dragged on for some years, however, we can see what looks to be a process of promotion taking place over this period, through which certain scribes of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* were promoted to become editors after some years of working on the Tibetan *SP*. We also find some overlap, albeit less, between the scribes of the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. This minimal overlap may suggest more about the linguistic facility of the scribes than the difference in timelines between the copying of the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, but it does appear that the project to produce Tibetan copies preceded the addition of Chinese copies.

The onset of the horse-year (826) project to copy the Tibetan *SP* and Chinese *MP* apparently interrupted the production of copies of the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life*. The new project's rigorous administrative practices and strict editorial norms also seem to have prompted a reassessment of how the *Sutra of Limitless Life* was produced. We reconstruct the process and its timeline as follows. In 824 or 825, an order was made to produce thousands of copies of the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life* as a gift for the Tibetan emperor. The project employed dozens of scribes and editors, and it took as its basis a translation of the sutra that had probably been

¹⁹ Fujieda Akira was the first to study the text in detail, and he established that the horse year mentioned in ITJ 1254 and in other texts as the onset of this project was 826; Fujieda 1961, 79; see also Iwao 2012 and Dotson 2013-2014, 10–15.

²⁰ Takeuchi 1994, 857; see also the long epigraph to Chapter Three.

brought from central Tibet. In comparison to the Chinese version that was in circulation in Dunhuang at this time, this Tibetan version was a woefully deficient. Of the sutra’s forty short paragraphs, all present in the Chinese version, the Tibetan version was missing §8 through §11, as well as §19 and §31. Near the middle, the Tibetan version skips and repeats paragraphs such that its paragraphs go in order §15, §18, §17, §18 (again!), and §20. We have dubbed this defective Tibetan version “version one.” It also uses a very short form of the *dhāraṇī* that, following Akira Fujieda and Daishun Ueyama, we call “type B.”²¹ Ergo, it is the “B1” version of the sutra. Alongside this, some copies also used the same version of the sutra but with a longer, type-A *dhāraṇī*, which is to say the “A1” version of the sutra.

Scribes were issued either with a stack of 31–32 × 45 cm sheets to make into rolls, or else were issued pre-made rolls of up to forty-five such panels of paper. Scribes or someone else in the scriptorium inked margins, columns, and guidelines such that the rolls were to be read horizontally rather than vertically. The usual layout was two 22-cm columns of text per 45 cm panel, with a fifteen mm column gutter between them. Most often they had nineteen lines each. Attaching one panel to another, the guidelines were usually flush, and a fifteen mm column gutter was maintained between columns. Working from exemplar copies provided to them, scribes copied sutras onto these long rolls, wrote their names in the colophons, and submitted them to their editors. A typical sutra copy filled six columns of text over three panels of paper, so a scribe could fit fifteen copies onto a forty-five panel roll. This meant that a given roll could have from three to forty-five panels of paper, and thus measure from 135 cm to twenty meters long. The copy shown below consists of six columns of text over three panels of paper (see Fig. 1).

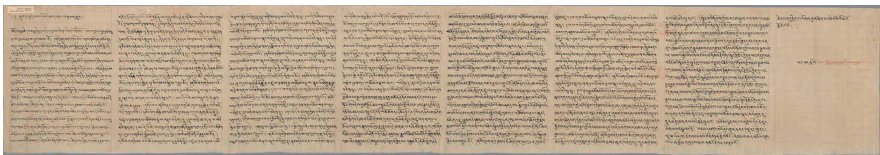


Fig. 1: An unrolled Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copy kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, pressmark PT 3906; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Once a scribe submitted his completed sutra copies, the longer rolls of multiple copies were separated into single-sutra rolls. The editors then corrected the sutras,

²¹ Fujieda and Ueyama 1962, 354–355.

often using red ink. Their corrections tended to be minimal and well spaced, but on occasion they would insert a missing passage between the lines or in the margins. Some egregious errors were left to stand. The onset of the horse-year project of 826 paused their work, and the once the copying of the *SP* and *MP* was under way, the method of producing the *Sutra of Limitless Life* was reassessed. At this point a few important decisions were made. In the first place, scribes were to copy exclusively the Tibetan A1 version with the longer type-A *dhāraṇī* rather than the B1 version that employed the shorter *dhāraṇī*. This may be connected to a decision taken at this same time to also copy the Chinese *Sutra of Limitless Life*, which used the type-A *dhāraṇī*. Second, the sutras were no longer to be edited. This addressed an inconsistency between the appearance of the *SP* copies and that of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* copies. Any visible editorial corrections in the former meant that a folio had to be discarded and replaced with a fresh, correct version. The finished product was to have no signs of editing. By contrast, the previously completed copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* were meant to be edited. Many of them say as much in their colophons where scribes wrote “to be edited” (*zhu lags*). By contrast, the newly produced copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* would be spotless, like the final *SP* copies. But whereas editorial rigor and hundreds of discarded folia lay behind the pristine *SP* copy as a finished product, an equally pristine appearance would be achieved for the new copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* by choosing not to edit them at all. Third, and connected to this decision to not edit the copies, they were no longer to be separated into single-sutra rolls, but instead could be submitted and stored as longer rolls containing multiple copies of the sutra.²²

Other changes seem not to have been mandated, but to have come about in response to the rigorous accounting system of the horse-year project. Namely, whereas during the first phase of the project some copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* were seven and eight columns long, and sometimes left entire columns blank, the new copies were nearly all laid out in the highly efficient three-panel, six-column layout. This obviously saved on paper, and allowed scribes to produce more copies than they would with the earlier, less efficient layouts.

Scribes set about producing these new copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* after what was likely only a brief pause to reassess the project. The brevity of this pause is clear from the nearly total overlap between the names of the scribes in the colophons of edited copies in single-sutra rolls and those in the colophons of unedited A1 copies in single- and multiple-sutra rolls. The latter, newer copies therefore probably began to be produced in 826 or 827.

22 The details of this argument are and the data that support it are provided in Chapter Three.

Completed rolls of sutra copies were not rolled up, submitted, and stored individually. Rather, twenty to one hundred rolls were stacked on top of one another and rolled up together to form a “roll bundle” (Tib. *bam thum*). Administrators kept track of the number of panels of paper in each roll within these bundles, and wrote receipts. Even now, the matching stains on dozens of these manuscripts bear witness to how they were stored. For example, one can see where fluid bled through from the outside of a bundle inwards, with the stains appearing in the same areas, but being more extensive on the outer rolls than the inner rolls. The bundles of the newer copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, produced from the horse year and probably for only a few years thereafter, i.e. 826–828, were rolled up in bundles that contained unedited A1 copies in rolls of one to fifteen sutra copies. The older copies of the sutra were also rolled up together in bundles, and these bundles represent the state of the project when it was paused for reassessment in 826. As a result, all of the rolls in these bundles are single-sutra rolls, and most are version B1. More than half of these copies are edited. The unedited copies, which were yet to be edited when the project was paused, are rolled up together with the edited copies.

Such bundles of sutra copies were presumably consecrated and sent all over the Tibetan Empire. A fragment of what appears to be one of these sutra copies was found Mirān, far to the west of Dunhuang, and leaves from Dunhuang copies of the Tibetan *SP* have been found in temples in central Tibet.²³ We know from marks written on Chinese and Tibetan copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* that some were kept in temples in Dunhuang, notably Longxing si 龍興寺, which was Dunhuang’s largest temple, Lingtu si 靈圖寺, which was the temple of the famous translator Wu Facheng/’Go Chos grub, and Jinguangming si 金光明寺, which had its own scriptorium and was active in the Tibetan Empire’s sutra-copying projects. The manner in which they were wrapped up *en masse* in bundles of twenty to one hundred rolls suggests that reading and chanting these sutras was secondary, and that holding and storing them was primary. Thus in these temples, and in temples all over the Tibetan Empire, the sutras likely would have been kept mostly unread – as sacred objects that offered blessings and protection and relics of the meritorious act of copying that had produced them.

Whereas there are many records of rituals, such as the “sutra rotation” mentioned above that involved the Tibetan *SP* and the Chinese *MP*, there is only one document that describes the people of Dunhuang using the *Sutra of Limitless Life* in a festival. This is an official letter dating to the reign of Queen Btsan mo ’phan

23 The fragment in question, pressmark Or.15000/434–437, is numbered Tak 550–553 in Takeuchi 1998, 183–185.

and her son 'Od srung.²⁴ It states that they had instructed the monks and nuns of Dunhuang to remove from the temple library of Longxing si 135 rolls of the Chinese *Sutra of Limitless Life* and 480 rolls of Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and to give them to the 2,700 households of Dunhuang on the occasion of a Buddhist festival held in the late summer of 844. It specifies that these sutra copies had been “copied...as a gift for the previous emperor, the son of gods Khri Gtsug lde brtsan” (*sngun lha sras khri gtsug lde brtsan gyi sku yon du...bris te*; PT 999, ll. 1–2). This record is interesting for lumping the Chinese and Tibetan copies together as gifts for the emperor. Based on our proposed timeline, in which the project to produce Tibetan copies preceded the decision to produce Chinese copies, this would suggest that the latter were seen as an addition to the former, either as part of the project's second phase or perhaps slightly later. The document also helpfully informs us where and in what sorts of numbers and units these sutra copies were kept. The distribution of 615 rolls (*bam po*) to 2,700 households suggests that many of these would have been long rolls of multiple sutra copies, since otherwise there would not be enough copies to go around. The document closes with its purpose, which is to order that replacement copies for these sutras be produced in consultation with the relevant officials.²⁵

This is a very interesting ritual distribution of the sutra copies to the laity, and it shows a context of use that is distinct from the process we have assumed whereby the sutras were bundled up together and stored. In this sense it is a repurposing of the sutra copies. The merit of their copying was initially directed towards the Tibetan emperor, possibly to improve his health, and certainly also to sanctify the Tibetan Empire through being stored in its temples. But that emperor was already dead in 844, and the empire was unravelling. At that time not only the merit, but also the physical copies themselves were to be distributed among the people. In this context, one could understand this festival as a poignant symbolic act that bears comparison with the looting of the royal tombs in central Tibet, which debased the monarchy and dispersed its regalia among the people. Seen in this light, this festival use of some copies may be an outlier that has more to do with the desperation and imminent collapse of the Tibetan administration, or other motivations, than it does with the intended functions of these sutra copies. It is possible, though unlikely, that some of these sutra copies given out to the people of Dunhuang have survived by making their way into Cave Seventeen. The vast majority of the copies of the *Sutra*

²⁴ PT 999; see Scherrer-Schaub 1991 and Imaeda 1998.

²⁵ It is also unclear if the replacement copies that the document ordered were ever produced: all of the extant Dunhuang copies were copied by the same group of scribes who were active in the mid- to late-820s, and we do not find any cluster of copies with different scribes, as we would expect for hundreds of copies produced by this order after 844.

of *Limitless Life* kept in the Stein Collection come from bundles of sutra copies that were rolled up and stored together, so copies dispersed during this festival would presumably be found in messier bundles where they would rest alongside other sorts of manuscripts.

It is unclear how many copies of the Tibetan and Chinese *Sutra of Limitless Life* would have been produced in all as a gift for the emperor. There are two to three thousand held in various archives, including the 1,492 in the Stein Collection. Presumably these represent only those once kept in local Dunhuang temples that were then deposited in Cave Seventeen, which would be some fraction of the total amount that were copied and deposited in other temples across the region and across the Tibetan Empire. A ninth-century note in the colophon of one Chinese copy in the Stein Collection (S.1995) states that it is roll number 15,559. From this evidence, and assuming that what we have represents only a fraction of the copies that were produced, it is possible that scribes copied 18,000 copies of the Chinese and 18,000 copies of the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life*. Measuring in terms of paper, this would be comparable, albeit slightly more than, the eight copies of the Tibetan *SP* and three copies of Chinese *MP* commissioned in the 826.

Temples like Longxing si stored their rolls in packets (*zhi*), with about a dozen rolls to each packet. These units were comparable to the “roll bundles” (*bam thum*) in which sutra copies were submitted to be accounted for by the administrators of the sutra-copying project, and it is likely that temple libraries stored the sutras in these same bundles after they received them. These bundles were eventually deposited in Cave Seventeen, and they seem to have remained undisturbed there from around 1006 to 1900.

2 Bundles, rolls, and booklets

Fortunately for our research, the bundles of copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* seem to have gone largely undisturbed from the discovery of Cave Seventeen in 1900 until they were documented in London and Cambridge from 1909 to 1918. In fact, it is likely that they continued to be stored as bundles in London up until the 1990s. This is clear from the fact that among his haul, Stein brought back twenty-six bundles that contained from seventeen to sixty-four rolls of the sutra. These were split evenly between bundles of mostly edited single-sutra rolls produced in the first stage of the project in the mid-820s, and bundles of unedited single- and multiple-sutra rolls of A1 copies produced in the second stage of the project in the late-820s. Only a few of these twenty-six bundles included anything besides the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life*, which again supports the contention that the rolled-up bundles were largely undisturbed.

Stein was aware of these bundles of sutra copies, and he did in fact document one of them in his book *Serindia*. Here he partially unrolled a bundle to display a copy near the top, and assigned it the site number “Ch.05” (see Figs 5, 8, and 12). Fortunately, Stein did not separate this roll from the rest of the bundle when doing so. Working in the basement under the British Museum, and also in the university library at Cambridge, and sometimes in their own apartments, Stein’s assistants and the Stein Collection’s cataloguers such as Caroline Mary Ridding (1862–1941) assigned more rigorous site numbers to this and to the other bundles. The one that Stein had designated “Ch.05,” for example, was a bundle of sixty rolls of unedited copies. It was kept alongside eleven other bundles that were packed into crate number seventy-eight when it was sent from Khotan to London in the summer of 1908. Assigning site numbers to these manuscripts, Stein’s assistants began with largest unit, which was the crate number, and then proceeded to the next largest unit, the bundle, followed by the smallest unit, which was the roll. In this case Stein’s “Ch.05” indicated what was in fact bundle VII from crate seventy-eight, ergo the site number was “78.VII.” In fact, someone wrote “78.VII.1,” which indicates that particular roll as roll number one within bundle VII from crate seventy-eight. This more specific type of site number, where every roll is assigned a serial number, for example, “73.XVI.50,” is found for the manuscripts of some bundles and not others. These site numbers pertain to the bundles that Stein called “library bundles,” which were bundles of rolls, as opposed to the more misshapen “miscellaneous bundles” that contained not only manuscripts but also paintings and other objects.²⁶

The Tibetan copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, together with most of the Stein Collection’s Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts, were brought to Cambridge in 1910 to be documented and catalogued by Ridding and later by Louis de La Vallée Poussin. They added stickers to the first and last manuscripts of each bundle, noting the site number, the number of rolls, and the pressmark they had assigned. La Vallée Poussin assigned each roll-format copy of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* the pressmark 310, and his catalogue provided an inventory of the site numbers of the bundles and the number of rolls in each bundle. However, this was to document rather than catalogue these sutra copies, since the catalogue did not provide details or pressmarks, e.g. 310.1, on each individual roll. The catalogue itself was abandoned in 1918, and only published posthumously in 1962.

The manuscripts returned to the India Office Library in London, and F.W. Thomas (1867–1956), who served as librarian from 1903 to 1927, and who had hired La Vallée Poussin, also added annotations to the stickers that La Vallée Poussin had applied.

²⁶ For an excellent summary of Stein’s methods of assigning site numbers, see Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 61–72.

In the 1920s, Thomas oversaw the binding of hundreds of Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts into seventy-three large cloth- and leather-bound “volumes.” This was meant for ease of storage and consultation, and it reflected a cultural bias toward the codex as the preferred book format for a Western library. This intervention has since been reversed, and the bindings have been discarded in favor of boxes in which the manuscripts are kept. However, these boxes are still called “volumes,” and retain their numbers from one to seventy-three. In the late 1990s dozens more volumes were constructed to house manuscripts that had not been bound in 1920s.

La Vallée Poussin also prepared the 1,055 rolls of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* for binding. He did so by writing roll numbers and panel numbers on each roll in pencil in the top margin, and also by writing the number of sutra copies on the verso of the front – or sometimes the back – of each multiple-sutra roll. He also wrote notes, similarly in pencil, about sending the rolls to the bindery. These roll numbers and panel numbers were meant to ensure that when the binders separated the panels of these rolls in order to bind them, they would not accidentally shuffle them and thereby bind them out of order. In the event, these sutra copies were not bound in the large cloth- and leather-bound “volumes” during the 1920s. In fact, the appendix to La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue, likely reflecting the state of affairs when Thomas and A.F. Thompson edited and published the catalogue near 1962, states vaguely that the *Sutra of Limitless Life* copies were “separately boxed.”²⁷ A type-written inventory by A.F. Thompson, assistant keeper at the India Office Library during the 1950s and 1960s, specifies that the bundles were kept in twenty boxes, and gives the site number of the bundle(s) kept in each box, and the number of rolls in each bundle. These numbered boxes were presumably different boxes from the “crates” in which the manuscripts had been transported from Khotan to London, which had higher numbers.²⁸ The sutras seem to have been conserved in this state up until the 1990s, as Tsuguhito Takeuchi, who consulted thousands of documents at the India Office Library from 1988 to 1998, mentions bundles of rolls of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* that had not been catalogued.²⁹ As late as April 1997, the curator of the Tibetan collection, Ulrich Pagel, remembers these sutra copies being in roll format. By 1999, however, when Sam van Schaik began to catalogue them, the 1,055 complete rolls of the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life*, containing between them 1,492 complete copies, along with forty-six fragments of the sutra, had already been disassembled and

27 La Vallée Poussin 1962, 289.

28 Stein and others did refer to the initial crates in which the manuscripts and objects were shipped as “boxes,” but we have tried to consistently refer to these as “crates.”

29 Takeuchi 1998, vol. 2, xx and xx, n. 33, and xvi.

bound into 1,339 booklets. This binding necessarily occurred after the early 1960s, and the evidence we have been able to gather suggests it took place around 1998.

Through this transformation of their format, the panels of a roll became “bifolios,” each of which was folded in half at the column gutter. These were then stacked together in the manner of Chinese “butterfly binding,” and joined together with a spine made of conservation-quality Kraft paper, which was attached to the Dunhuang papers with a conservator’s adhesive such as wheat starch paste. The result was a 31–32 × 23 cm booklet. Each such booklet was numbered, sometimes on the spine, sometimes on the corner of its front or back cover (which is to say, the verso what had been the beginning of the roll or the verso of what had been the end). All of the rolls from a given bundle were stacked together in newly constructed “volumes,” that is, boxes that facilitated storage. As a result, booklets and boxes replaced bundles and rolls, but these new quadrangular replacements retained the organizational logic of their cylindrical predecessors. The images below show one booklet for which a “cover” was made, and a stack of booklets housed within a box referred to as a “volume.” The binding process is covered in greater detail in Chapter One.

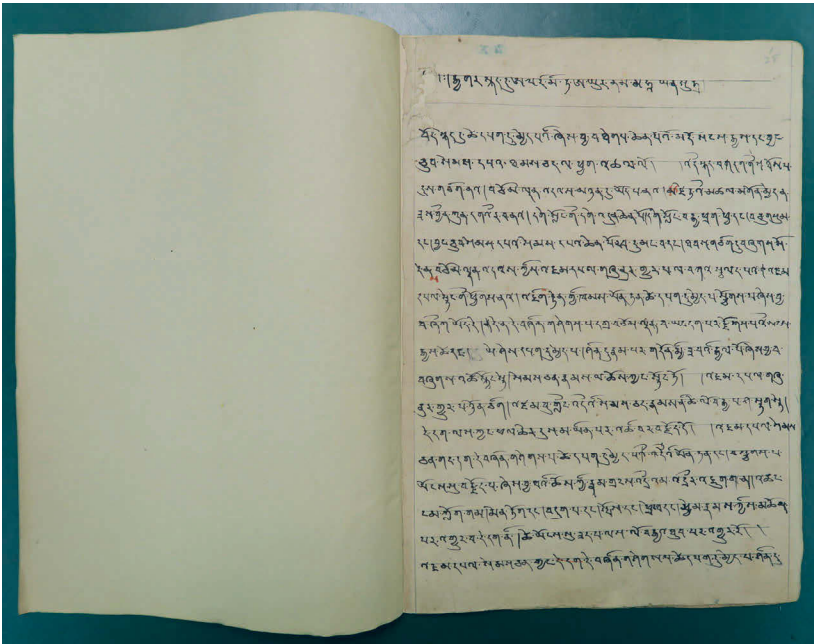


Fig. 2: Example of the booklet format into which the Tibetan rolls of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* were bound; ITJ 310.274. Courtesy of the British Library.

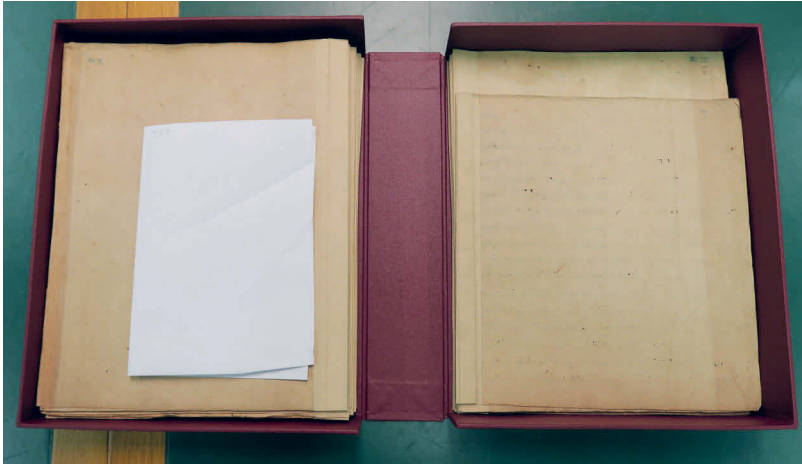


Fig. 3: Example of booklets stacked within a volume, Vol. 95 (note each booklet's Kraft paper spine), ITJ 310.283; photograph by Lewis Doney, courtesy of the British Library.

The odd number of booklets (1,339) – odd in the sense that it corresponds neither to the number of rolls and fragments of the sutra nor to the number of copies and fragments – resulted from a binding process in which conservators and binders divided multiple-sutra rolls with little regard for their contents. A given booklet can thus include one sutra copy or two sutra copies, but booklets often include 1.33 sutra copies or 1.66 sutra copies. In these latter booklets, conservators and binders split sutra copies based on the aesthetics and requirements of the booklets they were producing, rather than the integrity of the textual contents of the rolls they were undoing. Such a practice would be unthinkable for a “treasure of the British Library,” but for these ubiquitous sutras that La Vallée Poussin had already given up on properly cataloguing, it was probably viewed as a matter of practicality.

The choice to transform the rolls of Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life* copies into booklets had consequences for the eventual cataloguing of these manuscripts. Had they been left intact as rolls, each roll would have constituted an “item” with its own assigned pressmark. Such is the case for the Chinese rolls of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, which were held by the British Museum rather than the India Office Library, and which are still conserved in roll format as single and multiple-sutra rolls. In the case of the roll-format Tibetan copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, La Vallée Poussin intended that all of these be catalogued under the number 310, so each roll would need to be assigned a “sub-pressmark” from ITJ 310.1 to, for example, ITJ 310.1101. But the binding process effectively transformed the old items (1,055 rolls and forty-six fragments) to make new items (1,339 booklets), leaving the cataloguer with a

quandary: simply catalogue these new items, or somehow account for their previous state as rolls? In the event, from 1999 to 2002 the British Library had Sam van Schaik catalogue each booklet as an item by assigning each a sub-pressmark within the 310 pressmark or by assigning a separate pressmark outside of the 310 series.

The cataloguing of these copies, completed in 2002, succeeded in assigning a sub-pressmark to 1,210 items within the 310 pressmark. The pressmarks proceed from ITJ 310.1 to ITJ 310.1210. However, over one hundred roll-format Tibetan copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* that were intended for the 310 pressmark were not catalogued here, but instead assigned other, higher pressmarks, such as ITJ 1617 to ITJ 1716. Also, the 310 pressmark includes two items that do not belong there: ITJ 310.59 is the *Heart Sutra*, and ITJ 310.1207 is an invocation to Amitābha.

The pressmarks do not follow the site numbers. That is, they do not proceed from the lowest numbered crates' bundles to the highest numbered crates' bundles, and they sometimes number the booklets in a different order than the order of their roll numbers or the order of their individual site numbers. Fortunately, the sutra copies were catalogued bundle by bundle, and they are kept as booklets in volumes that replicate the organization of rolls in bundles. The curatorial and cataloguing practices of recording data about the bundles and maintaining their integrity – albeit as booklets and boxes rather than as rolls and bundles – was instrumental to our research on these sutra copies. It allowed us to perceive the difference between the thirteen bundles of single-sutra rolls and the thirteen bundles of unedited A1 copies in single- and multiple-sutra rolls. This in turn empowered our insights about the timeline of the project, and the shift in the preferred form of the *dhāraṇī* in the Tibetan copies that occurred over a matter of just a few years. It is for this reason that this book begins with conservation and cataloguing in England before turning to the insights into sutra copying in Dunhuang in the 820s that this conservation and cataloguing work facilitated.

3 Chapter summary

This book is divided into two parts. Part One is a study of how the *Sutra of Limitless Life* was produced in Dunhuang in the 820s, and how it was documented, conserved, and catalogued in England in the 1900s. Part Two is our documentation of the sutra copies, and an assessment of what their corrections and grammar can tell us about Tibetan orthography in Dunhuang in the 820s.

The core of Part One is Chapter Three, which is a case study of how the sutra copies were produced. We begin, however, with conservation and cataloguing in London and Cambridge in Chapter One because it is through our reconstruction of these manuscripts' conservation history that we were able to travel back in time to

perceive rolls of sutra copies in bundles rather than stacks of booklets in boxes. Painstaking attention to curators' notes, roll numbers, site numbers, and so forth, in addition to the data we recorded about each sutra copy, also allowed us to draw a through line from the bundles documented in London and Cambridge to the bundles in Cave Seventeen, the packets of Dunhuang's temple libraries, and the roll bundles employed by the sutra-copying project itself in the 820s.

Attending in this way not only to individual manuscripts but to the larger units of bundles and crates, we also demonstrate the value of the site numbers that Stein and his assistants wrote on the manuscripts, and how they offer a way of navigating the Stein Collection. Throughout our documentation of these sutra copies, we have always kept the bundles in mind – as they came out of crates in the basement of the British Museum, as they were stacked in packets in Cave Seventeen, as they lay in temple libraries, and as they were rolled up following an administrator's accounting.

In documenting the conservation and cataloguing history of these sutra copies we have indulged also in some detective work. We have found areas where Stein's documentation of these manuscripts fell short, and where it was improved upon by unsung pioneers of Tibetan Studies and Dunhuang manuscript studies such as Caroline Mary Ridding. We have also found many instances of curatorial and cataloguing confusion, which is not at all surprising, given how unwieldy this mass of sutra copies was and remains. In some instances we have tried to offer solutions, and in others we have simply pointed out mistakes. Given the size of the collection and the many numbers involved, we readily acknowledge that we will no doubt have introduced a few mistakes of our own.

Chapter Two offers an overview of the different types of *dhāraṇī* and different versions of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* in circulation in Dunhuang, particularly in the 820s. Drawing on previous studies of the Chinese and Tibetan versions, and adding a few discoveries of our own, we document a shift in the preferred form of the *dhāraṇī* in the Tibetan copies that occurred over a matter of just a few years. The documentation of some of the various Tibetan and Chinese versions also permits us to make some observations on the early transmission of these versions, and on the practices of Dunhuang's multilingual translators. We have augmented this with some modest glances at Sanskrit and Khotanese versions, and contextualized the Tibetan versions with reference to the later canonical versions of the sutra. One felicitous discovery of the “needle-in-a-haystack” variety was our identification among these sutra copies of a Tibetan version of the sutra that is more complete than the A1 and B1 versions that were typically copied. It uses a longer *dhāraṇī* (“type C”), has no skipped or repeated paragraphs, and is arguably superior to the extant canonical (that is, *Bka' gyur*) versions of the sutra. We present a full transliteration in Appendix One.

Chapter Three is the longest chapter, and it provides a detailed case study of the project that produced these sutra copies. It gleans insights from the sutras themselves, their colophons, administrative records and jottings associated with sutra copying and the administration of the sutra-copying project, and contracts, letters, and legal texts that give us a clearer idea of the social lives of Dunhuang's scribes and editors. We document teams of editors who worked together, scribes who traded sutra copies with one another in a subset of the larger "sutra economy," and shifts in scribal and editorial practices that occurred over a brief period around 826. We also demonstrate how the norms for producing the *Sutra of Limitless Life* in Chinese and in Tibetan were in conversation with the norms for producing the longest Chinese and Tibetan *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies, and document some instances where conventions for copying the Chinese version of the sutra have crept into how scribes copied the Tibetan version.

In order to better contextualize issues such as the pace of work, and the purity practices of Buddhist scribes, we have drawn sparingly on eighth-century sutra-copying projects at the Nara scriptorium in Japan as a comparandum. Further comparisons may be made with other sutra-copying projects that have comparable or sufficient evidence in the form of sutra copies themselves, as well as the discards, editorial slips, and administrative texts surrounding them.

Part Two of the book presents our documentation of these sutra copies and a study of their orthographic variations. Attention to the bundles informs our documentation of these sutra copies. We have grouped together those sutra copies that were kept together in the same bundle, and proceeded bundle by bundle, rather than pressmark by pressmark, as one would do in a traditional catalogue. In fact, we did not set out to create a catalogue in the traditional sense, and our documentation of these sutra copies reflects this in its attention to editorial corrections, to the form of the *dhāraṇī* that a sutra copy employs, and to various marks and notes that curators and cataloguers have left on and alongside the manuscripts.

We catalogue the thirteen bundles of single-sutra rolls proceeding bundle by bundle, which is to say site number by site number. We then do the same for the thirteen bundles of unedited single- and multiple-sutra rolls. Finally we document those sutra copies and fragments that fall into neither category. In every entry we record the pressmark, site number, roll and panel numbers, the layout in terms of the numbers of panels and columns, number of lines, the form of the *dhāraṇī*, and the name of the scribe. In the case of edited copies, we record the names of the editors. We also have a field for notes, where we sometimes include observations about the paper, editorial corrections, handwriting style, or curatorial notes. This documentation comprises Chapter Four, which is the longest chapter of the book.

Appendix Two is a concordance of pressmarks and site numbers that facilitates navigating the collection either way.

Our documentation in Chapter Four could be used for many purposes. We have arranged it in table form because this permits one to see the relationships between the pressmarks and between the rolls of a given bundle. This arrangement of data lays bare, for example, cases where one roll is split across multiple pressmarks. It also makes it easier to see where one scribe has written several sutra copies within a single bundle, or where one team of editors has edited multiple copies together. By the same token, this makes it easy to spot outliers, such as the few edited copies found among bundles of unedited copies, which we have identified as exemplar copies that served as models for scribes as they copied the sutra. We have demonstrated various ways of navigating this data, and it is our hope that others will also make use of it, perhaps even for purposes that we have yet to imagine.

One specific way we have used our data is to study orthography. In setting out to study orthography, we transcribed the explicits of about ten percent of the sutra copies, and also made notes about the corrections in these copies. Chapter Five presents this data and summarizes our results. While the sample is limited in terms of the amount of transcribed explicits, it has the value of covering some important orthographic features, and of being datable to the mid- to late-820s. There is also a high degree of variation in some cases, which suggests that scribes did not copy their exemplar texts in a mechanically precise and faithful manner. As such, our data allows us to draw some important conclusions about, for example, the forms of the terminative particle and the use of the genitive *’i* as ostensibly a separate syllable. Many of these same scribes were also employed to write letters and contracts, so these observations should have relevance as norms for Tibetan writing in 820s Dunhuang, not limited to sutra copies.

In Chapter Five, we provide a transcription of a B1 copy of the sutra, PT 3901, that we used as a reference point for editors’ corrections. It has eight columns of text, indicated by the letters a through h, and it has eighteen lines per column. Where our documentation flags a correction in a given copy as occurring at, e.g. “d7,” this is a reference to the corresponding passage in PT 3901. This copy is in fact more defective than the usual B1 version, since it is missing an additional paragraph beyond this version’s usual lacunae. For the sake of completeness, and to provide a previously unknown version of the sutra, Appendix One provides transliterations of a copy of an A1 version of the sutra (ITJ 310.1209) and a C5 version (ITJ 310.645). All three transliterations signal the forty chapters of the sutra, as parsed by Sten Konow (1867–1948).

Appendix Two provides a concordance that gives pressmark, site number, volume and item number, and the number of rolls, number of booklets, and number

of sutra copies in a given site number. Additionally, it provides information about the nature of each bundle. It indicates bundles of single-sutra rolls and mixed bundles, but it also indicates the types of site numbers used for a given bundle. This includes bundles that use serial site numbers, e.g. 73.XVI.1, those that do not, e.g. 86.X, and those that use both. In the latter case, we specify when, for example, serial site numbers are used for the Chinese items in a bundle, but non-serial site numbers are used for the Tibetan items. The concordance, besides being helpful for navigating the sutra copies by pressmark or volume number, offers a preliminary sketch for how exploring the Stein Collection by site numbers, i.e. bundles, can refine our understanding of the different characters of various bundles and also illuminate how these manuscripts were documented.³⁰

At many points in this book we have tried to make sense of errors and equivocations. Why was one scribe's name rubbed out and another scribe's name added in a colophon? Why did the editor correct this minor misspelling but ignore that serious mistake? Why did one version of the sutra omit this particular passage and another version include it? Why did a curator cross out this site number and replace it with that one, in different ink? We have wrestled with questions such as these, and offered our best attempts at solutions. This may have the appearance of second guessing ninth-century scribes, editors, and translators with the benefit of hindsight, and of doing the same to twentieth-century curators and cataloguers. Having worked with these sutra copies for the past decade, we appreciate that their sheer, repetitive mass, combined with the sutra's overriding ethic to reproduce itself, make this a particularly unwieldy body to govern. We do not suppose ourselves to be immune to the challenges that managing these sutra copies has posed to scribes, editors, administrators, curators, and cataloguers, from the ninth century to the present day. Our own attempts to make sense both of the manner of these sutras' production in the ninth century and the methods applied to their conservation and cataloguing in the twentieth century are offered with humility and in full recognition that our work, like those of our predecessors, is sure to have its own lacunae and imperfections.

³⁰ For insightful reflections on the different types of bundles, beyond Stein's "library bundles" and "miscellaneous bundles," see Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 68–72.

Part One: The Sutra Copies, their Production, and Conservation

Part One of this book contextualizes the data of Part Two and gestures towards how it can contribute to the history of conservation, the transmission history of the sutra and its *dhāraṇī*, and the social context of sutra copying in ninth-century Dunhuang. These are three rather disparate areas, and are often kept separate as conservation studies, Buddhist studies, and manuscript studies. In all three cases, it is our documentation of these manuscripts, and the data that we recorded in our augmented catalogue, that pushed us to engage with these disciplines in these three chapters.

Chapter One uses this data to reconstruct the process of cataloguing and conserving these manuscripts, beginning with Stein and Jiang's encounter with them in Dunhuang in May 1907 and Jiang's further documentation of these in Khotan in July 1908. The action then moves to the basement of the British Museum – known affectionately by Stein as “the Beehive” – in 1909, where many objects in the Stein Collection were assigned site numbers. It then moves to Cambridge from 1910 to 1918, where the Tibetan copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* were more thoroughly documented with site numbers, roll numbers, and pressmarks. The rolls were then returned to London and were eventually bound into booklets. There was very little cataloguing work carried out on these manuscripts until 1999.

Chapter Two contextualizes the different types of the *dhāraṇī* and various versions of the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life* alongside the Chinese versions, and draws sparingly on Khotanese and Sanskrit versions as comparanda. This briefly contextualizes the sutra within Buddhist practices in China and Tibet, and its later transmission in Tibet. An investigation of some of the differences across the versions reinforces the significance of the bilingual milieu in which scholars produced their translations in Dunhuang.

Chapter Three, by far the longest chapter in Part One of the book, draws most heavily on our documentation and on related administrative texts to lay out the state of the manuscripts when they were collected together in bundles, and to use this to reconstruct the processes that produced them. This offers a sketch of the “sutra economy” in which Buddhist merit was transferred from donor to donee, in which paper was taxed for the production of sutras and other documents, and in which scribes traded sutras with one another to avoid punishment for lost or missing paper.

1 Conserving *Limitless Life*

“All the more I felt the misgivings which the very hugeness of the deposit was bound to inspire as to the possibility of a thorough methodical search.”
– Stein, *Serindia*, vol. 2, 809

Documenting 1,492 copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* (henceforth *Ap*, for *Aparimitāyurnāma sūtra*), we found ourselves wrestling with the history of their conservation and cataloguing. The sutra copies kept in London are unique in that curators transformed them from roll format into booklet format for ease of storage, something that was not done in the case of the sutra copies kept elsewhere. The methods for documenting and conserving these manuscripts were not well described in the accounts of Stein, nor in the catalogues and works of Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938), F.W. Thomas (1867–1956), Zuihō Yamaguchi, and Sam van Schaik. The most important evidence for piecing together these manuscripts’ conservation history, therefore, apart from the published catalogues, are the notes that curators and cataloguers wrote on the manuscripts or onto slips of paper that are kept alongside them.

Following these clues has enabled us to more clearly understand the process of documentation and conservation of these manuscripts to a degree that illuminates the history of these sutra copies’ storage and use. Since these manuscripts represent a significant cross section of the Stein Collection, our insights into the processes and methods by which Stein and, assistants, and later curators assigned site numbers are also relevant to the collection and its history more generally.

Our investigation has also shown how Louis de La Vallée Poussin, during his cataloguing work in Cambridge from 1914 to 1918, marked and numbered the individual 31.5×45 cm panels of paper of each roll of Tibetan *Ap* copies in order to prepare them for binding. The 1,055 rolls of Tibetan *Ap* in the Stein Collection were not among the many Dunhuang manuscripts that were bound into seventy-three large leather-bound books known as “volumes” during the 1910s and 1920s. They were, however, eventually bound into short paper booklets, presumably for ease of storing and conservation. As a result, each of the 31.5×45 cm panels of paper that made up the rolls was separated, folded in half, stacked with two to five of its neighboring panels, and bound at the spine with Kraft paper to create a thin booklet. This type of booklet mimicked the style of Chinese “butterfly binding,” albeit with the addition of a Kraft paper spine. Whereas a roll containing one sutra might be transformed into a single such booklet, longer rolls with multiple *Ap* copies were transformed into between two and fifteen booklets. Each of these newly created

booklets was assigned a pressmark, or a sub-pressmark within one pressmark, ITJ 310, which was meant to include all of the Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies in roll format. In this way, 1,055 rolls containing 1,492 sutra copies became 1,339 pressmarks, the vast majority of which are found in the sequence of sub-pressmarks that run from ITJ 310.1 to ITJ 310.1210. Documenting this process of conservation and cataloguing helps us to better understand the objects that we are working with, and the meanings of the various marks and numbers that different hands have left upon them.

Most importantly, Stein and his assistants assigned site numbers to these sutra copies, which allow us to see which copies belong together. It also reveals some meaningful distributions of the different types of *Ap* sutra copies in this collection, permitting us to propose a plausible reconstruction of the processes that produced them in ninth-century Dunhuang.

1.1 Bundles of manuscripts in Dunhuang

The story of the discovery of Dunhuang’s Cave Seventeen – often called the “library cave” – and the tale of Sir Marc Aurel Stein’s negotiating the removal to India and England of many of its treasures, has been told many times. Stein himself gives an initial version in his 1912 two-volume work, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, and an expanded version in his 1921 five-volume work, *Serindia*. There is no need to recount the narrative in detail here, but there are a few points within the story that are relevant to the site numbers written on the Chinese and Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies now kept at the British Library, and to the different bundles of manuscripts and objects in which they were initially found.

Stein and his “secretary” Jiang Xiaowan (see Fig. 6) had access to Cave Seventeen for only a short period of time, from May 23 to May 29, 1907. They had already consulted a few manuscripts shared with them by the Daoist monk, Wang Yuanlu, who was looking after the Mogao caves. Among these few initial manuscripts was one whose colophon mentioned the famous Tang-dynasty monk and traveler Xuanzang, and this aided Stein and Jiang in their attempts to persuade Wang that Stein was a sort of latter-day Xuanzang, come as a pilgrim from India to bring sacred texts back to India and to England.¹ Jiang’s role in supporting and positioning Stein

¹ Stein 1921, vol. 2, 805–807, 812–813. The first manuscript that Stein and Jiang saw at Dunhuang was in fact not related to the intrepid seventh-century scholar, but was rather a Chinese sutra brought to them by a young monk “of Tangutan extraction” during Stein’s initial visit to the Mogao Caves on March 16, 1907. This was written on a long Chinese scroll that the young monk’s Tibetan lama, who was “away on a begging tour,” kept in his shrine; Stein 1912, vol. 2, 20–31; Stein 1921, vol. 2, 802.

was central.² As Stein put it in *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, “Chiang Ssü -yeh [...] loyally did his best to persuade the Tao-shih that removal of the collection to a ‘temple of learning in the Ta-Ying-kuo,’ or England, would in truth be an act which Buddha and his Arhats might approve as pious.”³

Wang did not grant Stein and Jiang access to Cave Seventeen itself, but instead stationed them in a makeshift “reading room” in the adjacent Cave Sixteen, away from the eyes of curious pilgrims. There Stein and Jiang feverishly investigated bundles of manuscripts as Wang brought them out. This work lasted seven days. Being ignorant of Chinese and Tibetan, and largely unable to apply his archeological method of marking individual objects with site numbers based on their locations, Stein was both astounded at Cave Seventeen’s contents and frustrated by the challenges that lack of access to the cave posed. Wang had, after all, discovered the cave seven years prior, and it was only owing to Wang’s disturbing of its contents that word of the finds reached Stein in Urumchi. Stein laments the situation in *Serindia*:

That the contents of the walled-up chapel were no longer in the order in which they had been deposited was clear. Any indications that the original position of the bundles might have afforded at the time of discovery had necessarily become effaced when the recess was cleared out in search of valuables and, later again, on the occasion of the removal of the big inscribed slab from the west wall. Even the assortment of the contents in each bundle was likely to have been often disturbed. Besides, it was mere chance in what order the Tao-shih would hand out the bundles.⁴

Stein further writes specifically about the bundles from Cave Seventeen : “[...] the first bundles which the Tao-shih brought us from it consisted of thick rolls of paper, from about 9 ½ to 10 ½ inches [24 to 27 cm] in height, evidently containing Chinese translations of canonical Buddhist texts of Chinese treatises on them.”⁵ These bundles were sometimes wrapped in “coarse canvas covers,” some with their ends sewn up, but most with their ends left open.⁶ Stein and Jiang were soon able to distinguish that there were two distinct types of bundles. “Miscellaneous bundles” were of irregular shape and contained manuscripts, paintings, “*ex-votos*,” and painted fabrics, whereas “library bundles” were of a more uniform size and shape and generally contained “an average of more than a dozen separate manuscripts.”⁷

² Jiang was also instrumental in keeping Stein in the good graces of local officials, who were in the midst of political turmoil; Wang 2012, 4.

³ Stein 1912, vol. 2, 191–192.

⁴ Stein 1921, vol. 2, 813.

⁵ Stein 1921, vol. 2, 809.

⁶ Stein 1921, vol. 2, 823.

⁷ Stein 1921, vol. 2, 822; see also Stein 1912, 182–183.

Generally, the miscellaneous bundles were found on top of the piles of library bundles. The distinction between the two types of bundles is an extremely important one, and comes to bear on the meanings of the different types of site numbers, which we describe below. The vast majority of the Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies came from regular “library bundles” rather than the more misshapen miscellaneous bundles of diverse objects. Stein’s photograph of a pile of such library bundles (Fig. 4) includes a few bundles enclosed in canvas covers, most of which have their ends left open, just as Stein wrote.



Fig. 4: Bundles of rolls from Mogao Cave Seventeen, Stein photograph 392/27(589); after Stein 1912, vol. 2, figure 194.

This image also confirms Stein’s observation that there are more than a dozen “manuscripts” in each bundle. Here, however, we must clarify that by “manuscript” Stein was referring to rolls that could be very long, and that some bundles contained up to sixty rolls. Stein elsewhere refers to a stack of such rolls that were placed on top of one another and then rolled up together using the now archaic-sounding noun “convolute”: “I soon ascertained that the solid mass of ‘library bundles’ still left in the chapel contained also a considerable proportion of packets with

large convolutes of Tibetan sheets usually divided into six columns (Ch. 05, Plate CLXXIII).⁸ This describes the usual format of a Tibetan *Ap* roll, which consists of six columns of text spread over three panels of paper (see Fig. 1, above). One can see from the lower right image in Stein’s plate 173 that he was indeed referring to a “convolute” – or bundle – of Tibetan *Ap* copies (Fig. 5).

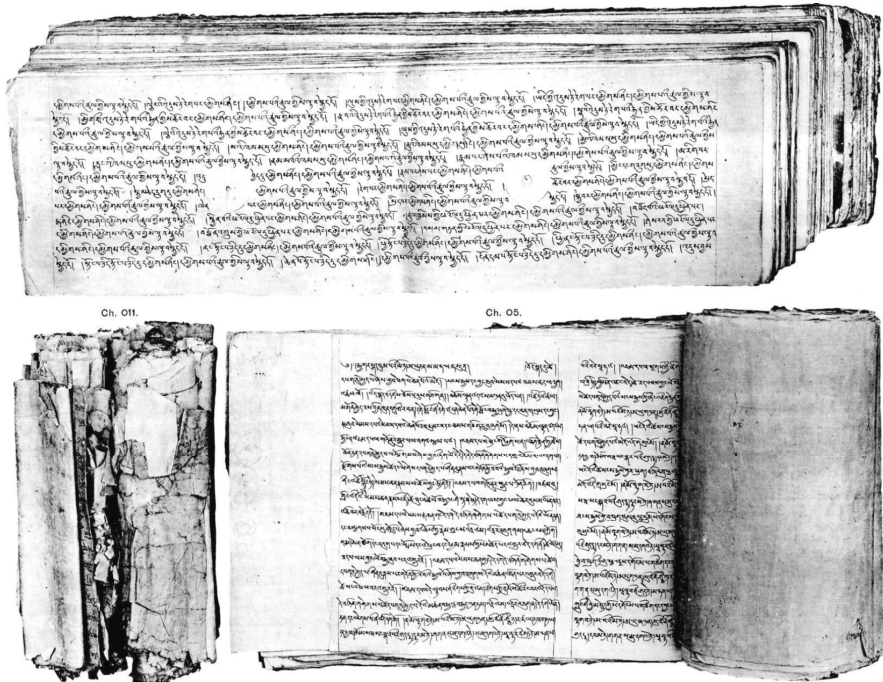


Fig. 5: Photograph of a stack of SP2 folia (above), and one of the “convolutes” or “library bundles” (lower right) from Mogao Cave Seventeen (note that the scraps in the image on the lower left, “Ch.011,” bear no relation to the bundle “Ch.05” to its right). The bundle is partly unrolled to show that it is a stack of Tibetan *Ap* copies that have been rolled up together; after Stein 1921, vol. 4, plate 173.

This photographic evidence of a stack of library bundles, some with canvas covers (Fig. 4), each with of over a dozen sutra rolls, and of one partly unrolled bundle of Tibetan *Ap* copies (Fig. 5) furnishes precious information that helps us to decipher the meanings of the site numbers written on these manuscripts.

⁸ Stein 1921, vol. 2, 816.

Due to the circumstances in which Stein and Jiang accessed these manuscripts, there was no way to mark them with site numbers in such a way as to record their initial location in Cave Seventeen. Stein mentions notes that he took at the time, and it appears that he wrote a few site numbers on the manuscripts during this period in Dunhuang, but he states that most site numbers were added later in London.⁹ Somewhat helpless in the face of so much Chinese and Tibetan textual material, Stein seems to have focused on paintings and textiles, and to have tasked Jiang with cataloguing the manuscripts.

I set the Ssü-yeh to work to prepare a rough list of titles; but as by and by the devout guardian of these treasures took more courage and began to drag out load after load of manuscript bundles, all attempt even at the roughest cataloguing had to be abandoned. It would have required a whole staff of learned scribes to deal properly with such a deluge.¹⁰

This attempt at the “roughest cataloguing” was probably carried out prior to Stein’s purchase of the manuscripts from Wang on May 29, and it may not have involved Jiang writing any numbers or notes on the manuscripts themselves. Stein acquired considerably more manuscripts and objects from Wang in the second week of June, after Wang returned from a begging round, such that his entire haul consisted of over 300 paintings and embroideries, approximately ninety bundles of Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts, and other items, all packed away into sixteen or seventeen cases.¹¹ To this Jiang added a massive additional purchase of 220 to 230 bundles of Chinese and Tibetan sutras, which he acquired from Wang in October.¹²

All of these manuscripts were eventually packed together in crates from June 19 to July 18, 1908, and shipped to London. Prior to and during the packing of these crates, while Jiang and Stein were together in Khotan, Jiang wrote numbers and notes on the versos of over a thousand of these Dunhuang manuscripts, mostly Chinese sutras. Stein stated that at that time, Jiang was able to make “a first rapid listing of less than a third” of the manuscripts in the “regular” or “library” bundles comprising primarily textual material.¹³

⁹ Stein 1921, vol. 2, 828–829. See the helpful documentation in Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 62, which uses Stein’s notes to specify which manuscripts and objects he consulted on each day from May 23 to May 28.

¹⁰ Stein 1912, vol. 2, 175.

¹¹ Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 60 and 73, n. 25.

¹² Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 60.

¹³ Stein 1921, vol. 2, 916. For further details about Jiang’s work during this time, see Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 63.



Fig. 6: Jiang Xiaowan at the end of Stein's second expedition, Khotan, July 31, 1908. The British Library, photograph 392/26(831).



Fig. 7: A Chinese roll from Dunhuang bearing Jiang Xiaowan's numbering, "759," and title, *Lie guo zhuan*; after Stein 1921, vol. 4, plate 166. Now pressmark S.328.

The upper right of the image shows that Jiang numbered the manuscript's verso using what are known as Suzhou numerals 蘇州碼子 or Huama 花碼, a numeral system employed during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁴ Jiang added such numbers, along with titles and brief notes, to over 1,300 Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts – including over a dozen copies of the Chinese *Ap*. Many have Arabic numbers adjacent, presumably added later to translate Jiang's numbers. The first manuscript that Jiang numbered was S.823, a 472-cm roll of the *Sutra of the Buddhas' Names* (*Fo ming jing* 佛名經). Only rarely did Jiang number or annotate a Tibetan manuscript.¹⁵

Only a few of Stein's plates follow Jiang's numbers, whereas his other images of Dunhuang manuscripts employ a different sort of site number. Stein's plate 173 (Fig. 5) captions the stack of leaves from a Tibetan *pothi*-format *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copy scribed at Dunhuang (henceforth *SP2*) with "Ch. 01," and captions the large bundle (Stein's "convolute") of Tibetan *Ap* rolls with "Ch. 05." Ch. 01 now bears the pressmarks ITJ 104 and ITJ 105. The site number "Ch. 05" was replaced with the site number 78.VII, as noted in the concordance at the end of La Vallée Poussin's catalogue.¹⁶ It included sixty rolls of Tibetan *Ap* copies. The roll at one end of this bundle, transformed into its final booklet, is now assigned the pressmark ITJ 310.683, and its verso bears both Stein's old site number, found inside an India Office Library stamp, and a newer one, written to its left (Fig. 8). This replacement of Stein's rather less specific site number with a more precise site number would have taken place in London or Cambridge in the 1910s, as described below.

We find useful information about the early site numbers elsewhere in Stein's *Serindia*. In the appendices to volume 3, Stein includes provisional cataloguers' entries for all of the texts in his plates. He asked F.W. Thomas to provide data on the manuscripts in plate 173 based on the catalogue that Thomas had commissioned La Vallée Poussin to produce.¹⁷ The information there agrees with Stein's numbers,

14 Galambos 2020, 48.

15 An exception appears to be the Tibetan manuscript ITJ 1736, which includes two sets of Jiang numbers and a note. Additionally, a curator's slip kept with ITJ 130 consists of two Jiang numbers and his note, along with a horizontal note in a different hand that states, by way of explanation, "with CXXII." It is unclear why this slip should be included with this manuscript, which bears the site number "Ch.0010."

16 La Vallée Poussin 1962, 289.

17 This is Appendix I, which is described as follows: "Notes on specimens of Tibetan manuscripts from Ch'ien-fo-tung, reproduced in plates CLXXIII, CLXXIV by F. W. Thomas, M.A., Ph.D. librarian of the India Office from the catalogue prepared by L. de La Vallée Poussin professor at the university of Ghent"; Stein 1921, vol. 3, 1470.

i.e. “Ch. 01” and “Ch. 05.”¹⁸ Stein clarified the meaning of his site numbers or “site marks” in a footnote in the preface to *Serindia*.

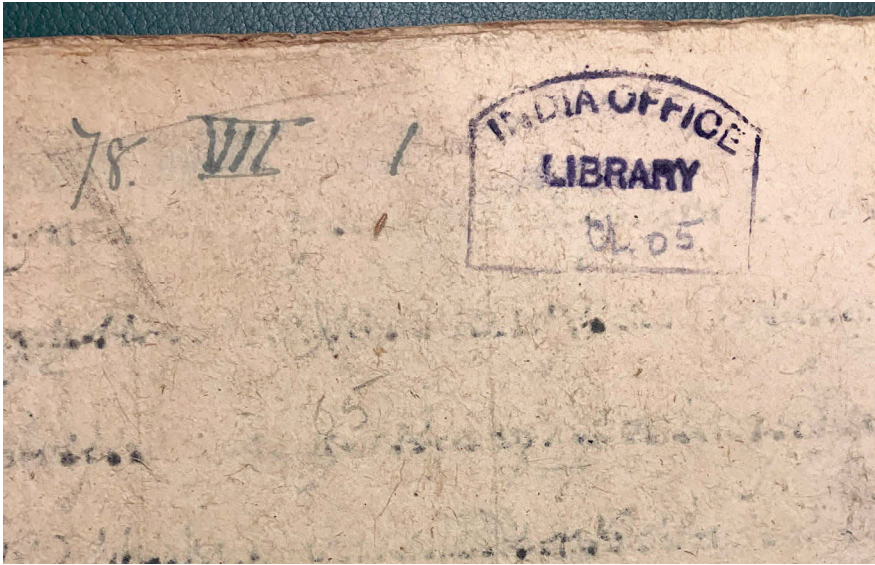


Fig. 8: Verso of ITJ 310.683, showing Stein’s initial site number, “Ch.05,” and the more specific site number, “78.VII.1”; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

“Site-marks” given at the time of discovery show the initial letter of the site, the number of the ruin, etc., followed by plain Arabic figures, e.g. N. xxiv. viii. 35. In such cases these last figures correspond to the actual sequence of “finds.” When ‘site-mark’ numbers were given by myself at the site, but after the day’s work, they are preceded by a zero, e.g. L.A. vi. ii. 061. When objects had been marked by me merely with the place of discovery and numbers were subsequently added at the time of unpacking at the British Museum, two zeros precede the numbers, e.g. M. I. iv. 003.¹⁹

This does not necessarily shed light on site numbers like “Ch. 01” and “Ch. 05,” where “Ch.” indicates the site *Ch’ien-fo tung* (Pinyin: *Qianfo dong* 千佛洞), that is, the “Cave of One Thousand Buddhas” at Mogao. Stein’s remarks acknowledge that some “site marks” were not assigned when objects were discovered, but rather when they were unpacked at the British Museum. Apparently the majority of the

¹⁸ Stein 1921, vol. 3, 1470.

¹⁹ Stein 1921, vol. 1, xv, n. 16.

Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies were assigned site numbers at this later time, by Stein's assistants. Still other rolls were not given site numbers until later, when they were kept at Cambridge University Library. Their situation was not unlike that of Stein and Jiang trying to make sense of the contents of Cave Seventeen one bundle at a time in May 1907, in the sense that Stein's assistants were also documenting manuscripts one bundle at a time as they unpacked them from crates in the basement of the British Museum or in Cambridge. Of course they did so with the benefit of more time to work and to devise sound methods of documentation.

1.2 Site numbers in London

Stein's crates of manuscripts arrived at the British Museum in January 1909, where they were kept in a portion of the museum's basement as a separate collection with its own set of keys. Of the ninety or so crates that arrived there, about thirty of them were full of manuscripts.²⁰ Stein's chief assistant, Fred Andrews (1866–1957), oversaw the manuscripts and objects until his departure for Kashmir in 1913. This duty then fell to Florence Lorimer (1883–1967) until she also left for Kashmir in October 1919.²¹ The basement where the manuscripts and objects were kept and documented, which Stein affectionately referred to as “our old cave” or “the Beehive,” was effectively “the Stein Collection” until the objects and manuscripts were divided between the British Museum and the India Office Library, beginning in 1914.

Fred Andrews oversaw the unpacking of the crates and the documentation of their contents. He was assisted initially by the archeologist Hugh Gerard Evelyn-White and by Lena Macdonald, who were tasked with producing and typing up catalogue slips for each object. By October 1909, they were joined by John Percival Droop (1882–1963) and by Florence Lorimer, who replaced Lena Macdonald.²² A variety of other people were enlisted to catalogue and document the manuscripts and objects of the Stein Collection. Lionel Giles (1845–1935) began cataloguing the Chinese manuscripts in earnest in 1919.²³ A.H. Francke (1870–1930) and F.W. Thomas (1867–1956) were the first to catalogue and document the Tibetan manuscripts, followed by Caroline Mary Ridding (1862–1941) and Louis de La Vallée Poussin (1869–1938). Ridding commenced cataloguing by August 1910 in Cambridge, where much of the Tibetan collection was sent. This was continued together with La Vallée Poussin

²⁰ Mirsky 1977, 306.

²¹ Wang 1998, 216–217.

²² Wang 1998, 209–216.

²³ Giles 1957, ix; Sims-Williams 2012, 6.

from 1914 until he returned to Belgium in 1918.²⁴ Stein also had crates of Chinese and Tibetan manuscripts shipped to Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) in Paris and to Berthold Laufer (1874–1934) in Chicago, respectively, but with equally unfruitful results.²⁵

The slow pace of cataloguing of these manuscripts was a great disappointment to Stein, and neither Giles's catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts (1957) nor La Vallée Poussin's catalogue of the Tibetan manuscripts (1962) appeared before Stein's death in 1943. La Vallée Poussin recorded the site numbers of each of the manuscripts in his catalogues of Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts, but Giles did not do so for his catalogue of Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts. Judging from their printed catalogues, the existing online catalogue, and the evidence of the site numbers themselves documented below, it is clear that most – but not all – of these numbers were assigned before the collections were split between the British Museum, which received mostly the manuscripts in Chinese, and the India Office Library, which mostly received the manuscripts in Central Asian languages. That decision to split the collection was made in 1914, and it took some time to sort out and accomplish.

Some site numbers may have been written onto the manuscripts by Stein himself while he was in Europe from January 1909 to December 1911, in part to work on the collection.²⁶ However, Stein was largely engaged with writing, lecturing, and vacationing, and so most likely instructed Andrews – himself a trained archeologist whom Stein referred to affectionately as “the Baron” – about assigning site numbers.²⁷ This would have left the work of assigning site numbers to Andrews and to Stein's other assistants, notably Lorimer – whom Stein called the “recording angel.” A passage from a letter Stein sent to Andrews, dated Nov. 20, 1909, is suggestive of such a delegation of labor: “As thing are, the best course is for you to guide Droop and Miss L. by the light of your own experience & keenness & leave to *them* as much of the drudgery as you possibly can, and to reserve for yourself the really novel tasks, such as the silks and large frescoes.”²⁸

Stein already established that the original disposition of the manuscripts and bundles had been thoroughly disturbed prior to his own disarranging of Cave Seventeen's contents in 1907. Unpacking the crates in London in 1909, Stein and his assistants would have had only the bundles to guide them, along with the numbers assigned to the twenty-five crates in which the manuscripts arrived. According to Stein's packing list, the manuscripts were packed in the crates numbered sixty-seven

²⁴ Wang and Perkins 2008, 37; Stein 1921, vol. 2, 919.

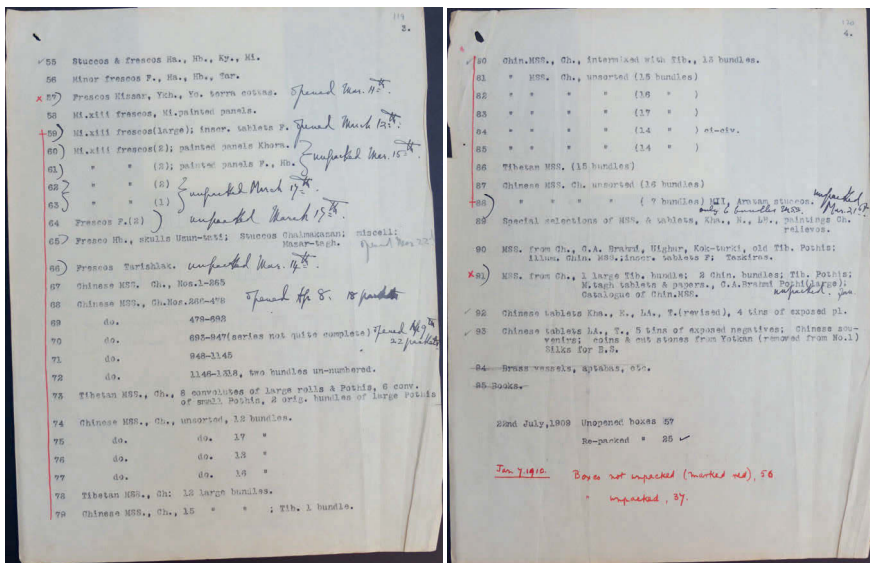
²⁵ Sims-Williams 2012.

²⁶ Wang and Perkins 2008, 48.

²⁷ On Stein's activities at this time, see Mirsky 1977, 326 and Walker 1995, 187–189.

²⁸ Bodleian Stein Manuscript 37/225, quoted in Wang 1998, 209; emphasis original.

to ninety-one, and the list mentions the number of bundles in each crate. Unpacking the crates in London, Fred Andrews made a note on the packing list, dated July 22, 1909, to say that fifty-seven crates remained unopened, and that twenty-five had been repacked. A further note, dated January 7, 1910, stated that thirty-seven crates were unpacked and that fifty-six crates were not unpacked. The latter are annotated on the list in red pen, and include nearly all of the crates in which the manuscripts were contained.²⁹ This could indicate that some of these crates were not unpacked before being sent to Cambridge.



Figs 9a and 9b: Final two pages of Stein’s packing list, “Contents of antique cases packed June 19th–July 18th, 1908,” giving the contents of each crate shipped to London; MSS Stein 37/119 and MSS Stein 37/120, courtesy of the Bodleian Library.

A comparison of Stein’s packing list with existing site numbers confirms that Stein’s assistants in London employed the crate numbers for assigning site numbers to the manuscripts. This is evident from the correspondence of the number of bundles in Stein’s list to the number of bundles that La Vallée Poussin catalogued. To give just one example, in crate eighty-six Stein lists “Tibetan mss. (15 bundles)” and the concordance in La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue similarly records fifteen bundles of

manuscripts that begin with the number eighty-six, e.g. site numbers 86.I to 86.XV.³⁰ There are similar correspondences for the other crates. This, together with photographic evidence and an investigation of over a thousand site numbers written on the *Ap* copies themselves, permits us to decipher the precise points of reference of certain site numbers that have up until now remained imperfectly understood.

There is a variety of site numbers, only some of which follow Stein's stated methods. Another of Stein's footnotes, regarding the site numbers on Brāhmī manuscripts from Dunhuang, is helpful for clarifying his general logic.

[Brāhmī manuscripts] in miscellaneous bundles can be distinguished from those which were extracted from regular packets of Chinese rolls by the bundle number in small Roman figures (ii,ii xl, etc.) prefixed to the serial numbers (003, 0019, etc.) in the 'site marks'. Pōthī [sic] leaves and rolls subsequently recovered on searching the regular packets in which they were embedded bear only serial numbers (e.g. Ch.0041, 00271, etc.). [...] I may note here that when the marking with serial numbers was made at the British Museum, no classification of the different objects (manuscripts, paintings, decorated fabrics, etc.) found in the same mixed bundle could be attempted.³¹

Summarizing Stein's stated method for assigning these site numbers to Brāhmī manuscripts more plainly, an object from a "miscellaneous bundle" might be "Ch.VI.003," where "VI" indicates the bundle and "003" the object within the bundle. This in fact accurately describes the site number Ch.XXXIII.003, which belongs to the *Ap* copy with the pressmark ITJ 310.1035. In contrast, a manuscript from a regular "library bundle" would be simply given a serial number, for example "Ch.0041," with apparently nothing to indicate the bundle from which it was extracted, and no indication of how many other manuscripts there were in that regular library bundle. This corresponds to a site number such as Ch.05, which, as we have seen, labeled the entire bundle of sixty *Ap* rolls displayed in Fig. 5.

This stated method would create a profound asymmetry with respect to how manuscripts from the regular "library bundles" of rolls and other types of manuscripts were marked (e.g. "Ch.0041") in contrast to the more detailed site numbers (e.g. "Ch.VI.003") assigned to objects from the "miscellaneous bundles" that included manuscripts, painted scrolls, and other objects. Considering Stein's statement in light of the evidence of the site numbers written on the manuscripts themselves, it is happily the case that the situation on the ground is not so unfortunate as the one Stein described. In fact, more or less the same method that Stein stated above for

³⁰ See Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 64–65. The packing list in question is kept in Stein's papers at the Bodleian Library, MSS Stein 37/117–120. Frances Wood has also written about the use of crate numbers for numbering the manuscripts; Wood 2012, 2.

³¹ Stein 1921, vol. 2, 814, n. 2.

numbering “miscellaneous bundles” was applied to manuscripts from “library bundles.” The main difference is that in the latter case the first number given in Arabic numerals is the crate number, a point we have already established above with recourse to Stein’s inventory. Just as in a site number for an object from a miscellaneous bundle like “Ch.XXXIII.003” where the “003” refers to the third item within bundle “XXXIII,” so too in a site number for an object from a regular library bundle – almost always a roll – like “Ch.73.III.5,” the “5” refers to the fifth roll within bundle “III” taken from crate seventy-three.³² It is chiefly the crate number at the start of these site numbers for regular library bundles that distinguishes them from those used for miscellaneous bundles. The reliance on the crate number also permitted some laziness, since sometimes an entire bundle was given a number such as 86.X without numbering its rolls individually, e.g. 86.X.1, etc.

The bundle numbers were presumably assigned according to the order in which Stein’s assistants removed the bundles from a crate to document them. From Fred Andrews’s tally of either unopened crates or repacked crates, one can assume that bundles were returned to their crates after being assigned site numbers. This explanation of such site numbers perfectly describes the state of the site numbers assigned to both the Tibetan and Chinese Dunhuang *Ap* copies in the Stein Collection, and constitutes a sound method for documenting the bundles such as we see them in the images above (Figs 4 and 5), since one can number the dozen or so bundles that emerged from each crate without risk of confusing, for example, bundle 79.II with bundle 80.II, or roll 73.IX.5 with roll 75.IX.5. This demonstrates how these site numbers are only made possible with the addition of the crate number. It also shows how Stein and/or his assistants devised a system that in fact followed Stein’s logic to add some precision to the earlier site numbers by working with relevant objects at hand, namely crates, bundles, and rolls.

In this common type of site number that includes three numbers, e.g. “73.III.5,” the prefix “Ch.,” indicating the site’s name, has often been elided. Stein’s practice was to place spaces between these numbers and to use lowercase Roman numerals, but Stein’s assistants, curators, and cataloguers have tended to dispense with the spaces and to use uppercase Roman numerals, as we do here.

It is obvious that a site number like “Ch.05” is inferior to a site number like “78.VII.1,” which is able to indicate crate number, bundle number, and roll number. It is less obvious how curators were able to replace the former with the latter. One possibility is that at some point during those seven days sorting through manuscripts and objects in May 1907, Stein or Jiang handled this bundle, and assigned the

³² Takeuchi came close to this solution, but mistook the initial number, e.g. seventy-three, for the bundle number rather than the crate number; Takeuchi 2012, 209–210.

number Ch. 05 to it and/or to one of its rolls. Following Stein's protocols for using zeros, this *might* indicate that this was done at the end of a day in May 1907 in Dunhuang, rather than during the day itself or a year later in Khotan or two or more years later in London. If this were the case, then this roll on which Stein wrote the site number must have been returned to the bundle from which it came, since the more detailed site numbers that identified it as bundle VII from crate seventy-eight were necessarily only assigned after the crates were unpacked in London in 1909.

From Stein's account of their work during these seven days, it is clear that Wang first brought out only a few manuscripts and objects from Cave Seventeen, and then brought manuscripts and objects in progressively larger amounts. This process of "lending" out the manuscripts in ever larger units, and then collecting them again at the end of each day, would disarrange those bundles and items that Stein and Jiang consulted. In fact, Ch.05 is one of the few such site numbers of this type (e.g. "Ch.07") and of a similar type (e.g. "Ch. 0025") to be replaced with more detailed (e.g. "Ch.79.IX.5") site numbers. Dozens of others, like Ch. 08 and Ch. 0066, were never replaced with more detailed site numbers, perhaps because they could not be reliably linked to the library bundle or miscellaneous bundle from which Wang, Stein, or Jiang had separated them. While conjectural, this hypothesis offers a plausible account of the meanings of the main types of site numbers, and some hints about how and when they were produced.³³

It is very helpful to know that site numbers like 73.III.5 indicate crate number, bundle number, and roll number in "library bundles," whereas a number like XXXIII.003 indicates bundle number and item number in a miscellaneous bundle. This allows one to fully appreciate the advantage of these site numbers, as imperfect as they are, and how they offer scholars another way to navigate the Stein collection. Doing so, one can discover relationships between manuscripts and objects that were and are catalogued and conserved apart from one another, and sometimes at different institutions, e.g. the British Museum and the British Library. In Appendix Two we gesture further towards this approach by pointing out the contours of each bundle in terms of its contents and how they were documented.³⁴

There are many instances where different types of site numbers are found alongside one another, revealing an "archeology" of documentation and conservation. The Jiang numbers – and perhaps Stein numbers such as "Ch.05" – are the

³³ Others, such as Ch.06 and Ch.011, which both became site number Ch.86.IV, can be found in La Vallée Poussin's concordance, published at the end of his posthumous catalogue; La Vallée Poussin 1962, 289. For discussions of the various types of site numbers, see Takuechi 2012b, 209–212 and Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 61–68.

³⁴ See also the attempt to reconstruct a few bundles in Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 78–82.

earliest stratum, and they appear on many Chinese manuscripts that are catalogued as having no site number. They also appear alongside site numbers assigned later. In this regard they are not alone; examples of both types of site numbers that Stein described occur in the upper margin of Or.8212/83, a manuscript fragment with Chinese on the recto and Sogdian on the verso (Fig. 10). There one reads “Ch.00334” and, in a separate hand using different ink, “82.XVI.” Presumably Stein or an assistant wrote the first number, and the second number was added once the practice of numbering items by crate and bundle had been settled, and when this manuscript could still be reliably provenanced to bundle 82.XVI.

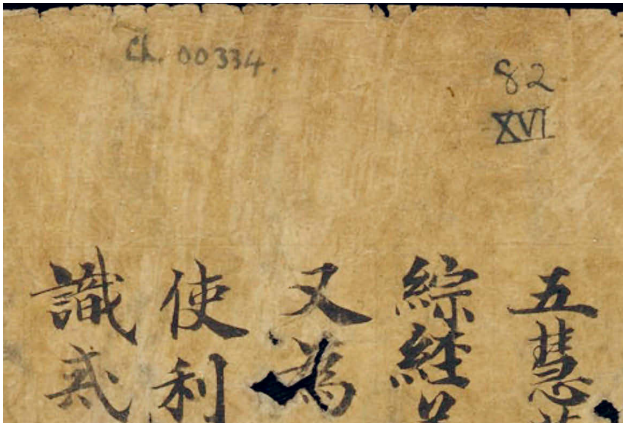
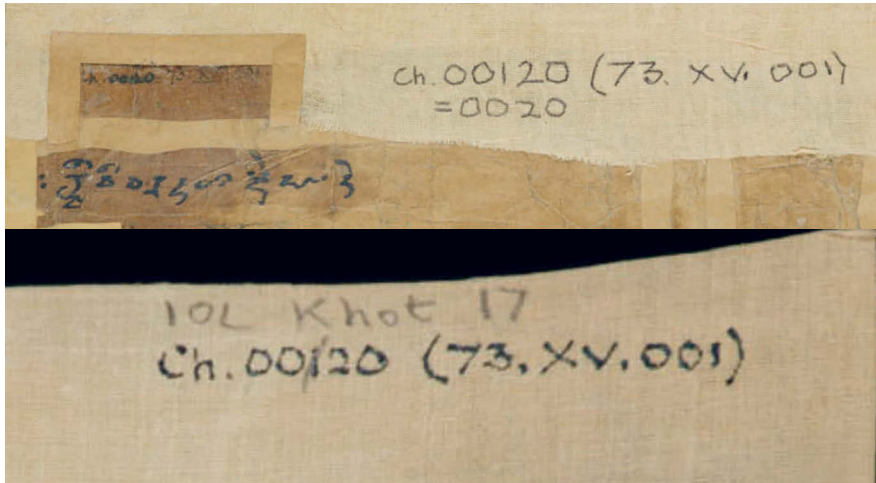


Fig. 10: Or.8212/83 recto, showing two site numbers; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

The same situation is found on the verso of a fragmentary Tibetan *Ap* copy. This was apparently taken from bundle 73.XV, which also contains a few other Tibetan *Ap* copies, among other manuscripts. It was then catalogued for the Khotanese content on its verso and assigned the pressmark IOL Khot S 17 (Fig. 11). As in the previous case, two separate hands in two separate inks wrote the two site numbers, “Ch.0020” and “73.XV.001” (Fig. 11a, upper left corner). Later curators wrote on the mounting gauze to clarify that the one number is equated with the other (Fig. 11a, upper right; Fig. 11b). As before, Stein or someone else first extracted this manuscript from a regular bundle and gave it a number in keeping with his statement quoted above, and then Stein or an assistant then apparently improved upon this by specifying the number of the bundle it had originally been extracted from, and the number of the crate in which it was packed. It is not surprising that this is rare,

since such “extraction” is likely to orphan a manuscript from its bundle unless there is a note attached, or unless it was carefully put back in place in its bundle.



Figs 11a and 11b: IOL Khot S 17 verso, showing two site numbers; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

Stein and his assistants typically assigned site numbers at the level of the object. In the case of the manuscripts considered here, this is true whether the object was a fragment of a roll, a 135 cm-long roll containing one sutra copy, or a twenty-meter-long roll containing fifteen sutra copies. The task of going through thousands of manuscripts in these crates and bundles and writing a site number on each roll proved to be impractical, however, perhaps nowhere more so than in the case of the 1,055 rolls of Tibetan *Ap* copies that emerged from Stein’s crates. Consequently, and possibly as a result of the work of various different hands – Stein’s, Andrews’s, Lorimer’s, and others – a variety of methods arose by which the site numbers were added. Here we describe a few of these.

Having removed a bundle from a crate in order to assign site numbers, Stein or one of Stein’s assistants would be faced with a rather unwieldy task. The bundle might be made up of single-sutra rolls, each 135 to 160 cm long, which had been unrolled, stacked on top of one another and then rolled up as a bundle. To unroll this bundle and to separate each roll in order to number them individually would be to risk damaging the rolls. It would also be to clutter one’s workspace with fifty or so rolls, since a bundle contains between seventeen and sixty-four rolls, and each

roll would naturally spring back into its rolled position if its ends were not weighted down. An enlarged image of the bundle that Stein dubbed “Ch.05” is instructive. Here one can see the disposition of the bundle. The sutra copy that Stein made visible for the picture by partially unrolling the bundle would be on top of the stack of flat sutras if the bundle were fully unrolled.³⁵ In fact, when they fully unrolled the bundle Stein’s assistants found another sutra copy adjacent to this one, and that copy – ITJ 310.683, pictured above in Fig. 8 – was assigned a site number as the first roll in the bundle, 78.VII.1. There were no doubt other such discoveries and surprises within these bundles once they were unrolled, and this would be one of the main reasons for unrolling each bundle.



Fig. 12: Detail of one of the “library bundles” from Mogao Cave Seventeen; after Stein 1921, vol. 4, plate 173.

These bundles were also quite messy. The bundle pictured above, 78.VII, contained forty-eight single-sutra rolls each measuring about 135 cm, four two-sutra rolls each measuring about 180 cm, three three-sutra rolls each measuring about 225 cm, one four-sutra roll measuring about 270 cm, and four five-sutra rolls each measuring about 315 cm. As a stack of rolls, it would have a thick, 135-cm “body,” and a long, thin 315-cm “tail.” This state of affairs also explains how rolls of single-sutra copies might lay adjacent to one another within a bundle, only to be discovered when the bundle was fully unrolled. In this and other such bundles, the rolls of varying lengths were not stacked neatly according to the length of each roll, e.g. longest to

³⁵ This is ITJ 310.682, which is now the second to last booklet in the stack of booklets in Vol. 106.

shortest or vice-versa, before being rolled up together as a bundle. Additionally, the sutra copies were not necessarily all stacked on top of one another right-side up when they were rolled into bundles. This is evident from at least two facts. First, damage from water or another fluid affected all twenty-four of the rolls in bundle 86.XIII, and this is more apparent in the last few rolls than it is in the first few rolls, no doubt because of how the bundle was rolled up.³⁶ However, this damage is visible in the top margins of some sutra copies, and in the bottom margins of others, which means that they were not all stacked in the same direction with respect to their contents. Second, the sutra copies in bundle 86.X have this site number in black ink written either on the verso of the first panel or on the verso of the last panel, which is to say, either on the front cover or the back cover of their booklets (Fig. 15, below). This would happen were one to number a bundle of rolls without arranging them such that they are all oriented the same way, that is, without attending to the fact that some were rotated 180 degrees with respect to the others. It might also suggest that this work was done by assistants and curators who treated these rolls as objects without attending to the direction of writing.

Given that Wang, Stein, and Jiang may have disturbed these bundles of rolls prior to their being documented in London, we cannot necessarily assume that this order of rolls reflected the bundle's original state as it was deposited in Cave Seventeen. Nor, for that matter, can we conclude with certainty that this order reflected these sutra copies' manner of storage in the Dunhuang temple libraries of Longxing si, Sanjie si and others prior to their being deposited in Cave Seventeen. However, a close examination of these bundles and their rolls of sutras, as described in Chapter Three, reveals a high degree of internal coherence at the level of the bundle that strongly suggests that most bundles were in fact largely untouched after they were rolled up. It was apparently only during the later stages of their conservation in Cambridge and London that the order of rolls became inverted or shuffled, but even this, as we will see, was rare. This is important to the context of these manuscripts' use, since it suggests that they were mainly copied to be kept or "deposited" for the merit that they created. It may also be the case that these manuscripts' ubiquity, and the comparatively low doxographical status of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, also accounts for their relatively undisturbed state prior to conservation in London.

If Stein or his assistants were to have separated each roll from the other rolls in its bundle, then they would have faced the issue of whether to store these separately, as individual rolls, or whether to roll them back up as they were, in a bundle, without damaging them or disturbing their sequence. The sixty rolls of bundle

³⁶ This makes it less likely – though not impossible – that the damage occurred after they were bound as booklets.

78.VII (pictured in Fig. 12) would have been even more unwieldy and more prone to damage as separate objects than as rolls within a bundle. In this case, someone wrote the site number “78.VII.1” on first, that is the top, roll in the bundle. They neglected to number the rolls below this one, only numbering the bottom roll in the bundle “78.VII.” The fifty-eight rolls between these two rolls have no site numbers at all. This suggests a cursory “first pass,” probably in the Beehive, that did not involve separating the rolls individually from their bundle. It also implies that these rolls were meant to be assigned serial site numbers based on the model of the first number assigned, i.e. 78.VII.1 to 78.VII.60. In the end, nobody ever completed this task, and fifty-eight of this bundle’s sixty rolls went without site numbers.

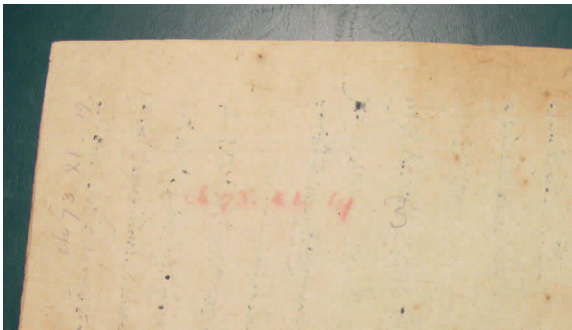


Fig. 13: ITJ 310.1149 on its side, rotated ninety degrees – in faded red ink one can read “Ch.73.XI.19,” adjacent, in pencil, is a “3,” indicating the number of sutras in this multiple-sutra roll, and in the left of the image (top right of the booklet), a reduplication of the site number is written in pencil, perpendicular to the faded red site number; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

In other bundles it is clear that someone did what was apparently intended for bundle 78.VII by assigning serial site numbers to every roll in a bundle. For example, the twenty-eight rolls in bundle 73.XI have site numbers written onto their versos in red ink, which has since faded to pink (Fig. 13). Duplicate site numbers in pencil, perpendicular to these, were presumably added once the ink had faded to illegibility. Both sets of site numbers proceed serially, from 73.XI.1 to 73.XI.28. The site numbers are written on the verso of the beginning of each roll, which would have been the available outside surface of each roll in the bundle if it were barely unrolled for numbering purposes and to check it for other manuscripts or objects. Thus site numbers may have been assigned to each of this bundle’s twenty-eight rolls without fully unrolling them, or at least without separating the rolls individually from one another.

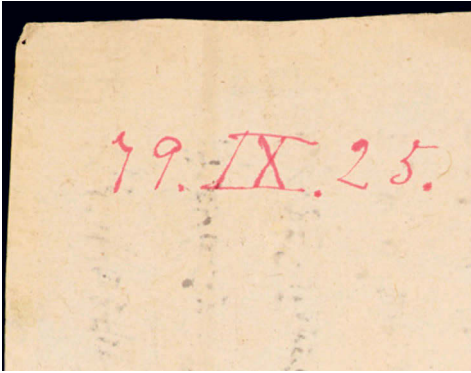


Fig. 14: Site number 79.IX.25 on the verso of S.2018, a Chinese *Ap* copy; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

We find a similar situation when examining the Chinese Dunhuang *Ap* copies kept at the British Library. Like the Tibetan *Ap* rolls, these rolls are also of varying lengths: some rolls contain a single *Ap* copy and other rolls contain multiple *Ap* copies. These rolls also came from regular “library bundles,” some of which they shared with Tibetan *Ap* rolls.³⁷ Those Chinese rolls with the site number 79.IX are numbered in red pen using the serial method, as in the case of those Tibetan rolls with site number 73.XI, also in red ink. The numbers run from 79.IX.1 to at least 79.IX.37.³⁸ They are similarly written on the verso of the beginning of each roll, as in the case of S.2018 (Fig. 14). These site numbers are not necessarily in the same hand as those on the Tibetan *Ap* copies. The writing is larger, and one also notes here the absence of the Ch. prefix on the 79.IX site numbers for these Chinese *Ap* rolls.

In the case of this bundle of Chinese *Ap* copies, which fell under the purview of the British Museum, the rolls were separated from their bundles, and each roll was stored individually in its own scroll box. As a result, hundreds of scroll boxes had to be manufactured for these and the 288 rolls or fragments of Chinese *Ap* copies in the Stein Collection. Some are long rolls with up to four *Ap* copies, while others are rolls of just one sutra copy. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter Three.

³⁷ One example is 77.VII, a bundle that contained, among other manuscripts, one roll of Tibetan *Ap* and two rolls of Chinese *Ap*. See Appendix Two for details.

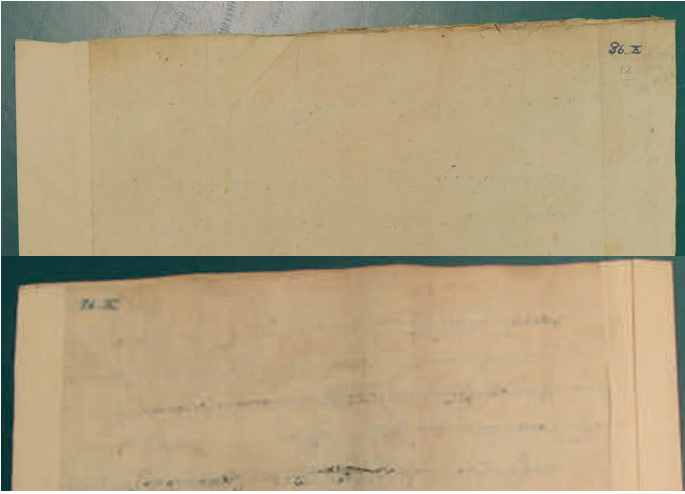
³⁸ Terzi and Whitfield use this as one of the three bundles in their case study for reconstructing bundles based on site numbers; see Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 67–70. They commit the common mistake of conflating these *Ap* copies with copies of the *Sukhāvativyūha sūtra*. The two texts share the same short title in Chinese.

A more common method of assigning site numbers, which appears to have been more often used for the Tibetan manuscripts at the India Office Library than for the Chinese manuscripts at the British Museum, was to forego the serial site numbers by assigning a less precise site number that applied equally to every roll in a given bundle. This is a middle ground between the desultory method of just marking the site number on the first and last roll of a bundle, e.g. 78.VII, and the more thorough method of writing a unique serial site number on every roll, e.g. 73.XI.1 to 73.XI.28. This applies, for example, to the fifty-five single-sutra rolls of Tibetan *Ap* copies that were assigned the site number 86.X. Stein or an assistant wrote the site number “86.X” in black ink on the versos of all fifty-five rolls in this bundle (see Fig. 15). These numbers appear sometimes at the beginning of the verso and sometimes at the end. This suggests, as stated above, that when the rolls were stacked on one another and rolled into a bundle for storage in a temple library and/or in Cave Seventeen, the sutra copies were not carefully arranged with respect to their contents. Some apparently were rotated 180 degrees, and some may have lain “back-to-back” (versos touching) or “front-to-front” (rectos touching) with their neighbors. Alternatively, this could have resulted from someone consulting an *Ap* copy or otherwise disturbing the bundle, but in such cases one would assume that this would involve only the first or last roll rather than rolls in the middle of a bundle. The most convenient method was for Stein or his assistants to number the versos that were most easily accessible as they documented these manuscripts and made inventories of each bundle. This likely accounts for why the site number “86.X” is found either on the beginning or end of the verso, which is to say the front cover or back cover of the booklets kept in Vol. 95 (Figs 15a and 15b).³⁹

This type of site numbering, which does not add serial site numbers to each roll within a bundle, also appears on some Chinese *Ap* copies, again in black ink. On S.492 and S.503, for example, the site number 86.I is written in black ink on the verso of the end of each roll. This agrees perfectly with the method of assigning site numbers to the Tibetan rolls at 86.X, and it is perhaps notable that both bundles come from the same crate, number eighty-six.

In these few examples, we can already see a lack of uniformity with regard to the location of the site numbers on the manuscripts, the color of ink used to write them, and the method of assigning them. Concerning the latter, we observe that those rolls with site number 73.XI all bear serial site numbers, e.g. 73.XI.1 through 73.XI.29, rather than simply all sharing the same site number of 73.XI. Of the twenty-six site numbers – which is to say twenty-six bundles – that include several rolls of

³⁹ Additional photographic documentation of site number 86.X appears in Fig. 2, where “86.X” bleeds through from the verso, as well as Figs 3, 19, 20, 23a, and 24.



Figs 15a and 15b: Site numbers 86.X written on the verso of the start of ITJ 310.256 (upper right of front cover of the booklet, spine to the left) and on the verso of the end of ITJ 310.253 (upper left of back cover of the booklet, spine to the right). Note booklet number “12” in pencil below the site number in Fig. 15a; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

Tibetan *Ap* copies, only five employ these serial site numbers that distinguish the specific number of each roll. The other four are Ch.73.XVI (Vol. 113), Ch.73.XVII (Vol. 114), Ch.73.IX (Vol. 117), and Ch.73.X (Vol. 118). These are split evenly between bundles of single-sutra rolls and bundles that also include multiple-sutra rolls, the specifics of which are treated in Chapter Three.

These various methods are not necessarily the result of unitary norms that degraded over time from the more thorough to the cursory. Rather, they appear to have resulted from different standards applied by different assistants and curators. These tend to cohere not only at the level of the bundle, but also at the level of the crate, which suggests that different people (e.g. La Vallée Poussin, Ridding) were assigned different crates to go through and number. All of the many Tibetan *Ap* copies from the bundles in crates seventy-eight and eighty-six, for example, use the less specific type of site number, and this is written in black ink. By contrast, all of the Tibetan *Ap* copies from the bundles in crate seventy-three have the more specific site numbers, and these are written in red ink. As we will see, it appears that these latter, specific site numbers were the work of C.M. Ridding in Cambridge.

A few Tibetan *Ap* copies have different site numbers that tell us nothing of their locations within crates or bundles. This is true of those labeled “Fragments.” Confusingly, some of these are complete sutra copies (e.g. Fragment 41, pressmark

ITJ 310.422), while others are indeed fragments of sutra copies (e.g. Fragment 53.5, pressmark ITJ 310.427). It is unclear why these complete sutra copies were designated as fragments.

There is also a sequence of *Ap* copies, pressmarks ITJ 1588 to ITJ 1615 – excluding ITJ 1601 –, that have simple site numbers consisting only of Arabic numerals and without the Ch prefix. These amount to twenty-two manuscripts and fragments numbered 10, 13, 14, 23, 34, 35, 36, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58. Their skips in sequence, e.g. from 36 to 44, appear to be a recognition of existing manuscripts that bear intervening numbers prefixed by “Fragment,” e.g. “Fragment 41,” mentioned just above. These numbers are often in pencil, alongside the number 310, the latter written in pen, probably by La Vallée Poussin. It is not necessarily the case that the word “Fragment” was elided from these penciled numbers, since we find Fragment 44, Fragment 49, and Fragment 52 – which overlap with the unprefix numbers 44, 49, and 52 just given above – as site numbers assigned to non-*Ap* manuscripts at pressmarks ITJ 109, ITJ 120, and ITJ 256, respectively, in La Vallée Poussin’s concordance.⁴⁰

The numbers on these manuscripts represent an anomaly. Since they are not found in La Vallée Poussin’s inventory of site numbers, nor in his catalogue’s concordance, they were likely added after his cataloguing work, which is to say after World War I. If one assumes the concordance to be the work of A.F. Thompson, then these numbers were also probably unknown in the early 1960s. Examining these manuscripts in more detail, it becomes clear that these are only “quasi-site numbers,” that have resulted from confusion during the process of documenting these manuscripts and assigning site numbers. In other words, these are manuscripts that were quite likely mislaid, or orphaned from their bundles during the cataloguing process. In this respect they are similar to Stein’s Ch.0023- and Ch. 05-type numbers, which also seem to have resulted from separating manuscripts from the regular library bundles in which they had been previously kept. One example will suffice to demonstrate this. La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue lists five copies under the pressmark “Ch.i.1.” However, only one *Ap* copy is now found with this site number, at pressmark ITJ 310.1034. In pencil, on the verso of column a of this copy we find written, “*aparamitayur*, 5 copies, incomplete, Ch.I.1. Part of a bundle numbered Ch.I from sorted Chinese bundles.” This further corroborates La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue. This copy’s roll number is thirteen, and it is a copy of the “A1” version of the sutra, the details of which will be discussed in Chapter Two. Searching among the twenty-two above items with their defective, penciled quasi-site numbers, we find rolls nine, ten, eleven, and twelve, all A1 copies, strongly suggesting that they,

⁴⁰ La Vallée Poussin 1962, 299.

together with roll thirteen (ITJ 310.1034), had previously constituted the five copies at Ch.I.1. These four copies bear the respective “quasi-site numbers” 54, 53, 49, and 47. Presumably, the site number “Ch.I.1” was initially added only to one of the five rolls when they were kept together, and somehow the other four were separated and mislaid.⁴¹ These four rolls were later assigned pressmarks ITJ 1611, ITJ 310.423, ITJ 1607, and ITJ 1605, respectively.

To compound this mistake, the manuscript with the quasi-site number “53” was moved together with the four fragments and copies that La Vallée Poussin had catalogued as “Fragment 53.” Someone then added decimals in pencil after each number 53, such that the five manuscripts in this newly created group proceeded “53.1” through “Fragment 53.5,” thereby creating the false impression that “53” had been a part of “Fragment 53” all along. The latter site number therefore ended up having five items within it, rather than the four items that La Vallée Poussin recorded for Fragment 53 in his catalogue. In Chapter Three and Four and in Appendix Two we rectify these and other such mistakes to virtually reunite some manuscripts that had been orphaned or misassigned by the processes of conservation and cataloguing.

There are such “casualties” of the documentation process among the Chinese *Ap* copies as well. Most have consistent site numbers, and many that are listed as having no site number in fact have Jiang numbers. However, a few of them, mostly fragments, have no site numbers at all. Among those with no site numbers are the fragments S.324, S.1107, and S.1143. The complete, edited *Ap* copy S.4088 (Fig. 39) also has no site number.

Among the sutra copies and fragments that do not come from regular bundles of mostly *Ap* copies, but rather from bundles where they were mixed in among many other sorts of texts, we also find an odd variation on the more standard site numbers. Pressmarks ITJ 310.415, 416, and 418 are three complete *Ap* copies with the site number 87.XIII. To this site number was added the lower-case letters “a,” “b,” and “f,” respectively, but these are written slightly below, suggesting they were added later, by someone who was not following the usual system that would dictate the use of Arabic numerals for serial site numbering. This type of site number (e.g.

⁴¹ Prevarication between lowercase and uppercase letters has sowed confusion concerning this site number. There are several painted scrolls and Khotanese manuscripts with the site number Ch.i, with serial numbers preceded by two zeros, e.g. Ch.i.003. Four Tibetan items, by contrast, use the upper case Ch.I, and follow this with serial numbers without zeros, e.g. Ch.I.3. The ambiguity of the uppercase I has also meant that some curators and cataloguers have (mis)read the site number as “Ch.1,” that is, the Arabic number rather than the Roman numeral.

“87.XIII.d,” where “d” is apparently a later addition) is visible in the image of the fragment ITJ 310.1204 in Fig. 22 below.

Later strata of numbering processes complicate matters even further. We have already shown that Stein and/or his assistants probably wrote many of these site numbers onto the manuscripts as they proceeded through their documentation of crates and bundles in the basement of the British Museum. However, it is also clear that some site numbers were added later, after the Chinese materials went to the British Museum and the Tibetan materials went to the India Office Library, beginning from 1914. This becomes evident when we approach these manuscripts at the level of the bundle. Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts from the same bundle are not always numbered using the same method. Whereas in some bundles, Tibetan and Chinese items are both marked with serial site numbers, in other bundles Chinese items are marked with serial site numbers while the Tibetan items in the same bundle are marked without them. This is true of manuscripts with site number 81.VIII, for example, whose Tibetan manuscripts are each labeled 81.VIII, whereas its Chinese manuscripts each have their own serial number, e.g. 81.VIII.7. Elsewhere, the serial site numbers of Chinese items in a bundle overlap with the serial site numbers of Tibetan items in the same bundle, which is something that presumably would not occur if the items in the bundle were numbered serially when they were kept together in the Beehive. In bundle 79.XIV, for instance, 79.XIV.3 designates both the Tibetan manuscript ITJ 310.1206 and the Chinese manuscript S.3824. This is not an isolated occurrence, and other instances where Tibetan and Chinese manuscripts from the same bundle are assigned identical site numbers are noted in Appendix Two. Such duplicate numbers, as well as the more common circumstance where Tibetan manuscripts and Chinese manuscripts from the same bundle employ less specific (non-serial) and more specific (serial) site numbering, respectively, confirms that quite a lot of site numbering was done after the Tibetan manuscripts were separated from the Chinese.

These site numbers assigned to Chinese manuscripts at the British Museum and to Tibetan manuscripts at the India Office Library diverged not only from each other, but also from the initial site numbers assigned prior to the division of the collection. In bundle 79.XIV, for example, seven of the twelve Tibetan items lack serial site numbers. It may be that Stein, Andrews, Lorimer, or another of the “Beehive” assistants added the site number “79.XIV,” and that Hoernle, Ridding, or La Vallée Poussin added the more detailed serial site numbers later. An inverse situation could also apply, where someone first assigned a few detailed site numbers, and expected others to follow the model for further items, as in the case of bundle Ch.05/ 78.VII, described above. An almost identical situation describes the site numbering of the items at 79.XVI. This would suggest that up to three hands

assigned site numbers within such a bundle: one at the “Beehive” prior to the division of the collections, assigning numbers at the level of the bundle; one working on the Chinese manuscripts at the British Museum; and one working on the Tibetan manuscripts at the India Office Library or in Cambridge. Despite these rough edges, which emerge only when one examines the collection at the level of the bundle, the documentation process largely succeeded in preserving the crucial information about which manuscripts came from which bundles.

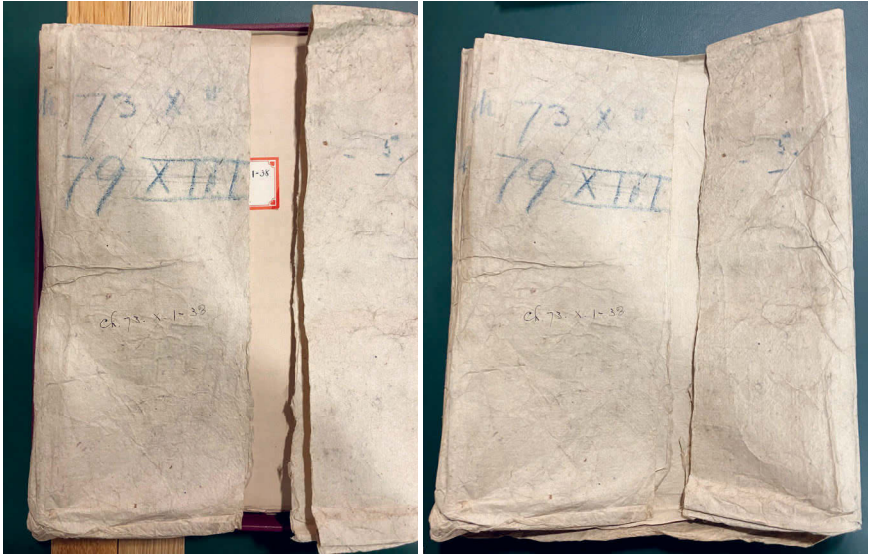
1.3 Cataloguing and preparatory work in Cambridge

F.W. Thomas was responsible for Stein’s Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts at the India Office Library in London, where he served as librarian from 1903 to 1927. He and C.M. Ridding began documenting the manuscripts in 1910, and by 1914 Thomas enlisted Louis de La Vallée Poussin, the famous Belgian Buddhologist who took refuge at Cambridge during the First World War. A letter from Stein dated July 8, 1910 refers to the deposit of Stein’s Tibetan manuscripts at Cambridge University Library, and states that Ridding, who was preparing an inventory, should be permitted to work on the material at her home, “up to a maximum of three bundles.”⁴² La Vallée Poussin probably enjoyed similar privileges at Cambridge.

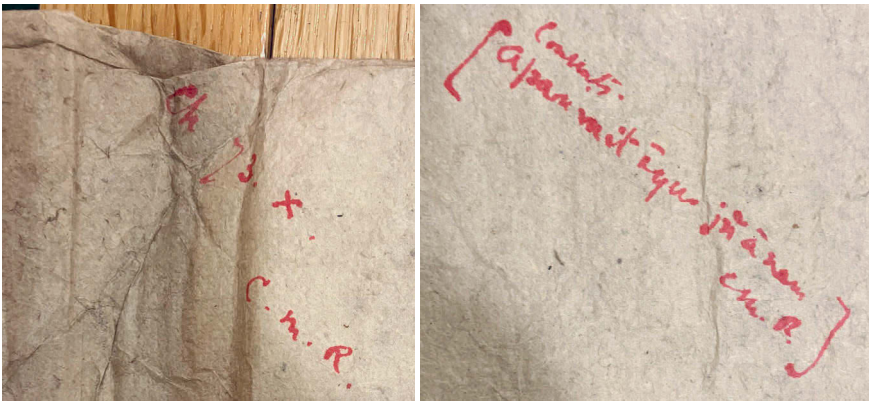
In fact, one paper wrapper bearing C.M. Ridding’s handwriting is likely the original wrapping in which she transported a bundle of Dunhuang manuscripts between her home and the Cambridge University Library. It is now found in Vol. 118, together with the *Ap* copies bearing site number 73.X (Figs 16a and 16b). The wrapper was presumably conserved as an example of the type of wrapper that was used for conserving these manuscripts while they were still kept in bundles, prior to binding.

On the back of this wrapper we read, written in red ink, “Ch 73.x. C.m.R.” and “[Contents aparimitāyurjñānam C.m.R.]” (Figs 16c and 16d). This confirms that C.M. Ridding used a red pen to identify the contents as part of her initial cataloguing work. The sutra copies from this bundle do in fact have the more detailed, serial site numbering in red pen. It is likely that Ridding was responsible for this more specific method of site numbering in red pen where it is found in the other four relevant bundles in crate seventy-three, as detailed above.

⁴² Wang and Perkins 2008, 37.



Figs 16a and 16b: Paper wrapping in which the Tibetan Ap copies were initially conserved while still in roll format, Vol. 118; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.



Figs 16c and 16d: C.M. Ridding's annotations on the bundle wrapper, Vol. 118; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

Besides his task of producing a catalogue, La Vallée Poussin was apparently also charged with preparing manuscripts for binding. This entailed numbering each bundle's rolls individually, as well as numbering each roll's panels. Despite numbering these rolls of sutras individually, La Vallée Poussin did not catalogue them

individually, but rather grouped them all together under a single pressmark, number 310. This was part of the sequence 306–455 of his catalogue, which La Vallée Poussin consecrated to “tantric works with identified Sanskrit titles.”⁴³ He makes special mention of this pressmark in the catalogue’s introduction.

The rolls of the *Aparimitāyur-jñāna-sūtra* ([pressmark] 310) deserve special notice. The paper is quite different from the paper of the other manuscripts in the collection. The majority consists of three sheets, each with two pages, stuck together to make a roll of six pages: some have seven pages, an additional half sheet having been added. All the copies examined agree with the two edited by Professor Sten Konow (Hoernle, *Manuscripts Remains*, pp. 289 et seq.) in omitting 8 to 31 [sic] of the Hoernle edition. Some copies have been corrected in red ink, and may record the scribes, the same names occurring more than once.⁴⁴

This notice gives no inkling that this pressmark, 310, includes over one thousand copies of this sutra. Otherwise, the description is helpful as long as one understands that by “pages” La Vallée Poussin meant “columns” of text; this agrees with the two separate measurements given in his entry published in *Serindia*. We shall return to his observations about the sutra copies’ format and contents below.

La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue entry for 310 describes it as “a collection of rolls.”⁴⁵ Besides transcribing eight sample colophons and including some references, he supplied an inventory of site numbers, along with the number of “copies” – by which one must understand “rolls” – included under each of these site numbers. La Vallée Poussin’s record of the site numbers is valuable as a witness to the state of affairs from 1914 to 1918, when he and Ridding held the sutra copies in their hands. It is therefore worth quoting here in full the beginning of his entry for 310:

tshē dpag tu myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo/

(*Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra*)

Ch. 0071, I. 1 (5 copies), XIX. 003, XXXIII. 003, XL. 004, 73. VI. 1a (5 copies), 73. VII. 1-3 (3 copies), 73. IX. (19 copies), 73. X, 73. XI (28 copies), 73. XIII. 12, 73. XV. 2 and 8, frag. 10b, 73. XVI, 74. V, 75. IV. 1, 75. IX. 5, 76. XI. 3, 77. VII. 1, 77. XVI, 78. I (23 copies), 78. II, 78. III (51 copies), 78. IV (38 copies), 78. VII, 78. VIII (54 copies), 78. IX, 78. X (50 copies), 78. XI, 78. XII (30 copies), 79. VIII. 5, 79. XIII. 1, 79. XIV. 3, 79. XVI. 6, 80. II, 80. II. B1, 80. IV. 1, 80. VIII. 1, 80. IX. B1. 81. V. 1, 81. VIII (2 copies), 82. II. 6, 83. V. 1, 83. VI. 2, 83. IX. 10, 85. IV. 2, 85. IX. 1 and 6, 86. I (46 copies), 86. III (28 copies), 86. VI. 86. VIa (46 copies), 86. VII (31 copies), 86. IX (12 copies), 86. X (2 copies), 86. Xa (54 copies), 86. XIII (25 copies), 86. XIV (48 copies), 86. XV (38 copies), 87. XIII (9 copies),

⁴³ La Vallée Poussin 1962, xiii–xiv.

⁴⁴ La Vallée Poussin 1962, xv. “8 to 31” is a typo: the main Tibetan version of the sutra copied at Dunhuang omits §8–§11, as discussed in detail in Chapter Two.

⁴⁵ La Vallée Poussin 1962, 101.

87. XIIIa, b, d, f (4 copies), CXLVII. 2, Fragments 28 (fr. 0060), 29 (fr. XLIII. 002), 33, 38 (3 copies), 39a (written on both sides, roll and scroll), 39b-c, 41, 53 (4 copies), 59, 84 (2 copies), and unnumbered fragments bound in vols. 53 and 55; a collection of rolls.⁴⁶

Comparing this account with the state of the manuscripts today, it is evident that La Vallée Poussin's use of the term "copies" is misleading. By this term he in fact designated rolls. This is important because, as noted already, some rolls contained up to fifteen copies of the sutra, while others contained only one. For example, while the thirty-eight single-sutra rolls marked with the site number 78.IV together contain thirty-eight sutra copies, the nineteen multiple-sutra rolls with the site number 73.IX contain sixty-seven sutra copies in total. Adding up the number of La Vallée Poussin's "copies" therefore gives nowhere near the number of *Ap* copies held in the collection, and also falls well short of the number of sub-pressmarks eventually included within the 310 pressmark. It is safe to assume that those site numbers in which Arabic numbers follow the Roman numerals, e.g. "73.XIII.12," refer to single rolls. One cannot assume the same for those site numbers where La Vallée Poussin did not state the number of rolls, as we know that many of these site numbers include several rolls. It is unclear whether La Vallée Poussin failed to record this data because he chose to ignore it or because it was unavailable to him. For data based on our survey, which shows the numbers of pressmarks, rolls, and sutra copies in each site number, giving also La Vallée Poussin's tally, see Appendix Two.

Looking at the site numbers, one can easily see how they reflect the situation of packing crates one dozen or so bundles per crate. Seven site numbers begin with "73," with the highest Roman numeral being "XVI." Bundles IX and XI in crate seventy-three have nineteen and twenty-eight rolls, respectively. It is also clear that the Tibetan *Ap* did not account for all of the bundles in crate seventy-three, which, as discussed by Takeuchi, contained seventeen bundles in total, many of which include a variety of tantric texts that date to the period after the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang.⁴⁷ Crate eighty-six included ten bundles of Tibetan *Ap* rolls, with an average of thirty-three rolls each. That same crate also included copies of the Chinese *Ap*, which are similarly found together with the Tibetan *Ap* in crates seventy-four, seventy-seven, seventy-nine, eighty, eighty-one, eighty-two, and eighty-seven (see Appendix Two). There are only five Tibetan *Ap* rolls that come from "miscellaneous bundles," and their site numbers, I.1, XXXIII.003, XL.004, XLIII.002, and CXLVII.2, indicate that they were bundled together with painted scrolls, as well as other manuscripts.

⁴⁶ La Vallée Poussin 1962, 101.

⁴⁷ Takeuchi 2012, 207–208. See also La Vallée Poussin 1962, 293–295.

It is clear that La Vallée Poussin intended the 310 pressmark as a catch-all for Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies in roll format, since it includes not only the large bundles of rolls but also fragments of rolls that he identified as belonging to this sutra. (He assigned *pothi*-format fragments of *Ap* different pressmarks, such as 308 and 309.) Therefore, it is surprising that three bundles of sutra rolls with the site numbers 78.V, 78.VI, and 73.XVII, containing over one hundred *Ap* copies between them, are not included in the 310 pressmark. The latter two are listed as pressmark 310 in La Vallée Poussin's concordance, compiled by A.F. Thompson in the late 50s and early 60s, but 78.V is absent.⁴⁸ The sutra copies from these three bundles are now assigned pressmarks ITJ 1617 to ITJ 1716. There are also further copies or fragments originating from outside of these bundles, including those numbered ITJ 1588 through ITJ 1615 (excepting ITJ 1601). It is clear that all of these were intended for the 310 pressmark. A note on a curator's sticker on the recto of the first roll from the bundle 78.VI, pressmark ITJ 1617 (Fig. 17), for example, states, "78.VI No. 97 310."

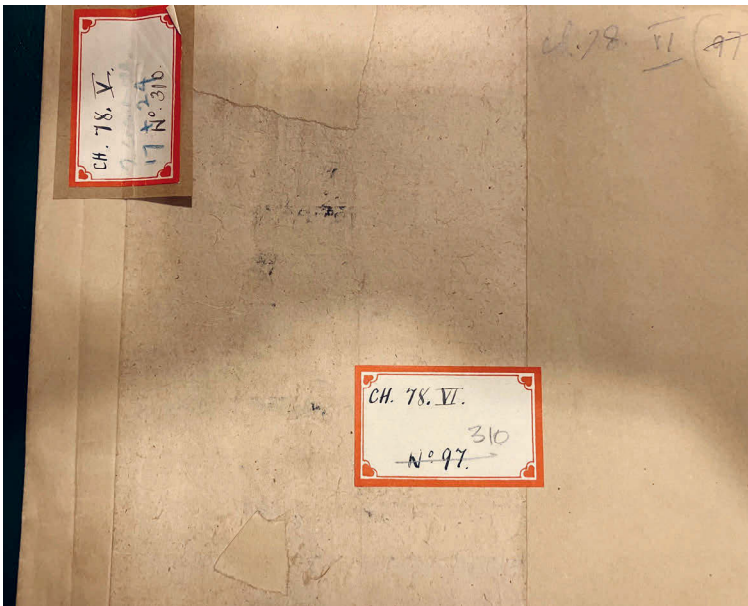


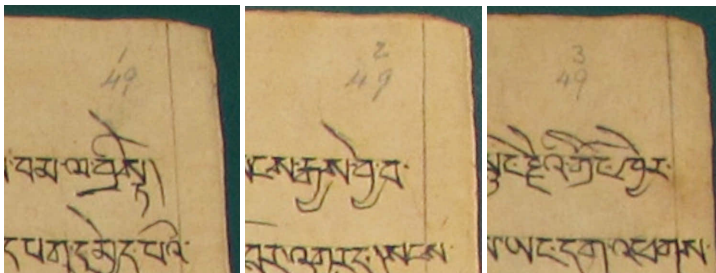
Fig. 17: Curator's stickers on the front of ITJ 1617; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

⁴⁸ La Vallée Poussin 1962, 295–296.

Another small sticker on the same booklet's spine adds, "78.V No. 310." This indicates that the rolls with these two site numbers were intended for the 310 press-mark. An annotation in blue, on the same sticker, reads "2 [illegible] 17 + 24," which presumably means that seventeen of the fifty-one rolls came from one bundle, and twenty-four came from another. The roll numbers reflect this, proceeding serially, one to twenty-four and then one to seventeen. Only one of the manuscripts in this volume bears a site number in pen, and two others have site numbers on red-and-white stickers and/or in pencil. Taken together with the blue annotation and the roll numbers, these suggest that the first twenty-four rolls are from bundle 78.V and the next seventeen rolls – plus the edited exemplar, which is the first booklet in the stack – are from bundle 78.VI. We will return to these red-and-white stickers after reviewing what seems to have been La Vallée Poussin's parallel task, that of preparing the *Ap* rolls for binding.

1.3.1 Roll numbers and panel numbers

La Vallée Poussin wrote numbers in pencil onto the rolls themselves in order to facilitate the binding of these rolls into booklets. There are two such types of numbers, both written in pencil onto the manuscripts themselves, that pertain to binding. The first indicate how many sutra copies are in a longer roll with multiple *Ap* copies, and the second assign numbers to the rolls in a given bundle and to the individual panels of paper in each roll. The first type of numbering is given in pencil on the verso of the first column of a multiple-sutra roll. In Fig. 13 above, adjacent to one of the red site numbers, "Ch.73.XI.19," there is a "3" written in pencil. This indicates that the roll included three sutra copies.



Figs 18a, 18b, and 18c: The roll numbers (denominators) and panel numbers (numerators) added in pencil to the top right of each panel of paper of ITJ 310.295; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

The second, more involved set of numbers appear on every panel of every roll, which is to say every bifolio of every bound booklet. These numbers are present in all of the booklets of Tibetan *Ap*, always on the recto, sometimes in the middle of a panel in the upper margin, and other times at its top right. These come in the form of a numerator, which gives the panel (aka “sheet” or “bifolio”) number within each roll, and a denominator, which gives the roll number within each bundle. In the case of the bundle of fifty-three single-sutra rolls where the site number 86.X was written on each roll, for example, “1/49” was written in pencil in the upper right corner of the first panel of the forty-ninth roll (Fig. 18a), “2/49” on its second panel (Fig. 18b), and “3/49” on its third (Fig. 18c).

Roll forty-eight, also a three-panel sutra copy, was similarly numbered “1/48,” “2/48,” and “3/48” on its three respective panels; roll fifty, a four-panel copy, was numbered “1/50,” “2/50,” “3/50,” and “4/50” on its four respective panels; and so on for all of the fifty-three rolls in this bundle. This task was carried out for all of the over one thousand *Ap* rolls in the British Library’s Stein Collection. By numbering these rolls and panels in this way, La Vallée Poussin or another curator tasked with this job ensured that their contents would appear in their proper order once they were bound as booklets, and that their panels would not get shuffled once they were separated into sheets/ bifolios. Conservators and binders following these numbers would not bind, for example, the panels of roll forty-nine out of order, e.g. “1/49,” “3/49,” “2/49,” when folding them, stacking them, and making them into a booklet. Nor would they bind a panel from roll forty-nine into a booklet with panels marked with denominators of “48” or “50.”

Among the approximately 1,500 booklets they bound, we noted only one such mistake: in the booklet with the pressmark ITJ 1489, the second and third panels of a four-panel roll were shuffled, so the booklet has these panels appear in the order one, three, two, four. Similarly, we found very few errors of numbering at the level of the roll (as opposed to the several contradictions between site numbers, roll numbers, and booklet numbers, some of which we document below.) One such rare mistake is found in ITJ 1588, a single *Ap* copy whose panels are numbered “1/1,” “2/2,” and “2/3.”

In the case of multiple-sutra rolls, La Vallée Poussin followed the same method, but there were more panels of paper to number. In the case of a three-sutra roll with the site number 73.XI.19, for example, he wrote “3” on the verso of the first panel, and numbered its nine panels “1/19” to “9/19” in the top margin of their rectos. Later, when these were bound in London, the three sutra copies were bound into three separate booklets with pressmarks ITJ 310.1149, 1150, and 1151.

It is clear from notes on the manuscripts themselves and from slips of paper kept with them that La Vallée Poussin added these numbers in pencil to prepare

the rolls for binding. A cataloguer's note kept together with the *Ap* copies in Vol. 114 states, "N.B. 73.XVII now in bundle in Stein order – check Poussin's pagination if copies are ever bound!" The note is written in blue crayon (or a very blunt blue pencil), probably by F.W. Thomas. Indeed there are two sets of numbers on these manuscripts: the site numbers in red pen, identified in the note as the "Stein order" – which was likely written by C.M. Ridding – and the roll numbers in pencil (those with numerator and denominator, as just described), identified in the note as La Vallée Poussin's. (We follow suit by referring to these as La Vallée Poussin's numbers for the sake of convenience, but do so with the assumption that this task may have fallen to others to complete.) In this case, these two sets of numbers run in inverse order. Thus the roll marked with the site number Ch.73.XVII.1 was also marked in pencil as roll "28" on each of its panels, and the roll marked with the site number Ch.73.XVII.2 was marked as roll "27." The two sets of numbers proceeded inversely in this fashion up to the roll marked with the site number Ch.73.XVII.28, which was marked as roll "1" in pencil.⁴⁹

There are no dates or initials added to the note in blue, but the circumstances it describes are such that it probably belongs to F.W. Thomas, and to his early review of La Vallée Poussin's work prior to when the rolls were sent to the bindery. Thomas would have presumably added this note after La Vallée Poussin had finished his work in 1918, and before Thomas left the India Office Library in 1927.⁵⁰ This shows that the rolls were marked for binding by this time, even though the rolls were not bound until decades later. In this case Thomas was trying to make sense of the results of the work he had commissioned to be produced in Cambridge. This is not the only such example of confusion that stems from one person treating the top roll as the first roll in the bundle and another person treating the top roll as the last roll in the bundle. Returning to bundle 78.VII, which Stein featured in an early plate as "Ch. 05," we noted above that the top roll was marked "78.VII.1," evidently to indicate that the remaining fifty-nine rolls should be assigned serial site numbers on this model. Nobody ever added these numbers, and the only other roll in the bundle with a site number is the last, bottom roll, which is marked "78.VII" (see Fig. 8). When La Vallée Poussin added roll numbers and panel numbers to the rolls of this bundle in Cambridge, he numbered the rolls bottom to top, that

⁴⁹ Only on the last roll, number twenty-nine, do the numbering systems agree, which suggests that La Vallée Poussin might have mislaid the roll when he numbered the rolls' panels in pencil.

⁵⁰ Denison Ross (1871–1940), who was briefly employed to catalogue Stein manuscripts in 1914, and who served as Keeper of the Stein Antiquities at the British Museum between 1914 and 1916, was also known to use blue pencil, so it is possible that he added this note; see Wood 2012, 2. It may also be the case that the British Museum and the India Office Library shared similar practices in terms of having different curators and cataloguers use different pencils and inks.

is, backwards. They are now catalogued in this inverse order, with the pressmarks ITJ 310.612 to 310.683. The roll marked 78.VII.1 is ITJ 310.683, and the first half of a two-sutra roll that had been the last roll in the bundle is now ITJ 310.612. The sutra copies from bundle 73.XVII, just described above, similarly follow the order of the rolls penciled by La Vallée Poussin, rather than the order of site numbers inked by C.M. Ridding.

The note's statement, "if copies are ever bound" is echoed by the mention of binding in three other cataloguer's notes found in other volumes of Tibetan *Ap* copies. One, in pencil on a note card in Vol. 94, states, "34 Rolls of M.S.S. Each roll in separate lot. Binder. Aparamitayur." The fifty-five booklets of this volume were indeed made from thirty-four rolls of *Ap* copies. A similar note, which belongs in Vol. 93 but found its way into Vol. 11, states, "86VII. 310. 31 Sheets. 30 rolls. (Each roll done up separate.) Binder. Aparimitayuh." There were indeed thirty rolls in bundle 86.VII, which are now fifty-four numbered booklets in Vol. 93. It is unclear what this note meant by "31 sheets." Another note card, now sitting atop the *Ap* copies stacked in Vol. 113, reads, in blue ink or crayon, "Ch.73.XV + 79.XIII⁵ 310." (The "5" in majuscule might refer to the number of copies from site number 79.XIII.) Below, in pencil, "Aparimitayur" confirms that this does in fact pertain to *Ap* copies, and of course "310" confirms the pressmark. On the reverse of card, in pencil, we read, "39 Rolls each roll in a section (Binder)." These latter notes may belong to La Vallée Poussin. It is unclear what exactly is meant by "each roll in separate lot" or "done up separate," or "each roll in a section." There is no record of these rolls ever having been stored separately in over a thousand individual scroll boxes, as was done for the nearly three hundred Chinese *Ap* rolls kept at the British Museum. Also, "done up separate" cannot refer to a one-to-one relationship between rolls and booklets or sutra copies, since, to use the example of Vol. 93, the eighty-seven *Ap* copies within the thirty rolls in bundle 86.VII were bound into fifty-four booklets.

The last of these three notes is curious for the fact that it seems to bear witness to a group of thirty-nine *Ap* rolls from bundles 73.XV and 79.XIII, of which we can only account for four or five.⁵¹ The note suggests that a total of thirty-nine *Ap* rolls were taken from these two bundles, then collated and assigned continuous roll and panel numbers for the bindery with the intention that they be kept together in a volume. However, La Vallée Poussin's catalogue only lists four rolls for these site numbers, and no site number in his listing has thirty-nine rolls. It seems that either the information on this note card is hopelessly confused, or else that these rolls exist within the collection but have been assigned different site numbers. This would be

51 It is possible that this concerns the site number 79.VIII: in the curator's note an original "VIII" in blue was corrected to "XIII" with pencil.

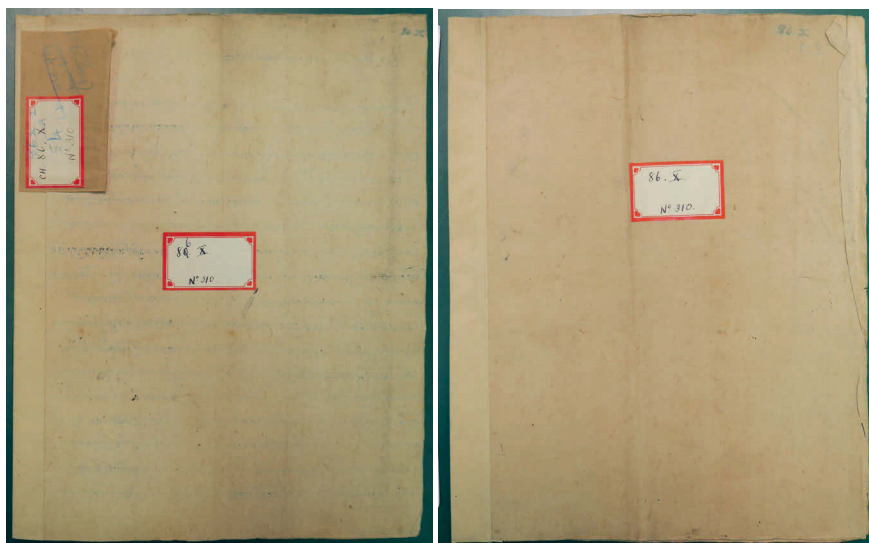
conceivable for a bundle of forty-one rolls where a curator only numbered the first and last roll, and where these were separated from the unnumbered mass of rolls between them. It lines up, albeit only roughly, with the forty-two rolls that ended up bound as booklets in Vol. 105, where eighteen rolls seem to be from one bundle (tentatively, 78.VI), and twenty-four from another (tentatively, 78.V). Another alternative, that these rolls went missing between the time that they were documented in Cambridge and London and the time that they were catalogued, is also possible.

1.3.2 Red-and-white curator's stickers

The 310 pressmark was also assigned to these manuscripts through the application of red-and-white stickers with designs of hearts at their four corners. These stickers usually include both the pressmark 310, and the site number. They were typically stuck onto the verso of the beginning of the first roll in a bundle and the verso of the end of the last roll in a bundle. As such, these pressmarks and site numbers were meant to apply to all the manuscripts kept in between them, in the same manner as the most desultory method of adding site numbers to only the first and last rolls of a bundle, as described above. Many such stickers include annotations. Where these annotations give the number of rolls, this is usually in blue pencil or crayon, probably added by F.W. Thomas. This attention to the number of rolls confirms that the stickers were applied prior to binding, when the manuscripts were still in roll format. On the other hand, some stickers are found on the Kraft paper spines of the booklets (Fig. 19). However, in these cases the stickers have not been applied directly to the spines, but were rather stuck to a different piece of paper that was then peeled and/or cut out and glued to the spine, demonstrating that they were, like the other stickers, initially stuck onto the manuscripts. Whatever their precise chronology, the stickers and their annotations furnish important information about conservation and cataloguing alongside the site numbers, roll numbers, panel numbers, and annotations written onto the manuscripts themselves.

On these stickers and in the notes on curators' slips conserved alongside these manuscripts, we often find one curator trying to make sense of another's work. In some cases one rectifies another's errors, and in other cases they introduce new errors. Only later curators like Ulrich Pagel and Sam van Schaik left dates and initialed their notes, so we are left to contend with the different color inks and different hands, as well as the contents of these notes themselves in order to piece together the order of events. In the case of the fifty-five rolls from bundle 86.X, we appear to see F.W. Thomas with his blunt blue pencil or crayon trying to make sense of two sources of confusion. In the first place, there are two red-and-white stickers

on the verso of the first panel of ITJ 310.245 (Fig. 19), ostensibly the first roll in this bundle, now kept as the first bound booklet in Vol. 95. One sticker is in the middle of the page, and the other is glued to the spine of the booklet. There is also a red-and-white curator's sticker in the middle of the verso of the first panel of what was ostensibly the third roll in this bundle, ITJ 310.247 (Fig. 20). About halfway through ITJ 310.247, on its verso, there is also a rather larger site number in black pen, also reading 86.X. In the top right corner of each figure below, one can also see the site number, which is 86.X in both cases.



Figs 19 and 20: Curator's red-and-white stickers on ITJ 310.245 and ITJ 310.247 (the site number "86.X" is written in the top right corner of each page); photographed by Lewis Doney, courtesy of the British Library.

Examining La Vallée Poussin's roll numbers in pencil in the top margins of the sutras' rectos, the first two rolls are numbered one and two, but then the numbering begins again, at the third roll, which is numbered one. It then proceeds in order to fifty-three, but skips forty and forty-one and repeats forty-two and forty-three. The roll numbering indicates that La Vallée Poussin treated the first two rolls as belonging to a separate bundle. The differing stickers on the versos that are now in the middle of the first page of each booklet suggest how this may have happened. Namely, someone – perhaps even La Vallée Poussin – misread the site number 86.X as 80.X, and errantly labeled and applied the sticker onto the roll that is now ITJ 310.245. As

a result, it is likely that this roll and the next one, ITJ 310.246, were initially kept separately from the other fifty-three rolls, and that the “first” of these latter rolls, now ITJ 310.247, was therefore given the correctly labeled sticker, “86.X.” Thomas or someone working under him then discovered this error, corrected “80.X” to “86.X,” and reunited the first two booklets with the fifty-three others from this bundle. This may have happened as part of the preparations for binding. The sticker now on the spine of the booklet ITJ 310.245 (Fig. 21) preserves what is probably Thomas’s attempt to reckon with the situation.

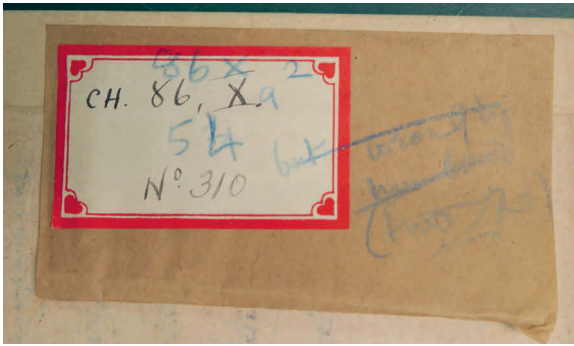


Fig. 21: Curator’s red-and-white sticker, with blue annotations, on the spine of ITJ 310.245; photographed by Lewis Doney, courtesy of the British Library.

The blue pencil appears to amend 86.X to “86.X.a” and above this it adds “86 x 2.” Between the site number and the pressmark “No. 310,” Thomas adds “54” to indicate the number of rolls, where the four has been retraced over a three for “53.” Thomas then added, but subsequently struck through, “but wrongly numbered two 2s.” Presumably he struck this through because there were also two rolls that were numbered “one” in addition to two rolls that were numbered “two.” However, this makes fifty-five, not fifty-four rolls, and he did not strike through “54.” Also, the intervention of creating two site numbers – 86.X and 86.X.a – in response to La Vallée Poussin’s apparent mistake, was ignored, and does not appear in the catalogue that Thomas had a role in publishing.

1.4 Binding and cataloguing in London

After La Vallée Poussin’s cataloguing activity during the First World War, the Stein Collection of Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts was moved to the India Office Library

at Cannon Row in London. The Tibetan *Ap* manuscripts were apparently still conserved as bundles, probably wrapped in papers such as that pictured in Figs 16a and 16b, when they were transported from Cambridge University Library (and occasional visits to Ridding's and La Vallée Poussin's homes) to the India Office Library in London.

During the 1920s the India Office Library had hundreds of the Stein manuscripts bound into Western-style, cloth- and leather-bound books. Loose leaves and fragments were gathered and bound, and these bound books' resulting "pages" were assigned serial Arabic numerals, either in pencil or typewritten. These books were called "volumes," and were numbered one to seventy-three. La Vallée Poussin – or Thomas and A.F. Thompson, the editors of his posthumous catalogue – refers to these volumes, in fact, in the survey of site numbers included in the 310 press-mark, which concludes with "unnumbered fragments bound in vols. 53 and 55." One such fragment can be seen below (Fig. 22), with its typewritten pagination and damage along the left margin attesting to its prior binding.

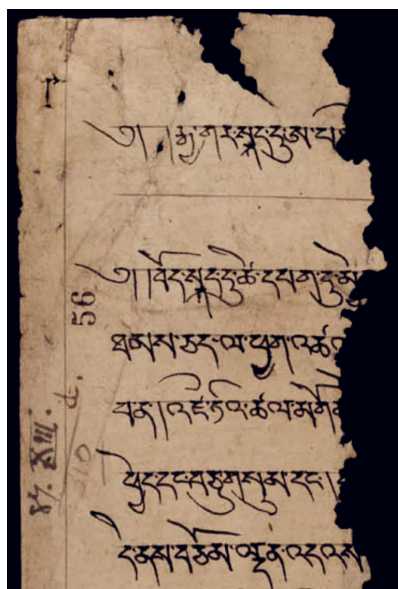


Fig. 22: Pagination and possible damage from binding (upper right) in leather-bound "volumes"; ITJ 310.1204; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

Whereas volumes one to seventy-three were bound in large cloth- and leather-bound books, other manuscripts were not bound in such books. This is clear from

the concordance at the end of La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue, which once again may have been F.W. Thomas’s work and that of A.F. Thompson, who prepared the catalogue for posthumous publication. The concordance gives the site numbers, pressmarks, and also “locations” of the manuscripts. Its only sentence of preliminary explanation states, “[n]umbers in location column refer to bound volumes, B indicates MSS. separately boxed.”⁵² Pressmark 310, notably, has “B” as its location. An undated typewritten inventory compiled by A.F. Thompson, who worked as assistant keeper at the India Office Library in the 1950s and 1960s, provides some further details. Headed “310: Contents of boxes 1–20,” it lists the site numbers kept in each of twenty boxes.⁵³ Next to the site number, in parentheses, it gives the number of rolls in each site number, which in many cases corresponds to a bundle. These correspond closely to those in La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue, but there are a few cases where Thompson’s inventory provides a number of rolls that was not provided in La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue. This demonstrates that the *Ap* copies were still in roll format when Thompson made her inventory in the late 50s or early 60s.

We have been unable to locate any conservation records or work orders relevant to the rolls’ trips to the bindery. It is certain that the *Ap* copies were in booklet format when Sam van Schaik began to catalogue them, as early as 1999. Given the modern conservationist’s ethic of minimal intervention, our initial assumption was that these rolls were bound as booklets several decades before this. The use of the butterfly-bound booklet, a Chinese format, is reminiscent of some of the practices current during an active period of conservation at the British Museum and the India Office Library from 1975 to 1982, when conservators were at pains to use Asian methods.⁵⁴ However, the information available to us points to a more recent date. Tsuguhito Takeuchi, who consulted thousands of Tibetan manuscripts at the India Office Library and at the British Library from 1988 to 1998 for his catalogue, *Old Tibetan Manuscripts from East Turkestan in the Stein Collection of the British Library*, states that the *Ap* copies were still in roll format at this time: “[t]here are also a considerable number of uncatalogued rolls, which are mostly *Aparimitāyurnāma* sutras.”⁵⁵ He goes on to state that among the Tibetan texts of the Stein collection from Dunhuang, “there exist bundles of wrapped scrolls...mostly *Aparimitāyur-nāma* sutras.”⁵⁶ Ulrich Pagel also recalls handling these sutra copies in roll format, and he made annotations on them as late as April 1997, prior to his departure from the

52 La Vallée Poussin 1962, 289.

53 We are grateful to Sam van Schaik for sharing this inventory with us.

54 Barnard 1996, 17.

55 Takeuchi 1998, vol. 2, xvi.

56 Takeuchi 1998, vol. 2, xx and xx, n. 33.

British Library in June of the same year.⁵⁷ The clear implication is that the *Ap* copies were stored in bundles even after they were numbered in Cambridge and London, and that they largely remained in boxes (“location B” in La Vallée Poussin’s concordance), probably for several decades, before being bound. It appears that binding took place between mid-1997 and 1999, though an earlier date cannot be entirely ruled out.

During World War II, most of the manuscripts of the Stein Collection were removed to Yorkshire in order to protect them. After the war, as a result of several years of work on the part of F.W. Thomas (who died in 1956) and the Assistant Keeper, A.F. Thompson, La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue was published in 1962. In 1967, the India Office Library moved to Orbit House, an air-conditioned, glass-walled building at 197 Blackfriars Road in London that included a 4,000 sq. ft. conservation department comprising a purpose-built repair room and bindery.⁵⁸ The India Office Library’s Stein Collection eventually found its way into the British Library, which was founded in 1973. This involved some back and forth and another period of intense conservation and cataloguing activity. The British Library housed many Stein manuscripts in its “Oriental Collection” (OC), which was moved into Orbit House in 1990 and 1991 to merge with the India Office Library’s Stein Collection in order to form the “Oriental and India Office Collections” (OIOC).⁵⁹ This merged collection moved to the British Library in 1998 and in around 2005 became part of the “Asia, Pacific and Africa Collections.”⁶⁰

Apart from a few rolls being photographed for microfilm, the bundles of *Ap* rolls seem to have gone largely undisturbed up until the 1990s, in preparation for their being transferred from the India Office Library to the British Library. From the information in La Vallée Poussin’s and Takeuchi’s catalogues, from A.F. Thompson’s inventory of boxes, and from the statements from Pagel and van Schaik mentioned above, it appears likely that it was amidst all of this activity, probably in 1998, that the *Ap* rolls were bound as booklets.

To transform these rolls of various lengths into booklets of uniform size, conservators separated a roll’s panels of paper from one another, folded the resulting loose leaves in half as bifolios, stacked three to six of these upon one another, and joined them at the spine with Kraft paper to create a 31.5 × 23 cm booklet. The Dunhuang papers were attached to the Kraft paper spine with a conservator’s adhesive such as wheat starch paste. Conservators also used Kraft paper to repair tears and

57 Personal communication, 10 Feb., 2023.

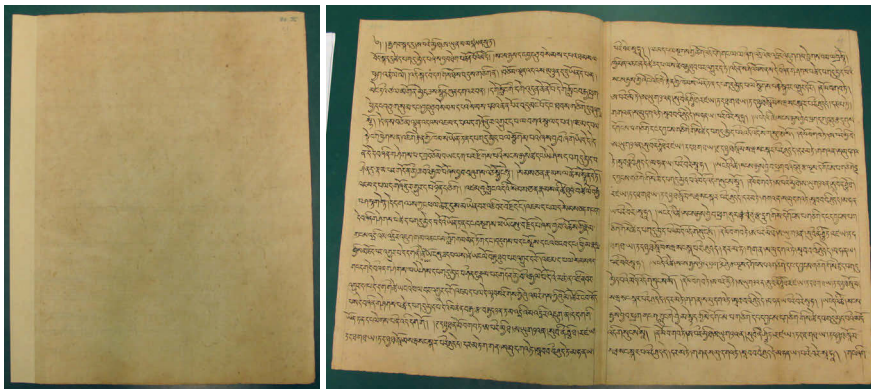
58 Lancaster 1966, 173; Lancaster 1969, 7–8.

59 Takeuchi 1998, xix.

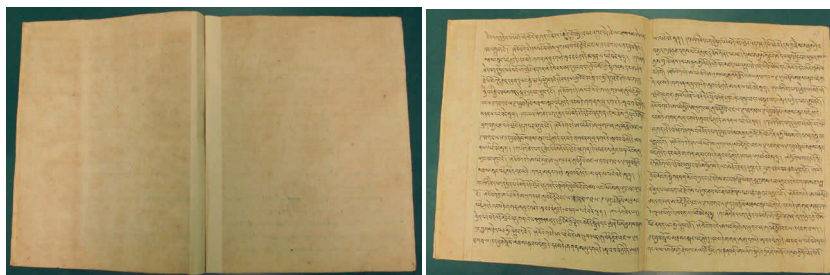
60 British Library 2006, 29.

damage and to bulk out the margins of those leaves that became uneven when folded or that measured less than 23 cm wide – thereby making each page in the booklet lie flush when closed. The rationale behind this intervention – besides a cultural bias for the codex format – was presumably that these booklets were easier to store and easier for readers to consult than a rolled-up mass of rolls in dozens of bundles or than over a thousand separately conserved rolls in their individual scroll boxes. Curators left one roll, ITJ 310.1, intact, presumably to bear witness to the original state of these documents. (Three other rolls, ITJ 310.1208, 1209, and 1210, were unintentionally preserved due to their having been apparently misplaced and then rediscovered, first in the 1920s and then in the early 2000s.)

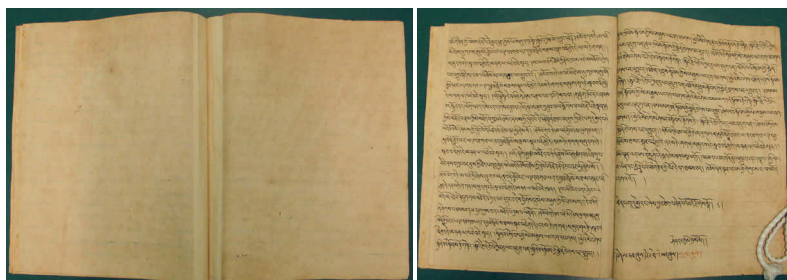
Binding these rolls into booklets, the curators created an object with a front cover and back cover, and with pages and a spine, thereby complicating how scholars and cataloguers describe these objects in light of their previous format as rolls. In addition, the curators' and binders' creation of multiple booklets out of individual, longer rolls, posed serious problems for cataloguers and how they approached the relationship between "item" and "text," or "item" and "manuscript." The photographic documentation of a single booklet, ITJ 310.295 (Fig. 23), is helpful for fully comprehending the transformation of these rolls into booklets.



Figs 23a and 23b: ITJ 310.295, page 1 (cover, originally the verso of the first half of the first panel of the roll, behind text column a) and pages 2–3 (originally the recto of the first panel of the roll, containing text columns a and b). Photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.



Figs 23c and 23d: ITJ 310.295, pages 4–5 (originally the verso of the second half of the first panel of the roll, behind text column b, and the verso of the first half of the second panel of the roll, behind text column c) and pages 6–7 (originally the recto of the second panel of the roll, containing text columns c and d). Photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.



Figs 23e and 23f: 23f: ITJ 310.295, pages 8–9 (originally the verso of the second half of the second panel of the roll, behind text column d, and the verso of the first half of the third panel of the roll, behind text column e) and pages 10–11 (originally the recto of the third and final panel of the roll, containing text columns e and f); note the colophon with scribes and editors. Photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

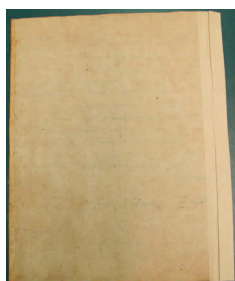


Fig. 23g: ITJ 310.295, page 12 (originally the verso of the second half of the third panel of the roll, behind text column f). Note the Kraft paper spine. Photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

Despite the changed format, it is possible to clearly see where the conservators separated the panels of the rolls (Fig. 24).



Fig. 24: ITJ 310.296; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

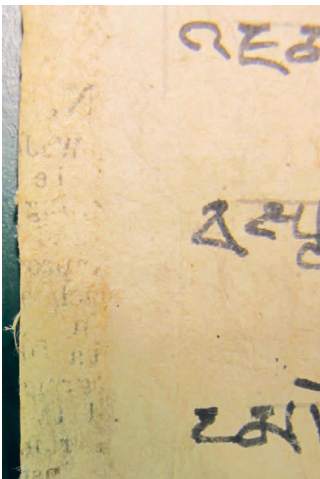


Fig. 25: What appears to be newsprint sucked onto the margin of ITJ 310.266, probably occurring when conservators unglued its panels; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

When the rolls were separated, the conservators did not cut the panels, but rather undid the original glue that had kept them together as rolls for more than a millennium. Whether achieved by humidification or by other means, the process is inadvertently recorded on the edges of some of the manuscripts. There, newsprint, or some form of printed text, was apparently sucked up by the ninth-century adhesive after the panels were decoupled (Fig. 25).⁶¹

Now in booklet format, the *Ap* copies could be more easily stored in red quadrangular boxes called “volumes.” These same types of boxes largely replaced the cloth- and leather-bound “volumes” one to seventy-three, whose leaves were unbound and stacked in the replacement boxes. The boxes retained the earlier designation as “volumes,” and new volumes (that is, new boxes), were created to house the manuscripts that hadn’t been bound in the cloth- and leather books, including the booklets of *Ap* copies.⁶² These go up to 122, but seventy-five to seventy-nine are not volumes but booklets, and 123 to 154 are scroll boxes. Looking at the volume numbers of the boxes in which the *Ap* copies are now kept, their numbers are almost all higher than seventy-three, and they go mostly from eighty-nine to 119. Additionally, in the case of Stein’s regular “library bundles,” each “volume” generally corresponds to what had been a single bundle of rolls. Thus Vol. 93 in Figs 26a and 26b below is in a sense the quadrangular version of what had been bundle 86.VII. *Ap* copies are now stacked, up to seventy-nine booklets deep, within such boxes.

Above, when introducing the numerators and denominators that La Vallée Poussin wrote onto every panel, we described the separation of the three-sutra roll with site number “73.XI.19” into three booklets of one sutra each, with pressmarks ITJ 310.1149, 1150, and 1151. This instance of binding followed a logic whereby each pressmark constituted one copy of the sutra. However, this logic of making one booklet equal one sutra, and thereby equating “item” with “text” such that three sutra copies equal three pressmarks, is an anomaly, since this is the only bundle for which the binders separated and bound multiple-sutra rolls with any attention to their textual contents. More often, binders and conservators split sutra copies across booklets. Each booklet was then viewed as an item and catalogued with its own pressmark. As a result, sutra copies – not just a “manuscript” or “item” in the sense of a roll, but also a “text” in the sense of a copy of the sutra – were split across pressmarks. The binding of the roll with the site number 73.IX.8, for example, like 73.XI.19, contained three sutra copies consisting of three panels of paper each. However, in this case, the binder divided these three sutra copies into two booklets. The first booklet, ITJ 310.1052, comprises four leaves/ sixteen pages, that is, all of the

⁶¹ Examples may be seen in the margins of ITJ 310.266, ITJ 310.279, and ITJ 310.717.

⁶² Dalton and van Schaik 2006, xix.



Figs 26a and 26b: Vol. 93, which contains fifty-four booklets bearing the pressmarks ITJ 310.136 to ITJ 310.189; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

first sutra copy and the first third of the second copy (“1/8” to “4/8” in La Vallée Poussin’s roll-and-panel numbering). The second booklet, ITJ 310.1053, comprises five leaves/ twenty pages, that is, the last two-thirds of the second sutra copy and the whole of the third copy (“5/8” to “9/8” in La Vallée Poussin’s roll-and-panel numbering). These two booklets were assigned the pressmarks ITJ 310.1052 and ITJ 310.1053. This, the most common method of binding three-sutra rolls, split a single roll into two booklets and divided three sutra copies between them. A standard cataloguing practice of providing incipits and explicits of each pressmark would therefore do nothing but sow confusion by implying that many of these pressmarks contained incomplete copies of the sutra. Another fairly common practice was to include two sutra copies in a single, thicker booklet of six leaves/ twenty-four pages.

If the anomalous binding of the rolls with site number 73.XI.19 (Vol. 119) represents a first attempt at binding, and one that respected the integrity of the sutra

copies, then one can speculate that efficiency came to be increasingly prized in subsequent trips to the bindery, meaning that sutra copies became split across pressmarks as just described, or else were bound two to a booklet. La Vallée Poussin's numbering was agnostic with respect to how the binders divided longer rolls between booklets; these were choices taken decades later at the British Library and/or the India Office Library in London.

1.4.1 Booklet numbers and cataloguing confusion

The binding of these rolls into booklets instigated the addition of yet another set of numbers to these manuscripts. These are also in pencil, but whereas La Vallée Poussin's penciled numbers describe the manuscripts in their state as rolls, the newer marks in pencil number the manuscripts after they were bound as booklets. This is most obvious when these numbers appear on the Kraft paper spines of the booklets. These booklet numbers are sometimes also written on the manuscripts' panels, usually in the upper corner of the first column's verso (first page/ cover of a booklet) or the corner of the last column's verso – (last page/ back cover of a booklet).

The booklet numbers are now essential for navigating these sutra copies, since they effectively stand in for “pressmarks,” e.g. “ITJ 310.190.” The “pressmarks” are not written on each copy. Rather, one uses the serial booklet numbers within the booklets stacked in each volume. To consult one of these sutra copies one must know the volume number in which a copy is kept. One knows, for example, that the first booklet in Vol. 94 is pressmark ITJ 310.190, that the second booklet is ITJ 310.191, and so on. In this sense, “ITJ 310” or “ITJ 310.190” is not a pressmark or a shelfmark in the usual sense, since it does not indicate where one can find a manuscript in a cabinet or on a shelf. It is rather a cataloguer's number, and it will not easily permit one to locate a manuscript without a concordance that gives the volume number and item number within a volume. The relevant volume numbers, together with site numbers, and “pressmarks,” are provided in our concordance in Appendix Two.

As with cases of non-correspondence between site numbers and roll numbers described above, booklet numbers also presented an opportunity to misnumber the manuscripts back to front. Such is the case for the fifty-five booklets in Vol. 94, housing what was once the thirty-five rolls of the mixed bundle 86.IX. These booklets are numbered one to fifty-five according to the numbers written in pencil on their front spines, but are also numbered inversely fifty-five to one based on the numbers on the upper right of the back of each booklet. The numbers on the front spines follow the same ascending order as La Vallée Poussin's roll numbers, whereas those on the versos follow an inverse order. The booklet numbers on the front

spines are underlined, and these were added by Sam van Schaik when he assigned pressmarks to these booklets in 2002.⁶³ The inverse booklet numbers on the back sides of these booklets were probably added earlier, presumably by someone who numbered the booklets when they were stacked upside-down, and who may have been ignorant of the direction of writing in Tibetan.

In other cases where we find inverse sets of booklet numbers in a single volume, neither set can claim to follow the earlier roll numbers. The fifty-one booklets in Vol. 111 (bundle 78.XII), for example, now follow the order numbered one to fifty-one on the spines of their covers, and not the inverse order of fifty-one to one penciled on their back covers, in the opposite corners. However, in this case the booklet numbers run roughshod over La Vallée Poussin's roll numbers. The bundle consisted of twenty-nine mostly multiple-sutra rolls. Once bound, the booklets were evidently shuffled out of order, such that if one looks at their roll numbers, these latter proceed 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 5, 7, 8, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 14, 15, 16, etc., to 29. The booklet numbers, meanwhile, proceed in an orderly fashion, numbering one to fifty-one, utterly masking the disorder they have created by so doing. These booklets were eventually assigned pressmarks based on these errant booklet numbers, a mistake that probably cannot be undone.

There are further cases where one set of penciled booklet numbers is struck through and replaced with another set, but where these do not follow an inverse order. The booklets in Vol. 105 (pressmarks ITJ 1617 to 1665), for instance, have two sets of numbers on the front of each booklet, with one set on the spine and the other set, whose numbers are struck through, in the upper right corner. These booklets were assigned pressmarks based on the set of booklet numbers written on the spine, which makes the struck-through booklet numbers look like a disordered jumble. Examining the struck-through booklet numbers, they are in fact a mess. There are two sets of twelves, thirteens, and fourteens. Worse, the first booklet, made from a three-sutra roll (now ITJ 1647), is one of the two booklet fourteens, and the second booklet from the same roll (now ITJ 1648) is booklet twenty. Whoever wrote the first set of booklet numbers, now struck through, made very obvious mistakes that the second set of booklet numbers sought to rectify. Alternatively, it may be that two stacks of booklets were somehow shuffled together. Site numbers 78.V and 78.VI are written on only three rolls, so the site numbers can only do so much here to remedy the confusion.

⁶³ Personal communication, Sam van Schaik, 11 Sept., 2014. Unfortunately, there is no log book or similar document that serves as a record of conservation at the India Office Library and at the British Library.

In other volumes, rolls have either disappeared or been wrongly inserted. In Vol. 96, for example, a red-and-white sticker mounted on brown paper on the booklet assigned the pressmark ITJ 310.300 gives the site number “86.XIII.4” and pressmark “310.” The writing on this sticker is in black ink as usual, but blue pencil adds “24,” referring to the number of rolls. Only this first roll in the bundle was assigned a site number. The roll numbering begins at four, proceeding through number twenty-four. Rolls one, two, and three appear to correspond to three rolls that escaped binding, and which were only assigned pressmarks by Sam van Schaik when he happened upon them in the early 2000s and gave them the last three sub-pressmarks in the 310 series: ITJ 310.1208, 1209, and 1210. That they belonged to this bundle is suggested by the fact that they are unedited copies of the A1 version of the sutra (on which, see below), by the scribes Be Hing tse, Yang Kog cung, and Khang Btsan bzher – the first two of whom scribed copies in Vol. 96/ bundle 86.XIII, and by the absence of three other likely candidates among the fifty rolls we have catalogued as “other copies and fragments.” If we are correct in assuming that these are indeed the first three rolls from bundle 86.XIII, then these three copies raise some further questions. They have no roll or panel numbers, and yet they must have been present in this bundle for La Vallée Poussin to begin numbering the next roll in the bundle “4,” rather than “1.”⁶⁴ Moreover, La Vallée Poussin stated that this bundle contained twenty-five rolls. This would not be the first time that he was off by one or two, and F.W. Thomas’s blue pencil rectifies this to “24.” Without its first three rolls, this number should be “21.” ITJ 310.1208 and 1209 also have curious diagonal cuts that removed large portions the lower right corners of each roll. Both also include ink stamps from the India Office Library dated 10 October 1929 (Fig. 27). ITJ 310.1210 has no stamp and its lower right corner was not cut away. When Sam van Schaik happened upon these rolls in the early 2000s, he added their new pressmarks in pencil adjacent to the stamps, and in the same area on ITJ 310.1210.

Of these three rolls, only ITJ 310.1208 has two site numbers, located in two places on the verso. One is in black ink, on the top right corner of the end of the verso, and reads “Chien. 0598”; the other is at the other end of the roll’s verso, in the opposite corner, in pencil and upside-down, and it appears to read “Chien. 0698.” The black site number may have been added by Stein himself. “Chien.” as opposed to “Ch.” was used as a prefix for the 600 or so items that Stein brought back from his subsequent expedition to Dunhuang in 1914.⁶⁵ If they are indeed from Stein’s 1914 expedition, then Chien. 0598 is one of the highest numbers in this sequence. It

⁶⁴ Given that these numbers were written in pencil, it is possible that they were erased.

⁶⁵ Stein wrote that he brought back 570 rolls, but he may have also included in this site number an additional forty-six or so items given to him; Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 65.

is unclear that these site numbers even went as high as Chien. 0698, which renders the latter number suspect.

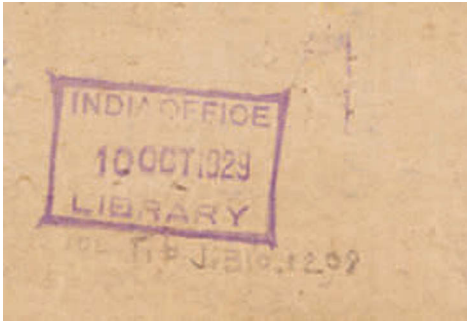


Fig. 27: Stamp and pressmark on the verso of ITJ 310.1208; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

The absence of stickers, pressmarks, and roll numbers, along with these cuts and stamps, and the dueling site numbers purporting to be from Stein's 1914 expedition on one of the manuscripts but not the others, are all rather mysterious. The date in the 1929 stamp might suggest that the three rolls were “rediscovered” or returned to the library at this date after having been mislaid or misappropriated. This could resolve how they came to be silently accounted for, yet skipped, in La Vallée Poussin's and Thomas's roll numbering, assuming that these are indeed the first three rolls from bundle 86.XIII. Perhaps it was unclear how to reintegrate them with the other manuscripts, and someone assumed that at least one of the three rolls came from the 1914 expedition and therefore assigned it what may have been the highest available number in that series at that time, i.e. in 1929 after Thomas had left the India Office Library. This does not resolve exactly how this may have happened, how they came to be cut, and where they were kept until Sam van Schaik happened upon them in the 2000s and assigned them pressmarks. That they evaded binding suggests that they were mislaid at least twice.

1.4.2 Cataloguing work to the present

A cataloguing effort from the late 1990s to the early 2000s produced the current catalogue, available electronically through the British Library and the International

Dunhuang Programme.⁶⁶ In preparation for this, Ulrich Pagel, the head of the Tibetan collection until summer 1997, went through many of the manuscripts. He left records of two of his interventions concerning *Ap* copies. One is found as an annotation to a red-and-white curator's sticker on the spine of the first booklet in Vol. 118, pressmark ITJ 310.1083 (Fig. 28). As usual, the sticker gives the site number (in this case Ch.73.XVI, with a fainter "1-64" added in pencil) and the pressmark (310). There is also a blue annotation, probably by Thomas, giving the number of rolls as "64." Here a large X has been made over the whole sticker in pencil, and "U.P. 30.4.97" has been added in pencil by Ulrich Pagel, claiming and dating his rejection of this sticker's information.⁶⁷ There is a second red-and-white sticker in the middle of the front cover, which gives the site number "Ch.73.X.1-38." This has been left to stand, and Vol. 118's thirty-eight booklets of single-sutra copies all bear serial site numbers 73.X.1 to 73.X.38.

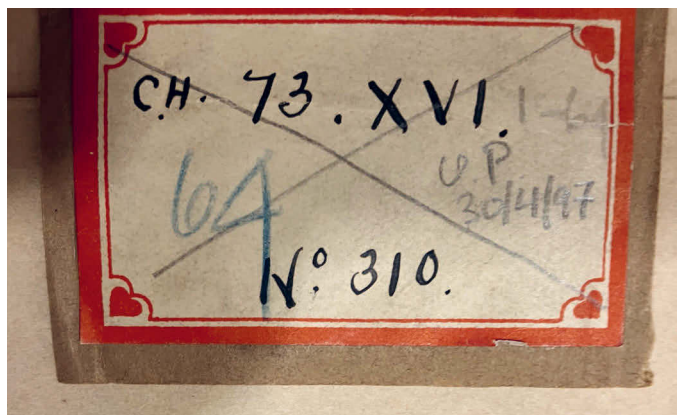


Fig. 28: Red-and-white curator's sticker with Ulrich Pagel's dated annotations, ITJ 310.1083; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

The inverse, or other half of this intervention is found in an almost identical note on the red-and-white curator's sticker on the spine of the second booklet in Vol. 113, pressmark ITJ 310.971. Here a large X has been made over the whole sticker in

⁶⁶ <<http://idp.bl.uk/>> (accessed 13 Sept. 2023).

⁶⁷ As noted above, Pagel recalls these manuscripts being in roll format when he worked with them. If this is accurate, then he would have annotated this sticker prior to binding, when it was stuck to the roll itself. After binding, this, like many other stickers, would have been relocated to the booklet's spine.

pencil, the site number “ch 73.X.1-38” has been crossed out, and another site number “73.XVI.2” has been left to stand. As before, Pagel helpfully dated his intervention “30/4/97,” and wrote his initials, “U.P.” Like the rolls in bundle 73.X, the rolls in this bundle also bear serial site numbers from 73.XVI.1 to 73.XVI.64, so it is not immediately clear how the rolls or booklets of the one bundle or volume could be mistaken for those of the other and so mislabeled. Pagel, as noted above, recalls these manuscripts still being in roll format when he worked with them. To add to this simple confusion of swapping the labels of two bundles/ volumes, there is a notecard on the top of Vol. 113 that states, “Ch.73.XV + 79.XIII ⁵.” This note, already discussed above, may be irrelevant to this volume’s contents, given that we have found note cards in one volume that in fact describe the contents of another volume.

From 1999 to 2002, Sam van Schaik was faced with the task of sorting through this unruly mass of booklets and fragments, and assigning pressmarks and sub-pressmarks to each. His most common intervention seems to have been to renumber the booklets when they had been erroneously numbered back to front, perhaps by binders or staff who were ignorant of the direction of Tibetan writing. He was also faced with more difficult problems, such as that posed by Vol. 114/ bundle 73.XVII. As described above, La Vallée Poussin numbered this bundle’s rolls backwards in relation to the serial site numbers, which proceed Ch.73.XVII.1 to Ch.73.XVII.29. A note, probably from F.W. Thomas, rests atop the booklets in this volume, and states, “N.B. 73.XVII now in bundle in Stein order – check Poussin’s pagination if copies are ever bound!” In this case van Schaik chose to follow La Vallée Poussin, and added a note alongside F.W. Thomas’s: “changed from Stein’s order to Poussin’s order (SvS, 7/2/02).”

Cataloguers, curators, and binders made an effort to follow the order of La Vallée Poussin’s roll numbers, as we have seen in the note about the inverse numbers in Vol. 114. For his part, La Vallée Poussin mostly followed the site numbers, with occasional lapses, as documented above. However, there is no rule that a cataloguer’s pressmarks must take account of the manuscripts’ site numbers and the sequences they record. It is certainly true, for example, that Giles’s numbering of the Chinese *Ap* copies largely ignored the sequencing of the site numbers. To take three site numbers from the same bundle as an example, Giles numbered as 4890, 4891, and 4892 the multiple-sutra-rolls of *Ap* copies with the site numbers 79.IX.13, 79.IX.20, and 79.IX.4, respectively. These were later assigned pressmarks S.1836, S.1837, and S.1838. So, while it may be ideal that the pressmarks should reflect La Vallée Poussin’s roll numbers, which in turn should reflect the site numbers where they are given serially, this is probably an unrealistic standard. In any case it was not achieved. What matters most is that the manuscripts have been kept together

and catalogued in a way that preserves the integrity of the bundles, and the rough equation of volume with bundle has achieved this.

As mentioned already, La Vallée Poussin intended that the roll-format Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies should all be given the 310 pressmark. Thus excluded were at least two Tibetan *Ap* copies from Dunhuang, ITJ 308 (Fig. 33) and ITJ 478, which are folia from the same manuscript, and ITJ 309. These are in *pothī* format and therefore were almost certainly not commissioned as part of the sutra-copying project that produced the thousands of roll-format *Ap* copies. Sam van Schaik catalogued 1,210 sub-pressmarks within the 310 pressmark, from ITJ 310.1 to ITJ 310.1210. By the logic that this pressmark was reserved for Tibetan *Ap* copies in roll format, two pressmarks in this sequence are miscatalogued: ITJ 310.59 is the *Heart Sutra*, and ITJ 310.1207 is an invocation to Amitābha.⁶⁸ More numerous are *Ap* copies that were intended for this pressmark but to which van Schaik assigned separate pressmarks. These amount to over one hundred *Ap* copies, including pressmarks ITJ 930, 1234, 1235, 1488, 1489, 1497, 1499–1501, 1569, 1588–1600, 1602–1615, and 1617–1716. The last, largest group comprises two volumes (105 and 114) that include three bundles of *Ap* (78.V, 78.VI, and 73.XVII), and which bear red-and-white stickers with the 310 pressmark, as described above. For whatever reason – perhaps because La Vallée Poussin did not list them in his catalogue entry – van Schaik did not assign the ITJ 310 pressmark to these *Ap* copies.

In cataloguing the Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies, van Schaik faced a difficulty that cataloguers of the Chinese *Ap* copies did not. We noted above that Giles made little effort to follow the sequencing of the site numbers when he assigned numbers/pressmarks to items in his catalogue. However, Giles and subsequent cataloguers often had the advantage of cataloguing each item with its own number, whether that item were a single-sutra roll or a roll of multiple *Ap* copies, and where that item's format had not been transformed by curators' interventions. Due to the binding of the Tibetan *Ap* rolls, however, the equation of "item" – in the sense of one roll – with pressmark was less straightforward. We noted above that La Vallée Poussin's numbering of the rolls was agnostic with respect to how the binders divided longer rolls between booklets. Similarly, the creation of these new items (booklets) from old items (rolls) did not mandate that they be catalogued in such a way as to obscure the relationship between one or more booklets that had previously been joined in a single roll. This is precisely what happened, however, when each booklet was catalogued separately with its own pressmark. Their pressmarks give no indication, for example, that ITJ 310.492 (a booklet containing 1.33 sutra copies) and ITJ 310.493 (a booklet containing 1.66 sutra copies) were originally the

68 For a translation and discussion of the latter, see Halkias 2013, 75–83.

same item (roll). The booklet thus replaced the roll not only physically through binding, but as the fundamental unit by which these sutra copies were catalogued.

Whatever its shortcomings, the cataloguing of the Tibetan *Ap* copies is what has made scholars' requisition and consultation of these manuscripts possible, and van Schaik is to be applauded for succeeding in assigning pressmarks to this unwieldy body of sutra copies where others failed. The decision to bind these rolls as booklets can be understood as a culturally insensitive and Eurocentric form of conservation. At the same time, having spent a decade consulting both Chinese rolls of *Ap* copies and Tibetan booklets of *Ap* copies, we must admit that our multiple consultations of almost 1,500 booklets of Tibetan *Ap* copies would have taken us even longer to accomplish if these manuscripts were conserved as rolls. The unrolling and rerolling of rolls also leads to more wear and damage than does flipping through a booklet. This is not to endorse the transformation of these rolls into booklets, but only to offer something more than a one-sided view of this intervention, and to acknowledge that it undeniably benefited our (admittedly slow) pace of research.

1.5 Conclusions

We did not set out to write a detailed history of the conservation and cataloguing of the Stein Collection's Tibetan *Ap* copies. Indeed, if that were our intention, then this sketch of conservation history falls well short, given that there are archival records in London, Oxford, and Cambridge that might allow for more precision about the work carried by Ridding, La Vallée Poussin, Thomas, and others. Our principal aim was rather to document these sutra copies. It was through our decision to record not just ninth-century data (colophons, explicits, etc.) but also twentieth-century data (site numbers, roll numbers, curator's stickers, etc.) that we came to understand that the latter reveal certain crucial facts about the former. Most importantly, the bundle emerged as the single most important unit for making sense of these sutra copies, both in their genesis in Dunhuang, and also in their subsequent storing, conserving, and cataloguing in London. Our insight into the meaning of the site numbers that grace the vast majority of *Ap* copies in the Stein Collection was critical, and bears recapitulating: a site number such as "78.V.1" indicates the number of the roll ("1") within a bundle of manuscripts ("V") that lay alongside around a dozen other such bundles within a crate ("78"). Once we widened our gaze to view the Stein Tibetan *Ap* copies at the level of the bundle, we perceived twenty-six bundles of *Ap* rolls split evenly into two types. There were thirteen bundles of mostly edited copies of the sutra in single-sutra rolls, largely employing the B1 version of the sutra; and there were thirteen bundles of unedited copies, often in multiple-sutra rolls, largely employing the A1 version of the sutra.

We discuss these and other versions in Chapter Two, and in Chapter Three we propose a hypothesis about how these two types of bundles reflect two stages of the sutra-copying project.

It was through this emphasis on the bundle, and the order of rolls within the bundle, that we came to perceive some of the rough edges in conservation and cataloguing, such as when manuscripts were shuffled or misplaced. The site numbers, roll numbers, booklet numbers, and annotations left on the manuscripts tell a tale of many hands at work from 1907 to 2002, not always in agreement with one another. Methods of assigning site numbers ranged from the desultory marking of the first and last roll in a bundle to the serial numbering of every roll within a bundle. The latter method is most helpful for us in attempting to move towards comprehending the original state of the rolls within their bundles, but it also reveals instances where La Vallée Poussin numbered the rolls backwards. La Vallée Poussin's roll numbers similarly lay bare the few cases where, after binding, the booklets were shuffled and misnumbered.

While these observations are secondary to our main aim of documenting the sutra copies, they are perhaps valuable for others working with the Stein Collection, since we have been able to offer some insights into the cataloguing and conservation processes in London and Cambridge, and to demonstrate how and why certain site numbers were used. We have worked very much in the same vein as previous scholars who have taken on the task of making sense of this vast body of sutra copies, by taking stock of their work, and by trying to make sense of it. The infelicities or mistakes that we have found are surely the result of working with such an unwieldy body of manuscripts; it was no accident that these sutra copies evaded cataloguing for so long. The sheer size – and some would say monotony – of this collection of sutra copies has the disadvantage of seeming to invite errors at all stages in its life cycle, from scribing and editing in Dunhuang to documenting and cataloguing in Cambridge and London. Such errors are usually small, though, and these are outweighed by the advantages that can be gained from looking at the sutra copies from the vantage point of larger units such as bundles. Our augmented catalogue makes it possible to navigate the collection by roll number and by site number, so as to travel back through the history of these sutra copies' conservation to see relationships between these manuscripts that have been partly occluded by their having been bound and catalogued as booklets. Besides bringing together valuable data about the Tibetan *Ap* copies, it also furnishes a cross-section of a significant body of the Stein Collection, and a window into practices of documentation and conservation.

2 Transmitting *Limitless Life*

“I have added a full Apparatus Criticus in order to make it superfluous in future to compare the manuscripts of this dull text.”
Sten Konow, “The *Aparimitāyuh Sūtra*,” 293–294

The *Mahāyāna Sūtra of [the Buddha of] Limitless Life* is often copied, commissioned, chanted, and worshipped in order to ensure health and extend life. The sūtra emphasizes the virtues and benefits that one accrues by copying it, commissioning it, chanting it, having it chanted, making offerings to it, keeping it in one’s dwelling, and so forth. These benefits also accrue by writing or hearing the “names” of the sūtra’s central Buddha, who is variously known as Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścita-(tejo)rāja, Aparimitāyus, and Amitāyus. These “names,” sometimes said to number 108, are vaguely understood to reference the *dhāraṇī*, which is repeated over and over in the paragraphs of the sūtra. In entreating its users, the sūtra sometimes switches between enumerating the benefits of copying the sūtra, and enumerating the benefits of copying the *dhāraṇī*. This is to blur the line somewhat between the sūtra and the *dhāraṇī*, or else to see the latter as a synecdoche or a distillation of the former. Extending this to the sūtra’s central Buddha, whose “names” constitute the *dhāraṇī*, and who might be considered an embodiment of the *dhāraṇī*, one arrives at the familiar and loose equation of sūtra with Buddha.

Apart from being loosely equated with one another, all three – the Buddha Amitāyus, the *Sūtra of Limitless Life*, and the *dhāraṇī* – also have their independent lives apart from one another. the Buddha Amitāyus joins White Tārā and Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā as longevity deities,¹ and the *dhāraṇī* or a component of it is transmitted independently and in various forms in manuscripts and inscriptions. There are also various forms of the Buddha Amitāyus and of his *dhāraṇī*.² This sort of fluidity could be said to extend to the sūtra itself. Although it has been “canonized” in the Tibetan *Bka’ ’gyur*, even there it is notable for appearing in three versions. These “versions” are largely identical, but the manuscript record of this sūtra shows a great degree of fluidity with respect to its contents in terms of the number of paragraphs, the form of the *dhāraṇī*, and the structure of the verses. This is apparent from the ninth-century Tibetan and Chinese Dunhuang copies and also from various extant Sanskrit manuscripts dating from the fourteenth century to the present.

1 See, for example, Samuel 2012.

2 See the four forms of Amitāyus described in Willson and Brauen 2000, 285–286.

Besides being called on for long life and protection, the sutra, the *dhāraṇī*, and the Buddha of Limitless Life are also prescribed in the context of many tantric practices as a corrective against the dangers that these can pose to one's well being. This is especially true of practices such as "transference" (*'pho ba*), which are thought to have the potential to reduce one's lifespan. This is congruent with the more common appeal to this sutra, this *dhāraṇī*, and this Buddha on behalf of one's own flagging health or that of one's close relatives, lamas, etc. In addition, the purported benefits are such that it is used not only for the ailing or the aged, but also on behalf of the deceased to secure for them a pleasant rebirth.

This sutra, *dhāraṇī*, and Buddha therefore can be said to have an almost universal appeal, both to the elite tantric practitioner and to the child of a sick or aging parent, and both to the living and to the dead. Its relative brevity, along with its injunction to produce more copies in order to spread its benefits and to sanctify and protect the places where it is copied, recited, and kept, accounts for its ubiquity across the Buddhist world. Indeed the *Sutra of Limitless Life* is found in all the languages of Mahāyāna Buddhism, with new translations being produced right up to the present day.³

The sutra begins with the obligatory "thus have I heard," and introduces a setting in the groves of Anāthapiṇḍada, in the Jetavana in Śrāvastī. There, the Buddha preaches to Mañjuśrī and to the 1,250 assembled monks and bodhisattvas about the perfected Buddha Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścita(tejo)rāja, who oversees a Buddha realm known as Aparimita-guṇa-saṃcaya. The Buddha preaches the virtues of writing, copying, reciting, and worshipping the text that praises Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścita(tejo)rāja's virtues, and of remembering and reciting the 108 syllables of his name – apparently identical with the *dhāraṇī*, though, as we shall see, numerically problematic. Hundreds of millions of Buddhas – in descending numbers from 990,000,000 to 250,000,000 – recite the sutra in unison. The bulk of the sutra then presents the manifold benefits of copying, sponsoring, keeping, and worshipping the text. The Buddha enumerates these one after another, with the *dhāraṇī* punctuating each one as if to validate and ensure it. Among these benefits, devotees shall extend their lives to a full span of one hundred years, live free from accident and untimely death, never be reborn as a woman, or in a lower realm. Furthermore, they shall preserve the teachings of the Buddha, receive absolution from the most heinous acts, be protected by the four guardian kings, and be reborn in Amitābha's pure land of Sukhāvātī. Near its end the text then shifts to verse, dedicating a quatrain to each of the six perfections. The sutra closes with the gathered multitude either rejoicing at the Buddha's teaching or else taking it to heart, and

³ For example, Roberts and Bower 2021a; Roberts and Bower 2021b.

with a statement that the *Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra* is complete. This may be followed by a scribal colophon giving the name of the scribe, and, when applicable, an editorial colophon with the name(s) of the editor(s).

Some of the oldest extant copies of this sutra come from Dunhuang, and they are found in various formats. The sutra is found both on its own and in compilations alongside other texts. Some copies include colophons that reveal the purposes behind their being commissioned. A *pothi*-format compilation of texts dedicated to a councilor named 'Ba Tse syong, for example, which includes a copy of the Tibetan *Ap*, has a colophon that reads, "This was commissioned as a ritual service for the body of the great political councilor and patron 'Ba' Tse syong. May he be endowed with all excellent life and vitality!" (*\$/ /yon bdag chab srid kyi blon po chen po 'ba' tse syong gi sku rim gror bzhengs gsol pa lags/ tshe dbang thams cad phun sum tshogs pa dang ldan bar gyur cig/*; PT 98, f. 47).⁴ Another compilation text, in concertina format, also includes a copy of the Tibetan *Ap*. It was commissioned by the monk Tru 'hu Rin chen, and its colophon states, "by the power of the merit generated from creating the [*Sutra of Limitless Life*, I pray that my previously deceased mother and father may be reborn in a higher realm" (*tshe dpag myed pzhengs sol/ pa'I sod nams gyis stops gyis . . . (l. 4) pha pha dang/ ma snga raps das pa yang mto rIs gyi gnas su skye par smon*; ITJ 463).⁵

Such universal concerns as these appealed not only to councilors and monks, but also to rulers. This, and perhaps the Tibetan emperor's own health problems, possibly accounts for the commissioning of thousands of copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* in both Tibetan and Chinese as a gift for the Tibetan emperor.⁶ Besides the individual benefits that it might offer the ailing ruler, the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, like the largest Tibetan and Chinese *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies that were commissioned for this same Tibetan emperor in the horse year 826, offers collective benefits through its claims to sanctify and protect the place where it is copied, recited, or kept. It also claims to benefit those who read or hear its verses, extending even to animals who hear it recited.⁷ As such, the sutra might also be understood in the context of Tibet's engagement with the more widespread phenomena that are debated under the rubrics of "state-protection Buddhism" and the "Buddhist cult of the book."

4 On the final colophon to this text, see van Schaik 2016, 301–302.

5 Transliterated in Dalton and van Schaik 2006, 208.

6 The *Xin Tangshu* states that, "during his reign of about thirty years, [he] was sick and unable to attend to business, and the government was in the hands of the chief ministers"; Bushell 1880, 522; Pelliot 1961, 133. For a very brief discussion of the issue, see Richardson 1981.

7 This is treated in greater detail in Chapter Three's discussion of the possible reasons for copying these sutras.

Rock inscriptions near Jyekundo in eastern Tibet, possibly dating to the first few decades of the ninth century, give us some idea of how Tibetans understood the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. In these rock inscriptions at Leb khog possibly commissioned during the reign of Khri Lde srong brtsan (c.800–815), one finds the *dhāraṇī* carved onto a rock wall near images of the Buddhas Vairocana and Maitreya. Below this, a dedicatory verse offers a candid summary (*mdo tsam*) of contemporary ideas about the sutra’s and/or the *dhāraṇī*’s purpose:

If you recite and [*illegible*] this *mantra*, it will extend life and remove sins. The gods will also protect you. In your next life, you shall not be born in a lower realm, and shall not be born in female form. You shall be reborn wherever you wish, in the Buddha realm of Aparimita-guṇa-saṃcaya and so on. You shall obtain the power of recollection of past and future lives. You shall prostrate and offer to the Buddhas of the ten directions. Reciting this is to recite the 84,000 collections of the dharma. There are indeed many more benefits besides, and here is written only a summary.

sngags 'di [x]la[x xx] t[x xx] mchod na/ tshe ring / sdiḡ 'byang/ thas kyang bsrung bar 'gyur/ [tshe] phyi ma la ngan song du myI skye/ bud med gyi lus su [skly[e] myI 'gyur// sangs rgyas gyI zhing yon tan dpag du myed pa stsogs pa dang [x]n s[x] pa gar 'dod [x]r skye 'o/ / tshe snga phyi dran ba thob par 'gyur/ phyogs bcu'I [xx xx] phyag byas shing mchod par 'gyur/ 'di plags na chos kyi phung po stong [phrag brgyad] cu rtsa [b]zhI plags par 'gyur ro/ gzhan yang yo+n tan mang mod [g]yi/ 'dtr ni mdo tsam brIs so.⁸

This summary evokes many of the statements found in the *Sutra of Limitless Life* itself. As a sort of “digest” of the sutra, this inscription offers us a window into the concerns of those who carved it and how they understood this mantra/ *dhāraṇī* to address these concerns. The foregrounding not only of long life but also of the “removal of sins” is intriguing in the context of the late Tibetan Empire. It is reminiscent of the Buddhist temples that Tibetan generals built after their campaigns, as part of a process of purification and expiation for the sins of battle.⁹ In the context of the thousands of copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* commissioned for the Tibetan emperor, it is tempting to see these not only as potentially healing his ailing body, but also as a salve for the Tibetan Empire’s body politic in the wake of decades of war that had been paused by treaties in the early 820s with the Tang, Uyghurs, and Nanzhao.¹⁰

⁸ Based on the rubbing – and in consultation with the transliteration – published in Qinghai Provincial Institute of Cultural Heritage and Archaeology 2017, 114–115 and in Zhang 2022. See also the earlier transliteration in Pa sangs dbang 'dus and Don grub phun tshogs 2011, 122–123.

⁹ See e.g. Kapstein 2009, 45 on the prayers commemorating the construction of De ga g.yu tshal Temple, found in PT 16 and ITJ 751.

¹⁰ For further historical context, see Kapstein 2009.

2.1 Versions of *Limitless Life* at Dunhuang

The *Sutra of Limitless Life* is a fluid text with a fluid *dhāraṇī*. This is clear from the wide degree of variation among the thousands of manuscript copies in Tibetan, Chinese, and Sanskrit. It is only the inclusion of the sutra in Tibetan and Chinese canons, and the production of a critical edition in the early twentieth century, that gives the false impression of a fixed text. The *Sutra of Limitless Life* is one of the most ubiquitous Mahāyāna sutras, and has been translated into most of the languages spoken by Mahāyāna Buddhists. There are two slightly differing Tibetan canonical versions in the Tibetan *Bka' gyur*: Toh. 674 (and the nearly identical Toh. 849), and Toh. 675. The former is generally thought to be an eleventh- or twelfth-century translation from the Sanskrit. Similarly, there are two different Chinese versions in the Taishō Canon. The first of the two Chinese canonical translations, T.936, is attributed to Wu Facheng, alias 'Go Chos grub (d. c. 864), the famous Sino-Tibetan translator who was active in Dunhuang and Ganzhou. However, as pointed out by Daishun Ueyama, there is no extant colophon that states that Facheng was the translator, so this attribution appears to be pure speculation.¹¹ The other Chinese canonical version, T.937, whose late-tenth-century translation is attributed to Fatian, uses a different *dhāraṇī* and has a significantly different title.¹² The *dhāraṇī* also has a transmission history of its own, and it can be found inscribed on rock faces and pillars throughout the Buddhist world. The differing forms of the *dhāraṇī*, in concert with the differing versions of the sutra, are part of what makes the transmission of this sutra both fascinating and vexing.

As the earliest extant copies of the complete sutra, the Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* are central to the study of its transmission. Among the Dunhuang manuscripts are Khotanese, Chinese, and Tibetan versions of the sutra. In 1916, Sten Konow made an edition and translation from the Khotanese *pothī*-format leaves that were later assigned pressmarks from IOL Khot 60 (Fig. 29) to IOL Khot 64.¹³ Konow also produced a Sanskrit edition that drew on four manuscripts in his critical apparatus. In the same year Walleser published a critical edition and translation into German from the Sanskrit.¹⁴ Konow also drew on both Tibetan

¹¹ Ueyama 1990, 438.

¹² The title specifies that this is a “*dhāraṇī* sutra”: 佛說大乘聖無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經.

¹³ The leaves all have the same site number, Ch.XLVI.0015, but are spread over five pressmarks. IOL Khot 60/1–4: fols. 1–4; IOL Khot 61/1–4: fols. 5–8; IOL Khot 62/1–4: fols. 9–12; IOL Khot 63/1–4: fols. 13–16; IOL Khot 64/1–4: fols. 17–20; see Skjærvø 2002, 298. Konow also used a leaf of another manuscript, IOL Khot 56/2, which overlapped from the complete manuscript's 7v4 to 8r3, in his edition; Skjærvø 2002, 296.

¹⁴ Walleser 1916.

canonical versions of the sutra and on two Tibetan Dunhuang copies as comparanda for his edition. Unfortunately, he did not record the site numbers of the Dunhuang *Ap* copies, but we have been able to identify one of them based on his description and our documentation.¹⁵



Fig. 29: Folio of Khotanese Dunhuang *Ap* copy, IOL Khot 60/1; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

A second Dunhuang Khotanese copy of the *Ap* was discovered in a multiple-text manuscript, S.2471, and Duan Qing completed an edition based on the two copies in 1992.¹⁶ Duan dated both to the tenth century, with the *pothi*-format manuscript being the later, and found that neither were influenced by the officially produced Chinese or Tibetan copies from Dunhuang.¹⁷ Duan also produced another Sanskrit “edition” by simply collating those of Konow and Walleser.

In drawing on Tibetan Dunhuang copies of the *Ap* in his edition, Konow failed to appreciate that not all copies used the same version of the sutra. In 1962, Akira Fujieda and Daishun Ueyama noticed while studying Tibetan *Ap* copies kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France that the sutra copies do not all use the same version of the *dhāraṇī*. Some use a longer form, which they dubbed “type A,” and others use a shorter form of the *dhāraṇī*, which they referred to as “type B.”¹⁸ From the

¹⁵ The first copy cannot be identified based on his description, but the second one can be identified as ITJ 1590. Konow dubs them T¹ and T², and describes each. T¹ is apparently an edited, four-panel, eight-column copy of eighteen lines/ column, with the name Bam Stag slebs in the scribal colophon. If there is an editors’ colophon Konow did not record it. No manuscript in our survey matches this description. The closest are ITJ 310.348, which is however unedited, and has seven columns of nineteen lines/ column, and seven lines on its final column; and ITJ 310.345, which is edited, but has seven columns of text and nineteen lines/ column. T² is apparently a three-panel, six-column copy of nineteen lines/ column with the name ’Go Mdo brtsan in its scribal colophon and the editors’ Shin dar, Sgron ma (mistranscribed Ston ma), and Chos brtan (mistranscribed Chos hdun) in the editors’ colophon. This can only be ITJ 1590. See Konow 1916, 294–295.

¹⁶ Duan 1992.

¹⁷ Duan 1992, 21.

¹⁸ Fujieda and Ueyama 1962, 354–355.

1990s to the present, several scholars have attended to the Chinese and Tibetan Dunhuang copies of the sutra, and have found differences not only in the *dhāraṇī*, but also in the sutra itself.¹⁹ Fang Guangchang’s catalogue of Dunhuang manuscripts kept at the National Library in Beijing, for example, identifies the most common Chinese version of the sutra at Dunhuang, identical with T.936, as “version A” (甲本). Apart from this, there is an “alternative version A” (異甲本, represented by, e.g. BD03334) and a “version B” (乙本, represented by, e.g. BD06348).²⁰ We discuss these below in our typology of different Chinese, Tibetan, Sanskrit, and Khotanese versions of the sutra.

The vast majority – but not all – of the Tibetan copies of the sutra from Dunhuang represent just one version of the text. That is to say, they have the same structure, and have nearly identical language. Only their *dhāraṇīs* differ in being either type A or type B. However, there are some rare Tibetan versions from Dunhuang with different structures and/or different language. Given the predominance of the one version, and inheriting Fujieda and Ueyama’s terminology, which has been adopted by subsequent scholars, we refer to this dominant Tibetan version as “A1” and “B1,” where the letter indicates the *dhāraṇī* and the number indicates the version of the text based on its structure. We explore five types of the *dhāraṇī* before discussing five versions of the sutra. These are in no way exhaustive, and our typology is specific to our sample.

As comparanda, we consider inscriptions and paper copies of the sutra, often in other formats, that were not among those copied as a gift for the Tibetan emperor in the 820s. We bracket translations into other languages such as Tangut, and draw sparingly on existing Sanskrit and Khotanese editions. The Sanskrit “editions,” in particular, are highly problematic, and should not be taken to represent a unitary Sanskrit “version” of the text against which to compare Tibetan, Chinese, and Khotanese versions. Konow’s *editio princeps* relied on four manuscripts, none older than the seventeenth century, all of which were in fact copied for him by Hoernle.²¹ Three of the four were held in the Cambridge University Library and closely agreed, with only a Nepalese paper manuscript (Konow’s “B”) offering significant variant readings. Walleser’s ‘edition’ is largely based on a single manuscript, possibly dating to the seventeenth century, which he purchased in Darjeeling, and which is

¹⁹ The most recent and lucid of these studies is Zhang 2022.

²⁰ Fang 2013. See also Zhang 2022, 716–717.

²¹ These are 1) No. B. 38 in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta; 2) MS Add. 1277 at Cambridge University Library, dated to the seventeenth or eighteenth century; 3) MS Add. 1385 at Cambridge University Library, dated to 1659 CE; 4) MS Add. 1623 at Cambridge University Library, dated to 1700.

very similar to the Cambridge manuscripts used by Konow. Walleser drew lightly on, but apparently did not have access to, the Nepalese manuscript that Konow called “B,” and in his edition he emended the Sanskrit based on readings in the Tibetan canonical versions. Duan, as mentioned above, simply collated Konow’s and Walleser’s editions. While useful as points of reference, none of these “editions” form a firm foundation upon which to make any conclusions about the transmission of the sutra in Sanskrit. A cursory perusal of a few other Sanskrit manuscript versions, none of which pre-date the thirteenth century, is sufficient to reveal the hubris in Konow’s proclamation in this chapter’s epigraph that he had effectively closed the book on this sutra.

These thousands of sutra copies are, as ever, unwieldy, and new discoveries and old oversights will probably continue to emerge. This has as much to do with the difficulties these sutra copies pose to researchers as it does with the difficulties they posed to the ninth-century translators, scribes, and editors, whose context in Dunhuang may have produced the different versions of the sutra that we examine here. We describe the state of affairs by attending first to the *dhāraṇī*, then to the structure and content of the sutra in its various Dunhuang versions. In doing so, we foreground the ninety-nine percent of Tibetan copies in roll format, nearly all of which were commissioned for the Tibetan emperor, and draw sparingly on the Chinese copies, also in roll format, also commissioned for the emperor. As such, this is by no means an exhaustive study, but only a contribution to the early transmission and translation of the sutra during the first half of the ninth century, with occasional glances forward into Tibetan and Chinese canonical versions.

2.1.1 Types of the *dhāraṇī* of the Buddha of Limitless Life

We use the term *dhāraṇī* to refer to the string of Sanskrit syllables that is repeated scores of times in this sutra. Such spells are relevant to the categories of mantra and *vidyā*, and they go back at least two thousand years in Indian religious tradition.²² In ninth-century Dunhuang, people referred to this string of syllables as an incantation/ spell (*zhou* 咒), a mantra (*sngags*), and a *dhāraṇī* (*tuoluoni*). Text internally, the Tibetan Dunhuang versions of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* refer to these syllables as the names (*mtshan*) of the Buddha Amitāyus and as “mantric verses” (*sngags gyi tshigs*). The dominant Chinese version precedes each instance of these syllables with the phrase, “the *dhāraṇī* says” (*tuoluoni yue* 陀羅尼曰). A variant Chinese version (S.147, BD03334) refers text-internally to the sutra as the “*Dhāraṇī*

22 See Davidson 2009.

of *Limitless Life*” (*Wuliangshou tuoluoni* 無量壽陀羅尼), and at least one copy of the dominant Chinese version (S.4061) bears the end title *Essential Dhāraṇī Sutra of Limitless Life Spoken by the Buddha* (*Foshuo dasheng wuliangshou zongyao tuoluoni jing* 佛說大乘無量壽宗要陀羅尼經). The *Ldan dkar ma Catalogue* of Buddhist translations kept at the Tibetan court in the early ninth century most likely refers to the sutra as the *Dhāraṇī of Limitless Life* (*Tshe dpag tu med pa'i gzungs*), which it catalogues in the section for “*dhāraṇī* [texts] of various sizes.”²³ In all of this we can observe a fluidity on the one hand between *dhāraṇī* and sutra, and on the other hand between *dhāraṇī*, mantra, spell, and the names of a Buddha.²⁴ Our choice of the term *dhāraṇī* is not intended to deny this fluidity, but rather to recognize that it informs and is informed by a ritual arena in which there is an intentional slippage between invocation, text, and Buddha.

As a result of Fujieda and Ueyama’s classification of the Dunhuang *Ap* copies based on the longer and shorter types of the *dhāraṇī* as A and B, respectively, the form of the *dhāraṇī* has taken priority in classifying Dunhuang copies of this sutra. While this might seem to put the cart before the horse, so to speak, this is also true of the later transmission of the two canonical Tibetan versions of this sutra, which are distinguished also by their differing *dhāraṇīs*: Toh. 675, with its shorter *dhāraṇī* containing two occurrences of the syllable “*Om*,” is known in Tibetan Buddhist tradition as the “two-*Om* version,” whereas Toh. 674 (and the largely identical Toh. 849) with its longer *dhāraṇī* is known as the “three-*Om* version.”²⁵ The structure and contents of the two “versions” are otherwise largely identical, and we therefore classify them below as representing the same version (version five) of the text using two different “types” of the *dhāraṇī* (types C and E). Various forms of the *dhāraṇī* also circulated on their own in manuscripts and inscriptions.

Turning to the Tibetan and Chinese *Ap* commissioned for the Tibetan emperor, versions of the sutra with type-A or type-B *dhāraṇīs* constitute over ninety-nine percent of the Tibetan Dunhuang copies. These two main types of the *dhāraṇī* are given below, where the numbers of syllables are counted based on the Tibetan, which does not perfectly coincide with the Sanskrit it phoneticizes. These numbers of syllables are approximations, and are complicated by how one counts long vowels and certain consonant clusters. The syllables that differ between the types of *dhāraṇīs* are underlined.

23 Lalou 1953, 327; no. 350; see also Herrmann-Pfandt 2008, 199–201.

24 See also the discussion in Hidas 2015, 129. The term incantation/ spell (*zhou* 咒), is similar to *dhāraṇī* in that it can be understood to refer to the entire text of a sutra: as noted by Allan Ding, the Chinese *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* refers to itself as the king of spells (*zhou*); Ding 2019, 675.

25 For discussion, see Roberts and Bower 2021a, i20 forward.

Type-A *dhāraṇī* in sixty-seven syllables:²⁶ *namo bhagavate aparimitāyujñānasuviniścitarājāya tathāgataya tadyathā om sarvasaṃskārapariśuddha dharmate gaga-nasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānāyaparivāre svāhā*

Type-B *dhāraṇī* in fifty-one syllables:²⁷ *namo bhagavate aparimitāyujñānasuviniścitarājāya tathāgataya om sarvasaṃskārapariśuddha dharmate mahānāyaparivāre svāhā*

The main differences are clear: type A places *tadyathā* in the middle, at the beginning of the “second half” of the *dhāraṇī*. For type B, *tadyathā* normatively appears at the start of the *dhāraṇī* only in its first appearance in the sutra; subsequent repetitions of the *dhāraṇī* in the same sutra begin with *namo*. The biggest difference between the two is the absence in type B of *gagaṇasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe* between *dharmate* and *mahānāya*.

Some variations in types A and B exist, to which we have assigned sigla. These sigla mainly relate to the presence or absence of *tadyathā*. Where a sutra uses type A, but the first *dhāraṇī* begins with *tadyathā* (as if it were type B, whose first *dhāraṇī* customarily begins with *tadyathā*), we refer to this as “A+” to indicate this deviation from the norm. In contrast, “A-” means that a copy using type A omits *tadyathā* in the middle of the *dhāraṇī* after *tathāgataya*. Where a sutra using type B adds *tadyathā* in the middle after *tathāgataya* (as if it were type A), we refer to this as “B+.” Should a sutra using type B omit *tadyathā* at the start of the first *dhāraṇī*, we refer to it as “B-.” These variants of type B are rare, but A+ *dhāraṇīs* are common.

All of these variants of type A and type B can be explained by the circumstances in which the same scribes who produced sutra copies with the type-A *dhāraṇī* also produced sutra copies with the type-B *dhāraṇī*. In extreme cases, this resulted in a scribe using both types A and B in a single sutra copy (see e.g. ITJ 310.135 or Dy.t.170). Such a sutra with mixed *dhāraṇīs* does not constitute a discrete “version” of the sutra in the sense that we define versions, since there is no structural difference in their contents. It is rather the product of the fact that these sutra copies were scribed during a time when neither the sutra nor the *dhāraṇī* had settled into a standardized version, and where some scribes appear to have lost track of which *dhāraṇī* they were meant to be inserting.²⁸ In fact, there are even copies of the sutra in which an editor’s pen has inserted *tadyathā* and *gagaṇasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe* in order

²⁶ On the first appearance of this *dhāraṇī* in a sutra, it sometimes begins with *tadyathā*, making seventy syllables.

²⁷ On the first appearance of this *dhāraṇī* in a sutra, it customarily begins with *tadyathā*, making fifty-four syllables. Subsequently, it omits *tadyathā*.

²⁸ By contrast, Xia Wucuo 夏吾措 / Shawu Tso and Sanji Dongzhi 桑吉东知 / Sanggye Dundup classify such a sutra with both type-A and type-B *dhāraṇī*, e.g. Dy.t.170, as “version C”; Xia Wucuo and Sanji Dongzhi 2021.

to transform a type-B *dhāraṇī* into a type-A *dhāraṇī*.²⁹ Such is the case in ITJ 310.5. It is also true of PT 3618 (Fig. 30), where the editor, Cang Tsi dam, has corrected the B1 sutra copy scribed by ^An Dge brtan so that it may serve as an A1 exemplar for another scribe, Cang Legs rtsan.

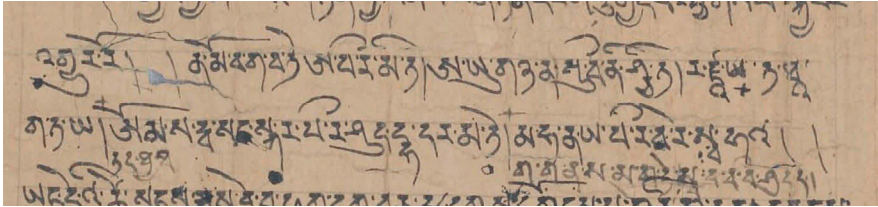


Fig. 30: Editor’s corrections of the type-B *dhāraṇī* into a type-A *dhāraṇī*, PT 3618; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

One additional variant that is worth mentioning occurs in ITJ 310.1, a copy commissioned for a private individual. This uses the type-A *dhāraṇī*, but adds *tejo: su bi ni ci ta te tso ra tsa ya*.

Turning to the types of the *dhāraṇī* in Chinese Dunhuang copies of the *Ap*, we find a similar picture. Again, more than ninety-nine percent of the copies represent a single version of the sutra, which we refer to below as version five.³⁰ Unlike the Tibetan copies, where A1 and B1 are copies of the same sutra with different *dhāraṇīs*, the vast majority of the Chinese copies use only one type of *dhāraṇī*. This is the type-A *dhāraṇī*, which comprises seventy-two Chinese characters that are in most cases divided into fifteen units, marked off by blank space and/or by numbers, one to fifteen. In almost every case the *dhāraṇī* is preceded by the phrase, “the *dhāraṇī* says” (*tuoluoni yue* 陀羅尼曰).

- [1] 南謨薄伽勃底 [2] 阿波喇蜜哆 [3] 阿喻訖硯娜 [4] 須毘儻悉指陀 [5] 囉佐耶 [6] [6] 怛他羯他耶 [7] 怛姪他唵 [8] 薩婆桑悉迦囉 [9] 鉢唎輪底 [10] 達磨底 [11] 伽迦娜 [12] 莎訶某持迦底 [13] 薩婆婆毘輪底 [14] 摩訶娜耶 [15] 波喇婆唎莎訶

The corresponding Sanskrit of this type-A *dhāraṇī*, retaining the Chinese parsing into fifteen units, is as follows:

²⁹ Xia and Sanji discuss this and reproduce an image of the relevant sutra copy, Db. t. 0182 in Xia Wucuo and Sanji Dongzhi 2021, 62.

³⁰ This is the version corresponding to T.936 and to “version A” in the National Library of China’s catalogue.

Chinese Type-A *dhāraṇī*:

namobhagavate aparimita ayujñāna suvinīscita rājāya tathāgataya tadyathā-om sarvasaṃskāra pariśuddhe dharmate gagaṇa samudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānāya pari-vāresvāhā

There are a few Tibetan *Ap* copies whose *dhāraṇīs* are similarly parsed into fifteen units, set off by punctuation (*shad*) rather than by numbers or spacing. Among these are ITJ 310.320 and ITJ 310.914, which both include type-A *dhāraṇīs*. There are also example of the type-B *dhāraṇī* in a Tibetan *Ap* copy being divided into twelve units, at ITJ 310.98 and ITJ 310.134. This fits the Chinese parsing, since *gagaṇa samudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe* are the three groups missing from the type-B *dhāraṇī*, from the perspective of type A. These are intriguing examples of textual practices associated with the copying of the Chinese sutra being applied to the production of Tibetan copies.

As with the Tibetan copies, the Chinese copies also include different types of the *dhāraṇī*, as well as some errant ones. We find the type-B *dhāraṇī* in S.147, a damaged *Ap* copy missing its first fifteen paragraphs.³¹ The end title, *Wuliangshou jing yi juan* (*Sutra of Limitless Life in One Roll*), differs from the usual end title *Foshuo wuliangshou zongyao jing*. The units of the *dhāraṇī* are separated by spaces and not by numbers, and the phrase “the *dhāraṇī* says” is absent.

Chinese type-B *dhāraṇī* in fifty-four syllables: 怛姪他 南谟薄伽薄底 阿波利蜜多 阿喻也
那 须毗你只多 嚩左耶 怛他栴多耶 唵 萨婆僧塞羯嚩 波利输馱 达摩底 摩衍衍
那 波喇 跋隸 莎诃

This type of the *dhāraṇī* is also parsed into fifteen groups based on the spacing, as if it were aware that this was the customary way to group the *dhāraṇī*'s syllables in the more dominant type-A *dhāraṇī*. However, this is only achieved by a highly idiosyncratic parsing: *om* stands on its own, and *parivāresvāhā* is split into three groups of two syllables each. The Sanskritized version below lays bare the strangeness of this parsing:

Chinese type-B *dhāraṇī*: *tadyathā namobhagavate aparimita ayujñāna suvinīscita rājāya tathāgataya om sarvasaṃskāra pariśuddhe dharmate mahānāya pari vāre svāhā*

Even where it overlaps with type A, one notes that type B uses concision to convey the same Sanskrit syllables in fewer Chinese characters.

Apart from idiosyncratic instances of errant type-A and type-B *dhāraṇīs* that omit or misspell a syllable or two, and which thus do not rise to the status of independent types of the *dhāraṇī*, we discovered in the Tibetan Dunhuang copies a

³¹ Zhang 2022, 715. This has been miscatalogued as the *Sukhāvātīvyūha sūtra* (T. 366).

longer type of the *dhāraṇī*, which we dub “type C.” We have identified type C in three complete sutra copies, ITJ 310.645 (Fig. 54), 310.646, and 310.651. All of these sutra copies are attributed in their colophons to the prolific scribe Se thong pa. The scribe Se thong pa, incidentally, is credited as scribe of several copies of version A1, and one copy of B1 in our corpus, which is to say that he scribed sutra copies with three types of *dhāraṇīs*. Type C is also found in fragments ITJ 790, ITJ 1499, and ITJ 1501, the latter two probably being parts of a single copy of *Ap*.³² This *dhāraṇī* can also be identified in a fragment of a roll from Mīrān, Or.15000/271, whose *mise-en-page* does not match that of the official copies from Dunhuang.³³ The syllables that differ between type A and type C are underlined.

Type-C *dhāraṇī* in seventy-eight syllables: *namo bhagavate aparimitāyujñānasuviṇīscita-tejorājāya tathāgatāyārihate samyaksaṃbuddhāya tadyathā om sarvasaṃskārapariśuddha dharmate gagaṇasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānayaparivāre svāhā*

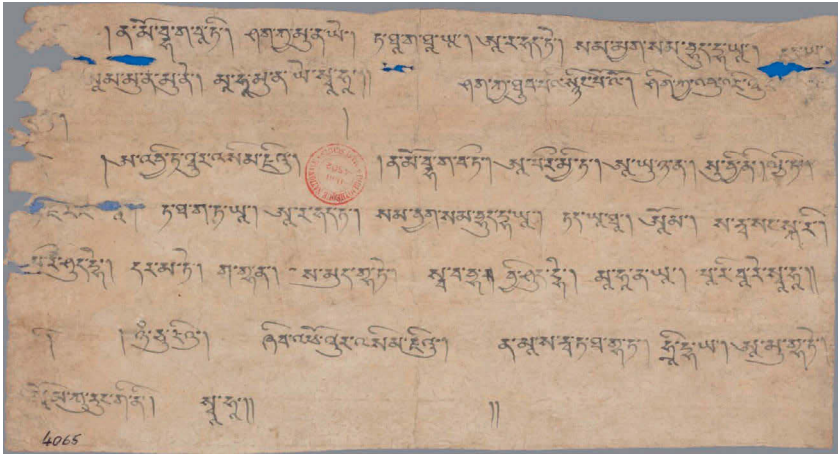


Fig. 31: Type-C *dhāraṇī* as the “heart incantation of Amitāyuh” in a short *dhāraṇī* text from Dunhuang, PT 4065; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The type-C *dhāraṇī* also appears in a short Dunhuang text consisting of three *dhāraṇīs*, PT 4065 (Fig. 31). The first of these is to Śākyamuni, and the second is to

³² ITJ 1499 consists of three panels and four columns, but is torn. ITJ 1501 appears to be the missing middle panel of the same sutra copy. For ITJ 790, see Dalton and van Schaik 2006, 329.

³³ This bears the number Tak 372 in Takeuchi 1998, 122.

Amitāyus. The text refers to the Amitāyus *dhāraṇī* as the *^a 'byi ta wur 'sim ji'u*, the “heart incantation” (*xin zhou* 心咒) of Amitāyus.

The title of this *dhāraṇī* is notable for its similarity to that of the “Essence of Ārya Aparimitāyus” (*Tshe dpag med kyi snying po*; Toh. 673a), a very short text in the Tibetan *Bka' 'gyur* that similarly consists only of a *dhāraṇī*. However, the latter text's *dhāraṇī* comprises solely of the textual unit that would come to be inserted into the middle of type-E version the *dhāraṇī*, and which is also found in the *Sarva-durgatipariśodhana tantra: om puṇye puṇye mahāpuṇye aparimitāyur-puṇyajñāna-saṃbharopacite svāhā*.³⁴

The type-C *dhāraṇī*, and in fact the Tibetan version of the sutra in which the *dhāraṇī* is customarily found (version five), coincides more closely with that found in the Khotanese Dunhuang version, which is of course later. One small difference, suggested by the transcription, is that the Khotanese version uses the form *Aparimitāyuh* instead of *Aparimitāyuh*. However, this is a mirage: the late-Khotanese vowel system had become impoverished, such that there is no meaningful distinction between *Aparimitāyuh* and *Aparimitāyuh*.³⁵

Khotanese type-C *dhāraṇī* in seventy-eight syllables: *namau bhagavate aparamitāya-jñāna-suviniścita-tejau-rājaya tathāgatāvarhite samyak-sabuddhāya tadyathā aum sarva-saṃskāra-pariśuddha-dharmate gagana-samudgate svabhāva-viśuddhi mahānaya-parivare svāhā*

A few Chinese Dunhuang *Ap* copies employ the type-C *dhāraṇī*. A most intriguing example is kept at the National Library in Beijing with the pressmark BD03334. After the tenth paragraph, the text omits the *dhāraṇī*, but leaves three lines of blank space for it to be written in. The result is the bare bones of the text, to which should be added the flesh of the *dhāraṇī* iterations. Writing of this in the context of scribal practices, Costantino Moretti suggests that it is evidence of a practice whereby a separate scribe would write the *dhāraṇī* after the first scribe wrote the body of the text.³⁶ The *dhāraṇī* itself is in nineteen units, and is not preceded by the phrase “the *dhāraṇī* says.”

Chinese type-C *dhāraṇī* in eighty-three syllables: 南谟薄伽跋帝 阿波喇蜜多 阿喻訖硯那
須鼻你失只多 帝祖罗左耶 怛他竭多耶 阿罗诃羝 三藐三勃馱耶 怛姪他 唵 萨婆
桑塞迦啰 波喇喻馱 达磨羝 伽迦娜 娑唎特羯羝 莎嚩婆毗秣提 摩诃那耶 波喇跋
隸 莎诃

34 Roberts and Bower 2021c, i.5–6.

35 We are indebted to Ruixuan Chen for this observation.

36 Moretti 2021, 310–311.

The Sanskrit equivalent, retaining the Chinese parsing, is *namobhagavate aparimita ayujñāna suvinīscita tejorājāya tathāgatāya arahate samyaksaṃbuddhāya tadyathā om sarvasaṃskāra pariśuddhe dharmate gagaṇa samudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānāya parivāre svāhā*

At least one other Chinese Dunhuang *Ap* copy, BD06348, also uses the type-C *dhāraṇī*, with only minor syllabic differences from that in BD03334.³⁷ These copies are also interesting for their variant contents, which are discussed below.

Looking beyond Dunhuang to the two later, canonical Tibetan versions of the sutra, the type-C *dhāraṇī* is transmitted in the so-called “two-*Om* version” in Toh. 675. The only difference is that it begins with *Om*.

Toh. 675's Type-C *dhāraṇī* in seventy-nine syllables: *om namo bhagavate aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścitatejorājāya tathāgatāyārhatē samyaksaṃbuddhāya tadyathā om sarvasaṃskārapariśuddha dharmate gaganasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānāyaparivāre svāhā*

Our discovery of the type-C *dhāraṇī* in a few Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts could constitute something like the missing link in the Tibetan transmission of the *dhāraṇī*, since the main Dunhuang types, A and B, are shorter than the Tibetan canonical types, whereas type C is the likely ancestor of the “two-*Om* version” in Toh. 675. As we will see, this may also hold true for the Tibetan Dunhuang version of the sutra that employs the type-C *dhāraṇī*.

We find another type of the *dhāraṇī* in a 6.3 × 28 cm *pothī*-format leaf of *Ap* from Dunhuang, PT 4071 (Fig. 32). This *dhāraṇī* stands in relation to type C precisely as type B stands in relation to the longer type A. As such, we call it type D.

Type-D *dhāraṇī* in sixty-three syllables: *namo bhagavate aparimitāyujñāna suvinīscitatejorājāya tathāgatāyārahate samyaksaṃbuddhāya om sarvasaṃskārapariśuddha dharmate mahānāyaparivāre svāhā*

This represents a middle ground between B and C. Like C, it includes *tejo* and the longer unit *arahate samyaksaṃbuddhāya*, and like B it omits *tadyathā* in the middle and *gagaṇasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe* near the end.

The Leb khog inscription, discussed above as a summary of the sutra, includes what can be understood as a variant of the type-D *dhāraṇī*. Once again, it is presented based on the published rubbing and with the aid of Zhang Changhong's transcription.

Leb khog Inscription *dhāraṇī* in sixty-eight syllables: *tadyathā namo bhagavate aparimitāyujñānasuviniścitatejorājāya tathāgatāyārahate samyaksaṃbuddhāya om sarvasaṃskārapariśuddha dha[rma]te gā[gaga] mahānāyaparivāre svāhā*

³⁷ Zhang 2022, 717 and 720–723.

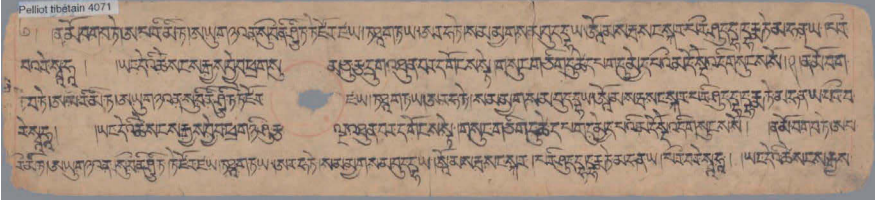


Fig. 32: Leaf from a *pothi*-format copy of *Ap*, PT 4071, with type-D *dhāraṇī*; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

This departs from type D only by appearing to include *gāgaṇa*, though in the rubbing only *gā* is legible.

This type of the *dhāraṇī* is somewhat comparable to that found in the Batu Bedil stone inscription on Sumatra, possibly dating to around 900. It is heavily damaged, and the transcription relies on Arlo Griffiths’s reconstruction.³⁸ In brackets we have added what we suppose might be the missing text.

Batu Bedil Inscription *dhāraṇī* in circa seventy-three syllables: *namo bhagavate aparimitāyurjñānasuviniścitatejorājāya tathāgatāyārhatē sa-[myaksambuddhaya tadyata Om sarva samskara-parisuddha dharmate] svabhāva parisuddhe mahānayaaparivāre svāhā*

Alternatively, this *dhāraṇī* might, like the Leb khog Inscription’s, omit *tadyata/tadyathā* from the middle, and include *gāgaṇa*; this or our above reconstruction is possible given the available space of about twenty-one missing syllables in the three illegible lines in the middle of the *dhāraṇī*. This *dhāraṇī*’s main difference from the other types is its phrase *svabhāvaparīsuddhe mahānaya* where one expects *svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānaya*.³⁹ This variant is also found in some Sanskrit versions.

The history of this *dhāraṇī* appears to be one of expansion, such that it became longer over the centuries. One of the passages of the sutra appears to suggest that the *dhāraṇī* – insofar as it represents the 108 names of the Buddha Aparimitāyurjñānasuviniścita(tejo)rāja – should be 108 syllables – actually *akṣaras* – long. At least this is how it was understood at some point, since a (nearly) 108-syllable *dhāraṇī* is found in later Sanskrit versions.

³⁸ Griffiths 2014, 152–155.

³⁹ Griffiths 2014, 153–154, n. 54, mentions a few relevant variants from Chinese versions of the *dhāraṇī*, namely that whereas the canonical versions at T. 936 and T. 937 read *svabhāvaviśuddhe*, the *dhāraṇī* at T. 1389, the *Wuliangshou dazhi tuoluoni* 無量壽大智陀羅尼 “Dhāraṇī of the Great Knowledge of Aparimitāyus,” reads *svabhāvaśuddhe*. The *pari* in *parīsuddhe* is Griffith’s reconstruction.

The oldest extant nearly complete copy of which we are aware is a palm leaf manuscript kept at Cambridge, MS Or. 153, which has been variously dated from the twelfth to fourteenth century. This may represent the earliest instance of what would become the dominant form of the *dhāraṇī* in Nepal and Tibet, which we call type E. It is underlined where it differs from type C.

Type E *dhāraṇī* in 108 syllables: *oṃ namo bhagavate aparimitāyurjñānasuviniścitatejorājāya tathāgatāyārhate samyaksambuddhāya || tadyathā oṃ punya punya mahāpunya aparimita-
punya aparimitapunya jñānasambhāropacite | oṃ sarvasaṃskāra pariśuddhadharmate gaganasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānayaparivāre svāhā⁴⁰*

This longer form of the *dhāraṇī* expands on type C through the insertion of the unit *oṃ punya punya mahāpunya aparimitapunya aparimitāyuhpunya jñānasambhāropacite*, which brings the *dhāraṇī* close to 108 syllables. This latter unit, as noted above, stands on its own as the “Essence of Ārya Aparimitāyus” (*Phags pa tshe dpag du med kyi snying po*) in the Tibetan *Bka’ ’gyur* (Toh. 673a).⁴¹ This same unit is also found in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana tantra* in association with the mandala of Aparimitāyus.⁴²

The type-E *dhāraṇī* is also found in Walleser’s Sanskrit edition, and it agrees with that found in the *Ap* copy in the eighteenth-century Sanskrit *Dhāraṇīsaṅgraha* transcribed by Hidas.⁴³ It is also the same as the *dhāraṇī* found in a concertina of multiple Sanskrit texts in *Raṅjanā* script printed in Beijing in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, BnF sanscrit 1815.⁴⁴ It may be that this form of the *dhāraṇī* became dominant in the early second millennium, such that it was current when Tibetans produced a new translation of the sutra in the eleventh or twelfth century. It is indeed the form of the *dhāraṇī* found in Toh. 849 in the *dhāraṇī* compendium section of the *Bka’ ’gyur*. A variant form of the *dhāraṇī*, which omits *aparimitapunya*,

40 We are grateful to Allan Ding for this transcription.

41 Roberts and Bower 2021c, i.5–6.

42 Roberts and Bower 2021c7; Roberts and Bower 2021a, i.14. Griffiths 2014, 154, n. 54, points out that a further *dhāraṇī* split into two in the *Sarvadurgatipariśodhana* uses many of the same textual units (here underlined) as the Aparimitāyuh *dhāraṇī*: *oṃ namo bhagavate sarvadurgatipariśodhanarājāya tathāgatāyārhate samyaksambuddhāya tadyathā oṃ śodhane śodhane sarvapāpaviśodhani śuddhe viśuddhe sarvakarmāvaraṇaviśodhani svāhā mūlavidyā oṃ sarvasaṃskārapariśuddhe dharmate gaganasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe mahānayaparivāre svāhā*; see also Skorupski 1983, 27–30. As noted by Roberts and Bower, there are Tibetan apologetics against the notion that the type E (the “three-*Oṃ* version”) was created by inserting this long unit (*oṃ punya punya [...]*); Roberts and Bower 2021b, i.29 and following.

43 Ms. Add. 1326; Hidas 2021, 100–106.

44 We are grateful to Allan Ding for a discussion of this manuscript.

occurs in Toh. 674 in the sutra section of the *Bka' 'gyur*. Both versions of the sutra are known equally in Tibet as the “three-*Om* version,” which is by far the most popular version in Tibet.⁴⁵

We should note that this typology of the different forms of the *dhāraṇī* is derived from our corpus, and is therefore driven by the Dunhuang copies, with a bit of supplemental information from later Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the sutra with their own different forms of the *dhāraṇī*. A more global study of the *dhāraṇī* would likely arrive at different types. One example of this *dhāraṇī* that we have left to one side, but which is very important to its history, is a Gilgit/ Bāmiyān Type II fragment of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, possibly dating to the eighth or ninth century, FE 3366. Its *dhāraṇī* overlaps with those presented above but includes an entirely different ending. The beginning is missing, and the fragment is damaged such that the first part of each line of text is missing.

- 1 /// .. *jñāya tathāgatāya* || *tadyathā oṃ sa[r]vasaṃskārapariśuddhadharma*
 2 /// *abhāvasamudgate mahādharmahetunayaupratīṣṭit[e]*
 3 /// + ○ *mitāyuse svā* • ||⁴⁶

This *dhāraṇī* aligns with none of our types. It most closely follows type A at *tathāgatāya tadyathā oṃ sarvasaṃskārapariśuddha dharmate*. The presence of *tadyathā* rules out type B, and the absence of *ārhatē* rules out types C and E. The appearance of *[sv]abhāvasamudgate*, as opposed to *svabhāvaviśuddhe* differs from the other types, and leads into this *dhāraṇī*'s different ending: *mahādharmahetunayaupratīṣṭit[e]...[apari]mitāyuse svā[hā]*. The fragment goes on to include some of the verse on the six perfections, so there is no doubt that it is indeed a part of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. Despite the missing beginning and the damage, it is clear that this earliest extant Sanskrit version of the *dhāraṇī* is significantly different, and probably shorter than what we find in Sanskrit manuscripts from the thirteenth century onward.

From this partial survey of the *dhāraṇī*, which draws mostly on Dunhuang manuscripts, and only sparingly on inscriptions and on Sanskrit manuscripts, we can sketch a picture of the *dhāraṇī* expanding over time through the addition of textual units or formulae (i.e. Sanskrit *pada*). Following such logic, the shortest form of the *dhāraṇī*, type B, becomes type A largely through the insertion of the unit *gagaṇasamudgate svabhāvaviśuddhe*. Type A in turn becomes type C largely through

45 For discussion, see e.g. Roberts 2021a, i.15 forward.

46 Von Hinüber 2014, 111. We are grateful to Charles DiSimone for his reading of this fragment. We are also grateful to Gudrun Melzer for sharing her observations on this fragment and its transcription. Any misunderstandings are our own.

the insertion of the unit *arihate samyaksambuddhāya*; and type C becomes type E largely through the insertion of the unit *om puṇya puṇya mahāpuṇya aparimitapuṇya aparimitāyuhpuṇya jñānasambhāropacite*, which brings the *dhāraṇī* to 108 syllables. There are some notable variants along the way, including type D, and the earliest extant *dhāraṇī* in the Gilgit fragment. These could be taken to point to regional variation and to a vibrant transmission history of the *dhāraṇī*. Canon formation and printing did not fully flatten this picture, but it did succeed in promoting type C, from T.936 in the Taishō Canon, in the Sinophone world, and the longer type E, from Toh. 849 and Toh. 674 in the Tibetan *Bka' gyur*, in the Tibetan Buddhist world.

Our discovery of the Tibetan type-C *dhāraṇī* in Dunhuang copies of the sutra is interesting with respect to the transmission history of the sutra in Tibet, and the presence of this *dhāraṇī* characterizing the “two-*Om* version” (Toh. 675) in the *Bka' gyur*. There are doubtless other copies of the sutra in both Chinese and Tibetan that use the type-C *dhāraṇī*, or which have it interspersed among iterations of type A or B. Just as Fujieda and Ueyama’s discovery prompted scholars to distinguish types A and B rather than lumping all the Tibetan Dunhuang copies together, our description of type C among Tibetan and Chinese Dunhuang copies may also prompt scholars to identify sutra copies with type-C *dhāraṇīs* that have been overlooked. The same can also be said of the different versions of the sutra itself, to which we now turn.

2.1.2 Versions of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*

In describing the different types of the *dhāraṇī*, it would have been logical to designate them from shortest to longest, A to E. This is impractical, however, since it would contradict the longstanding custom, following Fujieda and Ueyama, of referring to the longer of the two main types of the *dhāraṇī* in Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies as type A, and the shorter one as type B. We have arguably compounded this by applying their same logic when describing the *pothī*-fragment PT 4071’s *dhāraṇī* as type D, essentially a shorter form of type C. In the case of different versions of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* itself, there is less intellectual baggage – or at least less uniformity in adopting a set of conventions –, and we propose to order these from least complete to most complete. To avoid confusion, we also refer to the National Library of China’s typology of Chinese versions.

Scholars have described the structure of this sutra in various ways. Zhang Changhong divides the sutra into five parts: the introduction; the groups of hundreds of millions of Buddhas who preach the sutra; the *dhāraṇī*; the paragraphs describing the benefits of copying, reciting, etc. the sutra; and the verses on the per-

fections.⁴⁷ Although this is extremely helpful, and has borne fruit in Zhang’s own study of the various Chinese and Tibetan versions of the sutra, we prefer to return to Sten Konow’s method of assigning numbers to each of the sutra’s “paragraphs,” one to forty, based on the parsing of his Sanskrit edition.⁴⁸ This permits one to give a more granular picture of the differences between the versions. Before detailing the structural differences that define these versions, it is necessary to give a brief summary of the sutra’s forty paragraphs. We do so based on the Tibetan C5 version.

- §1. Setting, the Buddha with an assembly of 1,250 monks and bodhisattvas.
- §2. The Buddha speaks to Mañjuśrī about the Buddha Aparimitāyurjñāna-suvi-
niścita(tejo)rāja.
- §3. Copy, offer, hear etc. the 108 names of the Buddha Aparimitāyurjñāna-suvi-
niścita(tejo)rāja to increase lifespan to 100 years.
- §4. Copy, etc. the 108 names of the Buddha Aparimitāyus to achieve long life.
- §5. *Dhāraṇī* (this is the only time that Konow counts the *dhāraṇī* as its own
section).
- §6. Copy, etc. the name(s) of the Buddha Aparimitāyus to increase lifespan to
100 years, be reborn in Buddha realm Aparimita-guṇa-saṃcaya. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §7. 990,000,000 Buddhas recite the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §8. 840,000,000 Buddhas recite the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §9. 770,000,000 Buddhas recite the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §10. 650,000,000 Buddhas recite the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §11. 550,000,000 Buddhas recite the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §12. 450,000,000 Buddhas recite the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §13. 360,000,000 Buddhas recite the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §14. 250,000,000 Buddhas recite the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §15. Buddhas as numerous as sands of the Ganges recite the *Sutra of Limitless
Life*. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §16. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life* to increase lifespan (to 100 years). *Dhāraṇī*.⁴⁹
- §17. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life* to avoid three lower rebirths, and to re-
member past lives. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §18. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and it is as if one has written all 84,000 of
the Buddha’s teachings. *Dhāraṇī*.

⁴⁷ Zhang 2022, 714.

⁴⁸ Konow 1916, 291. There is one manuscript that Giles catalogued as *Wuliangshou jing*, S.4061, where he states that the paragraphs are numbered in upper margin from one to thirty. He gives the title as *Foshuo dasheng wuliangshou zongyao tuoluoni jing*; Giles 1957, 147; no. 4990.

⁴⁹ The Chinese Dunhuang A5 version mentions extending life, but not to 100 years.

- §19. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life* and it is as if one has erected and consecrated 84,000 *dharmarāja* stupas. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §20. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and the five heinous acts leading to hell are purified. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §21. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and misdeeds as massive as Mt. Meru will be purified. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §22. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and be protected from demons. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §23. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and when you die 990,000,000 Buddhas will teach you and 1,000 Buddhas will take you from Buddha field to Buddha field. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §24. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and the four guardian kings will protect you. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §25. Write the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and when you die you will be reborn in Sukhāvati, the Pure Land of Amitābha. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §26. That country in which the *Sutra of Limitless Life* is written becomes worthy of worship like a *caitya*. Even animals who hear it will become fully enlightened Buddhas. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §27. Cause the *Sutra of Limitless Life* to be written, and never be reborn a woman. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §28. Offer even a small coin for the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and it is like filling the whole trichilocosm with the seven precious treasures. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §29. Offer to the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and accomplish the entirety of the Dharma. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §30. The merit from offering to the seven Buddhas can be measured, but that from [offering to, etc.] the *Sutra of Limitless Life* cannot. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §31. The merit from offering (seven precious) jewels equal to Mt. Meru can be measured, but that from [offering to, etc.] the *Sutra of Limitless Life* cannot. *Dhāraṇī*.⁵⁰
- §32. The drops of water in the four oceans can be measured, but the merit from [offering to, etc.] the *Sutra of Limitless Life* cannot. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §33. Cause the *Sutra of Limitless Life* to be written or offer to it, and it is to worship the Buddhas of the ten directions. *Dhāraṇī*.
- §34. Verse on giving (first perfection).
- §35. Verse on discipline (second perfection).
- §36. Verse on patience (third perfection).
- §37. Verse on diligence (fourth perfection).
- §38. Verse on meditative concentration (fifth perfection).

50 The Chinese Dunhuang A5 version specifies it is the seven precious jewels equal to Mt. Meru.

§39. Verse on wisdom (sixth perfection). (*Dhāraṇī*)

§40. The assembled beings take to heart the teaching and rejoice at it. The sutra is complete.

[§41.] Colophon(s).

There are key areas of the sutra that determine, structurally, which version one is reading. These are the descending “decades” of tens of millions of Buddhas; the pivotal paragraphs sixteen through twenty-one; and paragraph thirty-one.

First, in the “decades” of tens of millions (Skt. *koti*; Ch. *gai* 垓; Tib. *bye ba*) of Buddhas who with one voice preach the sutra, a version either has all nine numbered groups of Buddhas (§7–§15), descending from 990,000,000 to 840,000,000 to 770,000,000 to 650,000,000 to 550,000,000 to 450,000,000 to 360,000,000 to 250,000,000 and then to Buddhas as innumerable as the sands of the Ganges, or it omits §8 through §11, skipping from 990,000,000 to 450,000,000. As we will see, some of the numbers differ across versions, and the Chinese A5 version includes some errors in its numbers. At the structural level of analysis for determining versions of the sutra, what matters is whether these paragraphs are present or absent.

Second, a version will either 1) substitute §18 for §16, repeat §18 again verbatim after §17, and then skip §19 (i.e. proceed §15, §18, §17, §18, §20, §21); 2) only skip §19; 3) only skip §21; or 4) include all of the §16–§21. §16 states that copying, etc. the sutra will increase one’s lifespan to 100 years. This largely repeats §3 or §4, depending on whether a version mentions 100 years or not in §16. §18 is about how copying, etc. the sutra is to copy all 84,000 of the Buddha’s teachings. §19 is about how copying, etc. the sutra is to copy all 84,000 of the Buddha’s teachings and/or to erect and consecrate 84,000 stupas. §19 has the greatest deal of variation, with some versions omitting any mention of stupas and instead largely repeating §18. As with the variant numbers in the decades of millions of Buddhas, what matters for determining versions on a structural level is whether a paragraph is present or not; whether it is correct is secondary.

Third, a version either includes §31 or omits it. §31 is the second of three paragraphs on the immeasurability of the merit one accrues from offering to, etc. the *Sutra of Limitless Life*. It likens this to offering treasures equal to Mt. Meru.

Using these rubrics, and classifying the versions of the sutra from shortest to longest, or from least complete to most complete, version one omits §8–§11, proceeds §15, §18, §17, §18, §20, §21 through the pivotal middle paragraphs of the sutra, and omits §31. One might say that it is comically defective. Over ninety-nine percent of the Tibetan *Ap* copies from Dunhuang are version one. These either use the type-A *dhāraṇī* or the type-B *dhāraṇī*, and so can be designated A1 and B1. We also find a roll-format fragment of version one with the B+ *dhāraṇī* in Mīrān, spread over

pressmarks Or.15000/434–437, whose panels appear to match the *mise-en-page* of the official copies from Dunhuang, and which may therefore have been carried there from Dunhuang.⁵¹

Version two similarly omits §8–§11, but includes §16 and does not repeat §18. It omits §19 and §31. This corresponds to the Tibetan copies at ITJ 310.315 and PT 3671, and to the copy in the compilation text PT 105. All use the type-A *dhāraṇī*, and are thus classified as A2. This probably also classifies the incomplete *pothī*-format manuscript ITJ 309, which includes §2 through §30. However, its incomplete state prevents one from saying whether or not §31 is present.⁵² Version two is also found in the Chinese *Ap* copy BD06348, which uses the type-C *dhāraṇī*, and can thus be classed C2. Fang Guangchang’s catalogue of the National Library manuscripts refers to this as “version B” (乙本). The fragmentary Chinese *Ap* copy S.147, which uses the type-B *dhāraṇī*, may also be version two since it is missing §19 and §31, but this copy only begins at §15, so we cannot say if it omits §8–§11.

Version three includes all the decades of tens of millions of Buddhas, and is complete except for its omission of §19. This describes the Khotanese Dunhuang version (C3) and the Tibetan *Ap* copy in the compilation text PT 98, which uses the type-A *dhāraṇī* (A3).

Version four is complete except for its omission of §21. This describes the Sanskrit version in Konow’s, Walleser’s and Duan’s critical editions. It uses the longest form of the *dhāraṇī* and is thus classed as E4. Many Sanskrit versions, including the oldest palm leaf manuscript, MS Or. 153, and those from Cambridge consulted by Walleser, have a §27 that differs from those in the Dunhuang manuscripts and later Chinese and Tibetan versions. In this alternate §27, rather than not being reborn a woman, one avoids being reborn poor.⁵³

We are not aware of any *Ap* copy that is complete except for its omission of §31, but given the proliferation of versions, and the fluid nature of this sutra, such a version may well exist.

Version five is the complete sutra in forty paragraphs. The vast majority of Chinese Dunhuang *Ap* copies use this version with the type-A *dhāraṇī*, and are thus A5.

51 These are numbered Tak 550–553 in Takeuchi 1998, 183–85. IOL Khot S 17 is also a roll fragment of Tibetan version B1.

52 This manuscript is interesting for its use of foliation, but also for internal annotations of the paragraphs according to Konow’s parsing. The number “22,” for example, is visible in the middle of folio *ja*, where §22 – according to Konow’s parsing – begins. Other such marks seem to have been erased. La Vallée Poussin likely made these marks in order to take stock of the version(s) of the sutra he was cataloguing, since he remarks on their missing paragraphs in his catalogue, as noted in Chapter One.

53 Konow 1916, 317.

Table 1: Structural Comparison of Paragraphs of the *Ap* in the Various Versions.

Version/ Paragraph	1	2	3	4	5
	(Over 99% of Tibetan Dunhuang <i>Ap</i>)	(PT 105, ITJ 310.315, PT 3671, and BD06348); “version B” (乙本)	(Khotanese version and PT 98)	(Cambridge Sanskrit manuscripts MS Add. 1277; MS Add. 1385; MS Add. 1623; MS Or. 153; MS Add. 1326)	(Over 99% of Chinese Dunhuang <i>Ap</i> ; T.936; ITJ 10.645; both Tibetan <i>Bka’ gyur</i> versions, BnF sanscrit 1815); “version A” (甲本)
\$1-\$7	\$1-\$7	\$1-\$7	\$1-\$7	\$1-\$7	\$1-\$7
\$8-\$11	X	X	\$8-\$11	\$8-\$11	\$8-\$11
\$12-\$15	\$12-\$15	\$12-\$15	\$12-\$15	\$12-\$15	\$12-\$15
\$16	\$18	\$16	\$16	\$16	\$16
\$17	\$17	\$17	\$17	\$17	\$17
\$18	\$18	\$18	\$18	\$18	\$18
\$19	X	X	X	\$19	\$19
\$20	\$20	\$20	\$20	\$20	\$20
\$21	\$21	\$21	\$21	X	\$21
\$22-\$30	\$22-\$30	\$22-\$30	\$22-\$30	\$22-\$30	\$22-\$30
\$31	X	X	\$31	\$31	\$31
\$32-\$40	\$32-\$40	\$32-\$40	\$32-\$40	\$32-\$40	\$32-\$40

This corresponds to the version in the Taishō Canon, T. 936. Fang Guangchang's catalogue of the National Library manuscripts refers to this as "version A" (甲本). This version is also found in the curious Chinese *Ap* copy BD03334, which employs the type-C *dhāraṇī* a few times before leaving blank spaces in which it was to be inserted, and is referred to in Fang Guangchang's catalogue as "alternative version A" (異甲本). Perhaps the most coherent instance of version five is found in only a few Tibetan *Ap* copies from Dunhuang that use the type-C *dhāraṇī*, ITJ 310.645, 310.646, and 310.651. As we will see when discussing content, these copies' §19 mentions 84,000 *dharmarāja* stupas. Among Sanskrit manuscripts, the Paris concertina, BnF sanscrit 1815, is the complete E5 version. The two Tibetan canonical versions belong here as well, as C5 (Toh. 675) and E5 (Toh. 674 and Toh. 849) versions, though their §19 is largely a repetition of §18.

One challenge in creating a typology of versions of this text is that some copies of the sutra are idiosyncratic in that they skip a paragraph by accident. Such is to be expected in a text of this type, where the repetition of the *dhāraṇī* after nearly every paragraph invites eyeskip. Moreover, in documenting over a thousand copies of the sutra, it is possible that some version-two copies have been misidentified as version-one copies. Nevertheless, version one and its missing or jumbled paragraphs represent the "standard" Tibetan version copied by Dunhuang's scribes. The standard Chinese version, by contrast, is a complete version five of the text. A similarly inverse situation applies to the very few alternatives to these Tibetan and Chinese standard versions: whereas the few Tibetan outliers, like C5, are an improvement upon the standard A1 and B1 version, the few Chinese copies of version two seem more like failed prototypes for the standard version five translation. It was indeed this A5 version that found its way into the Taishō Canon. We address the question of what processes may have produced this inverse distribution of versions in Tibetan and Chinese copies after reviewing the social history of Dunhuang's scriptoria in Chapter Three.

A similar situation of textual flux may have informed the Khotanese version. Konow remarked that the copy he worked with was a rough copy, containing many errors, and evidently made from an older exemplar.⁵⁴ The absence of early Sanskrit textual witnesses also perhaps masks an unsettled transmission. The few manuscript copies we have perused are mostly E4 versions, with one E5 version, and we find some differences in the key §19 and also §27. In any case, we are chiefly concerned with the Tibetan sutra copies, and our use of the various Sanskrit, Khotanese, and Chinese versions as comparanda does not pretend to any comparable depth of engagement with these.

54 Konow 1916, 290–291.

2.2 Differences of content

There are several minor differences in language and content across the versions, in addition to the obvious structural differences. We do not aim here to document all of these, but only to spotlight a few that we deem to be most relevant to the sutra's transmission. These include the title, the use of numbers, the pivotal §19, the verses on the six perfections, and the closing lines of the sutra.⁵⁵

2.2.1 The title

In the Tibetan versions the full title is given at the beginning and the end of the sutra. A short title also appears in multiple paragraphs where the text refers to the merits of its being copied, recited, etc. In nearly all Tibetan Dunhuang versions the full title is *Tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*. This corresponds to the Sanskrit title given at the head of these Tibetan versions: *Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra*. An exception is version five, where the end title is given as *Tshe dpag du myed pa'i mdo* (*Aparimitāyuh-sūtra*). This corresponds to the short title that all Tibetan Dunhuang versions use self-referentially in their many paragraphs about the benefits of copying etc. the sutra. Occasionally *mdo sde* is substituted for *mdo* in these paragraphs, and in several edited Tibetan copies the *sde* is inserted by editors.

The title given in the Lebkhog Inscription, *Tshe dpag du myed pa'i mdo sde*, is an outlier. Its *dhāraṇī*, as we have classified it, is a variant of type D. The inscription contains only a brief summary of the text, and not the sutra itself. A further, more extreme outlier is found in ITJ 308 (Fig. 33), a fragmentary *Ap* copy consisting of three *pothi* leaves that appear to have been written in an ink mixed with blood.⁵⁶ The extant leaves only include §1–§5, §23–§27, and §33–§40, but an additional fragment from what appears to be the same *pothi*, ITJ 478, includes §30–§31. More of the same text appears to be kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France under pressmark PT 4073. This contains two successive leaves that include §12–§22, and a third damaged leaf with §28–§32. From the foliation we can conclude that if these are all part of the same *pothi*, then it contained multiple copies of *Ap*, and perhaps other texts as well. Surveying these paragraphs in the extant leaves, it is most likely that this is a copy (or these are copies) of version A5, but the missing section on the

⁵⁵ For more details on the differences between the Tibetan versions, see Sangji Dongzhi 2019; Roberts and Bower 2021a, i.21 forward; and Roberts and Bower 2021b, i.10 forward. See also Zhang 2022, which includes observations on both Chinese and Tibetan versions.

⁵⁶ Van Schaik, Helman-Ważny, and Nöller 2015, 118.

hundreds of millions of Buddhas renders this conclusion uncertain. What remains is nevertheless intriguing for its use of non-standard Tibetan Buddhist translation terms. The opening title is “*The Mahāyāna Sūtrānta of Immeasurable Life in One Roll*” (*Tshe tshad myed pa zhes bya ba’ theg pa’ chen po’i mdo sde’ bam bo gcig*), which does not quite correspond to its Sanskrit title *Aparamitāyuh-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra*.

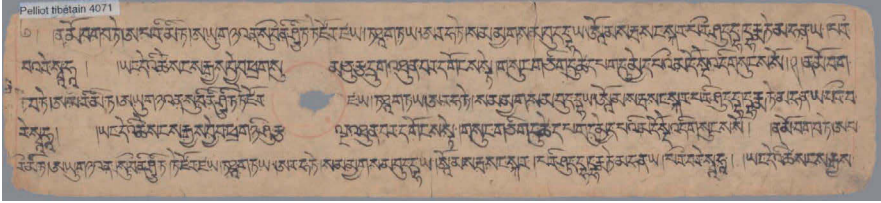


Fig. 33: The ostensibly first folio of a Tibetan *Ap* copy in *pothi* format, ITJ 308, possibly with ink mixed with blood; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

Here its Sanskrit title differs from that in other versions, and uses the form *Aparamitāyuh* rather than *Aparimitāyuh*. This is also true of its type-A *dhāraṇī*. Its closing title reads: *Tshe tshad myed pa zhes bya ba’ theg pa chen po’i mdo’*. Its paragraphs use the short form *Tshe tshad myed pa’i mdo sde*. Virtually the same title is found at the head of another fragmentary *Ap* copy, PT 2079v, written on the verso of a discarded leaf of the Tibetan *SP2*: *Tshe tshad myed zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo sde*. While it omits *bam po gcig*, its Sanskrit title uses the form *Aparamitāyuh*.⁵⁷

The two versions of *Ap* preserved in the Tibetan *Bka’ ’gyur* possess a different title, *’Phags pa tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo* (Skt.: *Ārya-aparimitāyurjñāna-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra*). Here *’phags pa* is prefixed and *ye shes* is inserted, probably to reflect one of the longer forms of this Buddha’s name. Internally, the text in both versions refers to itself as the *Tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa’i mdo sde* (*Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtrānta*). It was this title that La Vallée Poussin used, anachronistically, in his catalogue entry for the Dunhuang copies of the sutra.

Both the Sanskrit and the Khotanese versions lack a title at the beginning, but share this same short form *Aparamitāyuh-sūtra* within the text itself.⁵⁸ The Sanskrit

57 On this intriguing variant of the sutra, see also Bse chang Sangs rgyas don grub 2016. The same author also recognized ITJ 478, a torn *pothi* leaf, as a fragment of this *Tshe tshad myed pa* variant of the sutra; Sangji Dongzhi 2019, 105.

58 The colophon of the Khotanese version mentions this short title as well.

manuscripts usually end with the title in the phrase “the *Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra of Limitless Life* is complete” (*ārya aparimitāyur nāma mahāyānasūtram samāptaḥ*; MS Or.153), with some variations, notably “the *Noble Dhāraṇī of Limitless Life* is complete” (*ārya aparimitāyur nāma dhāraṇī samāpta*; Konow’s “B”), and “the *Noble Dhāraṇī Mahāyāna Sūtra of Limitless Life* is complete” (*ārya aparimitāyur nāma dhāraṇī samāpta*; Konow’s “B”).⁵⁹

The Chinese Dunhuang versions, like the Tibetan versions, have a title at the beginning and the end. The head title (*shouti* 首題) of the dominant version A5 is *Dasheng wuliangshou jing* 大乘無量壽經, the Sanskrit for which would be *Aparimitāyuh mahāyāna-sūtra*. The end title (*weiti* 尾題) is *Foshuo wuliangshou zongyao jing* 佛說無量壽宗要經, the *Essential Sutra of Limitless Life Spoken by the Buddha*. Internally, the text refers to itself as the *Wuliangshou zongyao jing* 無量壽宗要經 and *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經. There are also some longer end titles in some copies. The title *Essential Sutra of King and Tathāgata of Limitless Life and Merit* (*Foshuo wuliangshou zongyao gong de jue ding wang ru lai jing* 佛說無量壽宗要功德決定王如來經) appears in S.1995, a copy scribed by Songsheng 宋昇.⁶⁰ The same scribe uses a slightly shorter title, *Essential Sutra of Limitless Life and Merit* (*Foshuo wuliangshou zongyao gong de jing* 佛說無量壽宗要功德經) in copies at S.1841, S.1862, S.1874, and S.2013. Elsewhere, at S.1866, this same scribe uses the standard end title.

The fragmentary Chinese *Ap* copy S.147, which may be version B2, is missing its first fifteen paragraphs and so lacks a head title. Its end title is *Sutra of Limitless Life in One Roll* (*Wuliangshou jing yi juan*), where *yi juan* corresponds to the Tibetan title *bam po gcig* in ITJ 308’s title. Text internally, S.147 refers to the merit one gains by copying, etc. the “*Dhāraṇī of Limitless Life*” (*Wuliangshou tuoluoni* 無量壽陀羅尼). This is also true of some paragraphs in the Chinese C5 version (BD03334). At least one Chinese A5 copy, S.4061, which was mentioned above as numbering its paragraphs one to thirty, uses the end title *Foshuo dasheng wuliangshou zongyao tuoluoni jing* 佛說大乘無量壽宗要陀羅尼經.⁶¹

The presence of these few variant Chinese titles should not add to the existing confusion about the sutra’s title with respect to other Chinese sutras. Namely, there has been a tendency to conflate the *Ap*, where version A5 corresponds to T. 936, vol. 19, with two other Chinese sutras with similar or identical titles. These are the larger *Sukhāvativyūha sūtra* (T no. 360, vol. 12), which is also called *Wuliangshou jing*, and

59 There latter two are from manuscript B 38 in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Konow’s “B”) and Ms. Add. 1277; Konow 1916, 292.

60 Giles 1957, 145; no. 4921.

61 Giles 1957, 147; no. 4990.

the *Sutra of Contemplating [the Buddha of] Limitless Life* (*Guanwuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經) (T. 365, vol. 12).

2.2.2 The Buddha's names

As with the name of the sutra, there is also variation in the name of its central Buddha. This pertains both to whether or not a version uses the longer form of the name including *tejo* (Tib. *gzi brjid*; Ch. *weide* 威德) and to the pattern by which a version introduces the Buddha's longer name before switching to the shorter form *Aparimitāyus*. The dominant Tibetan Dunhuang version represented by both A1 and B1 introduces this Buddha in §2 as *Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścitarāja* (Tshe dang ye shes dpag du myed pa shin du rnam par gdon myi za ba'i rgyal po). In §3 it refers to him by the short form *Aparimitāyus* (Tshe dpag du myed pa) and then again by the longer form. It then uses the short form in §4 and §6. ITJ 308 uses variant terminology and employs the type-A *dhāraṇī*, but follows virtually the same pattern: it gives the long form *Amitāyurjñāna-suviniścitarāja* (Tshe tshad myed pa'i ye shes shin du' rnam par gdon myi za ba'i rgyal po) in §2, then the short form *Amitāyus* (Tshe tshad myed pa) followed by the long form in §3, and the short form *Amitāyus* in §4. §6 is not extant. The Tibetan Dunhuang version C5 and the Sanskrit version E4 follow this same pattern, but add *tejo* to the long form of the name: he is *Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścitatejorāja* in §2 and on the second occurrence in §3, and *Aparimitāyus* in the first occurrence in §3 and in §4 and §6. The canonical versions also follow this pattern, but where C5 (Toh. 675) has the long form *Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścitarāja* and the short form *Aparimitāyurjñāna*, version E5 (Toh. 674 and Toh. 849) has the long form *Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścitatejorāja* and the short form *Aparimitāyus*.

In the dominant Chinese version A5, he is the *tathāgata* *Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścitarāja* (無量智決定王如來 or 無量壽智決定王如來) only on his first appearance in §2, and is *Aparimitāyus*/*Amitāyus* (無量壽) thereafter. The Khotanese version uses the long form *Aparamitāyurjñāna-suviniścitarāja* in §2, §3, §4, and §6. Chinese versions C2 (BD06348) and C5 (BD03334) also use the longer form *Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścitatejorāja* (智壽無量決定威德王).⁶²

In summary, only the Tibetan and Sanskrit versions appear to adhere to a specific pattern of alternating long and short forms of the Buddha's name in §2, §3, §4, and §6. The Tibetan Dunhuang version C5, the Sanskrit version E4, the rare Chinese versions C2 and C5, and the Tibetan canonical version E5 all use the longest

⁶² Zhang 2022, 719.

form of the name Aparimitāyurjñāna-suviniścitatejorāja. This accords with the form found in their *dhāraṇī*. However, the Tibetan canonical version C5 (the “two-om version,” Toh. 675) does not use *tejo* in the Buddha’s name despite having *tejo* in its *dhāraṇī*. Therefore the form of the *dhāraṇī* may not be the determining factor for which form of the Buddha’s name is used in a given version.

2.2.3 The numbers of Buddhas

Turning to the decades of tens of millions of Buddhas in §7–§14, we find some interesting numerical variations across versions. The progression in all extant Tibetan versions, apart from some minor deviations, is 990,000,000, 840,000,000, 770,000,000, 650,000,000, 550,000,000, 450,000,000, 360,000,000, 250,000,000. This is also true of the Khotanese and Sanskrit versions, with the same caveat that there are some minor deviations. The dominant Chinese Dunhuang version A5, by contrast, proceeds 990,000,000, 1,040,000,000, 70,000,000, 650,000,000, 550,000,000, 450,000,000, 360,000,000, 250,000,000. This is also true of Chinese version C5 (BD03334).⁶³ Surveying much of this same information, Zhang Changhong argued that this substitution of 1,040,000,000 for 840,000,000 can be explained as a translation error from Tibetan into Chinese, where *brgyad* (eight) in *brgyad cu rtsa bzhi* (“eighty-four”) has been misread *brgya* or *brgya’* (one hundred), resulting in the odd number *brgya cu rtsa bzhi* (“one hundred, ten and four”).⁶⁴ We find the same error in some Chinese versions of §18, which features the number 84,000. Whereas the dominant version A5 has 84,000 (八萬四千), C2 (BD06348) has 100,040 (百千四十), and C5 (BD03334) has 4,000,000 (四十百千).⁶⁵ These could plausibly be the result of a Chinese translator trying to deal with a similar misreading of *brgya* for *brgyad*, resulting in the errant and very confusing Tibetan number *stong phrag brgya bcu rtsa bzhi* (something like “one hundred and four sets of ten thousand”).

Intriguingly, the translation of this same number, 84,000, can also point to translation in the opposite direction, to an odd choice of words in Tibetan versions that could have resulted from translating from the Chinese. The dominant Tibetan Dunhuang version (A1 and B1) typically uses the rather standard Tibetan form *stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhi*, literally “eighty-four sets of a thousand” or “eighty-four thousands.” This is also true of the other Tibetan Dunhuang versions, and it is similar to what one finds in the Khotanese and Sanskrit versions, save for their

⁶³ Fatian corrected this in his tenth-century translation at T. 937.

⁶⁴ Zhang 2022, 733.

⁶⁵ Zhang. 2022, 724.

numerical structure being “four and eighty.”⁶⁶ The exception among Tibetan Dunhuang versions is C5. It, and both later canonical versions, use an unexpected form, *brgyad khri bzhi stong*, literally “eight ten thousands, four thousands.” This corresponds precisely to the Chinese *ba wan si qian* 八萬四千 found in the dominant Chinese version A5. These three Tibetan versions use *brgyad khri bzhi stong* in both §18 and §19.

There is another instance of “Chinese-style numbers” in the Tibetan Dunhuang C5 version. In §1, which states that there were 1,250 monks and bodhisattvas in the assembly, all other Tibetan versions use the “Tibetan-style numbering,” *brgya phrag phyed dang bcu gsum*, literally “one half [hundred less than] thirteen sets of a hundred.” This closely reflects the Sanskrit. By contrast, the Tibetan Dunhuang C5 version has *stong nyis brgya lnga bcu*, literally “[one] thousand two hundred and fifty.” This again echoes the Chinese A5 version: *qian erbai wushi* 千二百五十, and reads oddly in Tibetan for the omission of “one” (*chig*) before “thousand” (*stong*). The two Tibetan canonical versions, which join Dunhuang version C5 in using the “Chinese style” numbers *brgyad khri bzhi stong* at §18 and §19, both use the Tibetan or Sanskrit style numbers in this passage in §1.

The “Chinese-style” numbers in the Tibetan Dunhuang C5 version, together with the numerical error of 1,040,000,000 for 840,000,000 in the Chinese A5 version, complicate the supposition that translation went in one direction, from Tibetan to Chinese or from Chinese to Tibetan. Rather, it seems to have gone both ways, from Chinese to Tibetan and from Tibetan to Chinese, with these translations drawing on one another. This is in fact entirely fitting in the bilingual context of ninth-century Dunhuang. It also explains our somewhat matching versions of Chinese and Tibetan Dunhuang copies of the sutra, even if these occur with an inverse distribution. It is also likely that these bilingual translators drew on different Sanskrit copies that had their own rescensional differences.

2.2.4 The pivotal paragraph 19

Looking beyond the number 84,000 in §18 and §19, we recall that these two paragraphs – and §19 specifically – are crucial to determining the versions of *Ap*. These two paragraphs are very similar in that §18 states that copying, etc. the *Ap* is equivalent to copying, etc. all 84,000 dharma teachings, and §19 states that it is equivalent to copying all 84,000 dharma teachings and/or constructing 84,000 stupas. In version

⁶⁶ There are some exceptions. ITJ 310.330, for example, is a B1 copy whose first instance of §18 uses *brgyad khri bzhi stong*, and whose second instance of §19 uses *stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhi*.

one of the sutra, §18 is repeated, so we can say that §19 is absent, or, if one considers the second appearance of §18 to constitute §19, then we can say that §19 is defective. §19 is absent in version two in both Chinese and Tibetan, and absent in version three in Chinese, Tibetan, and Khotanese. It is present in the Sanskrit versions E4 and E5. In version five, §19 is present in both Chinese and Tibetan Dunhuang copies, and it is present in Fatian's 983 translation, and in the Paris concertina. §19 is present in both Tibetan *Bka'* 'gyur versions, but it is arguably defective in the sense that §19 is there largely a repetition of §18. Besides being a meaningful paragraph for determining the version of the sutra, this also raises the question of how it came to be that the dominant Tibetan versions of the sutra, both in Dunhuang and in the *Bka'* 'gyur, came to have a repetitive or defective §19.

To begin with the defective version one, there we find §18 repeated after an intervening §17 amidst the jumble of §15, §18, §17, §18, §20.

Tibetan A1/B1 version, §18 (1): "Whosoever causes this *Aparimitāyuh sūtra* to be copied, he shall cause a heap of 84,000 dharma [teachings] to be copied."
yang la la zhIg gi tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'drIr bcug na / des chos gyI phung po stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhi 'drIr bcug par 'gyur ro/

Tibetan A1/B1 version, §18 (2): "Whosoever causes this *Aparimitāyuh sūtra* to be copied, he shall cause a heap of 84,000 dharma [teachings] to be copied."
gang la la zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'drIr bcug na de'I chos gyI phung po stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhi 'drIr bcug par 'gyur ro/

This is a verbatim repetition. Whether they were aware of this repetition in version one or not, the translators of version two in Chinese and Tibetan and version three in Khotanese and Tibetan entirely omit §19. If this was indeed a decision, and not a relic of haplography passed on in these lines of transmission, then it was presumably an aesthetic choice against the repetition or near repetition of the preceding paragraph. These versions of §18 are essentially the same as version one's, save for Tibetan version three's (in the compilation text PT 98) inclusion of the word "copy" in addition to "cause to be copied," and Chinese version C2's errant 100,040 (百千四十) in place of 84,000, already noted above. Other variant readings need not detain us here.

The Tibetan canonical version of the sutra (C5 and E5) improves upon version one's repetition of §18 only by adding a bit of periphrasis.

Bka' 'gyur version C5/E5, §18: "Whosoever copies or causes this *Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra* to be copied, he shall cause a heap of 84,000 dharma [teachings] to be copied."
gang zhig tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa'i mdo sde 'di yi ger 'dri'am yi ger 'drir 'jug na des chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong 'drir bcug par 'gyur ro; Toh. 674, Toh. 675, and Toh. 849

Bka' 'gyur version C5/E5, §19: “Whosoever copies or causes this *Aparimitāyurjñāna sūtra* to be copied, he shall cause the heap of eighty-four thousand dharma [teachings] to be made and established.”

gang zhig tshe dang ye shes dpag tu med pa'i mdo sde 'di yi ger 'dri'am yi ger 'drir 'jug na des chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong byed du bcug pa dang rab tu gnas par byas pa yin no; Toh. 674, Toh. 675, and Toh. 849

The *Bka' 'gyur* versions' §19 differs from the preceding §18 only by its addition of “and made to be established/ consecrated” (*dang rab tu gnas par byas pa yin no*).

Returning to the Dunhuang manuscripts, the Tibetan C5 version included a version of §19 that differed significantly from §18:

Tibetan version C5, §18: “Whosoever causes this *Aparimitāyuh sūtra* to be copied, he shall cause a heap of 84,000 dharma [teachings] to be copied.”

Gang zhlg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dl yi ger 'drir 'jug pa des chos gyI phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong 'drir bcug par gyur ro /; ITJ 310.645, c11–12

Tibetan version C5, §19: “Whosoever causes this *Aparimitāyuh sūtra* to be copied, [also] causes 84,000 *dharmarāja* stupas to be made and established.”

Gang zhlg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dl yi ger 'drir 'jug pa des chos gyi rgyal po mchod rten brgyad khri bzhi stong byed du bcug cIng rten btsugs par 'gyuro; ITJ 310.645, c13–14

Both paragraphs use the number 84,000, but in §19 it designates “*dharmarājikā* stupas,” probably in reference to those stupas established by Emperor Aśoka.⁶⁷

The dominant Chinese A5 version from Dunhuang also contains stupas at §19, but it represents a middle ground, since it also includes dharma teachings here.

Chinese A5 version, §18: “If you yourself copy, or cause someone else to copy the *Wuliangshou zongyao jing*, this is to faithfully recite or copy the entirety of 84,000 scriptures.”

若有自書寫。教人書寫是無量壽宗要經。受持讀誦如同書寫八萬四千一切經典。

Chinese A5 version, §19: “If you yourself copy, or cause someone else to copy the *Wuliangshou zongyao jing*, this is equivalent to writing the 84,000 teachings and to erecting stupas and temples.”

若有自書寫教人書寫是無量壽宗要經即是書寫八萬四千方部建立塔廟

67 For a discussion of the term *dharmarājika* (not *dharmarājikā*) in relation to stupas, see Tournier 2020, 881.

Looking to the second Chinese canonical version of the sutra, translated by Fatian in 983, his §19 is more like that of the Tibetan C5 version, without reference to writing or copying the teachings.

T. 937, §18: “this *dhāraṇī* scripture of the *tathāgata*, the radiant king of limitless life – if you yourself copy, or cause someone else to copy it, this is as if a person copied the canon of 84,000 scriptures.”

此無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經。若自書若教人書。如是之人則同書寫八萬四千法藏。所獲功德而無有異。

T. 937, §19: “this *dhāraṇī* scripture of the *tathāgata*, the radiant king of limitless life – if you yourself copy it, or cause someone else to copy it, this is as if a person constructed 84,000 stupas.”

此無量壽決定光明王如來陀羅尼經。若復有人若自書若教人書。如是之人便同修建八萬四千寶塔。所獲功德而無有異。

Presumably, Fatian saw this as an improvement of the A5 translation, whose §19 was perhaps contaminated by reference to that of the Tibetan A1/B1 version.

All of these translations into Tibetan and Chinese were presumably made from different Sanskrit exemplars, and with some awareness of other Tibetan and Chinese versions. Although the extant Sanskrit manuscripts date from several centuries later, their §18 and §19 may nonetheless preserve the readings that informed some of these earlier translations. Konow’s edition has the following for §18 and §19:

Sanskrit version E4, §18: “Whoever will write out this *Aparimitāyuh sūtra*, or have it written out, will thereby cause to be copied 84,000 heaps of dharma [teachings].”

Ya idam aparimitāyuh-sūtram likhīsyati likhāpayīsyati | tena caturaśītdharmaskandhasahas-rāṇi likhāpitāni bhaviṣyanti

Sanskrit version E4, §19: “Whoever will write out this *Aparimitāyuh sūtra*, or have it written out, will thereby make and establish 84,000 *dharmarājikā*.”⁶⁸

*Ya idam aparimitāyuh-sūtram likhīsyati likhāpayīsyati | tena caturaśīti dharmarājikāsahas-rāṇi kārapitāni pratīṣṭhāpitāni bhaviṣyanti*⁶⁹

If something like this was the basis for the Tibetan C5 and Chinese A5 translations, then we can see that the Tibetan and Chinese translators clearly understood the feminine adjective *dharmarājikā* to refer to stupas. The Tibetan translator supplies the word *stupa* (*chos gyi rgyal po mchod rten*), and the Chinese translator supplies *stupa*, adds temples, and omits *dharmarājikā* (*ta miao* 塔廟).

⁶⁸ Walleser 1916, 33; see also the English translation in Payne 2007, 294.

⁶⁹ Konow 1916, 311; Duan 1992, 135.

The Sanskrit E5 version makes the same choice as the Tibetan C5 version. Its §18 agrees with Konow’s edition, but its §19 supplies the word *stupa*, albeit corrupted as *stvapa*.

Sanskrit version E5, §19: “Whoever will write out this *Aparimitāyuh sūtra*, or have it written out, will thereby make and establish 84,000 *dharmarājikā* stupas.”⁷⁰

ya idam aparimitāyuhśūtraṃ likhīyanti likhāpayīsyanti tena caturaśītīdharmarājikāstvapa sahasraṇi kārāpitāni pratiṣṭhāpitāni bhavanti |⁷¹

Given that *dharmarājikā* is something like a kenning, it may be that *stupa* was an interlinear gloss that was then copied into the text.

If the term *dharmarājikā* required glossing, it opens up room for other decisions by editors and translators. Walleser in his edition seems to have used the Tibetan *Bka’ ’gyur* version to gloss *dharmarājikā* – the reading in his Sanskrit manuscript – with *dharmarāśi* (“volumes of Dharma”).⁷² This was somewhat artful, since the *Bka’ ’gyur* version had *chos kyi phung po* (*dharmaskandha*) in both §18 and §19. If one assumes a parallel line of thinking for Indian pandits and Tibetan translators in the early second millennium, then a similar gloss of *dharmarājikā* with *dharmarāśi* could go some way toward explaining the *Bka’ ’gyur* version’s §19. It could equally be the case that the sutra was transmitted through a language where a shift from *j > y > ś* occurred (e.g. Gandharī), in which case *rāśi* was a secondary development from *rāji*.⁷³ In this case *kā* would have been deleted by an editor who saw *rāśikā* and did not understand it as *rājikā*. We can also observe that §19’s periphrastic “and made to be established/ consecrated” (*dang rab tu gnas par byas pa yin no*), which differentiates it from §18, is faithful to the Sanskrit *kārāpitāni pratiṣṭhāpitāni bhaviṣyanti*.⁷⁴ It could also be the case that the translators of the *Bka’ ’gyur* versions also had a ninth-century A1 or B1 copy to hand, and that the prestige of this imperial version and its repeated §18 influenced their choices. We have not examined the hundreds of extant Sanskrit copies themselves for clues, but this would surely be rewarding for the study of the *Ap*’s transmission. Whatever the case may be, we can see from the extant translations how medieval Tibetan and Chinese translators addressed this issue.

⁷⁰ Walleser 1916, 33; see also the English translation in Payne 2007, 294.

⁷¹ BnF sanscrit 1815, 68a, 13–14. We are grateful to Allan Ding and to Charles DiSimone for discussing this passage with us.

⁷² Walleser 1916, 23, n. 31.

⁷³ We are indebted to Stefan Baums for this suggestion.

⁷⁴ An alternate translation of this phrase, favored by Roberts and Bower, is “cause the practice and the continuation”; Roberts and Bower 2021a, 1.34.

Even while attempting to make sense of their translation choices in terms of a putative Sanskrit source text, we can also see how the Tibetan and Chinese translations seem to have exerted mutual influence. The dominant Chinese A5 version's choice to include both teachings and stupas in §19 is relevant here. It goes against the Tibetan C5 version, the later translation by Fatian, and the Sanskrit manuscripts we have consulted. Other versions make the “either/or” choice of having 84,000 teachings or 84,000 stupas, whereas the Chinese A5 opts for a “both/and” solution. In this case, we are tempted to see this as a nod to the dominant Tibetan A1/B1 version. Reciprocally, it is precisely in §19 that the Tibetan C5 version makes use of “Chinese-style” numbers for 84,000. This once again seems to point to a situation in which the Chinese and Tibetan versions were evolving in conversation with one another and through their consultations of different Sanskrit versions.

2.2.5 Verses on the six perfections

Another important difference between the versions appears in the verses on the six perfections near the end of the sutra. This is the only verse in the sutra, and it has posed some difficulties for translators. Tibetan versions one and two read:

By the power of giving, a Buddha is perfectly ennobled.
 Realizing the power of giving, when the lions among men
 Enter the city of compassion
 The sound of the power of giving resounds.
sbyin ba'i stobs kyis sangs rgyas yang dag 'phags
myi 'i seng ges sbyin ba'i stobs rtog ste /
snying rje grong khyer du 'ang 'jug pa na /
sbyin ba'i stobs kyi sgra ni grags par 'gyurd; PT 3901, g1–g3

Version three and both later canonical versions (C5 and E5) diverge from this only by a slightly different third line: “[...] enters the compassionate city” (*snying rje can gyi grong khyer 'jug pa na; PT 98*).

The Tibetan Dunhuang version C5 changes the order of the four lines in the quatrain and uses different wording in its final line:

When they enter the compassionate city
 Buddhas are perfectly ennobled by the power of giving.
 By the power of giving, the lions among men
 Abundantly proclaim the power of giving.
snying rje ldan ba grong khyer 'jug pa na
sbyin ba'i stobs gyis sangs rgyas yang dag 'pags /

*sbyin ba'i stobs gyis myi'l seng ge rnams /
lhag pa nyid ces sbyin ba'i stobs sgra grag; ITJ 310.645, e12–12.5⁷⁵*

Another version is found in the Mirān fragment that employs the type-C *dhāraṇī*, but which is too short to reveal what version of the sutra it represents:

Buddhas perfectly arise from the power of giving.
By the power of giving [*illegible*]
Through the power of giving does the sound resound.
They completely enter the city that is endowed with *steng rjin*.
*sbyin [ba'i] stobs kyis sang rgyas yang dag 'byung /
sbyin ba'i stobs kyis [xx xx xx xx xx]
sbyin stobs kyis sgra yang grags pa yin/
steng rjin l[dan pa'i khy[er] du rab du [zhugs]; Or.15000/271, recto 8–9⁷⁶*

The damaged second line probably would have included “lions among men.” The vocabulary of the last line poses some challenges: *khyer* can indicate walls, but one wonders whether it was used here in place of *grong khyer* on account of the meter. The meaning of *steng rjin* is unclear, but it stands in the position of *snying rje ldan pa* in the other versions. It cannot be explained as a phoneticization of Khotanese *mu'sdi'ṣaunā*, Sanskrit *kāruṇakasya*, or Chinese *cibei*.

Different still is the fragmentary version possibly written in blood ink, whose order and meaning both diverge from the other Tibetan versions, but closely track the dominant Chinese A5 version:

[On] the Buddha arisen from the power of giving,
By the power of giving is a person a lion [among men].
By the power of giving can he hear all sounds.
He completely enters the stage of compassion.
*sbyin ba'i stobs gyis byung ba'i sangs rgyas te' /
sbyin ba'i stobs gyis/rig pa'i skyes bu' seng 'ge yin/
/ sbyi'n ba'i stobs kyi's/ / kund du' sgra' yang thos/
/ snying rje'i rim pa+s rab du 'jug'; ITJ 308, 7r3–4*

The grammar here is simpler, but it is also awkward. We have read *snying rje'i rim pas rab du 'jug* as if it were *rim pa* “stage/ level” rather than *rim pas* “gradually.” Reading *rim pas*, one would be gradually and compassionately and completely entering, but there would be no site – no city – that one enters. As awkward as this

75 See Fig. 54 for an image of the column on which this text occurs, and Appendix One for a transliteration of the entire text.

76 Takeuchi 1998, 122. In the first line, Takeuchi reads 'gyur where we read 'byung.

may be, it is a close equivalent to the dominant A5 Chinese version, whose last two lines have very similar language and meaning.

By the power of generosity one can one be perfectly enlightened.
 By the power of realizing generosity is one a lion among men.
 By the power of generosity one can hear all sounds.
 Compassion in stages gradually, one is able to supremely enter.
 布施力能成正覺
 悟布施力人師子
 布施力能聲普聞
 慈悲階漸最能入

Here *zui neng ru* 最能入 corresponds to *rab du 'jug*. The phrase *Cibei jie jian* 慈悲階漸 also well justifies our ambivalence about *rim pa* “stage” versus *rim pas* “gradually”: *jie* 階 means stage or level, and *jian* 漸 means gradual. It is as if the translator of version A5 translated *snying rje'i rim pa rim pas* – perhaps another example of his tendency for having it both ways. Whether the Tibetan quatrain in ITJ 308 is a faithful translation of the Chinese or vice-versa, neither includes the “entering the city” motif.

The Chinese version S.147 has a different quatrain, whose order and content closely resemble the Tibetan version one:

By the power of giving, a Buddha is completely superior.
 The lion among men is wondrously able to know.
 The *sugatas*, in the midst of the city [of] compassion,
 By the power of giving they are all-hearing.
 布施之力佛最勝
 人中 師子妙能知
 善逝慈悲聚落中
 [布施]⁷⁷之力遍聞響

This differs from version one and from all other versions by mentioning the *sugata(s)* (*shan shi* 善逝). Also, *juluo* 聚落 corresponds fairly well with the Tibetan *grong khyer* and the Sanskrit *pura* as a vague term that could correspond to “city,” as opposed to the more precise term for a walled city, *cheng* 城. It also departs from the expected *ru* 入 for “entering the city” and instead places the *sugata(s)* in the middle (*zhong* 中) of the city.

Fatian’s 983 translation adds two more lines to the verse and replaces “lion among men” (*ren zhong shizi* 人中師子) with a different epithet of the Buddha,

77 The text errs here by substituting 檀那. The other five verses follow the pattern of naming the relevant perfection here.

“teacher of gods and humans” (*tian ren shi* 天人師). He also changes what is heard when one enters the “city” – here *jingshi* 精室⁷⁸ – of great compassion: for Fatian it is the *dhāraṇī*. This was presumably seen as a tidy solution to the ambiguity around what it was that was heard, or what it was that resounded, or whether entering the city involved one becoming “all-hearing.”

By the power of practicing giving does one succeed;
 By the power of giving does one become a Buddha.
 When entering into the midst of the *jingshi* 精室 of great compassion
 One hears this *dhāraṇī*.
 If one practices giving completely,
 That person will quickly become a teacher of gods and humans.
 修行布施力成就 布施力故得成佛
 若入大悲精室中 耳暫聞此陀羅尼
 設使布施未圓滿 是人速證天人師
 設使布施未圓滿 是人速證天人師

The Tibetan Dunhuang version C5 and the Chinese version A5 follow the same order as the Sanskrit quatrain in Konow’s edition. However, the latter includes the phrase about entering the city (or “realm” – *pura*) of compassion (*kāruṇikasya pure praviśāntam*).

The Buddha is unexcelled at the power of giving.
 By the power of giving is the lion among men known.
 One hears the sound of the power of giving
 When one enters the city of compassion.⁷⁹
dāna-balena samudgata buddho
dāna-balādhigatā nara-siṃhāḥ |
dāna-balasya ca śrūyati śabdaḥ
*kāruṇikasya pure praviśāntam*⁸⁰

This is essentially the same version found in the Gilgit/ Bāmiyān Type II fragment FE 3366.

dānavalena samudgatu vuddho
dānavalā[dhigatā narasiṃhāḥ

⁷⁸ This is a term more commonly found in Daoist and Chinese medical contexts, where it is connected with various internal organs, and sometimes associated with immortality; Liu 2009, 103 and 304, n. 42.

⁷⁹ Walleser 1916, 35; Payne 2007, 298.

⁸⁰ Konow 1916, 323; Duan 1992, 138.

*d](ā)navalasya ca śrūyati śavdo
kāruṇikasya pure pravi[śantaṃ]⁸¹*

It also agrees with the verse in ostensibly the oldest nearly complete Sanskrit copy, Ms. Or. 153.

The Khotanese version gives a slightly different verse in Sanskrit with the first two lines reversed, and then gives the verse in Khotanese. Its Sanskrit verse reads:

*dāmnabalābhiratā narasīhā
dāmnabalena samudgatān buddhā
dāmnabalasya śruṇīyata śabdaṃ
kāruṇakasya puraṃ praveśante⁸²*

The Khotanese reads:

The lions among men delight in the power of giving.
Protected by the power of giving, you attained Buddhahood.
We now hear the sound of the power of giving,
As we enter the city of compassion.⁸³
*haurīje hauva jsa hayaramdā hvaṃḍāna sarauva
haurīje hauvi jsa āysdaḍā ṣṭāna ba'ysuścā bustī
haurīje hauva bijāṣā pvā'mana vaysṇā
mu'sdī'ṣaunā ttramdye ṣṭām kithāṣṭā vāṣṭāq*

Looking across these different versions of the verse, we again perceive differences in order and in language. The power of giving may distinguish Buddhas as superior or noble, or it might be a condition of their Buddhahood. The lions among men realize the power of giving, are constituted or are known by their power of giving, or delight in the power of giving. The sound of the power of giving resounds, is heard, or the power of giving makes one all-hearing. They enter either the city of compassion or the stage of compassion.

In all versions the same structure obtains for the verses that follow on the other five perfections. In most versions, excepting the dominant Chinese C5 version, the verse is followed by the final occurrence of the *dhāraṇī*.

⁸¹ Von Hinüber 2014, 111; his reconstructions in brackets.

⁸² This follows Konow 1916, 322.

⁸³ This follows Duan's translation; Duan 1992, 62. Konow translates the verse differently, diverging most in the first line: "By the power of alms the lions amongst men are living. Being hallowed by the power of alms, thou acquiredest buddhahood; the hearing of the sound of the power of alms one does not hear here, it is proclaimed to him who has entered into the city of the Merciful One"; Konow 1916, 322.

Table 2: Structural Comparison of the Verses in the *Ap* in Various Versions.

Version/ Verse Element	Sanskrit E4	Chinese Dunhuang A5 and ITJ 308	1, 2, 3 and canonical Tibetan versions C5 and E5	S.147	Tibetan Dunhuang C5	Tibetan Mirān Fragment Or.15000/271	Khotanese version
1 Power of giving enlightens/ ennobles	1 ennobles	1 enlightens	1 ennobles	1 ennobles	4 entering the city	1 enlightens	2 lions delight in power of giving
2 Lions among men realize/ are known by/ exist through the power of giving	2 By the power of giving is the lion among men known	2 realizing power of giving makes lions among men	2 lions realize	2 lions realize	1 power of giving ennobles Buddhas	2 By the power of giving [...] [vacat]	1 enlightens, protects
3 Sound of the power of giving is heard/ resounds	3 is heard	3 by power of giving one is all-hearing	4 entering the city	4 They are all-hearing	2 lions among men, by the power of giving	3 resounds	3 is heard
4 When one enters the city of compassion	4 when one enters the city of compassion	4 one is able to enter stage of compassion gradually	3 resounds	3 <i>Sugata(s)</i> in the midst of the city of compassion	3 proclaim (?) the power of giving	4 [they] fully enter the city that is endowed with <i>steng rjin</i>	4 when one enters the city of compassion

2.2.6 The Final Lines

A final area where versions differ is in how the sutra ends. In Tibetan versions one, two (PT 105), and three (PT 98), Mañjuśrī and the human and non-human assembly of listeners rejoice at what the Buddha taught:

Mañjuśrīkumārabhūta, the gods, humans, non-humans, *gandharvas* and all the worldly assembly manifestly rejoiced at what the *bhagavan* taught.

'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd pa dang / lha dang / myI dang / lha ma yin dang // drI zar bcas pa'I jig rten gyI 'khor de thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o /; ITJ 310.1209, g4-6

Tibetan version C5, by contrast, does not mention Mañjuśrī at the end, and has the assembly both rejoice and offer praise:

The all-encompassing entourage, the gods, humans, non-humans, and *gandharvas* [of this] world delighted in what the *bhagavan* taught and manifestly praised it.

thams chad dang ldan ba'I 'khor / de dang lha dang myi dang lha ma yIn dang dri zar bcas pa'I jig rten / bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la yi rang ste mngon bar bstod to'; ITJ 310.645, e17-19⁸⁵

This wording corresponds to the two Tibetan canonical versions, except for the fact that these include Mañjuśrī.

The fragmentary version at ITJ 308, by contrast, does not have the assembly praise the teachings but rather commit the teaching to their hearts. Mañjuśrī is again absent.

The gods, humans, non-humans, *gandharvas*, and all of the retinues of those worlds quickly held it in their hearts just as the *bhagavan* taught.

lha: dang: myi: dang: lha ma: yin: dang: dri: za' dang 'jig: rten: de: dag: gi 'khor: thams: chad/ bcom: ldan: 'das: gyis: gsungs: pa: bzhin: du/ / myur: ba'i: yidu 'dzin: to; ITJ 308, 7v5-6

The Chinese A5 version has the assembly both rejoice and “put their confidence in” the teaching, roughly equivalent to holding it in their hearts:

The entire assembly of gods, *asuras*, *gandharvas*, etc. delighted at what the Buddha taught and put their confidence in it.

一切世間天人阿修羅捷闍婆等。聞佛所說。皆大歡喜。信受奉行

S.147 follows this, but omits the last part, 信受奉行, so the assembly only expresses its delight.

⁸⁵ See Fig. 54 for an image of the column on which this text occurs.

The ending in ITJ 308 corresponds closely with that in the Khotanese version, which also has the statement that the audience took the teachings to heart/ placed it in their minds.

[...] all gods and men and the assembly in the world beginning with *asuras* and *gandharvas* quickly embraced that saying of the Venerable Exalted One, and when it became understood placed it in their mind.⁸⁶

khu gyastā ba'ysā ttu hvanai hva yuḍe bisā gyasta u hvaṇḍā aysurāṃ gandharvām āstana lovyā paršā' tta tu gyastā ba'ysā hivi hvanai thyau nāmdā nāpaṃdai-v-ī aysmya yuḍāṃdā

The Sanskrit E4 version, following Konow's edition, also omits Mañjuśrī:

Thus spoke the *bhagavan* joyfully, and the *bhikṣus*, the *bodhisattvas-mahāsattvas*, and the vast assembly, and the worlds of gods, men, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *gandharvas*, found pleasure in what the *bhagavan* had spoken.⁸⁷

*idam avocad bhagavān āttamanās te ca bhikṣavas te ca bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ sā ca sarvāvatī parṣat sa-deva-manūṣāsura-garuḍa-gandharvaś ca loko bhagavato bhāṣitam abhyanaṇḍann iti*⁸⁸

Other Sanskrit E4 versions appear to display only minor variations, such as omitting *bhikṣus* or *garuḍas*.

In this closing passage the main differences are whether or not Mañjuśrī is present (Tibetan versions one and two, and canonical versions) or absent (Tibetan Dunhuang version C5 and ITJ 308; Chinese, Khotanese, and Sanskrit versions); and whether or not the assembly delights in/ praises the teaching (Sanskrit E4 version; Tibetan Dunhuang versions one, two, three, and five, and both canonical versions; Chinese Dunhuang version S.147), commits it to heart (Khotanese version; ITJ 308), or both (Chinese A5).

2.2.7 Conclusions on content

Looking at these various key differences in content, it is evident that they do not align neatly with the structural differences between versions. Even where one version might be suspected of being translated from or co-created with another version based on their structural affinities, the specific choices of language in these key paragraphs suggest a complex situation in which translators drew on multiple versions

⁸⁶ Konow 1916, 328; Duan 1992, 64.

⁸⁷ Walleser 1916, 36; Payne 2007, 299.

⁸⁸ Duan 1992, 138.

to make their choices. For example, structurally PT 98 in Tibetan is version three and thus corresponds to the Khotanese version. However, its verse structure does not mirror the structure of the Khotanese verse. By contrast, the structure of the verse in ITJ 308, a possibly blood-written *Ap* copy, most closely tracks that in the dominant Chinese A5 version.

From the perspective of transmission, one might say that the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* produced in Dunhuang in the ninth century are hopelessly “contaminated” in the sense that transmission is not purely from one source text and language to one target text and language. We have seen some evidence that points to translation – or rather influence – from Tibetan to Chinese and some evidence that points in the reverse direction. We have also seen how different readings or different variants of the Sanskrit source texts could have produced different Tibetan and Chinese translations of §19. It may be the case that scribal errors account for version one replacing §16 with §18, as others have suggested. It may also be the case that this was a principled decision that was made based on the source text(s) that the translator(s) had before them. It is only the documentation of so many sutra copies as textual witnesses that allows us to perceive and document this rich history of “contamination.” However messy it may be, such a situation likely reflects standard practice in many other contexts in which Buddhist texts were collated and translated. It may accurately represent something like a standard practice of using as many versions and resources as one had to hand in order to produce a translation. Any appearance of a tidy and uncontaminated transmission might even be taken on the one hand as evidence of a lack of textual data and/or on the other hand an indication of a lack of a vibrant practice context.

2.3 Context of the different versions

All of the Dunhuang Tibetan versions as well as the Chinese versions are either represented in the sutra-copying project of the 820s, or else are not far removed from it temporally. Even the variant with the idiosyncratic title *Tshe tshad myed pa*, which is so far attested in only seven leaves across three pressmarks in Paris and London, is found in one of these fragments on the verso of a discarded SP2 folio PT 2079v, where it exists alongside the jottings typical of such discards. As such, it is very likely contemporary with the production of these *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies, which were a part of the horse-year project begun in 826. The Chinese and Tibetan *Ap* copies, as we will conclude in Chapter Three, were largely copied in the years just before and after 826, as part of a separate, but related, sutra-copying project. Version two is found not only in the compilation text PT 105, which was not a part of the sutra-copying project, but also in ITJ 310.315 and PT 3671, which are

otherwise identical with the A1 and B1 copies of *Ap*, and are therefore probably contemporary with them. The names of the scribes and editors also overlap with those who scribed and edited the main A1 and B1 sutra copies produced during the project to produce *Ap* copies for the Tibetan emperor. Version three, by contrast, is only so far attested in the Khotanese copies and in the Tibetan copy in PT 98, a compilation text that was probably commissioned later than the *Ap* copies made for the Tibetan emperor. It is quite possible that official sutra copies of version three, which uses the type-A *dhāraṇī*, are to be found among those sutra copies that have been classed by other scholars and cataloguers as type A and by us as A1. The Tibetan Dunhuang version C5, as we have already noted, was produced as part of the sutra-copying project, even if copies are extremely rare.

The variant Chinese versions may also belong to the Chinese *Ap* copies commissioned for the Tibetan emperor. They share the same *mise-en-page* as the dominant A5 version, and feature thirty to thirty-five characters per line rather than the standard seventeen characters per line that one usually finds in sutra copies produced during the Tang. Some other Dunhuang copies of version A5, by contrast, do follow this more standard *mise-en-page* of seventeen characters per line, as we describe in the next chapter. This sets them apart from the more cramped writing in the Chinese *Ap* copies commissioned for the Tibetan emperor. It remains an open question when, where and by whom the Chinese A5 version, canonized as T.936, was translated – or why it became the obvious choice for an exemplar when copies of this Chinese version of the sutra were commissioned shortly after 826.

In any case, at least three versions of the sutra – versions one, two, and five in Tibetan and versions two and five in Chinese – appear to have been contemporary with one another in the 820s in Dunhuang, and included among the official copies produced as a gift for the Tibetan emperor. In Chapter Three, we will argue that the Tibetan copies were commissioned prior to the commission of the Chinese copies, but that this was only a matter of a few years on either side of 826.

That these versions were copied at this time does not mean that 820s Dunhuang was the site of their translation. It may be the case that the defective version one favored by the Tibetan *Ap* copies was a translation brought from central Tibet that had already been completed in the late-eighth or early ninth century. This may be the version recorded in the *Ldan dkar ma Catalogue* as the *Tshe dpag tu med pa'i gzungs*, measured as 110 *ślokas*, and included in this catalogue's section for "*dhāraṇī* [texts] of various sizes."⁸⁹ Its prestige as a central Tibetan, imperially sponsored

⁸⁹ Lalou 1953, 327; no. 350; see also Herrmann-Pfandt 2008, 199–201. Entry 381 of the same section, "*Phags pa Tshe dpag tu med pa*" in thirty-nine *ślokas*, refers, as Herrmann-Pfandt has noted, to the *Ārya-Aparimitāyur-jñāna-hṛdaya-nāma-dhāraṇī*; Herrmann-Pfandt 2008, 218. This is confirmed by

translation may account for its being used despite its missing and jumbled paragraphs. If this were version B1, then the intrusion of the type-A *dhāraṇī*, which became standard in Tibetan copies after 826, may have been influenced by the Chinese A5 version, or else by the general popularity of the type-A *dhāraṇī* in Dunhuang as opposed to central Tibet. To the extent that they are rare variant translations, it is possible that the Chinese and Tibetan version two copies were created at Dunhuang in conversation with one another and with other versions that translators had to hand. However, it is difficult to imagine that anyone producing such a translation was aware of the complete version five. This makes the Chinese copies of version two (aka 乙本) particularly anomalous.

The few scribes who copied both the Tibetan A1/B1 version of the sutra and the Chinese A5 version may have taken no notice of their differences in content. There are no instances where they have inserted the missing paragraphs eight to eleven or corrected the jumbled paragraphs sixteen through twenty-one. This was not the role of a scribe, or even of an editor, and it is already surprising to find the rare “Sinophone” interventions that we do encounter in a few of these Tibetan sutra copies, such as the parsing of the *dhāraṇī* into twelve or fifteen sections. On the other hand, translators, and elite bilingual monks and nuns obviously took notice of these differences. The inadequacy of the Tibetan version A1/ B1 in comparison with the Chinese version A5 may have been what prompted the production of the Tibetan C5 version. This version, as we have seen above, is not a faithful translation from the Chinese, but it may have drawn on Chinese versions as well as Tibetan versions, in addition to a Sanskrit source text or texts. This sort of translation practice, involving not only translation from Sanskrit into Tibetan or Chinese, but also some facility in comparing existing Tibetan and Chinese translations, and translating between these, is a product of this particular period on the Chinese-Tibetan frontier. Some well-known figures like Wu Facheng/ 'Go Cho grub have become emblematic of this sort of translation practice, but it probably represented a *modus operandi* for a group of elite Sino-Tibetan translators not only in Tibetan Dunhuang but also in Guazhou and in other areas of the eastern Tibetan Empire.

The transmission of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* and of its *dhāraṇī* is a much more detailed story than the one we have sketched here. Our typologies are serviceable for our purposes, and the disambiguation of types of the *dhāraṇī* from versions of the sutra is a welcome refinement from the vague designations of Tibetan Dunhuang copies as “A” or “B,” or the *Bka'gyur* copies as “two-*Om*” or “three-*Om*.” Over time we have traced what appears to be the expansion of the *dhāraṇī* through the

their discrepancies in length: 110 versus thirty-nine *ślokas*. For reference, the same catalogue measures the *Heart Sutra* as twenty-eight *ślokas*.

addition of different textual units until it reached the ideal of 108 syllables/ *akṣaras*. We have also seen the most dominant ninth-century Tibetan Dunhuang version (A1/B1) give way to the longer and less jumbled *Bka' 'gyur* version (C5/E5). The manuscript record is spotty, with the earliest fragment coming from Gilgit including only a bit of the *dhāraṇī* and part of the verse. We have thousands of ninth-century Dunhuang manuscripts, but the Sanskrit manuscripts are from the twelfth century at the earliest. These largely use the longer type-E *dhāraṇī*, and most appear to be version four (without §21) along with a few of version five. The fluid nature of the text, driven by its will to reproduce and by the avid production of copies, fueled the proliferation of versions and variants. The thick nature of the manuscript record at Dunhuang permits us to see these clearly, but similarly vibrant transmission lines may have thrived elsewhere.

3 Producing *Limitless Life*

The deficits of paper in the horse and sheep years for the scribes of the 100,000-line *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*, which is a gift for the son of gods. Commissioners Stag bzang Tsi dam and G.yu bzher Brtan kong calculated [by subtracting] the record of scribed sutras submitted [by each scribe] from the tally of paper received [by each scribe]. Setting aside the discards, damaged sheets, and paper wrappers used as work surfaces, they assigned each scribe's respective shortfalls of paper to each scribe's precise name.

They submitted this to councilor Rgyal zigs and *to dog* councilor Btsan bzher. [Councilor Rgyal zigs and *to dog* councilor Btsan bzher] ordered: "the collection of these debts of paper is entrusted to the 'heads of fifty,' that is, the officials of each district and their subordinates to permanently resolve, and the keeper (*rub ma pa*) Brtan kong is instructed to add [the receipt of these debts to his records]. Complete this by the first autumn month of the monkey year."

This having been decided, they wrote the [following] record of what is to be managed (i.e. collected). If there be anyone who would dare to oppose managing this matter, whether by profiting from these papers by collecting them for himself or not profiting from these papers, or if anyone would flee/ be absent, then seize and shackle one of his closest relations at the site of the gift (i.e. the scriptorium), and make the scribe himself manage the [missing] papers. Up until he manages this, seize his wealth and possessions at a rate of double [the value of his paper debt] as a surety, and entrust this [wealth and possessions] to the keeper (*rub ma pa*). If rather than manage this issue he should dare to oppose it or not collect [the papers] to be managed, then the *li ceng* are to whip him at a rate of ten lashes per sheet of missing paper. The *li ceng* shall harry him each day up to the site of the gift and recalculate the size of the [debt of] paper that he has offered.

– ITJ 1359(A)¹

1 ITJ 1359(A), ll. 1–17: \$:/ rta dang lug gi lo la // lha sras kyI sku yon dar ma shes rab 'bum pa / brI pa'I yI ge [pa] rnams kyI khong na shog chad ci mchis pa // ring lugs stag bzang tsi dam dang / g.yu bzher brtan kong gi g.yar sngar // shog shog mnos pa'i dkar chag dang / dar ma phul pa'i bu[l] yI g tu brtsis pa las // ro gron dang glegs tshas bton pa'I slad na // yI ge pa'I khong na shog shog chad yang dag pa'I mying smras // blon rgyal zigs dang / to dog blon btsan bzher la zhus pa las // shog chad 'di rnams sde tshan so so'i lnga bchu rkang dang 'og sna la gnyer par gtan pa chos la / rub ma pa je'u brtan kong gis ni snon du skoste / spre'u lo ston sla ra ba gum tshun cad kyis gnyer 'gum su stsol ci g ces mchid gyis bcad nas gnyer yI g dkar chag du bris pa' // gnyer pas kyang ngo zlog phod par 'tshol te / shog shog 'byor na dngos su bsodus; / shog shog ma 'byor ram / rang reng 'tshal ba zhig mchis na phu nu nye drung gcig zungste / btson car stsol la // sku yon sar btson du zho[g] ste / yI ge pa dngos kyis ni / shog shog gi gnyer 'gum su stsal / gnyer ma 'khums gyi bar du phyugs nor la stsogs

When Tibetan armies overran the Gansu corridor in the second half of the eighth century they took control of renowned sites of Buddhist cultural production. Dunhuang was justly famous for visual arts, but both Dunhuang (Shazhou) and Guazhou were also important centers for scriptural production. By the beginning of the sixth century there was already an established scriptorium in Dunhuang, and its various temples had libraries of their own.² Tibetan control of Dunhuang (c. 786–848) also coincided with a period when Tibet's emperors, generals, and officials embraced Buddhism, especially in terms of building temples and sponsoring the translation, reproduction, and recitation of scriptures. During the Tibetan period, Dunhuang's scribes, many of them effectively born into their trade, were employed in an official scriptorium (*jingzang* 經藏), where they often produced sutras for the Tibetan emperor and for other powerful patrons. Other scribes may have worked at their own monasteries, where Chinese monks and nuns were joined by Tibetans and those of other ethnicities. As the Chinese scribes of Dunhuang became more Tibetanized over the course of generations of Tibetan rule, they learned Tibetan language and worked alongside Tibetans and other ethnicities copying not only Chinese but also Tibetan sutras.

In embracing Buddhism, Tibet's emperors had already prioritized scriptural production and the translation of Buddhist teachings, mostly from Sanskrit. Through royal patronage there was by the early ninth century a centralized translation bureau, manuals for standardizing translations of technical terms from Sanskrit, a growing Sangha, a network of temples and "Dharma colleges" across the Tibetan Empire, and a growing catalogue of Buddhist translations. Whereas in central Tibet these projects were increasingly focused on India and on the Sanskrit language, in eastern areas such as Dunhuang there was a legacy of Chinese Buddhist scriptural production, as well as a vibrant ritual calendar and material culture in which sutras were prominently featured.

The bilingual sutra-copying project initiated in the horse year 826 is a key event in the articulation of an imperially sponsored Buddhism under the Tibetan Empire. On the face of it, its bilingualism is inclusive, and communicates a message that the Tibetan emperor is the emperor for both Tibetans and Chinese and that Buddhist palladia such as these sutras should be commissioned in both languages. At the same time, the legal and administrative apparatus that oversaw the production of these

pa gta' nyl ri phrogs la / rub ma pa la gtod cig / gnyer pas ngo zlog ma phod dam / gnyer ma 'dus par gyur na / li ceng rnam kyang / shog shog yug re lcag bcu bcu'I thang du rgyab chad gyis chod par bcado II ceng gi rnam kyang gdugs re lan re sku yon sar 'phyan cad snyogs la / shog shog 'bul stobs che chung yang rtsi zhing mchi shig/ /; for a different translation, see Takeuchi 1994, 857.

2 Fujieda 1969, 24–27; Drège 1991, 224 and following.

sutras, translated above in this chapter's epigraph, was punitive and coercive, and applied to Tibetan and Chinese scribes as well as to those of other ethnicities. United sometimes by devotion to the Buddhas, sometimes by fear of administrators, and other times by frustration with their editors, Dunhuang's scribes produced specific solutions to the specific challenges they faced. Their work, recorded in the thousands of sutra copies and folia that have come down to us, is a snapshot of a unique moment in the histories of both Tibet and Dunhuang leading up to the collapse of Tibetan rule in Dunhuang in 848 and the dissolution of the Tibetan Empire itself not long after. It is also a unique and fascinating time for the coalescing of different Chinese and Tibetan scribal and editorial norms for producing Buddhist sutras.

3.1 The horse-year sutra-copying project

The Dunhuang manuscripts themselves include several records of sutra-copying projects in the form of both administrative records and colophons. Due to the scale of producing copies of massive sutras like the *Daboreboluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (**Mahā-prajñāpāramitā*; hereafter, *MP*), or multiple copies of shorter sutras, it was only the wealthy and powerful who acted as patrons of such projects. One such patron was Yuan Rong 元榮, the prince of Dongyang (Dongyang wang 東陽王), who commissioned hundreds of sutra copies while serving as Inspector (*cishi* 刺史) of Guazhou from 525 to 542. The colophons of these sutras detail his motivations, as Yuan Rong variously prays for the enlightenment of the heavenly kings Vaiśravaṇa, Śakra, and Brahmā, and, through them, for recovery from illness, for long life, for the return of his son from travels, for the protection of the kingdom, and for the benefit of all beings.³ Another such patron was Lady Cui, wife of the prince of Qin, who in the year 588 commissioned 500 copies of the *Linked Discourses* (*Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經; *Samyuktāgama*).⁴

In the case of the sutra-copying project that accounts for the single largest group of extant Dunhuang manuscripts, we have administrative records, colophons, and jottings, but lack a dedication record or detailed colophon stating the name of the giver and detailing their motivations. Fortunately, F.W. Thomas, Akira Fujieda, Tsuguhito Takeuchi and others have studied the relevant administrative documents, which allow us to date the beginning of the project to 826. A key document

³ The Prince of Dongyang's commissions have been treated in various places, e.g. Hao 2020, 89–90. See most recently the detailed discussions and translated colophons in Chen 2020.

⁴ Drège 1991, 198–199.

concerning taxation and expenditure, ITJ 1254, records six separate requests concerning the project. The third of these requests states:

Dedicated as a gift simultaneously, in the horse year. From the administrative order: “Copy eight [copies] of the Tibetan 100,000[-line *Perfection of Wisdom [Sutra]* and three [copies] of the Chinese-600 roll 100,000[-line *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*].” So it says.
rta 'i] [o'i] [d]us gcig du sku yon du bsnogs te / bla'i mdzad [b]yang las byung ba / bod kyi shes rab 'bum pa sde brgyad dang // rgya'i 'bum pa [b]lam po drug brgya' [pa] sde gsum ris shIg ches byungste; ITJ 1254, ll. 8–9.

Here the authority that orders the production of these sutras is exceedingly vague: the “administrative order” (*bla'i mdzad byang*) is a slip or document (*byang*) that mandates that one do or make (*mdzad*) something, which is issued from the authority (*bla*, literally, “above”).⁵ Indeed, quite a few of the disputes surrounding this sutra-copying project that are recorded in this and other administrative texts effectively stem from the petitioners’ lack of proper records to justify expenditure or repayment from various administrative offices. It may be that the sutras were a gift from a high official, and that some ostensive cost sharing between this patron’s personal benefaction and some expected contributions in the form of public expenditure contributed to such confusion.

Other records, in any case, make it clear that the recipient of the gift of these sutras was the emperor Khri Gtsug lde brtsan who ruled from 815 to 841. To excerpt only a few:

“Those scribes who in the horse and sheep years were copying the 100,000[-line *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*, the gift (*sku yon*) for the son of gods [...].”
rta dang lug gl lo la // lha sras kyI sku yon dar ma shes rab 'bum pa / brI pa'IyI ge [pa] rnam; ITJ 1359(A), ll. 1–2 (legal document concerned with the punishment of scribes for lost paper).

“Dedicated as a gift for the lord, the son of gods.”
*rje lha sras gyl sku yon du bsnogs the; ITJ 310.168 and ITJ 310.939 (separate jottings in Tibetan *Ap* colophons).*

“Written as a gift for the great king.”
*rgyal po chen po de'i sku yon du bri; ITJ 310.699 (jotting in Tibetan *Ap* colophon).*

“Two hundred sheets of long-sheet paper [...] for the purpose of copying the gift [sutras].”
sku yon 'dri ba'i shog shog yug rings nyis brgya'; PT 1078, r.2 (lawsuit about a loan of paper).⁶

5 The term *mdzad byang* shares this administrative meaning in the text PT 999, which also concerns the production of *Ap* copies after their use in a festival in 844. On this term, and its later use to indicate author colophons, see Wangchuk 2022, 326–330.

6 See Takeuchi 1995, 181.

“As a gift for the previous son of gods, Khri Gtsug lde brtsan, the Chinese and Tibetan *Limitless Life* sutras were copied in Shazhou.”

sngun lha sras khri gtsug lde brtsan gyi sku yon du // sha cur rgya bod gyi dar ma tshe dpag du myed pa [br]is te//; PT 999, ll. 1–2 (administrative text dating to 844).

The seventh and final request in the administrative document ITJ 1254 states that “the two sets of sutras written in the horse year were entrusted to the Shazhou messenger Rgya sheg Tsheng tsheng, but there was no seal of receipt” (*rta'I lo la brI ba'i dar ma sde gnyis // shacu'I pho nya rgya sheg tsheng tsheng la brdzangste/ bul rtags kyI phyag rgya ni ma mchis nas*; ITJ 1254, ll. 15–16). This almost certainly refers to the three copies of the Tibetan 100,000-line *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (*Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, henceforth *SP*) and eight copies of the Chinese *MP*. The passage goes on to state that the sutras have been considered missing, and are to be returned to the scriptorium, but that this had not been accomplished after four years of searching. At issue now is authorizing an expenditure to replace them. This is of a piece with the same documents' other passages, which paint a picture of dysfunction.

It is notable that the horse-year commission of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies is separate from the commissioning of the thousands of copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, even if both sutras are referred to as gifts for the emperor. The fifth request in the same document references an order very like the one quoted above that commissioned the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*. It is fragmentary, but one can make out “[illegible] order: it says ‘Copy the Chinese *Sutra of Limitless Life*.’” ([xx] *byang byungste/ rgya'i tshe dpag du ma m[chi]s pa ris [shig] ches byung*; ITJ 1254, ll. 24–25).⁷ It is interesting that this comes later in the text than mention of the order to copy the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*, since this might suggest a temporal succession whereby the Chinese *Sutra of Limitless Life* was commissioned after the horse year 826 when the Chinese and Tibetan *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras were commissioned. It is also intriguing that this order does not mention the Tibetan version of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* as being commissioned at the same time (*dus gcig du*), as in the case of the order to copy the Chinese and Tibetan *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras. The administrative order PT 999, which dates to 844, treats the Chinese and Tibetan copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* together, so there has been a tendency to assume that they, like the Chinese and Tibetan *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies, were commissioned at the same time. However, an examination of the names in the colophons

⁷ One notes here the odd title that this passage gives for the sutra, *Tshe dpag du ma mchis pa*, in place of the usual *Tshe dpag du myed pa*. This is likely the mistake of an administrator.

of all of these sutras suggests that the copying of the Tibetan *Sutra of Limitless Life* was initiated first, followed by the Tibetan and Chinese versions of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*, and then the Chinese *Sutra of Limitless Life*. The text from 844 may have lumped the Chinese and Tibetan copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* together for the sake of convenience, or else it may have been unaware of the precise chronology of their commission, which had occurred nearly two decades prior.

Comparing the colophons of Tibetan *Ap* and Tibetan *pothi*-format *SP2* (both visible in Fig. 5, above), there are significant overlaps in personnel, some of which are revealing. Among those editors found in multiple colophons of both the Tibetan *Ap* and the *SP2* are Ci keng, Dam 'gi, Dam ^ing, Dam tsong, Leng Ce'u, Leng pe'u, 'Od snang, Phab dzang, Phab weng, Phab ting, and Phug 'gi. At the same time, there are at least seven editors of *SP2*, Bam Stag bzang, Brtan legs, Cang Weng yir, Chos grub, Ha Stag slebs, Stag brtan, and Stag slebs, who are found *only as scribes and not as editors* in *Ap* colophons. There do not appear to be any inverse cases of people who served as scribes of *SP2* and as editors of *Ap*. This is significant for establishing a timeline: if one assumes a career progression in which a scribe advances from serving as a scribe to becoming an editor, and assumes inversely that someone who has served as an editor is unlikely to subsequently serve exclusively as a scribe, then this would indicate that these people worked as scribes of the *Ap* before they worked as editors of the *SP2*. This by itself is not conclusive evidence that the Tibetan *Ap* was copied before the order in the horse-year 826 to copy the Tibetan *SP2* and the Chinese *MP*, since one could also imagine a case where the editors of one sutra are the scribes of another, but alongside other editorial practices, which we will treat in detail below, such a chronology becomes fairly likely.

The scribes and editors in the colophons of Tibetan and Chinese *Ap* copies, by contrast, barely overlap. The lone edited Chinese *Ap* copy, S.4088 (Fig. 39), names Zhixin 智忻 as its editor, and this probably corresponds to Ci shan, the editor of multiple Tibetan *Ap* copies. Among the scribes, there are only a few found in both Chinese and Tibetan colophons: among these are Lu Dze shing/ Lü Rixing 吕日興, Cang Zhun tse/ Zhang Juanzi 張涓子, and Cang Kong tse/ Zhang Guangzi. This minimal overlap can be taken to suggest that the projects were separated somewhat temporally, and/or that the Chinese and Tibetan sutras were generally copied by different personnel. Their differing editorial practices, described below, and the inverse distribution of Chinese and Tibetan versions of the sutra, where, as described in Chapter Two, scribes copied the defective Tibetan version one and the complete Chinese version five, support the hypothesis that the copying of the Tibetan sutra was initiated first.

The choice of the longest Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* as a gift for the Tibetan emperor is in no way surprising. These were

widely revered as paramount expressions of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* texts – from the *Heart Sutra* as the shortest, to the *Diamond Sutra* as a manageable length, and through to the *MP* as the longest – are also popular choices for copying and for recitation. This is evident from the numerous copies found at Dunhuang commissioned before and after the horse-year project, and also from eighth-century copies of the *MP* produced at Nara, as well as from the popularity of the 8,000-line *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā-sūtra*) as a text for illumination in early second-millennium India.⁸

The *MP*, in particular, is the prime example of the expansion or distension of textual length in the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* genre. The administrative text ITJ 1254 quoted above accurately describes it as equivalent to two *SP* copies, but incorrectly refers to it as “100,000 [lines],” when 200,000 would be closer to the truth. A veritable omnibus of *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* texts, the *MP* contains the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* in 100,000 lines, 25,000 lines (*Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā*), 18,000 lines (*Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*), 8,000 lines (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā*) in two versions, 2,500 lines (*Sāddha-dviśāhasrikā*, aka *Suvikrāntavikrāmī-paripṛcchā-prajñāpāramitā-nirdeśa*), 700 lines (*Saptaśatikā*), 300 lines (*Triśatikā*, aka *Vajra-cchedikā*), and 150 lines, as well as a few other related texts.⁹ The internal organization of the *MP* is such that these compiled sutras are divided between sixteen “assemblies” (*hui* 會), that are set at four separate teaching settings or framing locations. Physically, the document is divided into 600 rolls (*juan* 卷), which were stored in sixty numbered “packets” (*zhi* 秩).¹⁰

The composite nature of the text may have contributed to its particular modes of use in Dunhuang. In particular, the *MP* was employed in “sutra rotation” (*zhuan jing* 轉經) rituals in which the sutra’s packets were divided between monks and nuns who recited it in shifts, such that while one reciter or group of reciters was reciting one part of the text, another was simultaneously reciting a different part. On a larger scale, and usually at the level of state sponsorship, recitation could occur simultaneously and/or successively at multiple temples, often in different locales. In one such sutra rotation that took place in 814 on behalf of the Tibetan emperor, fourteen different Dunhuang temples were lent separate sections of the *MP*, identified by their “packet” (*zhi* 秩) numbers, in order to chant.¹¹ There are over twenty further records of sutra rotations or of loans of sections of the *MP* in support of sutra rotations, most of which took place between 814 and 822, largely sponsored

8 On Nara, see Lowe 2017, 119–120; on illuminated Indian manuscripts, see Kim 2013, 9.

9 For details see Keyworth 2020, 299–301.

10 Drège 1991, 229.

11 Ding 2019, 665–666.

by the Tibetan emperor. The only other named sponsors during the Tibetan period were the Prefect of Guazhou (*kva cu'i rtse rje blon* in P. 3336/3), his wife (in P. 3654/4), and, in an interesting parallel with the sixth-century prince of Dongyang who was also an “Inspector,” the Tibetan Inspector of the Army (P. 3336/4).¹²

The reasons for copying and reciting this massive sutra extend beyond the obvious prestige factor of its sheer size. Xuanzang, in his translator’s colophon, states of the *MP* that “[i]t is recorded in the sutra itself that in this country there will be people taking delight in Mahāyāna teachings. All kings, ministers, and followers of the four groups who copy, receive, and keep it, as well as recite and circulate it will be reborn in the heavens and obtain ultimate emancipation.”¹³ These benefits align with claims in the text itself, to the effect that those who hear, recite, and practice the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* will be protected by the gods and will be free from worldly or demonic harm.¹⁴ Elsewhere, there are claims about the power of the *MP* to heal through touch.¹⁵ Some of the text’s claims are particularly relevant to military concerns. A passage from the *MP* states,

When a son or daughter of a good family enters the front of a battlefield with the troops, if they sincerely recite the *Prajñāpāramitā*, they will not be hurt or killed by weapons. All their enemies will generate compassion; those who attempt to hurt them will naturally be defeated. It is not possible for them to die on the battlefield!¹⁶

Dunhuang liturgies specifically harnessed the *MP*’s powers on behalf of Tibet’s military, as is evident in a “liturgical script” (*zhaiwen* 齋文) for a sutra rotation of the *MP* sponsored by the Tibetan chief councilor Zhang Khri sum rje shortly before 816. Part of this script, which is in Chinese, states that this councilor makes use of the sangha of Dunhuang to “protect soldiers and warhorses,” and to unite divine armies with those of Tibet in order to defeat their enemies.

First, we use [the merit] to empower the four world-protecting heavenly kings, together with dragons, gods, and the rest of the eight kinds of supernatural beings. We wish to make the light of their might blaze and their auspicious energy grow; may both armies [i.e. non-human and human] become equally powerful, and the northern aggressors be vanquished and submit to us.

先用莊嚴護世四王、龍神八部。願使威光盛，福力增，使兩陳齊威，北戎伏款。¹⁷

¹² Ding 2019, 666–667.

¹³ Keyworth 2020, 280.

¹⁴ For a full discussion of the “apotropaic *Prajñāpāramitā*,” see Ding 2019, 673–676.

¹⁵ Strickmann 2002, 187.

¹⁶ Ding 2019, 674.

¹⁷ Ding 2019, 672.

Many of these same factors are pertinent to the choice of the Tibetan *SP* as the other sutra to be copied in this horse-year project. It, too, was employed in sutra rotation in Dunhuang, a record for which exists from the year 815.¹⁸ It may also have been seen to align with the type of Buddhism publicly embraced by Emperor Khri Srong lde brtsan (742–c.800) and by his son and successor Khri Lde srong brtsan (r. c.802–815), which emphasized karma and Buddhist moral cosmology.¹⁹ Exemplar copies of the sutra were evidently brought from central Tibet to serve as models for the copies to be made at Dunhuang and elsewhere.²⁰

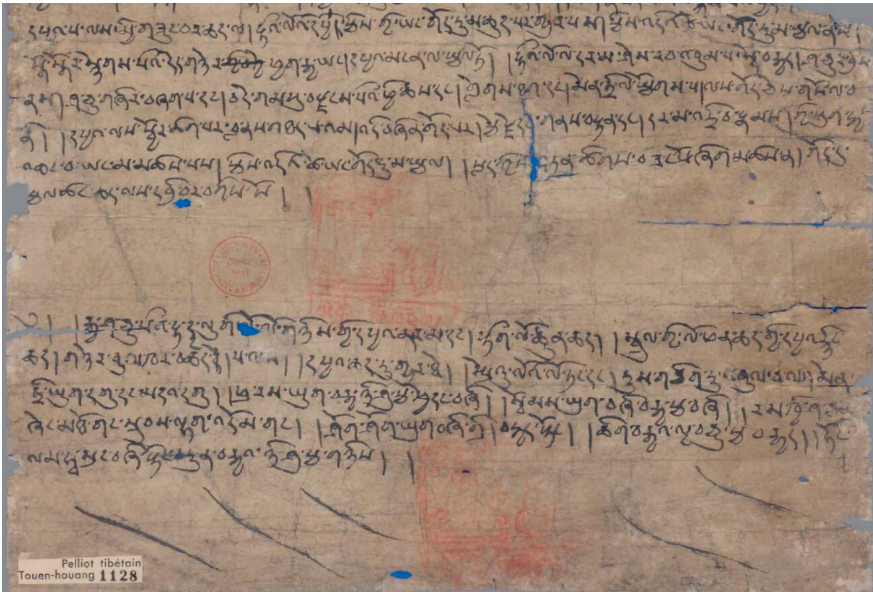


Fig. 34: Tax document PT 1128, with details about supplies for copying sutras; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In the case of both the Chinese *MP* and the Tibetan *SP*, it was important to produce not just a faithful copy of the text, but a beautiful object. For the roll-format *MP*, this meant that its 600 rolls were kept in sixty beautiful packets, probably made of silk. For the *pothi*-format *SP*, there were other methods of storage and adornment.

¹⁸ Ding 2019, 665, n. 24.

¹⁹ See Kapstein 2000, 42–46; Doney 2023, 9–14 and 22–25.

²⁰ Lalou 1954, 258; Dotson 2013–2014, 20–21.

For instance, PT 1128 (Fig. 34), an official decision bearing a seal from the Bde blon, considers a request for expenditures for items such as sutra wrappers (*phyi tshas*), binding strings (*glegs thag*), and silk brocades (*men tri*).²¹

There is also a “memo” (*bsnyel byang*) written on what looks to be a re-used portion of an *SP2* folio, PT 1018, that requests the creation of beautiful carvings of the four heavenly kings for a sutra’s wooden book covers (*dar ma’i glegs shing*).²² These four kings would be fitting for the *SP*, which is divided into four tomes (*dum bu*; Skt. *kāṇḍaka*) of seventy-six “chapters” (*bam po*; Chinese: *juan*) each. And of course it aligns with the prayer in the liturgical script above and the prominence of the four heavenly kings and of Vaiśravaṇa in particular in the context of the ritual efficacy of sutras for protection and warfare.²³

Commissioning three *MP* copies and eight *SP* copies required not only a huge amount of paper and ink, but also a large group of scribes and editors, workspaces for them, and payment for their labor. The administrative text ITJ 1254 states that the rations amounted to 470 loads of grain and an additional sixty loads of grain as a gift, in addition to the costs of paper and ink.²⁴ It goes on to say that no proper document authorizing the expenditure has been received, and that these rations have not yet been paid. The next request is about resolving a situation that arose when the officials of Dunhuang decreased by half the rations for those copying the Tibetan *SP*. It refers separately to the eighty scribes and twenty editors responsible for copying the Chinese *MP*. A request in a separate document, initiated by both Tibetan and Chinese scribes and monks, demands annual payment in kind for five monks and twenty-five scribes, perhaps also in connection with this commission of sutra copies.²⁵ The other requests in ITJ 1254 add to the sense of a crumbling administration, or at least to confusion about who is to pay for the production of the sutras, who is to receive them, and where they have gone.

Indeed the main material necessities, paper and ink, were also a matter of administrative concern. The above-mentioned official letter PT 1128 (Fig. 34) closes with

21 PT 1128, l. 16–20. For a translation of this text with commentary, see Taenzer 2012, 263–269. On *men tri*, see Uebach 2015, 545.

22 The text reads, *ban de bar 'byor gyi bsnyel byang du gsol ba' / dar ma'I glegs shIng thugs dpag bdzad pa/ cI legs cI zang zhIg du mdzad pa dang/ rI mo rgyal cen bzhiñ bzhugs pa / phyag cha dang/ myI nor bar bgyi ba dang/ phyi'I ri mo legs shIng mdzes bar bgyi bar gsol//*

23 These four kings are also the notional audience for sutra copying at Nara in the eighth century; Lowe 2017, 49.

24 *rgya'i 'bum pa sde gsum / bod kyI 'bum pa sde drug gI tshal ma stsa[ng] khal bzhi brgya bdun bcu tsam dang/ yon khal drug cu tsam dang/ snag shog gyi rin lastogs pa*; ITJ 1254, ll. 13–14; Thomas 1951, vol. 2, 74, and 76.

25 S.5824; Drège 1991, 207.

a tally of taxes payable by the Chinese of Dunhuang in the monkey year (probably 828). It includes also those outstanding taxes payable from the previous two years (horse year [probably 826] and sheep year [probably 827]) as well as unpaid taxes from the snake year (probably 825). At least two items from the list of taxes due in kind are of interest to the economy of sutra copying and to the project that began during this time: nine bolts and nine measures of silk brocade (*men tri yug dgu dang mda' dgu*), and 48,158 sheets (*yug*) of paper.

The term *yug* can refer to a “sheet” of paper, as one might find in a stack of such sheets, or it can refer to that same sheet of paper once it is attached to neighboring sheets of paper as a “panel” in a roll. We translate *yug* with “sheet” or “panel” based on these respective contexts. As described in Chapter One, the panels of the Tibetan *Ap* rolls were separated by twentieth-century conservators and then folded (as “bifolios”) to construct booklets. In all cases, “sheet,” “panel,” and “bifolio” refer to the same physical object. As a measurement of paper, the term *yug* applied both to a 31.5×45 cm sheet of paper that would be glued together with other sheets to form a roll of panels, and also to the long, rectangular 20×73 cm folio used for the *pothi*-format *SP2*. The latter was sometimes specified as a *glegs bu yug* (loosely translated, “flat sheet”) which was counted as being equal to two “normal” *yug* or “roll sheets.” One can see the logic of this equation from their similar surface areas and from the fact that a *pothi*-format *SP* folio was double layered as opposed to the single-layered panels of *MP* and *Ap* rolls. A panel used in the *MP* was typically 45 cm long, and cut to 25 cm high for a surface area of $1,125 \text{ cm}^2$. (The same measurement, *yug*, problematically also designates the panels of *Ap* rolls, which are approximately 31.5×45 cm and thus have a larger surface area of $1,417 \text{ cm}^2$.) One folio of *SP* – a “flat sheet” (*glegs bu yug*) – measures approximately 20×73 cm for a surface area of $1,460 \text{ cm}^2$. Its double thickness makes its $2,920 \text{ cm}$ notionally equal to, but in fact more than, two “panel sheets (*yug*) of *Ap* ($2,790 \text{ cm}$).

As mentioned already, the *SP* consists of four tomes of seventy-six “chapters” (*bam po*) each, which makes 304 total. On average, each chapter is about 7.8 folia (*glegs bu yug*) long. That amounts to 2,371 “flat sheets,” which translates to 4,742 “roll sheets” per copy of *SP*. Multiplied by eight copies commissioned in the horse year, almost 38,000 sheets (*yug*) would be required for these *SP* copies. Making similar calculations for the *MP*, each of its 600 rolls (*juan*) is between 730 and 870 cm wide for an average of about eighteen “roll sheets” per roll. Multiplied by 600 *juan*, it would require around 10,800 sheets of paper to produce a single copy of the Chinese *MP*, and 32,400 panels to produce the three copies commissioned in the horse year. The discrepancy in measurements, such that one *MP* copy does not require precisely twice as much paper as one *SP* copy, may be due to the rough nature of

this estimate. Nevertheless, it is close enough to demonstrate the general accuracy of the ninth-century Tibetan administrators' statement that one *MP* equals two *SP*.

The sheer number of folia and rolls produced in this enterprise to copy these *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras is staggering, and would have heavily burdened the local resources of paper-producing centers and scribal centers like Dunhuang and Guazhou – as well as likely drawing on the surrounding area's supplies. Compared with the tax document's statement about 48,158 sheets of paper due in the monkey year (probably 828), one can more easily appreciate the magnitude of the approximately 70,000 sheets of paper required for copies of three *MP* and eight *SP*. This is to say nothing of all of the panels and folia of paper that, due to damage, errors, loss, or theft, did not make their way into these sutras if and when they were finalized and consecrated as gifts.

The scale of paper taxation in support of the scribal centers of Shazhou and Guazhou also pertains to some inherited truisms about paper scarcity and re-use during the period of Tibetan rule there. Besides tax records, there are also records of gifts and loans of paper. Taken together, these suggest that paper was an important economic item, but not necessarily one that was exceedingly rare. Jean-Pierre Drège has explored the issue of paper as a commodity in Dunhuang, and notes that paper was measured in *tie* 帖, which indicated about fifty sheets in some cases and about 100 sheets in others.²⁶ Some of the Chinese records that Drège employs, such as S.2447v, date to the Tibetan period, and it may be that the discrepancy (*tie* 帖 as fifty sheets in some sources, 100 in others) corresponds to the difference between a “roll sheet” (*yug*) and a “flat sheet” (*glegs bu yug*), which equalled two roll sheets, as just described. The corresponding Tibetan term for a unit of fifty sheets – or perhaps 100 sheets – is *theb*, which has the same phonetic value as *tie* 帖, with *tie* being the likely source for the loan into Tibetan. This measurement for paper is found, for example, in the Tibetan contract PT 1078v involving a sutra scribe borrowing paper, where “within the two hundred long sheets to be paid is one *theb* of paper for the annual tribute” (*yug rings nyis brgya'i nang na lo thang shog shog theb gcig phul*; PT 1078v, l. 2).²⁷ A jotting on the verso of a discarded panel of *SP2*, pressmark PT 1922, also uses the unit *theb* in connection with large numbers of sheets of paper.

The above-mentioned loan contract for paper, PT 1078v, mentions an important detail of legal practice that in a way shows the value of paper: scribes were whipped for lost or missing sheets. This is corroborated in the administrative document ITJ 1359, translated in this chapter's epigraph. The document is catalogued across four sub-pressmarks, ITJ 1359(A) to ITJ 1359(D). ITJ 1359(A) includes an explanation of the

26 Drège 1991, 200 and 208.

27 Takeuchi 1995, 180–183.

tally of sheets of paper that had gone unaccounted for in the horse (probably 826) and sheep (827) years, and the list spanning ITJ 1359(B) (Fig. 35) to ITJ 1359(D) assigns numbers of such missing sheets to each of ninety-one named scribes. These are specified in ITJ 1359(A) as the “scribes who in the horse and sheep years were copying the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* [in] 100,000 [lines], the gift for the son of gods,” which is to say, those tasked with copying the Chinese *MP* and the Tibetan *SP*. It arrives at the number of missing sheets from the number of sheets or folia they received against the number of completed panels or folia they handed in, without counting against them any panels that were defective or damaged (*gron*) or that, having been rejected by editors, were marked as discards (*ro*).

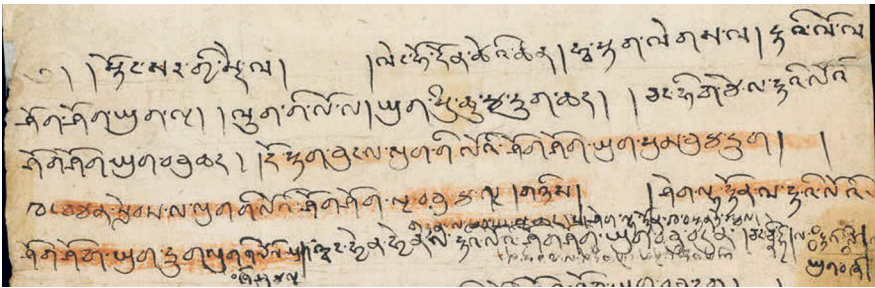


Fig. 35: Amount of paper owed by Dunhuang scribes, with interlinear annotations, ITJ 1359(B); image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

Folia or panels rejected by editors because of physical damage or scribal error did not count against the scribe as long as these were submitted to the relevant administrator and recorded by him. The punishable amount was therefore presumed stolen, and punishment was set at ten lashes per missing sheet. Perhaps the most gruesome detail of this text is the instruction that a scribe should be dragged to the scriptorium (the “site of the gift”; *sku yon sa*) each day to be whipped until the debt was paid. This public whipping would therefore transpire in a place that was meant to be sanctified by the presence of the sutras there and by the purity practices of the scribes who copied them. Yet these same scribes and editors would have to witness this public whipping of their fellow scribes. Between the ninety-one named scribes who, in this legal context are arranged according to their residence in one of the three thousand-districts (*stong sde*) of Dunhuang, the total number of missing sheets over a period of two years was 4,084. That is over five percent of the approximately 70,000 sheets/ folia necessary to produce three copies of *MP* and eight copies of *SP*. More importantly, these represent only the missing sheets and not the

presumably much larger amount of folia and panels that were rejected due to damage and due to scribal errors.

Comparative data from the Nara Shōsōin are helpful for contextualizing the administrative texts from Dunhuang and their testimony to confusion and disorganization attending the horse-year sutra-copying project. The records from the Shōsōin permit a reconstruction of eighth-century sutra-copying projects and their administration that goes into minute detail, as documented by Bryan Lowe and others.²⁸ At the scriptorium in Nara, scribes copied approximately 8.6 sheets (panels) per day in the mid-eighth century. These sheets were, similarly to those in Dunhuang, 45–47 cm long, with seventeen characters per line. They differed from the Chinese *MP* in Dunhuang by having twenty-four lines per panel, rather than twenty-eight. On the basis of these measurements, a scribe's output was approximately 3,500 characters per day. Notably, those copying sutras at Nara as a legal punishment were only required to copy about five sheets per day. Later Heian-period *Lotus Sutra* copies were produced at a rate of approximately seven sheets per day.²⁹ If Dunhuang's *MP* scribes copied sutras at the same rate as the Nara scribes, they would produce 7.4 sheets of scribed sutra copies per day (approximately 3,500 characters) on account of the different page layout. As noted above, one *MP* copy consists of approximately 10,800 panels. This would take one scribe 1,460 days of work – four years without a day off – to copy. As also noted above, the administrative text ITJ 1254 mentions that eighty scribes and twenty editors engaged in producing the Dunhuang *MP* copies. Eighty scribes could theoretically produce a copy of *MP* in 18.24 days at a rate of 592 panels per day. Assuming rest, and about ten percent waste in the form of panels rejected due to scribal error, a project moving at this rate and with this number of scribes and editors *should* produce the mandated three copies of Chinese *MP* in about three months. Were these scribes to move at the pace of those Japanese who copied sutras as punishment, eighty scribes would produce three copies of *MP* in ninety-four-and-a-half days, or about four or five months if one allows for waste.

If one assumes a similar rate of labor for the eight copies of Tibetan *SP*, and if one factors in the time it takes to edit, to reject and replace panels and folia, and other elements of production such as sutra wrappers and book covers, one can comprehend how this project might take two years to complete. By the same token, one can be struck by the fact that, as the administrative documents reviewed above attest, the project was stalled or incomplete after several years.

28 Lowe 2017, 106–145.

29 See Lowe 2017, 112, n. 15 and the works cited there.

3.2 Double standards

Hundreds of the leaves and rolls of Tibetan *SP2* and Chinese *MP* deposited in Cave Seventeen are discards. These are either torn or damaged, or were rejected by an editor due to scribal errors. These discards remind us that in the process of producing a massive amount of sutra copies, the necessary by-product was a parallel production of a huge cache of discards, or an “archive of errors.” In the final calculation, the number of discards and the number of missing sheets generated by the horse-year sutra-copying project probably ran into the thousands. Many of these were re-used, and we find them on the backs of some famous Dunhuang manuscripts, including the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*.³⁰

Concern with the appearance of these “gift sutras” meant that interlinear or marginal additions were not tolerated in a final copy of a complete *MP* or *SP*. When a scribe submitted a folio or a “chapter” (*bam po*), it was customarily edited by three editors.³¹ They compared the scribe’s work against their editorial exemplar, and rejected the scribe’s work if it included obvious additions (*lhag*) or omissions (*chad*). Surveying the leaves of *SP* preserved in London, Paris, and elsewhere, it is often easy to distinguish those that have been rejected from those that have not. The former sometimes have large Xs over the entire folio, and often their margins have been cut. In most cases, a rejected folio includes a cut, made from one string hole to the top or bottom margin. This served to free it from one of the binding strings, permitting it to lie askew such that it was easy for the “replacement team” to find. Once found by the replacement team, they would copy a clean version of the offending folio, taking care not to repeat the rejected folio’s errors, and attending also to spacing, so as not to finish before the end of the folio or have to fit a large amount of text into the last few lines. Indeed some would-be replacement folia were rejected for committing precisely these errors when the replacement team’s writing was either too cramped or too loose.³²

Most discarded *SP* folia also bear editorial notes in the margins. One type of note, usually in the left margin, records the name of the scribe, the name of the editor who marked the folio for removal, and, optionally, the reason for doing so. When an editor gives a reason for removal, it is usually brief, and sometimes sarcastic or exaggerated. Typical examples are missing or extra lines, or writing a folio side upside-down in relation to its recto. Another sort of note, usually in the bottom

³⁰ See Iwao 2017 on re-use of blank Tibetan *SP* paper; see also van Schaik 2013a, 230–231 and Doney 2018, 75 and 91–92 on possible re-use of blank Tibetan *Ap* paper.

³¹ There are also cases of four editors, and some of one or two editors; see Dotson 2013–2014, 28–30.

³² Dotson 2013–2014, 36–45.

margin, gives the folio number alongside another number, which records the number of that particular discard in a tally of discards.

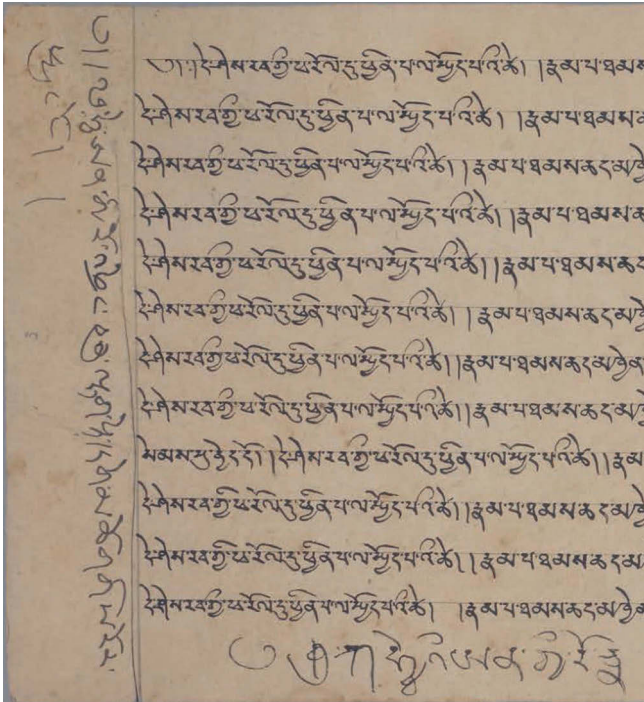


Fig. 36: Editor’s notes in the margins of a discarded *SP2* folio, PT 1332; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

This number may tally an individual scribe’s discards, or may be a collective running count of discards for a tome, or for a scribal and editorial team within the scriptorium. The term for discard is *ro*, meaning “remains,” and this is a short form of “sutra remains” (*dar ma ro*).³³ To reject a folio is to “remove it as a discard” (*ror phyung ba/ ror dbyung ba*), though this act in fact only marks a folio for removal and replacement by a subsequent team of scribes and editors, since actually removing it at the rejection stage would be to risk having missing folia in the final copy.

Scribes were very concerned that these discards be tallied under their name by the official known as the “keeper” (*rub ma pa*), so that they would not be held

33 Dotson 2013-2014, 54–56.

accountable for a shortfall and punished as a result.³⁴ Scribes were often responsible for ensuring that the “keeper” recorded this, to the extent that we find notes from scribes warning others against taking their discarded folia. The period between getting hold of one’s discard and handing it in to the “keeper” also afforded scribes the opportunity to produce some of the most candid forms of literature ever attested. Besides the expected insults hurled at their editors, we find here poetry and jottings that offer a window into the lives of Dunhuang’s scribes.³⁵

The editors of the Chinese *MP* applied similar norms when accepting or rejecting the rolls (*juan*) that scribes submitted. Their editorial notes give reasons for rejection such as “one line [of text] missing” or “one line copied twice.”³⁶ In the *pothi*-format *SP*, the binding string could be unfastened in order to replace a faulty folio. In the roll-format *MP*, by contrast, a single roll might consist of eighteen panels of paper, and it was necessary to unglue or cut out the offending panel and then replace it with a newly scribed, correct panel. As a result of this practice there are many *MP* rolls in which one panel may be of a slightly different color than the others, or where it may otherwise stand out by not lying perfectly flush with its surrounding panels in the roll. The panels marked for removal can often be easily spotted

34 Scherrer-Schaub discussed the term *rub ma pa* in the context of its appearance in PT 999, and followed Lalou in translating it with “conservateur”; Scherrer-Schaub 1992, 434, n. 38; Lalou 1956, 12. We can add that the noun *rub ma pa* likely derives from the verb *'brub*, which is found in the same document’s phrase, “they [the Chinese and Tibetan *Ap* copies] were deposited (*brubs*) in Longxing Temple’s scripture treasury [...]” (*lung hung sI'i gtsug lag [kha]ng gI dar ma'I mdzod du brubs pa las*; PT 999, ll. 2–3). This same verb is used for incarceration, in the sense of putting someone or something in a hole; Hill 2010, 211–212. The latter use calls to mind the *Jiu Tangshu*’s (*Old Tang Annals*) statement that the Tibetans initially had no laws and punished people capriciously by putting them in deep holes for years at a time; Bushell 1880, 441. For our present purposes, it is interesting that the noun *rub ma pa*, if it indeed derives from the verb *'brub*, implies imprisonment, and that this verb was applied specifically to *what one does with sutras*. These connotations are relevant to whatever line one draws between a library and a reliquary – and the putative thickness of such a line. Such a discussion pertains to not only monastic libraries such as that of Longxing Temple but also Cave Seventeen itself; see Doumy and van Schaik 2023. We have no objection to translating *rub ma pa* with “conservator,” but we avoid it here on account of the fact that we have used this term at length in Chapter One to describe people working in libraries and museums in the twentieth century, and whose duties are quite different. “Keeper” has the advantage of being used not only in museum and library contexts, but also in the zoo, a space of quasi-imprisonment. It also serves nicely as a translation of the official roles of “keepers and disseminators of secrets” (*gsang gI rub ma pa dang 'gyed ma pa*) in PT 1089, translated previously as “conservateur secret et répartiteur” and as “collectors and distributors of secrets”; Lalou 1956, 12; Dotson 2009, 72.

35 For details see Dotson 2013–2014 and Dotson 2015a.

36 Schneider 1996, 148.

because the editors wrote the word “replace” (*dui* 兑) in the top margin. In some cases, they even wrote this in large, brushed letters over an entire panel (Fig. 37).³⁷

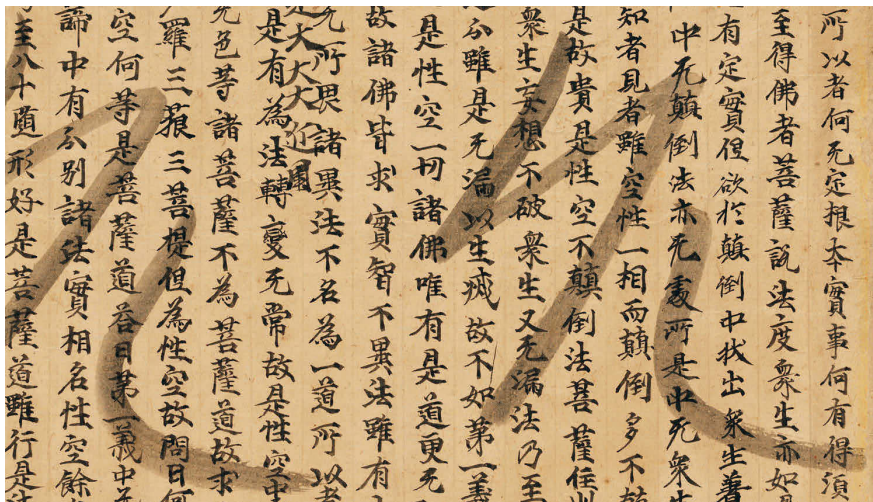


Fig. 37: The characters *dui* “replace” written in brush over a rejected panel of Chinese *MP*, S.461; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

The processing and recording of these discarded panels was extremely important to scribes. If they were registered as discards with the “keeper,” then these panels or folia did not count against a scribe in the tally of missing paper; if they were not so registered, then this meant ten lashes per missing panel or folio that the scribe failed to come up with. Tallies of discards and tallies of completed sutra chapters and copies also offer some information on how scribes and editors worked. An editor’s note in the left margin of a discarded *SP2* folio states, “Leng ho Pe’u tshon’s discard, and also the chapter. Removed at re-edit from Monk Leng ce’u’s group.”³⁸ Leng ce’u is found as an editor of numerous *SP2* folia and Tibetan *Ap* copies, and it is evident from this note that he led a team (*gra*) of scribes and editors. A similar note in the left margin of another discarded *SP2* folio refers to a team headed by Keng Sphyan sphyan.³⁹ There are further references to such teams in tallies that probably

37 Schneider 1996; Dotson 2013-2014, 56–58.

38 leng ho pe’u tshon gyi ro le’u yang mchiste/ dang zhush pa ban de leng ce’u ‘i grar phyungo; PT 1329, 46r; Dotson 2013-2014, 43.

39 PT 1337, 4v; Dotson 2013-2014, 44.

refer to completed *Ap* copies, where we find Stag Su tam and Bran ce'u's team, and also Lha bo's team. An editorial note in a Tibetan *Ap* copy, ITJ 310.1117, refers to Rdo rje's team. These probably refer to the internal organization of Dunhuang's official scriptorium (Ch. *jingzang* 經藏), in which more than one hundred scribes and editors labored. As noted above, this scriptorium was apparently also referred to as the “site of the gift” (*sku yon sa*).

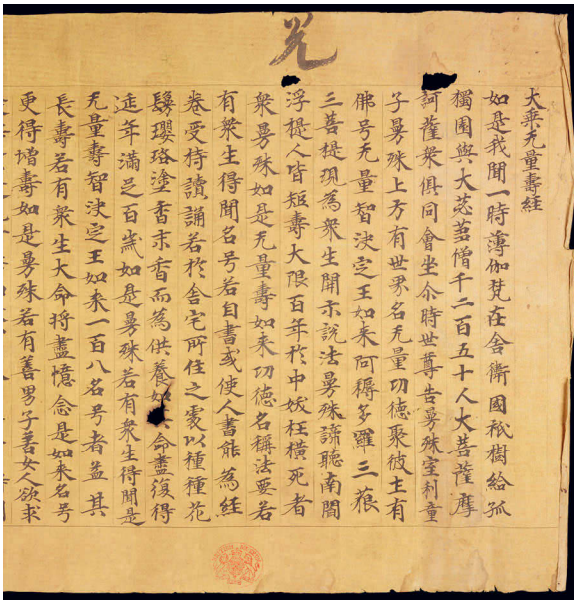


Fig. 38: The characters *dui* “replace” written in the top margin of a rejected *Ap* fragment, S.2355; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

Dunhuang's scribes and editors operated with different sets of norms when copying the *Sutra of Limitless Life* than when copying the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*. Most of the differences concern maximizing the available space for writing. The *mise-en-page* of the Chinese *MP* follows the Tang norm of having seventeen characters per line, making for a pleasing and elegant appearance and for rather large characters. The Chinese *Ap*, by contrast, did not cut its panels to 25–26 cm, but rather to 31–32 cm, and scribes wrote thirty to thirty-seven characters per line.⁴⁰ It is easy to thereby distinguish between *Ap* copies produced as part of this project and those that do

⁴⁰ Iwao 2012, 103.

not belong to it. Those *Ap* copies with the standard seventeen characters per line, which do not belong to this sutra-copying project, are almost all fragmentary and a few of them bear the editorial mark *dui* in their upper margins to mark them as discards (Fig. 38).⁴¹ Those *Ap* fragments unaffiliated with the gift for the Tibetan emperor are 25–28 cm high.

The different *mise-en-page* of the Chinese *Ap* that were copied with the Tibetan *Ap* as gifts for the Tibetan emperor is plain to see (Fig. 39).

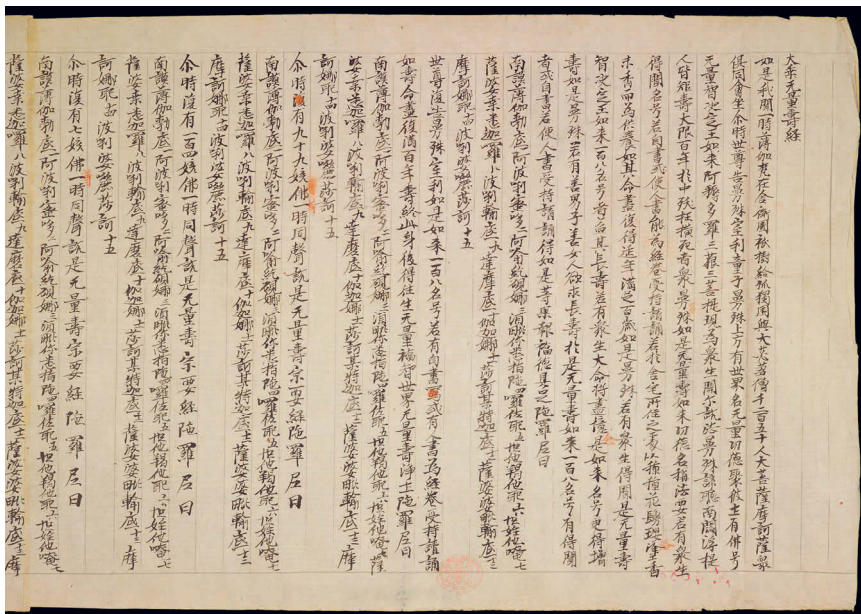


Fig. 39: The first panel of an edited Chinese *Ap* copy, S.4088; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

Fig. 39 also demonstrates a second major difference between the way that editors approached the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies in the horse-year sutra-copying project and the way that they approached the *Sutra of Limitless Life* copies. Namely, there are editorial corrections, visible in red ink, in the above Chinese *Ap* copy S.4088, but there is no indication that this panel was rejected. In fact, there are

41 Among the fragments are P. 4950, P. 4953, P. 4954, S.990, S.1015, S.1107, S.1545, S.1960, S.2355, S.3349, and S.4777. The latter eight are all marked “replace.”

corrections in red ink on all five panels of this complete sutra copy, the end of which includes both a scribal colophon and an editorial colophon. We have seen no extant *Ap* copy or fragment with this more efficient *mise-en-page* and with the larger format of 31–32 cm high that is marked for rejection.

The edited Chinese *Ap* copy S.4088 is an outlier, though, since it appears to be the only one of the nearly 300 Chinese Dunhuang *Ap* rolls in the British Library's Stein Collection that has such editorial corrections (see Fig. 39). This is a major difference between the Tibetan *Ap* copies and the Chinese *Ap* copies. It aligns the Chinese *Ap* copies more closely with the unedited Tibetan *Ap* rolls found in mixed bundles, rather than with the mostly edited Tibetan copies in bundles of single-sutra rolls. The other Chinese *Ap* copies include only scribal colophons, and some are without any colophon at all. Although the dominant Chinese A5 version of the sutra contains the same number of characters in every copy, there is a wide variation in the length of the copies, that is, in how much paper a scribe used to copy the sutra. This ranges from 150 to 220 cm. The most common lengths are four panels (160–180 cm) and five panels (200–220 cm). Of the 288 rolls or fragments of Chinese *Ap* that Giles catalogued in the British Library's Stein Collection, 141 consist of a single copy of the sutra, thirty-four are rolls that each include multiple copies (from two to five), and 113 are incomplete or fragmentary. The thirty-four multiple-sutra rolls contain in total eighty-seven *Ap* copies.

In an interesting merger of Chinese and Tibetan book formats, the Tibetan *Ap* was arranged horizontally, in roll format, with the text arrayed in columns. Margins, lines, and columns were inked prior to writing. The lines are evenly spaced, with fifteen mm leading, which is also standard in all Dunhuang *SP* copies. A column usually includes nineteen lines of text. Columns are on average 21–22 cm wide, with two columns of text per 45 cm-wide panel of paper. Columns are separated by fifteen mm column gutters. Top and bottom margins are generally 20 mm high, and right and left margins are usually 10–12 mm wide (see Fig. 23b). The Tibetan *Ap* contain no ninth-century foliation or numbering.

The panels of paper used for the rolls, like those used for Chinese *Ap* copies, are 31–32 cm high. Sixteen copies stand out for using shorter, 27.5–28 cm-high paper. It may be that this was paper intended for a different sutra, perhaps even the *MP*. Generally, the paper used for Tibetan *Ap* copies is very smooth, bright, and uniform in texture, in contrast to the paper used for many other Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts.⁴² It features twelve to fourteen laidlines per 3 cm, and chainlines at 7 cm intervals. This is the same paper used for the Chinese *Ap* copies.

⁴² A rougher, less uniform type of paper with large fibers visible on the surface was used for only a very few *Ap* copies, such as ITJ 310.930 and ITJ 310.938.

A Tibetan *Ap* copy required less paper than a Chinese copy. About twenty percent of the Tibetan sutra copies consist of four panels (160–180 cm) or three-and-a-half panels (140–160 cm). The vast majority comprise three panels (120–135 cm). That a Tibetan copy of the sutra should require less paper than the Chinese copy is surprising until one recalls that the Tibetan copies used version one of the sutra, which has six fewer paragraphs (and six fewer accompanying *dhāraṇī*) than version five, which was used for the Chinese copies. The Tibetan sutras also differ in that a larger number of these are edited.

The differing lengths of the Tibetan *Ap* copies can be understood in the context of economizing on paper (see Figs 40–43 for examples). At one extreme are sutra copies consisting of four panels and eight columns in which the first column (a) or the last column (h) is left totally blank, save for the inked guidelines and margins. Frequently, the last column of an eight-column copy contains only the colophon. A middle ground in economizing paper is the seven-column copy using four panels, but where one panel – either the first or the last, generally – is cut into a half-panel measuring approximately 22.5 cm wide. If this is the first panel, we describe the sutra’s number of columns as “7 (no a)”; if the last panel is cut in half, then it is described as “7 (no h).” At the other extreme are some sutra copies written over five columns, where the last column is fifty percent wider than a standard column, such that the text is written across a $\frac{3}{4}$ -size panel of approximately 34 cm. The most common length of a sutra copy, represented in nearly all of the multiple-sutra rolls, comprises three panels with six columns of text. The efficiency of this layout is obvious: for example, a scribe issued with eighty-four sheets of standard 31.5×45 cm paper could copy twenty-one sutra copies in a four-panel, eight-column layout, twenty-four copies in a three-and-a-half-panel, seven-column layout, or twenty-eight copies in a three-panel, six-column layout.

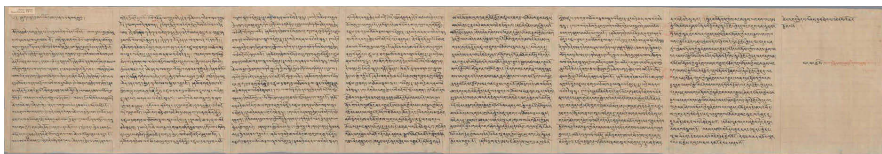


Fig. 40: Four-panel, eight-column layout, PT 3901; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig. 41: Three-and-a-half-panel, seven-column layout (column a missing), PT 3905; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

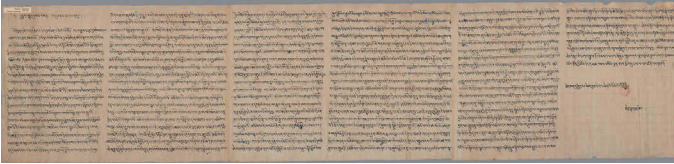


Fig. 42: Three-panel, six-column layout, PT 3906; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Fig. 43: Two-and-three-quarter-panel, five-column layout (column e is 150 percent wider than the rest), PT 3793; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The distribution of layouts in panels of paper and columns of text among our corpus of Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies in the British Library is as follows:

- 3,6 (three-panel, six-column): 1,213
- 4,7 (a or h missing): 184
- 4,8: 132 (including those where a and/or h is blank)
- 3,5: 42
- 4,6 (a and h missing): 30
- 5,8: 3
- 5,9: 2
- 5,10: 1

The practice of using the three-and-a-half-panel, seven-column layout, as well as the two-and-three-quarter-panel, five-column layout, meant that scribes and editors made use of various sizes of paper sheets. There were standard “roll sheets” (*yug*) of 31.5×45 cm, half-sheets that measured approximately 31.5×22.5 cm and which were called “short sheets” (*yug thung*), as well as $\frac{3}{4}$ sheets of 31.5×34 cm, and $\frac{1}{4}$ sheets of 31.5×11 cm. Scribes would have used their knives to cut sheets to these non-standard sizes, from which they (or someone else in the scriptorium) assembled the rolls. While most rolls are of one of the more standard sizes given above, some were assembled in an idiosyncratic fashion. For example, ITJ 310.172 is a sutra of six columns written over four panels of paper. That in itself is not so uncommon, were it made of a half panel on either end of two full panels (that is to say, panel one = column a; panel two = columns b+c; panel three = columns d+e; and panel four = column f). In this case however, there is a half panel in the middle, such that the arrangement is a+b; c; d+e; f. The same is true of ITJ 310.850. Similarly, ITJ 310.396 is an eight-column sutra copy written over five panels, where the third and fifth are half panels (a+b; c+d; e; f+g; h). Many sutra copies also contain quarter panels in the form of half-width columns either at the beginning or end of the sutra. Such idiosyncratic panels probably resulted from someone using offcuts in order to assemble a roll.

The variation in size of the paper and the number of panels used for Tibetan *Ap* copies mirrors a variation in the number of lines per column. Just as Dunhuang’s scriptoria preferred the three-panel, six-column layout, there was also a marked tendency towards ruling nineteen lines per column. There is also a significant number of copies with twenty lines per column. The distribution of number of lines per column among our corpus of Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies in the British Library is as follows:

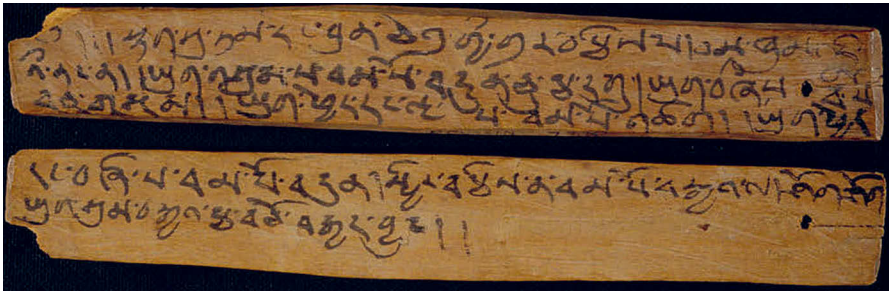
- Fifteen lines/ column: 2
- Sixteen lines/ column : 1
- Seventeen lines/ column : 7
- Eighteen lines/ column : 24
- Nineteen lines/ column : 1,147
- Both eighteen and nineteen lines/ column : 2
- Both nineteen and twenty lines/ column : 7
- Twenty lines/ column : 330
- Twenty-one lines/ column : 80
- Both twenty and twenty-one lines/ column : 2
- Nineteen, twenty, and twenty-one lines/ column : 1
- Both twenty-one and twenty-two lines/ column : 1
- Twenty-two lines/ column : 1

Comparing the number of lines per column (ll./col.) with number of columns per sutra copy, we find general correlations of the type that one would expect. That is, four-panel, eight-column copies tend to have fewer lines per column (nine at 18 ll./col.; 122 at 19 ll./col.; one at 20 ll./col.), and three-panel, five-column copies tend to have more lines per column (one at 18 ll./col.; fifteen at 19 ll./col.; twenty at 20 ll./col.). Among the most prevalent, three-panel six-column size, nine had 18 ll./col., 909 had 19 ll./col., and 293 had 20 ll./col.

The administrators who kept track of sutra copying were well aware of the different layouts and lengths of the sutra copies, and this is reflected in their accounting. This is evident from a tally preserved in a wooden slip published by F.W. Thomas, now catalogued as ITN 2208 (Fig. 44):

The account for Stag Su tam and Bran ce'u's team: within their roll bundle are seventy-nine three-panel rolls; thirteen four-panel rolls; one four-and-a-half-panel roll; and seven three-and-a-half-panel rolls. All together that makes 318 panels for 100 rolls.

stag su tam dang bran ce'u gyI grar brtsis pa/ bam thum 'di 'I nang na/ /yug gsum pa bam po bdun cu rtsa dgu /yug bzhi pa baM po bcu gsum/ /yug phyed dang lnga pa bam po gchig/ /yug phyed dang bzhi pa bam po bdun/ spyir brtsis na bam po brgya' la/ shog shog yug sum brgya' rtsa bco brgyad byung//; ITN 2208.⁴³



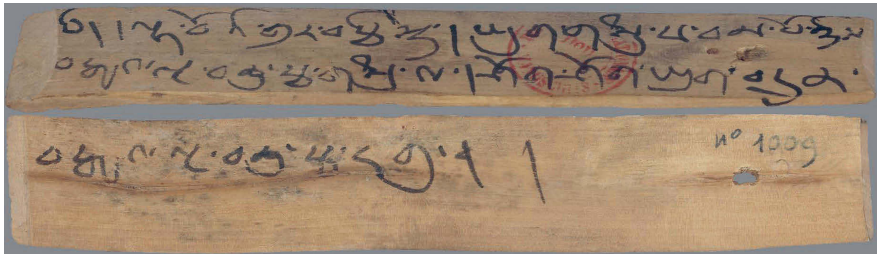
Figs 44a and 44b: ITN 2208, recto and verso; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.

The number of panels is roughly equivalent to the distribution that we have recorded across the *Ap* copies kept at the British Library (i.e. the predominance of three-panel

⁴³ Thomas 1951, 84; Scherrer-Schaub 1992, 219. The late Tsuguhito Takeuchi kindly provided us with the pressmark for this document, which, by Thomas's reference to "No. 735," was otherwise unlocatable. It has no site number, which may imply that it was not among the documents recovered by Stein.

rolls). It is highly likely, therefore, that this tally relates to Tibetan *Ap* copies, and not to Chinese *Ap* copies, which tend to have four or five-panel rolls. Neither can the tally refer to copies of Tibetan roll-format *SP* (henceforth *SP3*), whose rolls are far longer. However, we do not find these names as scribes or editors in our corpus, so it possibly relates to a different time or place.

Another wooden slip from Dunhuang, PT 1009 (Fig. 45), concerns the same process of accounting. It reads: “The account for Lha bo’s team: 759 panels of paper in 253 three-panel rolls” (*lha bo’i grar brtsiste yug gsuM pa bam po nyis brgya’ lnga bchu rtsa gsuM la / shog shog yug bdun brgya’ lnga bchu rtsa dgu*/.⁴⁴ Lha bo is found as a scribe of two *Ap* copies in the Pelliot Collection and perhaps one in St. Petersburg.⁴⁵ These documents either constitute, or closely resemble, the “receipts of sutra copies offered” mentioned in the description of the accounting process for paper in the legal-administrative text ITJ 1359(A). There, a scribe’s shortfall is calculated with recourse to the “record of paper received” (*shog shog mnos pa’i dkar chag*) and the “receipt of sutra copies offered” (*dar ma phul ba’I bul yig*; ITJ 1359(A), ll. 3–4). That process pertains to accounting at the individual level of the scribe, but it no doubt drew on receipts such as these relating to a team within the scriptorium.



Figs 45a and 45b: Figs 45a and 45b: PT 1009, recto and verso; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

As noted above, these records offer us some insight into the internal organization of the scriptorium into teams of scribes and editors. They also demonstrate the use of wooden tallies for accounting and administrative purposes, something that was also done one century earlier in the Nara scriptorium’s 712 production of an *MP*

⁴⁴ Lalou 1950, 37; Scherrer-Schaub 1992, 219. Unfortunately, Scherrer-Schaub followed Lalou’s mis-transcription of *gra* with *gur*, and thereby misunderstood this passage.

⁴⁵ PT 3669 and PT 3796 have Lha bo as a scribe, and Dkh. Tib. 184 has Lha bu; Nishioka 1984, 315; Savitsky 1991, 79.

copy.⁴⁶ The use of the term “roll bundle” (*bam thum*) to refer to the sutra copies submitted by Stag Su tam and Bran ce’u’s team is also revealing. It calls to mind the “packets” (*zhi* 秩) in which Dunhuang’s temple libraries stored the *MP* and other sutras, ten to twelve rolls (*juan*) to each packet. At the same time, it recalls the bundles in Mogao Cave Seventeen, discussed in Chapter One. In the case of *MP*, one *juan/ bam po* had an average of eighteen panels (*yug*), so a packet (*zhi* 秩) of ten *juan* would have approximately 180 panels of paper. Within these packets, as Drège notes, there is also some variation in the number of rolls.⁴⁷ Bundles of Tibetan *Ap* rolls in the British Library’s Stein Collection range from seventeen rolls to sixty-four rolls, and from twenty-eight to 104 copies of the sutra, which is to say roughly ninety to 300 panels of paper. The mean average across the twenty-six bundles is fifty-four sutra copies, which is to say 162 panels of paper if they were all three-panel rolls. Considering other layouts, the average number of panels per bundle would be closer to 170. This is fairly strong grounds for equating the bundles in Cave Seventeen with the “packets” (*zhi*) used by Dunhuang’s temple libraries in their internal organization of rolls. While that assumption may seem obvious, it is perhaps helpful to have this sort of proof to confirm it. With respect to making the further step of equating packets and bundles with the term “roll bundle” (*bam thum*) used in the wooden slip above for a group of sutra copies, only the largest bundle of Tibetan *Ap* copies in the Stein Collection approaches the size of Stag Su tam and Bran ce’u’s roll bundle (*bam thum*), which had 318 panels. Without further examples, we cannot be sure what sort of variation there would be in these *bam thum*. If other accounts of such roll bundles were to bring down the average number of rolls and panels, then this unit could be equated with the packets of Dunhuang’s temple libraries (*zhi*) and with the bundles of Cave Seventeen. On the other hand, *bam thum* could be a measurement used by administrators and not by librarians.

3.3 Different types of bundles

The sutra copies in our corpus come overwhelmingly from two types of bundles. There are thirteen bundles of *Ap* rolls in which each roll contains just one sutra copy, and there are thirteen bundles that include longer rolls with multiple copies of the sutra in addition to single-sutra rolls. These twenty-six bundles contain almost exclusively Tibetan *Ap* rolls, with only a few bundles containing other texts

⁴⁶ Tally sticks (Jp. *mokkan*) were used to keep track of paper, rice, etc. in the 712 production of the *MP*; see Lowe 2017, 119–120.

⁴⁷ Drège 1991, 215–218.

interspersed. Bundle 86.I, for example, contains forty-five Tibetan *Ap* rolls, two Chinese *Ap* rolls, one Tibetan copy of the *Heart Sutra*, and three torn fragments of the Tibetan *SP*.⁴⁸ Bundle 86.XV contained thirty-nine Tibetan *Ap* rolls, and a *pothī* leaf of another sutra, pressmark ITJ 198. Bundle 73.X contained thirty-eight Tibetan *Ap* rolls, a monochrome stencil of the Buddha at ITJ 1361, a color image at ITJ 1362, monochrome sketches of Vajrapāṇi and royal ladies at ITJ 1363, a fan-shaped painted paper image of Vajrasattva mounted on a pointed stick at ITJ 1364, a torn painting of Avalokiteśvara at ITJ 1365, a hung paper painting of a tantric diagram featuring the Buddha Vairocana, and the top of a painted silk banner, ITJ 1367.⁴⁹ Bundle 73.XVII contained twenty-nine Tibetan *Ap* rolls, and one roll-format Buddhist text, with the site number 73.XVII.29 and the pressmark ITJ 1717.⁵⁰ Such non-*Ap* “interlopers” are remarkably rare in these twenty-six bundles, and they are found both in the thirteen bundles of single-sutra rolls and in the thirteen mixed bundles. Cataloguers placed these non-*Ap* texts in different volumes apart from the *Ap* copies, and gave them different pressmarks. The only exceptions to this are one roll of the *Heart Sutra*, which was miscatalogued as pressmark ITJ 310.59, an homage to Amī-tābha with the pressmark ITJ 310.1207, and ITJ 1601, which is kept in Vol. 99 with what are otherwise exclusively *Ap* copies and fragments.

Counting the Tibetan *Ap* copies at the level of the bundle, we calculated that a bundle contains between seventeen and sixty-four rolls, with a mean average of thirty-eight. What is most fascinating is that a given bundle includes predominantly single-sutra rolls or predominantly multiple-sutra rolls. In the thirteen bundles of single-sutra-roll copies there is only one anomalous two-sutra roll. The thirteen bundles that contain predominantly multiple-sutra rolls, by contrast, include many single-sutra rolls as well as multiple-sutra rolls. Indeed, the ratio of single-sutra rolls to multiple-sutra rolls within these “mixed bundles” is 4 : 5. There are also important differences between the sutra copies in the two types of bundles. Those copies in the mixed bundles are almost exclusively unedited, whatever their balance of single-sutra rolls to multiple-sutra rolls. The majority (412 of 580) of the sutra copies in the bundles of single-sutra rolls, by contrast, are edited. The layouts of the sutra copies also differ in the two types of bundles. The copies in mixed bundles tend to use the three-panel, six-column layout – referred to below with the shorthand “3,6” – whereas the copies in the single-sutra-roll bundles feature a wider variety of layouts. Additionally, our corpus shows a largely coherent distribution

48 These are ITJ 1137, 1138, and 1139.

49 All of these items are discussed and analyzed in van Schaik, Helman-Wazny, and Nöller 2015.

50 We were unable to consult this manuscript, but its measurements, 31.5 × 45 cm, are those of an *Ap* panel.

of A1 and B1 sutra copies at the level of the bundle. The unedited sutra copies in mixed bundles are almost all A1 copies which use the longer form of the *dhāraṇī*, whereas the largely edited sutra copies in single-sutra-roll bundles are largely B1 copies that employ the shorter form of the *dhāraṇī*. Below we provide the information in table form, for ease of reference.

Table 3: Single-Sutra-Roll Bundles.

Site No./ Bundle No.	Unedited Rolls	Unedited 3,6 Copies	Edited Rolls	Edited 3,6 Copies	Non-B1 Copies
73.X	13	8	25	8	2 A1
73.XVI	1	1	63	51	44 A1
78.III	3	2	48	5	4 A1
78.IV	2	2	36	5	1 A1
78.VIII	25	18	29	12	14 A1
78.IX	32	26	31	5	7 A1
78.X	13	11	37	14	0
86.I	12	8	33	7	0
86.III	3	3	25	9	0
86.VI	6	6	41	12	1 A, 1 A1+B1
86.X	26	20	32	13	3 A1
86.XIV	37	24	11	5	3 A1
86.XV	10	6	29	5	2 A1

In total, these single-sutra-roll bundles contained 620 sutra copies in 619 rolls. That makes a mean average of forty-eight rolls per bundle. 438 of these sutra copies are edited and 182 are unedited. This roughly 7 : 3 ratio of edited to unedited copies is generally reflected in four of the bundles, whereas five bundles have a much higher ratio, with the extreme being sixty-three edited to one unedited copy in bundle 73.XVI. Three bundles have a nearly even balance of edited and unedited copies, whereas one bundle, 86.XIV, is an outlier in having only eleven edited copies and thirty-seven unedited copies. There is only one damaged roll in these bundles, ITJ 310.774, which is nearly complete but for a torn final panel. Another copy, ITJ 310.762, omits the explicit and colophon, but is physically undamaged.

Of the 182 unedited rolls in these bundles, 135 are in 3,6 layout, making for a roughly 4 : 1 ratio in favor of 3,6 layout in these unedited rolls. By contrast, of the 438 edited rolls, only 167 are in 3,6 layout, which is a 2 : 3 ratio against the 3,6 layout

in edited copies. This is an interesting fact that has implications for how one understands the nature of these bundles and the processes that produced them. Also, fifty-one of these 167 edited copies in 3,6 layout – that is, thirty-eight percent of them – come from a single bundle, 73.XVI, marking it as an outlier that skews the data from the other twelve bundles. In every other bundle, well less than one half of the edited copies use a 3,6 layout.

Bundle 73.XVI is also anomalous for having forty-four A1 copies among its sixty-four rolls. Thirty-seven of these A1 copies are attributed to a single scribe, Se thong pa. That accounts for forty-five percent of the eighty-three non-B1 copies found across these thirteen single-sutra-roll bundles. The other 537 copies in these bundles are all version B1.

There is no meaningful correlation between 3,6 layout and A1 copies in these thirteen single-sutra-roll bundles. If the anomalous A1 copies attributed to Se thong pa are set aside, then there are twelve A1 copies in 3,6 layout, and twenty-seven A1 copies in other layouts. This is another important fact that is relevant to the different characters of the two types of bundles.

Table 4: Mixed Bundles.

Site No./ Bundle No.	Single-Sutra Rolls	Multiple-Sutra Rolls	Non-3,6 Copies	Non-A1 Copies
73.IX	3	16	1	1 B1
73.XI	13	15	0	5 B1
73.XVII	8	21	1	0
78.I	6	18	5	0
78.II	13	13	1	2 B1
78.V	6	11	0	0
78.VI	6	19	2	2 B1
78.VII	48	12	8	3 C5
78.XI	16	24	0	3 B1
78.XII	13	16	8	24 B1
86.VII	13	17	1	0
86.IX	12	23	4	6 B1
86.XIII ⁵¹	18	6	7	1 B2

⁵¹ As discussed in Chapter One, three intact rolls with the pressmarks ITJ 310.1208, 1209, and 1210 appear to belong at the head of bundle 86.XIII, whose pressmarks run from ITJ 310.300 to ITJ 310.328.

In total, these thirteen mixed bundles contain 175 single-sutra rolls and 211 multiple-sutra rolls. This amounts to 822 sutra copies: 175 in single-sutra rolls, and 647 in multiple-sutra rolls. Only two bundles, 86.XIII and 78.VII, feature more single-sutra rolls than multiple-sutra rolls. Only one copy, ITJ 1617, can be said to be fragmentary due to a tear, but this is an edited exemplar that would have been used as a model for copying.⁵²

The sutra copies in the mixed bundles show a strong preference for the 3,6 layout. Only thirty-three out of 822 copies feature a different layout. This contrasts with the preference for non-3,6 layouts in the edited copies from single-sutra-roll bundles just discussed above, and is more extreme than the 4 : 1 preference for the 3,6 layout among unedited copies in single-sutra-roll bundles. (This is made far more extreme if the anomalous fifty-one edited 3,6 copies from single-sutra-roll bundle 73.XVI are set to one side.) This latter fact speaks against an assumption that the unedited copies in the single-sutra-roll bundles were produced in the same time and/or scriptoria as the unedited sutra copies in the mixed bundles.

Turning to the version of the sutra copied, there are forty-four B1 copies and three C5 copies against 775 A1 copies. Four bundles feature only A1 copies. Other bundles include one to six non-A1 copies. This is the inverse of the preference for B1 copies in the single-sutra-roll bundles. Like those bundles, the data in the mixed bundles is skewed by one outlier that, inversely, accounts for about half of the non-A1 copies. This is bundle 78.XII, which contains twenty-four B1 copies, nearly all of which are attributed to two scribes, Ha Stag slebs and Heng je'u. In fact, these two scribes, along with another named ^I 'do, are responsible for every B1 copy in these bundles apart from those special cases of copies that are attributed to editors like Cang Tsi dam and Dpal gyi Sgron ma.⁵³

Navigating our data at the level of the bundle, we find the same scribes and editors at work in both types of bundle. Generally, there is coherence at the level of the site number/ bundle, which is to say that a given scribe would produce A1 copies, which are found in mixed bundles, and B1 copies, which are found in bundles of single-sutra rolls. This is true of dozens of scribes. Lu Dze shing/ Lu Tse shing, for example, scribed twenty-seven rolls of A1 copies and eighteen rolls of B1 copies, and followed the expected pattern whereby the former are in mixed bundles and

⁵² ITJ 310.938 is a two-sutra roll, the first of which is aborted just before the end, but the roll itself is intact and without tears. The scribal colophon of the second copy attributes the copy to Phan phan. ITJ 1636 is also incomplete at the end, but has a full three-panel, six-column layout, so it is not physically a fragment.

⁵³ The sole exception may be ITJ 310.229 in bundle 86.IX, an unedited B1 copy ascribed to Lha legs.

the latter are in bundles of single-sutra rolls.⁵⁴ The same scribe, signing off in Chinese as Lü Rixing 呂日興, is found in several colophons of Chinese A5 copies. By contrast, in only a small handful of cases are there A1 and B1 sutra copies by the same scribe in the same bundle. This is true, for example, of an A1 copy (ITJ 310.1089), and a B1 copy (ITJ 310.1100) in the mixed bundle 73.X, both attributed to Ser Thong thong. Both of these sutra copies have the same editors, Li Phab weng and Heg ching, and this suggests that the sutra copies were produced at roughly the same time in the same scriptorium. One can find other similar instances that demonstrate conclusively that A1 and B1 copies of the sutra were being copied and edited by the same people, probably at the same time and in the same scriptorium.

The continuity of editors also complicates how one understands what is arguably the most anomalous bundle, 73.XVI. All but one of its sixty-four single-sutra rolls is edited, and its first forty-three rolls are A1 copies, thirty-seven of which are attributed to the scribe Se thong pa. The final twenty-one rolls, by contrast, are attributed to a variety of scribes, and are all B1 copies – apart from one A1 copy attributed to Cang Shib tig (elsewhere a scribe of both B1 and A1 copies). Despite this stark contrast between the first part of the bundle and the second part, some of the editorial teams in the latter part overlap with those who edited Se thong pa's A1 sutra copies in the first part. This makes it difficult to argue that the final twenty-one rolls do not truly belong to this bundle, or that the first forty-three rolls are interlopers.

3.3.1 Fragments, orphans, and traces of a lost bundle

In contrast to the rolls belonging to these twenty-six bundles of almost exclusively *Ap* copies, our corpus contains ninety-five rolls or fragments with various press-marks that do not obviously belong to either of the above two types of bundles. There are three main types of manuscript in this group: 1) fragments, which range from less than one panel to nearly complete *Ap* copies; 2) *Ap* copies that come from bundles of mostly non-*Ap* material; and 3) *Ap* copies that appear to have been separated from their bundles of mostly *Ap* copies and thereby “orphaned” during documentation and cataloguing.

Of the ninety-five items in this group, forty-five are fragments and fifty are complete, single-sutra rolls. There are no multiple-sutra rolls. Thirty-five are edited and sixty are unedited. Where the type of *dhāraṇī* can be discerned, there are thirty type A, sixty-three type B, and two type C. Of the fifty complete copies, thirty-two

54 Notably, his name tends to appear as Lu Ts(h)e (s)hing in his B1 copies, and Lu Dze shing in his A1 copies.

use the 3,6 layout. Twenty-three of these use the type-B *dhāraṇī* and nine use the type-A *dhāraṇī*.

There are three pressmarks containing *pothī*-format fragments included here for the sake of completeness.

It is striking to find only forty-five *Ap* fragments in contrast to the over 1,000 complete rolls. This stands in stark contrast to the hundreds upon hundreds of discarded folia that were a by-product of the production of the Tibetan *SP* copies in Dunhuang around this same time. In terms of the different editorial processes of these two sutra-copying projects, the paucity of discarded or torn panels of *Ap* copies was a direct result of the more lenient editorial standards applied to copying this sutra. We will discuss below how some of these torn fragments were repurposed in Dunhuang's temple libraries.

Those *Ap* copies in the second category come from regular library bundles and from miscellaneous bundles. Only five rolls come from the latter, which can be identified as miscellaneous bundles by their site numbers: I.1, XXXIII.003, XL.004, XLIII.002, and CXLVII.2. Other copies come from dozens of different regular library bundles, the numbers for which are given in Chapter Four.

As described in Chapter One, nearly two dozen rolls and fragments were separated from their bundles during the documentation and cataloguing process in the twentieth century, and may belong in one or another of the bundles documented in Tables Three and Four above, or in other bundles whose site numbers have been lost. In fact, if one attends closely to the roll numbers in the sequence of complete copies that have the woefully deficient site numbers or “quasi-site numbers” from “10” to “99,” some prefixed with “fragment,” it is possible to reverse some of the mistakes that have crept into the documentation and cataloguing of these manuscripts. In Chapter One we saw that four rolls with the “quasi-site numbers” 47, 49, 53, and 54 in all likelihood came from site Ch.I.1. Placing them there, this site number now contains five *Ap* rolls, as La Vallée Poussin stated in his catalogue. Attending to another striking inconsistency between the state of affairs that La Vallée Poussin recorded and that which confronts us, he listed nine rolls under site number 87.XIII.⁵⁵ This is in addition to the four rolls he listed as 87.XIIIa, b, d, and f. The latter are four B1 single-sutra rolls, pressmarks ITJ 310.415 to 418, edited by the team of Phab dzang, Phab ci, and Dpal mchog. Their roll numbers, 11 to 14, suggest that they were in the middle of a bundle when La Vallée Poussin added these roll numbers. Among the *Ap* copies we surveyed, only the fragment ITJ 310.1204, which had been bound in Vol. 54, bears the site number 87.XIII. As pictured in Fig. 22 above, a curator added “d” to this site number, so it is perhaps to be included with

⁵⁵ La Vallée Poussin 1962, 101.

the four complete rolls 87.XIIIa, b, d, and f. This, however, would create a duplicate site number, so the addition of “d” was probably an errant intervention. Still, it is an open question whether La Vallée Poussin would have counted a fragment such as this among the nine “copies” he recorded under site number 87.XIII. The binding of ITJ 310.1204 in Vol. 54 also speaks against its inclusion. Looking to the complete copies with quasi-site numbers, and to those with site numbers that begin with “Fragment,” the four edited B1 rolls with the defective site number “Fragment 53” furnish us with rolls one to four, with roll two being a fragment and roll one being edited by the same team of Phab dzang, Phab ci, and Dpal mchog. The edited B1 rolls with the quasi-site numbers 34, 48, 52, 46, 45, and 44 give us rolls five to ten, with roll ten being a fragment and roll six (ITJ 1606) being edited by this same team. These are plausible candidates for being the nine rolls that were from site number 87.XIII, given their similarities to the four rolls from this same site number that are suffixed with letters.⁵⁶

There is, however, a second set of candidates for these nine rolls in the form of further B1 copies edited by Phab dzang, Phab ci, and Dpal mchog with roll numbers immediately above the sequence from eleven to fourteen. Among the copies with quasi-site numbers, 50 (ITJ 1608), 51 (ITJ 1609), 35 (ITJ 1599), 36 (ITJ 1600), and Fragment 38 (ITJ 310.1038 and 1037), Fragments 39b-c (ITJ 310.1040 and 1039) and Fragment 41 (ITJ 310.422) also furnish nine complete B1 rolls, two of which feature this same set of editors. These have the advantage of being nine complete rolls. As we have seen, a bundle of Tibetan *Ap* copies usually only included complete rolls; fragments were found in other bundles. Assuming that the complete *Ap* copies marked as “Fragments” or bearing quasi-site numbers like “50” were misplaced from their bundles, the sequence that we have just reconstructed would plausibly furnish a bundle (87.XIII) of twenty-three edited single-sutra rolls. This must remain speculative, however, and besides relying on grouping copies together based on their similarities, it also rests on the assumption that these roll numbers were added sequentially during La Vallée Poussin’s practice of numbering the rolls within a given bundle. An alternative explanation would be that these “orphaned” copies, once irremediably separated from their original bundles, were stacked together as a group (i.e. a “quasi-bundle”) and then numbered. We have also noted in Chapter One a conservator’s note in Vol. 113 that records the existence of two further bundles of *Ap* copies, Ch.73.XV and 79.XIII, that between them contained thirty-nine rolls.

It is possible that other of these rolls with deficient site numbers might be similarly connected with one another or else to an existing bundle. La Vallée Poussin’s

⁵⁶ Note that there are two roll sixes and no roll nines in this sequence. The relevant pressmarks are ITJ 310.426, 427, 424, 425, ITJ 1598, 1606, 1610, 1604, 1603, and 1602.

record provides an aid for this work, but we have also observed that his tally of rolls was sometimes off by one or two, and had to be corrected by F.W. Thomas's blue pencil. As such, one has to be careful about attempting to reconstruct the state of the manuscripts in La Vallée Poussin's record, since that record itself contains both minor errors and major lacunae.

3.3.2 Bundles, rolls, and glue in the margins

Tallying the contents of these two main types of bundles together with the ninety-five items that do not belong to either type of bundle, there were 1,055 complete rolls, containing 1,492 complete Tibetan *Ap* sutra copies. Additionally, there were forty-seven fragments – including only two from the mixed bundles and single-sutra-roll bundles – ranging from a scrap to a nearly complete copy with a small tear. This tally is offered with the same caveat that operates wherever these sutra copies and fragments are concerned: other fragments and copies may have escaped our notice, and our tallies, like those of La Vallée Poussin and Thomas, may have miscounted by a few.

We do not pretend to have comprehensively surveyed the Chinese Dunhuang *Ap* copies in the British Library. From our partial survey it appears that there was only one bundle that consisted either exclusively or predominantly of rolls of Chinese *Ap*. This is bundle 79.IX, which features serial site numbers. The lowest is 79.IX.1 and the highest is 79.IX.37, but we were able to locate only thirty-three rolls of what should be thirty-seven rolls, every one of which is Chinese *Ap*. Of these, nineteen are single-sutra rolls, and fourteen are multiple-sutra rolls. Together they contain fifty-eight *Ap* copies.⁵⁷ The single-sutra rolls range in width from approximately 162 to 213 cm. The multiple-sutra rolls range from two copies to four copies. None displays signs of editing. This largely aligns with what one finds in the “mixed bundles” of Tibetan *Ap*. Without the witness of several other bundles of Chinese *Ap* copies that would allow us to make such a determination, we cannot take this as evidence that the Chinese bundles were similarly of two types, that is, single-sutra-roll bundles and mixed bundles. The other Chinese *Ap* copies and fragments rather belong to bundles of neither category, much like the ninety-five Tibetan items just described. Many lack a site number, which makes it impossible to perform any sort of analysis at the level of the bundle.

⁵⁷ For a table containing the site numbers, pressmarks, Giles numbers, measurements, and scribes' names, see Terzi and Whitfield 2024, 69. The missing site numbers are 79.IX.5, 79.IX.15, 79.IX.28, and 79.IX.29.

Among the Chinese *Ap* copies in other bundles there are both fragments and complete copies, both in single and multiple-sutra rolls. Notably, there are two complete single-sutra rolls of Chinese *Ap* in bundle 86.I, which is otherwise a bundle of forty-five single-sutra rolls of Tibetan *Ap* copies, with one copy of the *Heart Sutra* in Tibetan. There are a few bundles in which one finds small numbers of both Tibetan and Chinese *Ap* copies and/or fragments, along with other texts. This is true of 77.VII, 79.XVI, 82.II, and 87.XIII. It is difficult to draw any conclusions about this, but a more detailed virtual reconstruction of these bundles might reveal something more about them.

We will return to the riddles posed by these bundles after reviewing the editorial process in some detail. Before doing so, however, it is important to introduce a further crucial point. The vast majority of the single-sutra rolls show signs that they were previously a part of longer, multiple-sutra rolls. This is evident in the glue, visible by a faint red residue, on the left margin of a sutra's first panel and/or the right margin of the final panel. This is true of the rolls from both types of bundles, and it is also true of many multiple-sutra rolls. Our working assumption is that scribes or someone else within the scriptorium assembled a roll of up to forty-five panels long – or perhaps fifty, as a *tie* 𠄎/ *theb*⁵⁸ – inked the guidelines horizontally and inked the columns and margins vertically. The scribe then filled this long roll with multiple copies of the sutra. Either the scribe, the editors, or someone else then detached the sutra copies individually by ungluing the panels or cutting the paper with a knife. In the case of a roll of three-and-a-half-panel, seven-column *Ap* copies, every odd copy, which ends half way through every fourth panel, would have to be cut; every even copy could be unglued/peeled. A long roll of three-panel, six column copies could simply be peeled or unglued. It is clear from the margins of some sutra copies, however, that not all papers could be peeled so easily, and some required cutting. This is evident from the margins of ITJ 310.311, where one finds a small sliver of a previously attached panel adhered to the margin, presumably the result of a combination of peeling and cutting.⁵⁹

3.4 Scribal practices

There are more than 150 named scribes and more than thirty named editors in the colophons of the Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies kept at the British Library. These

⁵⁸ See above, based on Drège 1991, 200 and 208.

⁵⁹ This is from a bundle of single-sutra rolls, so the cutting in this case was not the work of twentieth-century conservators separating panels to create booklets.

same scribes and editors are found in the Tibetan *Ap* copies from Dunhuang held in Paris, St. Petersburg, and Gansu. Most of the scribes and editors were Chinese, but some Tibetans, Tuyuhun, and people of other ethnicities also worked on the project.⁶⁰ Some, though not all, were monks, as indicated by the titles they bear in the colophons, such as *ban de* or *dge slong*. They often have Tibetan personal names and Chinese family names, though many have purely Chinese names and a few have purely Tibetan names. Chinese born under Tibetan rule often took Tibetan personal names, and learned Tibetan as a second language.⁶¹ The practice continued even after the fall of the Tibetan Empire, when the use of Tibetan names by Chinese in Dunhuang may have had more of a Buddhist character.⁶²

The scribal colophons often give the full form of a scribe's name, such as Sag Zhun zhun or Snyal Stag snya. Sometimes they omit the family name, though, which can lead to ambiguity. Stag snya in a scribal colophon, for instance, could refer to Snyal Stag snya or to Bung Stag snya. The names of the scribes and editors reflect the cultural milieu of Dunhuang in the 820s. The three names just given, for example, are those of *Ap* scribes, but they represent three different types of names. The most common types are purely Chinese, like Sag Zhun zhun, which is a Chinese family name, Sag (Pinyin: Suo 索), followed by a Chinese personal name. Following these in frequency are Chinese family names with Tibetan personal names, such as Bung (Pinyin: Feng 奉) Stag snya, and then Tibetan family names with Tibetan personal names, such as Snyal Stag snya. Some personal names are neither Chinese nor Tibetan, as in the case of Cang (Pinyin: Cang 張) Shib tig, where the personal name can be reconstructed as Shide (十德 or 什德).⁶³ Some scribes, like ^An (Pinyin: An 安) Dge brtan and Khang (Pinyin: Kang 康) Dpal mchog, have family names that are typically associated with Sogdians. Some names also point to a scribe's status as an immigrant to Dunhuang from elsewhere, as in the case of the prolific scribe Se thong pa ("Man from Se thong"). Sometimes scribes also employ nicknames, as seen in the colophons of the ten-sutra roll scribed by Snyal Lha gzigs. He wrote his name in eight of these colophons, left one blank, and wrote "Snyal the Snowborn" (Snyal Kha ba skyes) in one.⁶⁴ Other names in the colophons could similarly be nicknames or else names with a negative connotation and possibly an apotropaic function. One such name is "the 'E wam Puppy" ('E wam Khyi phrug/ 'E bam Khyi brug).

⁶⁰ On the ethnicities of the scribes, see Taenzer 2012, 110–154.

⁶¹ On a typology of Tibetan names during this period, and for a discussion of these issues, see Takeuchi 1995, 129–134.

⁶² Takeuchi 2004. On onomastics during the Guiyijun period, see Galambos 2020, 233–246.

⁶³ On this name, see Takata 2019, 100; and Galambos 2020, 236.

⁶⁴ This roll is split across ten booklets from ITJ 310.1190 to 1199.

The same scribes' names appear in both the copies from single-sutra-roll bundles and those from mixed bundles. An unedited copy generally has only a scribal colophon, e.g. "written by Phan phan" (*phan phan bris*). This is usually in black ink, but it is often written in a slack hand that contrasts with the neat calligraphy of the sutra itself. The grammar, like the script in these colophons, is also loose: while the past form of the verb, *bris*, is most common, other forms are also found. This can be preceded by an ergative, as one would expect, but sometimes by an errant genitive, and most often by no case particle at all. 113 complete sutra copies lack scribal colophons, and one of these states "as for this, I wrote it" (*'di ni bdag gis bris*; ITJ 310.1133). Most of these "unsigned" copies are unedited, and many appear in multiple-sutra rolls, where a scribe's name may be written in the colophon of one sutra copy in a long roll and not in other copies in the same roll. Such "unsigned" copies are usually in the same hand, and can therefore be easily attributed. However, there are also some "unsigned" copies among edited single-sutra rolls that include an editorial colophon.⁶⁵

Scribes added very little content to *Ap* copies beyond what they were tasked to produce. We find some jottings among the few torn fragments of the sutra, but these are nothing like as numerous or rich as those found on discarded *SP* folia. Among the few exceptions to the scribal practice of only copying the *Ap* and adding a scribal colophon, we find jottings and names in Chinese on at least thirteen sutra copies, and at least twenty instances of scribes writing "Praise to Amitābha" (*na mo ^a myi ta pur*), just before the colophon.⁶⁶ This praise is found in *Ap* copies kept in Paris, Gansu, and St. Petersburg as well. In ITJ 310.54, the scribe adds "Praise to bodhisattva Kṣitigarbha" (*na mo dyi dzang bo sar*), and in ITJ 310.827 the scribe wrote "Praise to the Buddha" (*na mo bu sar*). In an edited single-sutra roll from St. Petersburg, Dkh. Tib. 151, "*OM phat sva ha*" appears after the scribal and editorial colophons.⁶⁷ Following the colophon of the edited single-sutra roll from Gansu, Db. t. 0274, a short prayer appears perpendicular to the sutra: "I pray that all of the gods and *nāgas* of the land assemble simultaneously!" (*sang gang gi klu dang lha dang/*

⁶⁵ The few examples include ITJ 310.760, 770, 777, 780 and 793, all from within bundle 78.IX, as well as ITJ 310.735 (edited by the same editorial group) and ITJ 310.1108 (edited by another triumvirate of editors).

⁶⁶ ITJ 310.426, 310.967, 310.1034, 310.1038, 310.1040, 310.1103, ITJ 1598 and 1610 contain Chinese on their versos. ITJ 310.204, 310.908, 310.1187, ITJ 1626 and 1679 contain Chinese in the margins at the crossover between panels. ITJ 310.68, 310.134, 310.258, 310.285, 310.287, 310.392, 310.523, 310.543, 310.553, 310.575–79, 310.603, 310.609, 310.776, 310.1045, 310.1098, 310.1100 and ITJ 1591 all contain some variant of the phrase *na mo ^a myi ta pur*. On *^a myi ta pur* as the Tibetan rendering of the Chinese Amituofo, see Silk 1993, 17–19.

⁶⁷ Savitsky 1991, 67.

du gchig du ga 'du bar smon to).⁶⁸ ITJ 310.46 adds the *dhāraṇī* after the end of the text. In a few cases, *^om* is written after the scribe's name or the editors' names.

Other scribal additions include “dedicated as a gift for the lord, the son of gods” (*rje lha sras gyI sku yon du bsngos the*; ITJ 310.168, ITJ 310.939), and “written as a gift for the great king” (*rgyal po chen po de'i sku yon du bri*; ITJ 310.699). An interesting jotting after the colophons in an edited single-sutra roll from St. Petersburg, Dkh. Tib. 142, states “dedicated as a gift for the great councilor. Granted affectionately as an additional gift” (*zhang lon chen po 'i sku yon du bsngos the / gya dga' yang deb zhen stsal do*).⁶⁹ This is particularly intriguing, as it suggests that some copies might have been consecrated to not only the emperor but also to his councilors.

A rare jotting in which a scribe appears to reveal something of his personality is the scribal colophon to the *Ap* copy ITJ 310.329, which reads, “I, Ser Thong thong, the great scribe of Shazhou, wrote this” (*bdag cag sha cu yig po che // ser thong thong bris / /*). Another, with less bravado, writes after the first colophon of his three-sutra roll, “Written by Khab Btsan bzhI. Written by Khong Sen tse. As for errors, there are none” (*khang btsan bzhI gi bris so / khong sen tse briste / chad ni maMchis*; Db. t. 109).⁷⁰

The vast majority of the multiple-sutra rolls give the same scribe's name in each sutra copy's colophon, with all of these written in the same hand. However, in a few cases we find copies in the same roll, written in the same hand, but attributed in their colophons to separate scribes. ITJ 310.216 and 217, for example, are two booklets that were previously one roll containing three sutra copies. The first and the third copies bear the name Mchims G.yu gzIgs in the scribal colophon, and the second has the name Mal GzIgs kong, but the copies are written in the same hand. Many other such cases exist, such as the three multiple-sutra rolls that comprise pressmarks ITJ 310.955 to ITJ 310.963, which are all in the same hand, but where nine copies are attributed to Ha Stag slebs and five to *^I* 'do.

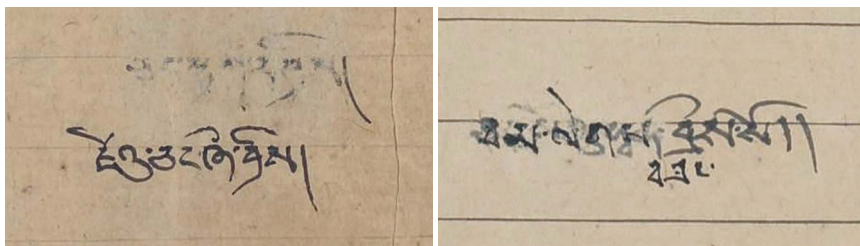
There are also many cases where one scribe's name is rubbed out or struck through and replaced with that of another (see Figs 46 and 47). Sometimes the attempt to efface another scribe's name is not at all thorough, such that it is hardly apparent that one name is struck through. This is the case, for example, in ITJ 310.796,

⁶⁸ Ma 2011, 176.

⁶⁹ Savitsky 1991, 64. As with other transcriptions from St. Petersburg materials, these rely entirely on Savitsky, and should be verified through consulting the manuscripts or images of these. Here we take *gya dga'* to be *bya dga'*, and cannot say if this was a ninth-century or a twentieth-century spelling error.

⁷⁰ Ma 2011, 109.

where we find in the colophon “Written by Him Lha bzher. Written by Cang snang legs” (~~him lha bzher bris~~ // cang snang legs gyi bris).



Figs 46 and 47: Rubbed-out names in colophons of PT 3564 and 3582; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

More than one scribe is listed in some instances, such as PT 3957. Here, “Written by ’Gu Khong brtan” is in the same hand as the sutra, but “Written by Jeg Shan she’u” is in a second hand, and “also written by Song ^ag tshé” is in a third. None is crossed out. There are more such cases in the copies held in Paris and Gansu.⁷¹ In other cases, the spelling of a scribe’s name is corrected, as with “Phan ~~h~~phan” in ITJ 310.8, or “Bam Stag bziang” in ITJ 310.425, suggesting that the person writing the name did not know how to spell it. This is in fact precisely what we find in editorial colophons, where one editor wrote their own name and that of one or both of their two colleagues, but often misspelled the latter’s names. There are also cases in which the scribe’s name in the colophon is written in a different hand, and/or with different (i.e. fainter) ink than the body of the sutra (e.g. ITJ 310.489).

We gain some insight into the process by which such colophons were produced when examining a roll of six sutra copies spread across pressmarks ITJ 310.319–321. The colophons of the first five copies each state “written by Gu rib Lha lung brtsan,” excepting the second colophon, which is blank. However, the final colophon reads, “Gu rib Lha lung brtsan’s roll, written by Mchims G.yu gziḡs” (*gu rib lha lung brtsan gyi bam po mchims g.yu gziḡs gyis brIs* /; ITJ 310.321). This suggests a dynamic of scribes and client scribes; here Mchims G.yu gziḡs has scribed sutra copies that will presumably be recorded as Gu rib Lha lung brtsan’s when handed in and credited against his earlier receipt of paper. It is further evident from a jotting in ITJ 310.516 that scribes exchanged sutra copies with one another: “written by Ling ho Bing

⁷¹ See, for example, Db. t. 0209 and Db. t. 0225; Ma 2011, 150 and 155.

bing. Offered as a gift to Bam Stag slebs” (*Ung ho bing bing gis 'bris // bam stag slebs gyi lag stang gi phul ba /*).

The desultory strikethroughs and those colophons that contain the “signature” of more than one scribe strongly suggest that the intention was not to fool the editors or to hoodwink the “keeper” (*rub ma pa*) about who scribed a sutra copy. If the practice of scribing sutra copies for someone else were prohibited, then the scribes would have taken greater care to conceal this. What mattered, therefore, was that the “keeper” was clear about to whom a sutra copy should be credited. Presumably, in those cases where two scribes’ names appear, or where one is barely rubbed out, scribes would have resolved the ambiguity with the “keeper” directly.

Such circumstances are further suggested by a close reading of ITJ 1359, the legal document that records scribes’ shortfalls of paper to be collected. Despite being an official document bearing seals, it contains numerous interlinear annotations that bear witness to the difficulties of bookkeeping. To cite one example, Khang Btsan slebs, a scribe of Stong sar thousand-district, faced a deficit of fifty-two sheets of paper. However, an interlinear note says that this debt was taken over (*kha bstan*) by Sheg Lha rton, who is found in two further interlinear notes to the deficits of other scribes whose debts he also took upon himself.⁷² Assuming Sheg Lha rton was not serving as a scapegoat (or a bodhisattva) by taking a whipping for the others, his undertaking would have involved “ghostscribing” sutra copies for these scribes in order to save them from punishment – and perhaps making a profit himself on the interest or on whatever other fee he asked. This administrative document pertains to *SP* copies, but the same situation may have been the norm for many of these same scribes who produced *Ap* copies and sold or gave them to other scribes who needed to fill their quotas to avoid punishment. A scribe might also write in the colophon the name of a scribe in whose debt he found himself by way of repayment. This would account for those copies attributed to a given scribe, but whose handwriting plainly differs from scores of other copies “signed” by the same name.

3.4.1 Scribes beyond the scriptorium

Given their physical location together in bundles of *Ap* copies, and the few jottings marking these as gifts for the Tibetan emperor, we have assumed that nearly all of

⁷² *Sheg lha rton kha bstan te stsai*; ITJ 1359(B), interlinear note below l. 4 (see Fig. 35). In the two other examples, the grammar is different, i.e. *sheg lha rton la...kha bstan*. The phrase *kha bstan* is employed in a very similar context in a loan contract, where *ban de Thub brtan* takes over the loan of grain to Li Kang tse and pays it back to the lender; Takeuchi 1995, 260–261.

these Tibetan roll-format *Ap* copies are of a piece, as part of a gift commissioned for the Tibetan emperor. Only those copies that have an entirely different format, e.g. *pothī*, scroll, or concertina, are obviously separate from this project. The few outliers, such as an A2 copy (ITJ 310.315), and a few C5 copies (ITJ 310.645, 646, and 651), are written by the same scribes as the dominant A1 and B1 copies, use the same layouts, and are found in the same bundles, so these also seem to belong to the project. There is one sutra copy, in fact the very first in the pressmark ITJ 310 (ITJ 310.1), that shows how scribes who worked on this project also worked on smaller, private commissions. This is preserved in roll format, and was no doubt kept as such in order to show for posterity what these rolls looked like prior to their transformation into booklets. This roll has the site number “Fragment 39.a,” and seems not to have been part of any of the twenty-six bundles of *Ap* copies. It was scribed by Cang Lha legs, who also produced A1 and B1 copies in both types of bundles. This copy has the same layout as *Ap* copies commissioned for the Tibetan emperor. However, its colophon reveals that it was commissioned for Kyim Phan sum as a “commitment text” (*gyar dam*), probably for daily recitation. The colophon states, “written by Cang Lha legs. I prostrate to all the Buddhas and bodhisattvas. This is Kyim Phan sum’s commitment (text)” (*cang lha legs bris // \$// sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa’ thams cad la phyag ’tshal lo // kyim phan sum gi gyar dam lags so /*). It then goes on, “make a pair from it and [illegible] scribes of Guazhou [illegible]” (*cha yod par gyis shig ya[x] ’bri mkhan nI ga cu ba [xx]u[xx]o[x] mkhan yin no /*). This phrase “to make a pair,” presumably refers to the use of this sutra copy as an exemplar for producing copies. Perhaps Kyim Phan sum donated it as an exemplar for the sutra scribes so that he might generate more merit, or perhaps it was entirely separate from the sutra-copying project, and is only kept together with the latter’s sutra copies as a result of cataloguing practices in London. (Its site number, Fragment 39.a, is of no help.) The apparent reference to Guazhou scribes, though it comes in a damaged section, constitutes intriguing circumstantial evidence concerning the provenance and/or destination of this sutra. There are clear indicators that *SP2* copies that were produced in Dunhuang were sent to Guazhou, and we can assume that the same was true for at least some of the *Ap* copies. In any case, this colophon is a witness to the use of the *Sutra of Limitless Life* as a central text for daily practices (*gyar dam*).

Scribes also lent and borrowed other tools of the trade such as paper, ink, and knives. Scribes’ writing boards (*glegs tshas*) are full of jottings that tally such loans and debts, and which draft contracts for important items. The writing board PT 1166, for example, mentions a knife lent between two sutra scribes, Li’u Klu rton

and [^]Im Stag rma.⁷³ Sutra scribes indeed appear in loan and sale contracts, letters, and legal documents.⁷⁴ Wang Stagu, Lu Dze shing, Leng ho Pe'u tshon, Cang [^]I tshe, and Je'u Brtan kong serve as witnesses, for example, to a contract in which a certain Li G.yu legs hires a person named 'Bu [^]Eng tse to work in his stead transporting the annual grain tribute. The contract, PT 1098 (Fig. 48), includes these scribes' personal seals (*sug rgya*).⁷⁵ One of these witnesses, the scribe Cang [^]I tshe, is listed as the head of an administrative unit (*tshan*) in the legal document ITJ 1359, which meant that he was held responsible for managing the issue of missing paper among the scribes in his unit.⁷⁶



Fig. 48: End of a hire contract, PT 1098 – showing the personal seals of the witnesses, some of whom were sutra scribes; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The scribes found in *Ap* colophons are well represented in letters and contracts, often as witnesses. This may have followed on from their work drafting such contracts. The sutra scribe Wang Hva tshe, for example, appears as a lender of grain in the contract PT 1115, which also bears personal seals.⁷⁷ Two further *Ap* sutra scribes, Wang Hing tse and Cang Zhun zhun, served as witnesses to the sale of an ox in the contract PT 1095, which also bears their seals.⁷⁸ Wang Hing tse is listed as the head of an administrative unit (*tshan*) in the legal-administrative text related to short-falls of sutra-copying paper, ITJ 1359(C), l. 16. The *Ap* scribes Hva Hva hva and Wang

⁷³ Takeuchi 2013, 105.

⁷⁴ See Takeuchi 1995, 53–58.

⁷⁵ Takeuchi 1995, 94–96 and 264–267.

⁷⁶ ITJ 1359(D), l. 11.

⁷⁷ Takeuchi 1995, 208–211.

⁷⁸ Takeuchi 1995, 145–147.

Stagu are witnesses for the sale of a horse in the contract PT 1297.⁷⁹ A receipt for the repayment of loaned grain, ITJ 844, includes the witness seals of Bam Stag slebs and Cang Klu legs, both of whom are found as scribes in *Ap* colophons.⁸⁰

Some documents also give us a sense of the social life of sutra scribes. A patch on the back of a discarded panel of roll-format *SP*, PT 1648v, includes a contract for the supply of millet to brew beer. It is addressed to the “*rgya'i 'tsal za rnams*” (possibly “Chinese vegetarians”) and it includes penalties, payable in jugs of beer, for failure to supply grain on time. Most of the signatories are sutra scribes, including Bung Stag snya and Zhun zhun, who each scribed *Ap* copies in our corpus. Another loan contract, PT 1104c, reveals that the *Ap* sutra scribe Cang Weng yir took a loan of millet from a temple in order to brew beer.⁸¹

Other documents and jottings find sutra scribes involved in lawsuits, questionable lending practices, and possibly crimes. One sutra scribe, Cang Hing tse, is the complainant in a lawsuit together with his son, the monk Shang hing, in PT 1297.2. The complaint alleges that Shang hing was assaulted and beaten by a certain man named Dong tse and by his brother, who are also accused of deliberately letting their sheep loose in the crop field belonging to Cang Hing tse and his son Shang hing.⁸² An apparent draft of another legal charge, written on the writing board PT 1155, states that Bung Dze weng, a sutra scribe and editor, raped his brother’s wife. This same Bung Dze weng, whose name is also spelled Tse weng, took 200 sheets of paper that he had received for the sutra-copying project, and lent them to the papermaker (*shog mkhan*) Shang He ’do, as stated in the loan contract PT 1078.⁸³ Bung Dze weng fell ill, and Shang He ’do did not pay him back. The terms of repayment are the point of the new contract document: Shang He ’do shall pay the paper back by the tenth day of the middle winter month of the sheep year, or else will suffer confiscation of wealth and property.⁸⁴ In addition, Shang He ’do stands to be whipped according to the laws governing missing paper in the sutra-copying project. One of the witnesses is the sutra scribe ^Im Gtsug legs. Bung Dze weng is mentioned once again as a scribe of a Tibetan *SP* whose production was begun in Bde gams in a pig year, probably 831, and he may be the Tse weng found in the scribal colophon of the *Ap* copy ITJ 310.160.⁸⁵

79 Takeuchi 1995, 153–158.

80 Takeuchi 1995, 257–259.

81 Takeuchi 1995, 225–231.

82 For details see Dotson 2015b, 289–291.

83 Takeuchi 1995, 180–181; Dotson 2013-2014, 5–6.

84 The initial loan took place in either 824 or 836, and the repayment was due in the sheep year 827 or 839.

85 PT 1024; Dotson 2013-2014, 6.

3.4.2 Purity practices and scribal erasure in the sutra economy

Figures such as Bung Dze weng, sketchy though they may be, helpfully trouble some general assumptions about practices surrounding the production of Buddhist sutras. Jean-Pierre Drège recounts various anecdotes from medieval China about the merits of sutra copying and the necessity that this be characterized by sincerity and purity. A passage from the *Huayan jing zhuanji* describes how each act in preparing the room where the sutra was to be copied had to be perfectly pure. The scribe observed abstinence, bathed three times a day with perfumed water, and wore pure clothing.⁸⁶ In a striking image found in the *Mingbao ji* and elsewhere, a nun who commissions a copy of the *Lotus Sutra* maintains the purity of the chamber where it is to be copied by effectively sealing it off from the outside world. She fixes a bamboo tube through the wall to communicate with the scribe inside, and the scribe is instructed to breathe through the tube – a sort of medieval “exhaust pipe” – so as not to exhale on the *Lotus Sutra* he has been commissioned to copy.⁸⁷

These and other similar tales surely exaggerate the extent of such purity practices, but we know that eighth-century scribes in the Nara scriptorium observed dietary taboos such as abstinence from meat and alcohol, and taboos against pollution such as that which comes from exposure to a corpse. They also bathed, abstained from sex, wore specific “pure garments” (*jōe*) for their work in the scriptorium, and often slept there as well.⁸⁸ All of this was to ensure that the sutras were “purely copied” (Ch. *jiejing xiejing* 潔淨寫經). Purity practices are also in evidence in Dunhuang. In his exploration of purity practices around sutra copying, Bryan Lowe translates a colophon to a seventh-century Dunhuang copy of the *Vimalakirti Nirdeśa Sūtra*: “A disciple burned incense and summoned the sutra copyist Zhu Lingbian 朱令辯 from afar. [The scribe] diligently upheld the abstinent precepts (Ch. *zhaijie* 齋戒), bathed with fragrant water, donned pure garments, and stayed in a quiet chamber practicing the path at all times.”⁸⁹ Lowe also cites a colophon from Dunhuang dating to 662 in which scribes were hired to purely copy an entire canon.⁹⁰

The antics of some of Dunhuang’s sutra scribes do not necessarily exclude the possibility that they performed purity practices. In fact, one colophon of a damaged

⁸⁶ Drège 1991, 204.

⁸⁷ Drège 1991, 204–205; see also the discussion of this narrative as an example of a “parasutric narrative” encouraging sutra copying “as a bodily act of reverence” in Ho 2019, 143.

⁸⁸ Lowe 2017, 36–45.

⁸⁹ Lowe 2017, 69.

⁹⁰ P. 2056; Lowe 2012, 206.

Chinese *Ap* copy, S.3453, states that it was “reverently copied (*gong xie* 恭寫) by Zhang Lüefu 張略復.”⁹¹ The general absence of other such statements in Tibetan or Chinese in the colophons to *SP2*, *MP*, and Chinese and Tibetan *Ap* does not necessarily mean that these were not also “reverently copied” or “purely copied.” On the other hand, the many editorial notes and jottings that these sutra-copying projects produced tend to foreground the scribes and editors and their various transactions with each other and with the administrators overseeing their work. Their visibility in the documentary record contrasts with the near erasure of scribes – down to their breathing – in the anecdotes about sutra copying.

In a situation of exchange where benefit and merit are supposed to accrue to the patron who commissioned the sutra copies, purity practices function to safeguard against a perceived risk that the scribes who copy these sutras might siphon some of this merit for themselves. In the face of such practices, which serve to elide the scribe from the transaction and to foreground the patron and the sutra, the fact remains that it is always the name of the scribe – or of the editor(s) in edited copies of *Ap* – that closes the sutra in its colophon. If one fetishizes the sutra copy as the speech of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*), or even, *pars pro toto*, the body of the Buddha, then this injection of the scribe’s name at the end is more than a false note. It is the insertion of a mundane name in apposition with that of the Buddha. On this point Jinah Kim writes,

In a way, if we consider the practice of inserting one’s name into a Buddhist text as a behavior driven by the desire to be near the Buddha, the scribal colophon tacked at the end of a manuscript would afford the scribe a part of the religious merits (*punyam*) accrued in the donation of the manuscript.⁹²

In light of the purity practices and their virtual removal of the figure of the scribe and his labor from the central transaction in this ritual economy of merit, Kim’s observation about the scribe’s name in a colophon is tantamount to “saying the quiet part out loud.” It voices precisely the fear that purity practices serve to allay. It is also, in the wider context of Buddhist artistry and artisanry, extraordinary that scribes should enjoy such a privilege where visual artists responsible for creating the form of the Buddha so often remain anonymous.

This line of thought offers another way to approach the contrast between the neat handwriting and grammar of the sutras that scribes copied and the slack writing and poor grammar of the colophons in which they wrote their names. The distinction between reproducing verbal content and creating one’s own content is

⁹¹ Giles 1957, 149; no. 5102.

⁹² Kim 2013, 254.

the most obvious explanation for the different styles of handwriting and the divergent grammar. The slack colophonic hand could also be explained as simply being a ritualization in the sense of a convention, or “a done thing.” At the same time, scribes were perfectly capable of writing their names in the same neat script in which they copied a sutra, and sometimes they did so. Writing in a neat or slack script was a choice. Alongside these more obvious and more likely explanations, it is perhaps fruitful to at least entertain the notion that it was also this juxtaposition of their own names with those of the Buddha that prompted a loosening of the grip, as if to only half-write one’s name.

In a similar vein, it may be precisely in the colophon, where the scribe is most present, that the perceived danger of siphoning merit was most acute. Of course the merit of copying thousands of copies of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*, and the benefits for health, long life, and so forth, were intended for the Tibetan emperor. However, scribes read and copied certain paragraphs of the sutra that concerned the benefits that accrued not only for “one who causes this sutra to be copied” but also for “one who copies this sutra.” Such statements in the sutra itself may have even exacerbated an anxiety that the scribes, as intermediaries in the production of merit, might use up or “embezzle” for themselves the merit intended for the recipient and/or donor. It is probably relevant here that the dominant Tibetan version of the sutra (A1/B1) most often copied by Dunhuang’s scribes consistently uses the phrase “whoever causes it to be copied” (*'drir bcug* or *'drir 'jug*) rather than “whoever copies it or causes it to be copied” (*'dri 'am 'drir bcug* or *'dri 'am 'drir 'jug*). It is difficult not to see this as a conscious choice, given that the more concise elision would produce the phrase “whoever copies.” This contrasts with the Sanskrit and Chinese versions, which typically use the expression “whoever copies it or causes it to be copied” (*likhīṣyati likhāpayīṣyati; zi shu xie jiao ren shu xie* 自書寫教人書寫). The later Tibetan canonical versions also use the longer, inclusive phrase, whereas the Tibetan Dunhuang C5 version does not. Whether a version uses “copy,” “cause to be copied,” or both, may not necessarily function as an index of how scribal labor was valued, but the elision of “copy” in the vast majority of these Tibetan *Ap* sutra copies for the emperor is intriguing, and pertinent to questions of merit. Again with the proviso that this would be a secondary or tertiary factor, it may be that some awareness of their patrons’ anxieties about their roles in the transaction of merit can also partly account for the scribes’ slack handwriting in the colophons, which would, on such a reading, constitute something like an act of self-defacement.

In the context of scribes and client scribes and their exchanges that have left their marks in rubbed out colophons, the act of “signing” a colophon to a sutra that someone else scribed is in a sense to fully realize the taboo act of seizing the benefit of another’s sutra copy. In real terms, having one’s name written in the colophon

of a three-panel *Ap* copy is to save a scribe from ten lashes. However, this type of exchange might be seen to operate on a different level of the greater sutra economy, at its fringes or its “black market,” so to speak. It is an open question whether such lower-level transactions, such as the trade of sutra copies between scribes, had any impact on the higher level transactions of merit involving donors and recipients. Theoretically, the merit economy operates on different principles than the paper economy. Most fundamentally, merit is taught to be catalytic, such that rejoicing in another’s meritorious act does not siphon any merit away from that act, but simply produces more. The anecdote literature about scribes, however, tends to understand merit as a zero-sum proposition, such that when others take it from you or receive it from you, then that merit, like the credit for panels of scribed sutra copies given or sold to another scribe, is no longer yours.

The point is made most clearly in the revenant tale of Madame Chen in the *Fayuan Zhulin*, which may have been known to Dunhuang’s scribes. Afflicted by her own mother’s death in 663, Madame Chen herself temporarily dies and descends to hell, where she witnesses the officials of hell tormenting her mother. Her mother asks her to copy the *Lotus Sutra* to ease her suffering, and Madame Chen then revives and sets about carrying out her deceased mother’s wish. Madame Chen’s husband purchases a nearly complete copy that had been commissioned for a member of another family, the Fan, and Madame Chen has it mounted and stained, and consecrates it to her mother. Madame Chen’s deceased mother then visits her in a dream, and asks Madame Chen why she has not commissioned the *Lotus Sutra* for her. Madame Chen’s mother recounts that a functionary in hell admonished her for taking the Fan family’s sutra, which effectively erased the merit it would have produced for the Fan family, and therefore constituted a great sin for Madame Chen. In the end, Madame Chen commissions a new copy of the *Lotus Sutra*, expressly for her mother.⁹³

The analogy with giving or bartering *Ap* copies among scribes is clear. To erase one *Ap* scribe’s name and replace it with another’s is to credit the latter person in the ledgers of the “keeper.” But unlike the functionaries of hell, the “keeper” is happy to validate this transfer, which, in a parallel to certain hellscape, may save a scribe from being tortured. What remains less clear is what if any impact this transaction was thought to have on the main transaction of merit between the sponsor of the sutra copies and the recipient. Does this minor transaction between scribes siphon or destroy any of the merit that is meant to be generated in the major transaction between donor and recipient – in this case the Tibetan emperor? Does the client scribe receive the merit for his copying, and more merit for giving the

93 Kim 2013, 206.

sutra to another scribe to sign? What if he is charging for his services? What if he is also charging interest? These questions relate to the larger sutra economy, which includes the Buddhist economy of merit, the economy of the gift, the economy of paper and materials, and the economy of labor and labor management. Whereas donor and recipient operate on the more august levels, far removed from administrators like the “keeper” or the official who whipped the scribes for missing sheets of paper, the scribes and editors are present at all levels of these various exchanges. Their negotiations of these various parts of the sutra economy, from the mundane and coercive to the divine and meritorious, defined their lives and the sutra copies they produced.

3.5 Editorial processes

Some of the unedited *Ap* copies contain what appear to be the instructions “to be edited” (*zhu lags*). This comes in the form of the phrase *dang zhu bar zhu sum zhu lags*, variants of which we find in at least nine unedited *Ap* copies.⁹⁴ Significantly, these instructions are found almost exclusively in the colophons of unedited sutra copies that come from bundles of single-sutra rolls, and not in unedited copies from mixed bundles.⁹⁵

The instructions that the sutra must be edited, re-edited, and “third-edited” accurately reflect the editorial process in which there are often three named editors in the editorial colophon of an edited *Ap* copy. These “edit” (*zhus*), “re-edit” (*yang zhus*), and “third-edit” (*sum zhus*) the sutra copy. This is similar to the editorial process for the roll-type *SP*, though there one also finds “fourth editors” (*bzhi zhus*) and “chief editors” (*zhu chen*). One typical *Ap* colophon reads: “edited by Rev. Shin dar, re-edited by Leng ce’u, and third-edited by Ci keng” (*dge slong shin dar zhus // leng ce’u yang zhus / ci keng sum zhus //*; ITJ 310.24). Very rarely, the terms *dang*, *bar*, and *sum* from the “to be edited” formula are used in the editing formula instead. For instance ITJ 310.1035 reads: */ he jing dang zhus // pug ’gi bar zhu [=zhus] [...] he jing sum zhus /*.⁹⁶ In a few apparently unedited *Ap*, such as the two sutra copies under the pressmark ITJ 310.161, we find the phrase “edited and re-edited” (*zhus lags / yang zhus*, and *zhus / yang zhus*). In another sutra that also appears to be free of corrections by an editor’s hand we find the similar phrase “it has been

⁹⁴ ITJ 310.259, 279, 368, 536, 766, 808, 820, 833, and 843. Of these, four lack scribal colophons.

⁹⁵ The exception is ITJ 310.161.

⁹⁶ A colophon at PT 3663 also has an interesting example. An unedited copy with no scribal attribution, its colophon reads *dang zhu dang bar zhu dang sum zhu lags/* A red arrow below the line points to the large word *bskyar* (“again”), also in red.

edited” (*zhus lags so*; ITJ 310.431). These could attest to a process of self-editing by scribes. On the other hand, the attestations are few, and these instances of “edited” (*zhus lags*) are more likely to simply be misspellings for “to be edited” (*zhu lags*).

Spelling and grammar in both scribal and editorial colophons is poor, with absent or errant cases and errant verb tenses. Taking *zhu*, “to edit,” to be a transitive verb, we expect the agent to be marked in the ergative. In fact, instances of “[editor’s name] – [ergative] – *zhus*” are rare. Where we do find them, the ergative is sometimes used for one editor, and not for the others.⁹⁷ We often find a genitive in place of an ergative.⁹⁸ By far the most common form is the absolutive, for instance, *phab dzang zhus / phab ci yang zhus / dpal mchog suM zhus*; ITJ 310.54. This could be read either as a colophon shorthand, for example, “ed. Phab dzang, re-ed. Phab ci, third-ed. Dpal mchog,” or it could be read as evidence that Dunhuang’s predominantly Chinese scribes and editors were far less adept at putting their own words into writing than they were at copying someone else’s words. Even worse misspellings, like that in the editorial colophon of Db. t 0274, confirm this: “edited, re-entered by Chos ’grus, third-entered by Phab tsun” (*zhus lagso/ chos ’grus yang zhugs/ phab tsun/ sum zhugs*).⁹⁹ This level of literacy among copyists would be consonant with many scribal traditions elsewhere in the world. It is interesting to observe it also among editors.

Some editorial colophons shed light on the editorial process. In ITJ 310.1045, we find the editors’ names in red, followed by the statement, also in red and in the same hand, “additions and omissions having been corrected, it is finalized” (*lhag chad bcos nas gtan phab bo*). In a copy from St Petersburg, Dkh. Tib. 145, we find a similar phrase, “there being no omissions or additions, it was finalized” (*chad lhag ma mcis gtan la phab*).¹⁰⁰ The phrase *gtan [la] phab* describes the work of the editors and refers to the end of the editorial process – or the end of one stage of editing. This term appears in the same position in ITJ 310.126, 310.557, 310.569, 310.588, 310.596, and 310.1101, and in many copies in Paris and Gansu. In ITJ 310.588, for example, the editorial colophon reads, “Edited by Dam ’gi. Re-edited by Ci keng, third-edited by Dam ’gi, and finalized” (*dam ’gi zhus// ci keng yang zhus/ dam ’gi suM zhuste gthan la phabo*). We find a similar statement in the colophon of ITJ 310.772: “written by Shin dar; [second hand, in red:] edited by Leng pe’u, edited and finalized

⁹⁷ For example, *ci keng gIs zhus / dam ’gi yang zhus ci keng suM zhus /*; ITJ 310.1094; or *phug ’gi zhus dpal mchog gyis yang zhus // pab dzang gyis sum zhus /*; ITJ 310.573.

⁹⁸ For example, *dge slong daM tsheng gI zhuso / dge slong leng ce’u yang zhus / ci keng sum zhus /*; ITJ 310.44; or *dge slong shin dar zhus // dge slong dam tsheng gi yang zhuso / ce king gI sum zhuso /*; ITJ 310.34.

⁹⁹ Ma 2011, 176.

¹⁰⁰ Savitsky 1991, 66.

by Ben ceng” (*shin dar gIs bris//leng pe’u zhus ben ceng gtan la bab zhuso//*). Another colophon, to ITJ 310.1117, reads, “Written by Cang Zhun zhun. Edited. Sutra finalized, it is to be submitted to Rdo rje’s team” (*cang zhun zhun kyIs bris // zhus so / dar ma gtan la bab te / rdo rje’i grar zhu /*. Here, Rdo rje’s team is the next step in the editorial process. These phrases about the sutra being finalized, found in editorial colophons of *Ap* copies that include numerous corrections, may be taken to support the view that these are indeed final sutra copies deposited as gifts for the emperor, against the opinion that they should be viewed as discards.

There are additional details at the end of the colophon to ITJ 310.1117 that pertain to how editors corrected the sutra copies that scribes submitted to them. After the text just quoted, the colophon continues, in faded orange ink, “Li Phab weng’s exemplar for comparing with sutra [copies]” (*li phab weng gyI dar ma gtugs pa’I dpe’ //*). The verb “compare” (*gtugs*) relates to the editorial process, and we often find this word in the columns of roll-format *SP3* copies.¹⁰¹ It refers to the practice of editing a sutra with recourse to an exemplar copy. For instance, a fragment from the back of a blank, sixteen-line column of *SP3* refers to the use of exemplars during editing: “having no exemplar, we did not perform the second edit” (*dphe ma mchiste yang zhus ma bgyis*; ITJ 932). This suggests that, in the above situation, the editor Li Phab weng used this corrected, finalized copy as an editorial exemplar for correcting other copies of *Ap* that were submitted to him. Similarly, we find in the colophon of the *Ap* copy ITJ 310.131, “written by Cang Zhun zhun. Edited. To be re-edited and third-edited. Phug ’gi’s exemplar. Edited” (*cang zhun zhun gyis bris/ zhus so yang zhus sum zhus lags// \$/:/phug ’gi gyIs dpe lags so//zhus*). This colophon features the usual poor grammar with respect to tense and case, but it is easy enough to see that it indicates that this is Phug ’gi’s exemplar, and we know that Phug ’gi, like Li Phab weng, was a prolific editor.

The editors’ use of exemplars seems to mirror the manner in which scribes produced their copies. Here, it appears that editors wrote out model sutras for scribes to copy, or else gave them a good, clean copy, or a copy that had been well edited. In the colophon in PT 3601 (Fig. 49), an *Ap* copy written by Shes rab who was also a prolific editor, we find the phrase, “Cang ZhIg hing[’s] copy” (*cang zhIg hing dpe’*). In this context, where the colophon states that the sutra was written by Shes rab, who was an editor, the phrase “Cang ZhIg hing[’s] copy” probably means that the scribe Cang ZhIg hing used this exemplar as a model for his own sutra copies. In at least one case, a scribe inadvertently copied the colophon of his model text. In PT 3648, a two-sutra roll, the scribe Dang Tse tse “signed” his own name in one

¹⁰¹ On the features and production of *SP3* copies, see Lalou 1957; Iwao 2013; Dotson 2013-2014; Taenzer 2021.

colophon, but wrote “written by ’Dam ge” in the other. The latter, whose name is properly spelled ’Dam gi, was a prolific editor, and so a similar situation of a sutra copy scribed by an editor being used as a scribe’s exemplar likely pertains in this case too. Alternatively, it could relate to the trade in sutra copies described above.

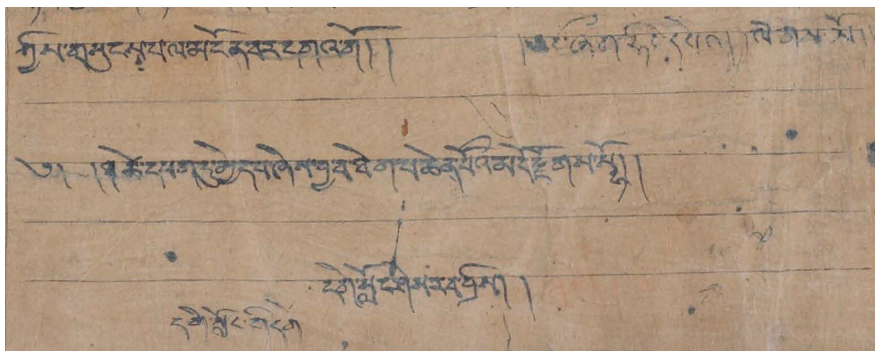


Fig. 49: Colophon of what is probably an exemplar sutra copy, PT 3601; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The use of editors’ copies as scribal exemplars also accounts for three out of the four edited copies found in the mixed bundles of unedited copies. ITJ 310.1045 and ITJ 310.1046 are the first two rolls in a mixed bundle of nineteen rolls at 73.IX, most of them multiple-sutra rolls, and all otherwise unedited. These first two are edited single-sutra rolls, of version B1 and A1, respectively. Their scribes are Dpal gyi Sgron ma and Shin dar, both of whom are prolific editors. A likely explanation for their anomalous presence alongside unedited sutra copies here is that they were used as scribal exemplars in producing the other sutra copies in this bundle. The same is true of ITJ 1617, an edited B1 sutra copy in a bundle of unedited copies at 78.V. It was scribed by Cang Tsi dam, who worked both as a scribe and an editor. The only other anomaly is ITJ 310.683, an A1 copy with only one editor, ’Bal Gtsug rton. If these bundles represent anything like the original state of the sutra copies when they were submitted and deposited in a temple, then exemplar copies were included alongside the copies produced from them. In single-sutra-roll bundles these exemplars were mixed in with both edited and unedited copies.

If these colophonic notes reflect the normative situation at Dunhuang, then we can infer that sutra copies were made by scribes who worked from exemplars, and edited by editors who compared them with their own exemplars. This does not mean that every exemplar was identical. Surveying sutra copies written by editors, many of which we assume were used as exemplars, we find some interesting variation in

their prescribed orthographies. And of course there is the more obvious difference between a version A1 exemplar and a version B1 exemplar. Chapter Two introduced an exemplar copy in which an editor, Cang Tsi dam, had corrected a B1 copy to produce an A1 exemplar. Indeed, the original scribe ^An Dge brtan produced only B1 copies in our corpus, and the scribe for whom this copy was adjusted, Cang Legs rtsan, largely produced A1 copies, in accordance with Cang Tsi dam's corrections. This exemplar copy, it should be noted, does have some jottings on the verso and in the margins. This may have been tolerated on exemplar copies where it may not have been allowed in other copies. Nevertheless, these exemplar copies were found in the same bundles with edited and unedited sutra copies and so were presumably acceptable as gifts for the Tibetan emperor.

3.5.1 Teams of editors

The majority of editorial colophons record teams of three editors, but most bundles also include copies whose colophons name only two editors. In the latter case there are two types of colophons: either it still lists a first, second, and a third editor, but the first editor and the third editor are in fact the same person, or else the colophon names only a first and second editor. We also find several instances of sutra copies with just one editor. On the other end of the spectrum are a few *Ap* copies, such as PT 3742, that include the names of four editors in their colophons. Only one bundle in the Stein Collection, 86.I, has copies that exclusively contains the names of three separate editors in each copy's colophon. This bundle is additionally notable for its use of monastic titles: *dge slong* Shin dar, *dge slong* Dam tsheng, and *dge slong* Leng ce'u appear in multiple colophons. This bundle also contains several copies with the "inefficient" four-panel, eight-column layout. We suggest below that this points to the likelihood that this was one of the first bundles to be produced.

The corrections in an edited sutra copy most often appear to be the work of a single hand, even when up to three are named in the editorial colophon. It is also exceedingly rare to find an editorial colophon where each editor's name is written in a separate hand. This means that an editor often recorded the name of one or both of their editorial colleagues, and often misspelled them or spelled them phonetically. Such misspellings or variant spellings were exacerbated by the circumstance of writing Chinese names in Tibetan script, but this makes for some valuable data for historical phonology, as noted in Chapter Five. There is also a good deal of variation in the spelling of scribes' names, due in part to the phoneticization of Chinese names in Tibetan, but also to the trade in sutra copies and the dynamics of scribes and client scribes, as detailed above. In any case, it appears that one of the

editors did the lion's share of the work, and that the other two editors ratified this with the inclusion of their names in the colophon.

From the editorial colophons we can discern recurring teams of editors. The editors Phab ci, Phab dzang, and Dpal mchog, for example, edited seventy-six sutra copies together. They edited thirty-four copies in the order just given, where Phab ci was the first editor, Phab dzang the second editor, and Dpal mchog the third. They edited forty-two further copies with the order Phab dzang, Phab ci, Dpal mchog. Phab ci did not edit any *Ap* copies apart from those where he appears with Phab dzang. There are also nineteen sutra copies in which these two are the only editors: seven where Phab ci is both first and third editor with Phab dzang as second editor; eleven where Phab dzang is first and Phab ci is second, without a third editor; and one with Phab ci as first, Phab dzang as second, and with no third editor. As first editor, Phab dzang's name is always spelled as such, but as second or third editor there are thirty-five instances of the spelling Pab dzang. Like most editors, Phab dzang's family name only appears in scribal colophons, and is not given in editorial colophons. From this we have his full name, ^An (安) Phab dzang. No colophon names him as a monk. Phab ci, by contrast, is *ban de* Phab ci at ITJ 310.1018, although other sutra copies from the same bundle simply call him Phab ci. He is not found as a scribe among the Stein Collection or Pelliot Collection or St. Petersburg colophons.

The editor Dpal mchog contrasts with Phab ci for working together with many other editors. The team of Dpal mchog, Phug 'gi, and Phab dzang edited twenty-two *Ap* copies. The same team, with the order Phug 'gi, Dpal mchog, P(h)ab dzang edited thirty-three copies, twenty-seven of which were "signed" Pab dzang – again misspelled. Only one copy was edited by the same team in the order Dpal mchog, P(h)ab dzang, Phug 'gi. Less commonly, Dpal mchog edited sutra copies together with editors such as Ci shan, Shes rab, and Leng pe'u. Dpal mchog is credited as the scribe of four sutra copies, with one colophon specifying his family name as Khang (Kang 康).

Dpal mchog's collaborations helpfully connect to other teams of editors, such as those containing monks – although not always clearly identified as ordained. Leng pe'u, who is one of Dpal mchog's co-editors, typically worked together with the editors Dpal gyi Sgron ma and Ci keng. In that order, they edited thirty-seven copies; they edited a further twenty-five copies as (Dpal gyi) Sgron ma, Ci keng, Leng pe'u; twelve as (Dpal gyi) Sgron ma, Leng pe'u, Ci keng; three as Leng pe'u, Ci keng, (Dpal gyi) Sgron ma; and one as Ci keng, (Dpal gyi) Sgron ma, Leng pe'u. Leng pe'u is named as a fully ordained monk (*dge slong*) in the colophon to ITJ 310.551 but, as with Phab ci, other colophons in the same bundle (78.III) refer to him without a title. Finally, Leng pe'u is the scribe of just one sutra copy, with no family name given, but we know from Nishioka's study of Dunhuang *Ap* colophons in the Pelliot Collection

that his family name is [^]Im (Yin 陰).¹⁰² Dpal gyi Sgron ma could be an ordination name, or an indication of Tibetan ethnicity, or neither.¹⁰³ The short form Sgron ma is used in several editorial colophons, but the long form is used in the five scribal colophons where Dpal gyi Sgron ma appears. Ci keng, like the other monks, is named as *ban de* in one colophon, and then without the title in another colophon from the same bundle. This can be understood to suggest that editors were inconsistent in how they used their own and/or their fellow editors' monastic titles. If this is so, these titles cannot be used as a means for dating sutra copies based on an assumption of career progression from novice or layman to ordained monk. Alternatively, it could be understood to indicate that a given bundle includes a mixture of sutra copies produced earlier (e.g. edited by Ci keng) and later (e.g. edited by *ban de* Ci keng) in the duration of the sutra-copying project. However, the general coherence of the sutra copies in a given bundle, in terms of their *dhāraṇī*, layout, editing or lack of editing, and the presence of consistent teams of editors, speaks against the latter view.

In some bundles, like 73.XVI, one team of editors is responsible for the majority of sutra copies. Here some combination of Phab dzang, Phab ci, and Dpal mchog edited forty-six of the first forty-seven copies in this sixty-four-roll bundle, and a further four of the remaining sixteen copies. These include the largely anomalous A1 copies, which are rare in bundles of single-sutra-rolls. Similarly, some combination of the editors Dpal gyi Sgron ma, Leng pe'u, and Ci keng edited fifteen of the twenty-eight *Ap* copies in bundle 86.III. In bundle 86.XV, in which there are twenty-nine edited copies and nine unedited copies, some combination of the editors Phug 'gi, Dpal mchog, and Phab dzang edited fifteen of the twenty-nine edited copies. The same team edited sixteen of the thirty edited copies in bundle 78.IX, which also includes thirty-three unedited copies. However, in most bundles of single-sutra rolls there is no editorial team that predominates, such that several different teams are represented.¹⁰⁴ The state of the bundles therefore runs a gamut. There are those bundles, such as 73.XVI, which represent what one would expect were the bundle to have been submitted by the team of Phab dzang, Phab ci, and Dpal mchog, and then deposited in a temple, and eventually in Cave Seventeen, all while being left largely untouched. Then there are other bundles where no team of editors

¹⁰² Nishioka 1984, 315 (= 101).

¹⁰³ Dpal gyi Sgron ma is also found in the colophon to PT 496, a roll that contains part of a commentary to the *Heart Sutra*. The colophon reads “copied by Dpal gyi Sgron ma; no additions or omissions” (*dpal gyi sgron mas bris te lhag cad ma mchis so*). This is followed by a drawing of a stupa.

¹⁰⁴ Dpal gyi Sgron ma, Leng pe'u, and Ci keng, for example, edited only thirteen of the fifty-one copies at 78.III; thirteen of the fifty-eight copies at 78.IV; and fourteen of the fifty copies at 78.X.

predominates, such that the bundle cannot be identified as the product of any particular team. One inference that could be made from such bundles that have a wider variety of editorial teams would be that their rolls have been more often used, shuffled, and disturbed after their initial deposit in a temple library than those bundles in which one team is responsible for the majority of the sutra copies. A simpler and more likely explanation would be that different editorial teams worked together in a scriptorium such that a finished bundle of edited copies had a variety of editors, just as the bundles attest.

Sifting through the data that we have recorded for each pressmark, and doing so at the level of the bundles, it is possible to get a sense of the teams of editors and also of the scribes that worked with them. The scribes Se thong pa, ^An Dge brtan, Je'u Brtan kong, and Legs rma, for example, are almost exclusively edited by the team of Phab dzang, Phab ci, and Dpal mchog, whereas the scribes Phan Phan, Bam Lha legs, and Cang Stag ra are almost exclusively edited by the team of Leng pe'u, Ci keng, and Dpal gyi Sgron ma. A few scribes, like Cang Jung jung, are edited by both teams. Such relationships between scribes and editors could be explored further among the other Dunhuang collections worldwide, albeit without the benefit of information about bundles, which seems only to have been recorded within the manuscripts of the Stein Collection.

3.5.2 Correcting and rejecting sutra copies

Corrections in edited *Ap* copies are almost uniformly spare (see Fig. 50). They also appear in predictable places. The same passages tend to be flagged up time and time again: *mdo* is corrected to *mdo sde*, *de na* to *de nas*, and *gang zhig* to *gang la la zhig*. Editors targeted the *dhāraṇī*, too, most commonly amending *de* and *da* to *dhe* and *dha*, respectively. One can sympathize with these editors in that the sutra is very repetitive. The sutra repeats the same terms and sentence structures over and over again, and the *dhāraṇī* appears every few lines. Nevertheless, some corrections are relevant to the development of Tibetan grammatical norms. Among the few interesting corrections are that of *'gyur ro* to *'gyur to* and of *dga' go* to *dga' 'o*. There are also corrections relevant to case particles, for example the correction of *tshe'ang* to *tshe yang*, *stobs gis* to *stobs gyis*, and *rten gI* to *rten gyI*. These are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

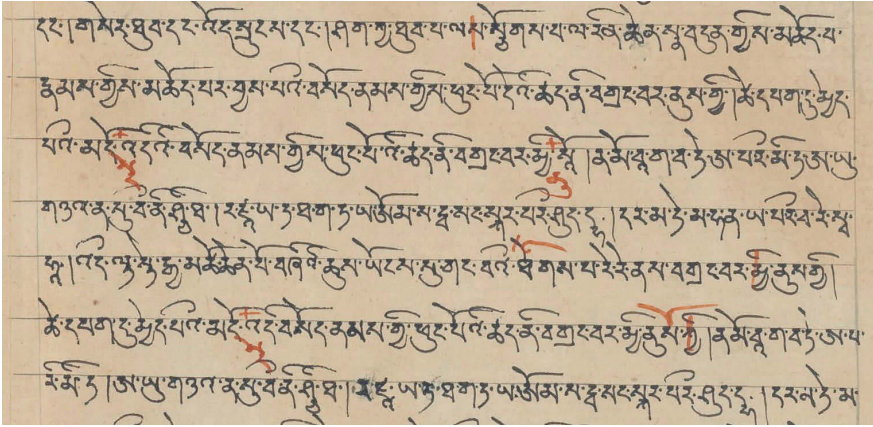


Fig. 50: Some typical corrections in Tibetan *Ap* copies, PT 3790; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Such corrections might be interpreted as being suggestive of the aesthetics of producing *Ap* copies. Very rarely do the editors correct the *dhāraṇī* in every one of its appearances. The splashes of their red ink are generally well spaced on each page and do not clutter up the text or detract too heavily from its appearance (see Fig. 50). The impression is that the sparse corrections in red have been intended as visual evidence that the editorial duty has been discharged, rather than the unleashing of a pedant with a red pen. This is of course diametrically opposed to the ethic of hiding the editorial process that produces clean, final copies of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies, and goes against the ethic of minimizing the presence or roles of scribes and editors in the production of sutra copies.

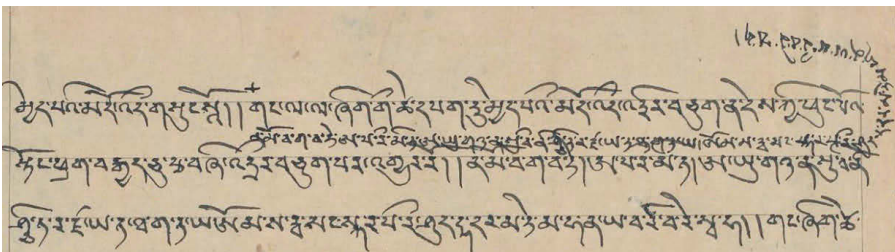


Fig. 51: Insertion between lines one and two of a Tibetan *Ap* copy, PT 3920; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

An exception to this pattern of minimal and often predictable editorial corrections appears in some cases where a scribe has left out a passage or paragraph of the sutra, or part of the *dhāraṇī*, and an editor has inserted this between the lines. Although margins and column gutters are generally kept empty, some of these additions curve up the column gutter and into the top margin (see Fig. 51).

In some copies, such as ITJ 310.991, an entire paragraph and its attendant *dhāraṇī* – in this case §7, on the 990,000,000 Buddhas – is inserted by an editor. Such longer insertions also show us that editors were concerned with checking that the sutra was complete. This is evident from the colophon of ITJ 310.1045 quoted above, which contains the statement that additions and omissions have been corrected. Indeed, completeness is emphasized in the vocabulary of Tibetan editing: a good copy has “no omissions [or] additions” (*chad l[h]ag ma mchis*; ITJ 1656, col. f), and we know from the editorial notes on rejected *SP* folia that these could be rejected for having “many additions [and] omissions” (*lhag chad mang*; PT 1312, folio 7).¹⁰⁵

This stark contrast, where editors were far more permissive when editing the Tibetan *Ap* than when editing the Tibetan *SP* or Chinese *MP*, is also clear from several copies in which one finds the beginning of the *Ap* upside-down on the final line of a complete sutra copy.¹⁰⁶ How this came to be is obvious: a scribe made an error in the first line of the sutra by launching into the *dhāraṇī* in the middle of the sutra’s Sanskrit title, e.g. “*rgya gar skad du ^a pa rI mi ta ^yur nya na su bI ni sci ta [...]*” instead of “*rgya gar skad du ^a pa rI mi ta ^yur na ma ma ha ya na su tra.*”¹⁰⁷ Realizing the mistake, the scribe would rotate the roll 180 degrees and begin again. This meant that the aborted first line of the first column of the sutra copy was now upside-down, in the last line of its last column. What is remarkable is that the errant line, now upside-down at the end of the sutra, was not rubbed out or struck through, but simply left there on an ostensibly final copy. Certain scribes chose not to address a false start in this way, and instead crossed out their mistake and restarted the sutra on the next line; such was the choice of the scribe Hva Hva hva at the head of the sutra copy ITJ 310.1167.¹⁰⁸ Less egregiously, one finds the error *rgya gar skad du ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yur na ma ma ha na ya na su tra* at the start of ITJ 310.1119, where the scribe self-corrects an error in writing *mahāyāna* that is also presumably due to

¹⁰⁵ Lalou 1961, 13.

¹⁰⁶ For example, ITJ 310.172, ITJ 310.185, ITJ 310.316, and ITJ 310.682.

¹⁰⁷ The same mistake is found at the start of the Gansu copies Db. t. 0146 and Db. t. 0196; Ma 2011, 130 and 145.

¹⁰⁸ There is a similar example in the Gansu copy Db. t. 0146; see Ma 2011, 130.

being so accustomed to writing *mahānaya* as part of the *dhāraṇī*. This correction, sometimes by a scribe and other times by an editor, is found in other copies as well.¹⁰⁹

Some copies in our corpus, including ITJ 1687, show that the scribe has omitted the end title and colophon. Other copies, such as PT 3901, omit paragraphs in the middle of the sutra that have not been inserted between the lines or in the margins by either the scribe or the editor(s). A close reading of these copies would uncover many more such errors.

From these false starts and false endings, and from both the presence of long interlinear and marginal assertions and the benign neglect to insert missing paragraphs, it is clear that fairly sloppy scribal work was allowed to stand in final *Ap* copies. What did it take, then, for an editor to reject a scribe's work copying the Tibetan *Ap*? To address this question we can draw on the dozens of torn *Ap* panels that have apparently been rejected or discarded. Apart from the 1,492 Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies in the Stein Collection, there are forty-six fragments. Notably, these have separate site numbers, and apart from two exceptions there are no fragmentary sutras found in the twenty-six bundles that consist almost exclusively of Tibetan *Ap* copies. Many such fragments are also found in the Pelliot Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. These fragmentary *Ap* copies range from less than one column of text to five columns. Some show signs of editing, but others do not. It appears that none has an editorial sign in the margins or on the verso to mark it as a discard. Yet the contents or appearance of these fragments often supply clues as to why they were torn apart or left incomplete.

The Pelliot Collection has at present been largely digitized and made freely available, so we use examples from there to demonstrate. The single torn panel at PT 4082 (Fig. 52), for instance, was presumably discarded due to an ink spill.

Other torn panels feature writing that is messier than any that one finds in a complete *Ap* copy. Such is the case with the two-and-a-half-panel fragment ITJ 1614, whose first column has been torn away. Its penultimate column of text crams in six lines of content in the space of four ruled lines. The situation is even more extreme in the case of the torn two-and-a-half panels of text in PT 4026 (Fig. 53). Here the scribe has crammed twenty-seven lines of text into the extant middle column. It may be that this scribe was tasked with replacing the end of an errant *Ap* copy, and that s/he foolishly tried to fit three columns of content into a single two-column panel of paper.

¹⁰⁹ For example, ITJ 310.94, ITJ 310.788, and the St. Petersburg copy Dkh. Tib. 193; Savitsky 1991, 85.

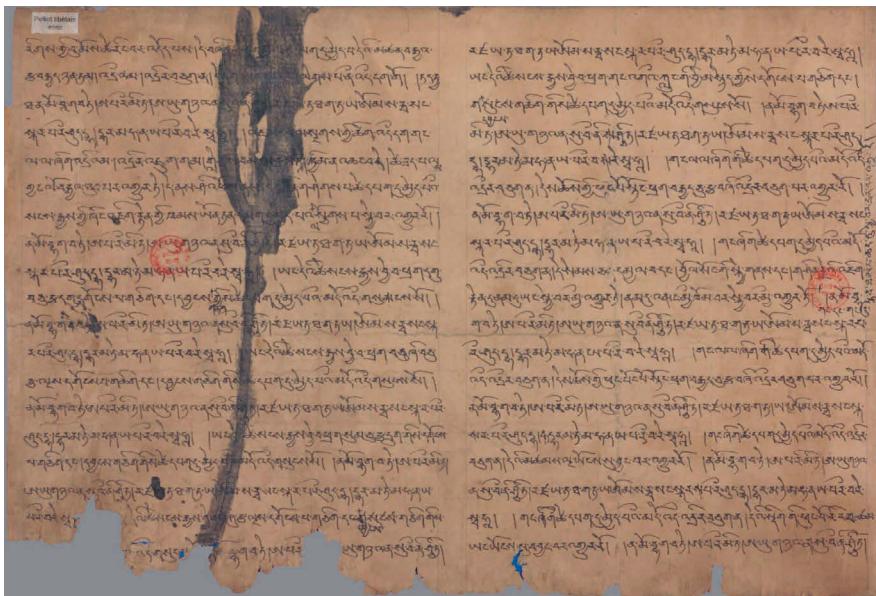


Fig. 52: A panel of a Tibetan *Ap*, PT 4082, showing an ink spill; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

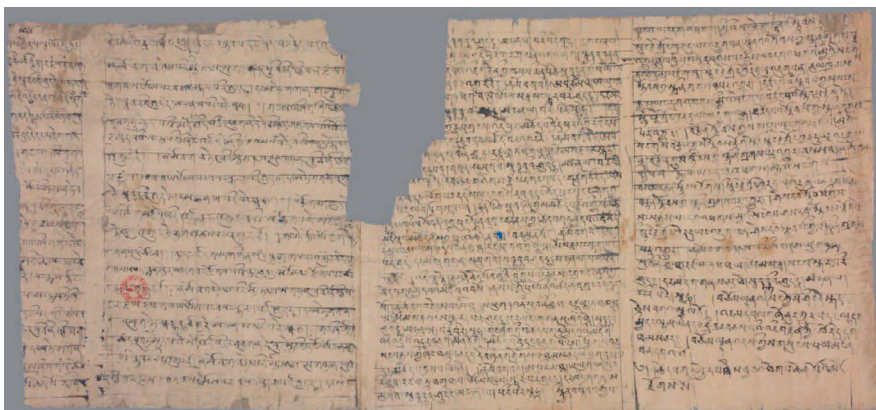


Fig. 53: A torn fragment of a Tibetan *Ap*, PT 4026, presumably discarded due to cramped writing and deviation from the inked guidelines; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

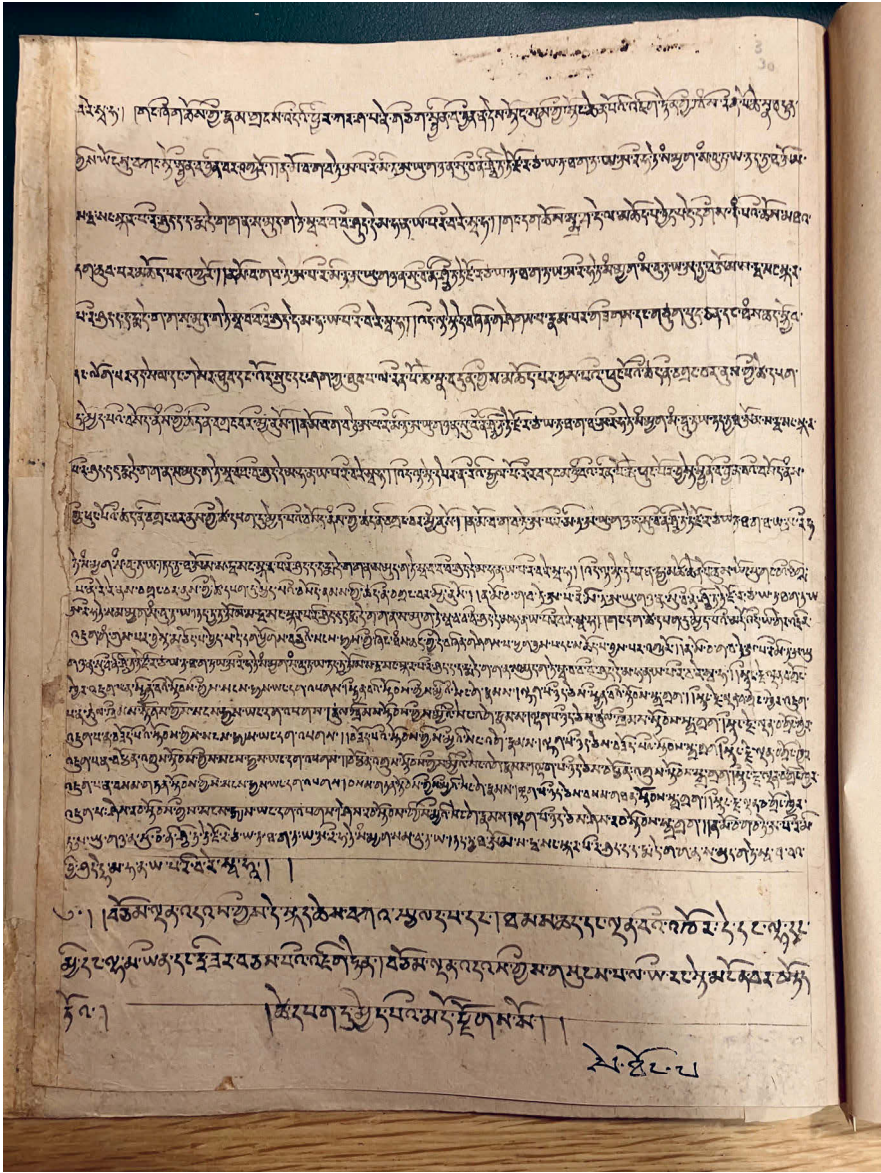


Fig. 54: Final panel of a Tibetan Ap, ITJ 310.645, showing cramped writing on final column; photographed by Brandon Totsion, courtesy of the British Library.

This is not to say that every instance of cramped writing entailed that a sutra copy be rejected. We find counterexamples in our corpus in the form of complete sutra copies containing cramped or overly expansive spacing. The first two panels of ITJ 310.320, for example, are written in small, cramped letters; whereas the final two panels are written in huge, spaced letters, apparently in the same hand. ITJ 1701 also features very cramped writing in its final lines, as does a C5 copy at ITJ 310.645 (Fig. 54).

It may be significant that these examples of sutra copies with cramped spacing come from mixed bundles of unedited copies. This is further circumstantial evidence that suggests two phases to the copying of the Tibetan *Ap*, with divergent editorial norms, the details of which we explore below.

We came across only one Tibetan *Ap* copy in the Stein Collection that was marked as a discard, using the vocabulary and the editorial practices applied to Tibetan *SP2*. This is ITJ 310.382, an edited, three-and-a-half-panel, seven-column copy from a bundle of single-sutra rolls, 86.XV. It contains many insertions, including the entirety of §15 and its *dhāraṇī* in column c that runs up the column gutter and curves around the top margin to the left margin. However, §15 has in fact been inserted in between §18 and §17, rather than where it should appear in this B1 copy, before §18. (Recall from Chapter Two that the paragraphs in version one of the sutra proceed §14, §15, §18, §17, §18, §20.) There is a similarly long insertion of §32, up the column gutter and around the top and left margins, on column e. In the lower margin of this same column (Fig. 55), we find an editorial note: “[t]his single section [of] this sutra marked for discard is Khang ’Go ’go’s” (*dar ma ’di le’u gchig gi ro ’byung ba ’di ni / khang ’go ’go gi lagso*).

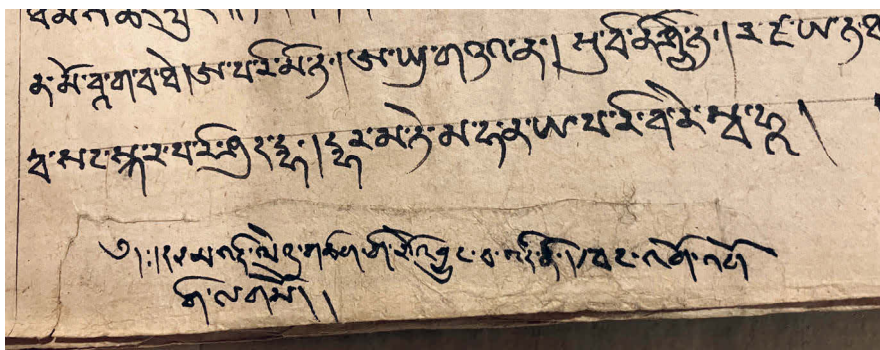


Fig. 55: Editorial note in the lower margin of ITJ 310.382, marking it for discard; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

We observed that this panel was partly cut around the left and top of this note, which would render it a partly attached approximately 2×15 cm flap hanging out of the bottom margin of the roll. This is precisely the convention that editors of the Tibetan *SP* used when they partially cut similar notes, usually in the left margin of *pothi* leaves – presumably in order to make these easy to find and then replace with newly scribed, error-free leaves.¹¹⁰

In the colophon, we find that the scribe of this sutra is indeed Khang 'Go 'go, leaving little doubt that this note pertains to this *Ap* copy. The two long insertions of missing paragraphs appear to have prompted this rejection. The three editors are Shin dar, Ci keng, and Leng pe'u. This was a prolific team of editors, but we have not come across another copy in which they have supplied such an editorial note. Notably, both Ci keng and Leng pe'u also served as editors of Tibetan *SP*, where such editorial notes were normative. The same team is found on two fragmentary panels of Khang 'Go 'go's *Ap* copies, ITJ 1500 and PT 4025, which were presumably torn apart by way of rejection. This might be taken to show that this team practiced two different modes of rejecting a scribe's work: one by leaving a partly torn editorial note, and the other by tearing or separating a sutra copy's offending panels.

There is another note of interest, found on an *Ap* copy in the St. Petersburg collection, but it does not use the language of “discards” (*ro*). In Dkh. Tib. 115, an *Ap* copy scribed by Bam Stag bzang and edited by *dge slong* Leng ce'u, Sgron ma, and Shin dar, the editorial colophon is followed by the note, “Bam Stag zig's *chal* – one *le'u* incomplete” (*bam stag zig gi chal le'u cig ma tshang go*).¹¹¹ Not having consulted this manuscript, we must rely on Savitsky's transcription, and cannot say whether this note is in the editor's hand, the scribe's, or a third hand, nor can we vouch for the accuracy of the transcription. We can observe the similar reference to “one *le'u*,” in common with the note in the bottom margin of ITJ 310.382. There is a further interesting note in another edited single-sutra roll from St. Petersburg, Dkh. Tib. 203, which lacks a colophon. It states, *dar ma 'di bcug ma mcis*. This could be taken to mean that this sutra copy (*dar ma*) was not included with the others because it was deficient, or it could be a misspelling for “this sutra copy has no ending.”

These editorial notes' uses of the terms *dar ma* and *le'u* raise some questions. The term *dar ma*, as noted by Rolf Stein, is often used to refer to a “sutra” in the sense of a single item, text or copy.¹¹² We have already seen it used in the colophon at ITJ 310.1117: “[w]ritten by Cang Zhun zhun. Edited. Sutra copy finalized” (*cang zhun zhun kyIs bris // zhus so / dar ma gtan la bab te*). The term *dar ma* is also used

¹¹⁰ Lalou 1954, 258–259; Dotson 2013–2014, 44–45.

¹¹¹ Savitsky 1991, 54.

¹¹² Stein 1983, 182–184.

to refer to precisely these sutra copies in the above-quoted administrative text PT 999: “the Chinese and Tibetan *Limitless Life* sutras were copied in Shazhou” (*sha cur rgya bod gyi dar ma tshe dpag du myed pa [br]is te//*; PT 999, ll. 1–2). *Dar ma* similarly refers to the Chinese and Tibetan *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies in the administrative text ITJ 1359(A), translated in this chapter’s epigraph. In the context of *SP*, the term *le’u* refers to its sections or chapters. The term customarily refers to a textual or recitational or ritual section or unit, and only by extension to a physical unit. It shares this frame of reference with the term *dar ma*. The inverse pertains to the term *bam po* (“roll”), which is primarily physical, and secondarily textual. In a short sutra such as the *Ap*, there are no *le’u* in the sense of sections or chapters – apart from those that Konow imposed –, so it may be that editors were making a false analogy with the *SP*, where scribes worked on particular chapters (*le’u*) of this longer sutra (*dar ma*). In such an analogy, the editors might have loosely thought of a long roll of *Ap* copies as a *dar ma*, and an individual copy within that long roll as a *le’u*. In a single-sutra roll, the two terms would fully overlap, and this might account for how these terms seem to be used in the three notes given above, where *le’u* may be a subordinate unit to *dar ma* in the note in ITJ 310.382, but where *le’u* and *dar ma* seem interchangeable in the notes in the St. Petersburg copies.

The supposition that Shin dar and his editorial team received a longer roll of multiple *Ap* copies from Khang ’Go ’go and then separated these as part of their editorial process is supported by the presence of adhesive, visible in the margins of most sutra copies. It is notable that this sutra copy is found in a bundle (86.XV) of thirty-seven edited single-sutra rolls and one anomalous unedited two-sutra roll (ITJ 310.394). As a discard, ITJ 310.382 is mixed in with all of the other *Ap* copies in this bundle. If this bundle represents the state of the sutra copies when they were deposited, then it follows that ITJ 310.382 was not in the end discarded, but instead deposited alongside this bundle’s edited and unedited copies. On the other hand, if the bundle was disturbed, or if it was produced through reorganization processes in one of Dunhuang’s temple libraries, then this discarded sutra copy could be an interloper. However, the general coherence of the bundles, as detailed above, speaks against the second scenario.

There is another editorial note, ITJ 768, that may refer to the Tibetan *Ap* copies, and which resembles the type of editorial note used by *SP2* editors when they tore a folio’s margin out and used it for tallying discards. It measures 4 × 20.8 cm and both recto and verso are written in a slack editorial hand. These read, respectively, “Edited by Cang Ke’u tse and Shin dar” (*cang ke’u tse dang/ / shin dar zhus/*) and either “roll ninety-one removed” or “ninety-one rolls, removed” (*bam pho dgu beu tsa gchig byung/*). Given the poor grammar of such notes, one might also understand *byung* as “to be removed/ to be rejected.” It is evident that this note does not pertain

to *SP2* because the *SP* consists of four volumes of seventy-six *bam po* (“chapters”) each, so ninety-one cannot refer to one of its “chapters.” Further, Cang Ke’u tse is otherwise unknown, but Shin dar is a prolific editor of *Ap* copies, though not an editor or scribe of *SP2*. The implication is that these editors have rejected ninety-one rolls/ copies, probably of Tibetan *Ap*. However, this curious information is crossed out, possibly to indicate that this removal of ninety-one copies had already been carried out, or else to countermand the instruction to remove these rolls. It is tempting to conclude from this strikethrough, together with the presence of the discarded copy ITJ 310.321 in a single-sutra-roll bundle, that a judgment was made against discarding edited Tibetan *Ap* copies.

The preponderance of Tibetan *Ap* copies that include editorial corrections, but which show no signs of having been rejected, contrasts with what one finds in the Chinese *MP* and Tibetan *SP* commissioned from the horse year 826. *SP* folia and *MP* panels with evidence of editing are almost all discards, marked as such by editors’ notes and tallies. The editorial practice that informed these *Ap* copies in the thirteen single-sutra-roll bundles would seem to be the inverse of the ethic followed when editing the *SP* and the *MP*. In the latter case, the goal was to hide the editorial process that stood behind the final, pristine copy. The *Ap* copies, by contrast, appear to draw attention to the editorial process not only with their splashes of editorial red ink but also with statements such as “to be edited” found in unedited copies in single-sutra-roll bundles. This contrast could be due to a timeline in which these *Ap* copies preceded the *SP* copies and therefore also preceded the articulation of the rigorous editorial norms associated with producing the latter. It could also be that editorial norms for copying the *Ap* evolved over the course of this sutra-copying project, and that edited copies were initially meant to be rejected, but were subsequently allowed to be finalized and submitted. We will return to these issues, and to the contrast with the mixed bundles of unedited *Ap* copies, after first reviewing further uses of torn *Ap* panels.

3.6 Paper re-use, *ex-libris*, and the fate of the sutra copies

Many of the torn *Ap* panels feature jottings in Tibetan and/or Chinese on their versos, as one would expect from discards in the context of this sutra-copying project. ITJ 310.967 is a one-panel fragment with the Tibetan refuge prayer on the verso. The same prayer is found on the verso of another torn panel, PT 4050. There are Chinese and Tibetan jottings, including the name “the god, the emperor Khri Srong brtsan” (*lha btsan po khri srong brtsan*) in large letters on the verso of a torn panel, PT 4015. On the verso of a fragmentary *Ap* copy that comprises two torn panels, PT 4017,

there are numerous jottings in Chinese as well as the draft opening of a Tibetan letter (Fig. 56).

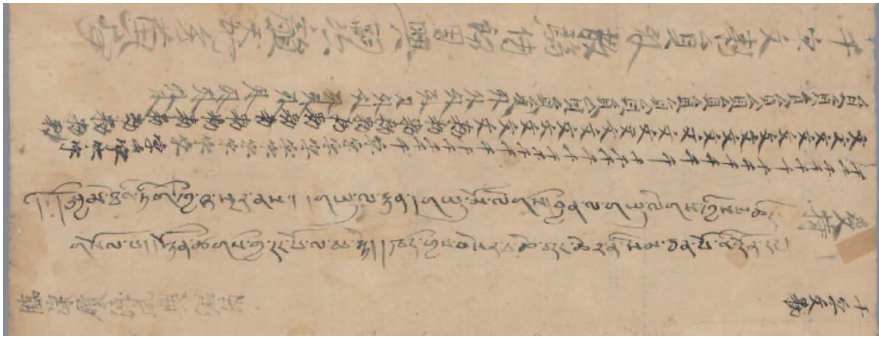


Fig. 56: The verso of a torn fragment of Tibetan *Ap* copy, PT 4017, featuring jottings and a draft Tibetan letter; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figs 57 and 58: A drawing on the verso of a partial Tibetan *Ap* copy, PT 4012, and punctuation-like designs on the verso of a Tibetan *Ap* fragment, PT 4078; images captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

On the back of a torn two-panel *Ap* fragment, PT 4038, there is a jotting about different people receiving or owing loads of grain.

There are also some drawings in addition to jottings. A nearly complete copy, PT 4012, with only its last column torn away, features a drawing, perhaps of a dog, on its verso (Fig. 57). PT 4078, a one-panel fragment, features clusters of designs in its upper right corner (Fig. 58).

Among these incomplete or torn *Ap* fragments is a particular group that is notable for how it has been repurposed. Each of these fragments constitutes about a single panel of paper, and on their versos we find numbers written in Chinese. These are all “packet numbers” relating to how sutras and other rolls were stored. PT 4010 (Fig. 59), for example, is the torn final panel of a Tibetan *Ap* copy, and in the top left of the verso one reads “packet number fifty-nine” (*di wushi jiu zhi* 第五十九袂).

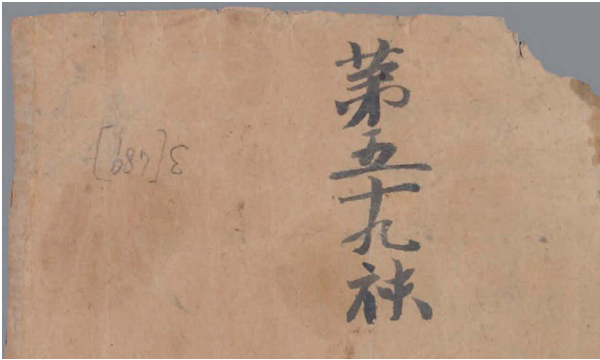


Fig. 59: Verso of a torn Tibetan *Ap* panel, PT 4010 – the text “packet number fifty-nine” indicates that this was used as a wrapper for bundles of sutras; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

There are a handful of other such *Ap* panels repurposed as packet wrappers. These mostly comprise one panel each, and the packet number is usually written towards the top of the verso, and horizontally often near the middle. The pressmarks and packet numbers are as follows. PT 4002v = packet number forty-five; PT 4010v = packet number fifty-nine; PT 4029v = packet number fifty-four; PT 4030v = packet number twenty-eight; PT 4031v = packet number fifty-three; PT 4032v = packet number fifty-two; PT 4033v = packet number nineteen; PT 4034v = packet number forty-four; PT 4036v = packet number forty-seven; PT 4041v = packet number fifty; PT 4042v = packet number nine; PT 4048v = packet number seventeen; PT 4097v = packet number fifty-one; PT 4104v = packet number sixty; PT 4105v = packet number four; PT 4108v = packet number forty-two; PT 4109v = packet number twenty-six;

PT 4123v = packet number eleven. Among the Chinese *Ap* copies, S.4024 is a two-panel fragment whose verso states “packet number thirty-five.”¹¹³

These extant packet wrappers are only numbered up to sixty, which suggests that one of Dunhuang’s temples used these as wrappers for the Chinese *MP*, which, as noted above, was kept in sixty packets of ten rolls each. If this was in fact how these panels were repurposed, it could have happened long after the sutra-copying project came to an end. The temple in question may have even had so many Tibetan *Ap* copies to hand that they repurposed some as wrappers. Therefore one cannot confidently say that these particular panels were discarded during the sutra-copying project itself. On the other hand, if the number of *Ap* copies commissioned was comparable in size – measured in paper – to the Tibetan *SP* and Chinese *MP* copies commissioned in the horse year, then sixty packets of *Ap* copies would be notionally equivalent to one *MP* copy or two *SP* copies. One packet contained ten rolls of *MP*, each of which was on average eighteen panels long. Using these measurements, a packet used for *Ap* copies could contain up to sixty three-panel *Ap* copies. The mean average across the twenty-six bundles in our corpus is fifty-four sutra copies, which is to say approximately 162 panels of paper, which lines up fairly well with this assumption, and even better when we recall that the *Ap* panels were 31–32 cm high in contrast to the 25-cm height of *MP* panels. Were sixty such packets to be commissioned as being the equivalent of a Chinese *MP* copy, this would amount to about 3,600 *Ap* copies. If one accounts for the discrepancy in the height of the paper, then it would be closer to 3,000 copies. Tallying the Stein Collection copies in the British Library with the hundreds of *Ap* copies kept in Gansu, Paris, and St. Petersburg, the number is less than 3,600. Of course, the extant *Ap* copies do not represent all those that were commissioned, but only those that made their way into Cave Seventeen.

To conceptualize how many *Ap* copies may have been commissioned, we can turn to an astounding note in the colophon to the Chinese *Ap* copy, S.1995, which simply states, “roll number 15,559” (*juan di yi wan wu qian wu bai wu shi jiu* 卷第一萬五千五百五十九).¹¹⁴ If we take this to be numbering exclusively Chinese *Ap* copies produced for the Tibetan emperor, then production of Chinese *Ap* would have literally outweighed that of Chinese *MP*. The Chinese *Ap*, as noted above, were four or five panels long, rather than the typical three panels of Tibetan *Ap*, and its panels were 31–32 cm high rather than the *MP*’s 25 cm. 16,000 copies of Chinese *Ap* would therefore require almost three times as much paper to produce as the three copies of Chinese *MP* commissioned in the horse year. If 16,000 copies of Tibetan *Ap*

113 Giles 1957, 149; no. 5067.

114 Giles 1957, 145; no. 4921.

were also produced, this would be equivalent to almost nine copies of the Tibetan *SP* – a bit more than the eight copies that were commissioned.

The questions surrounding the repurposing of *Ap* panels as packet wrappers also pertains to these sutra copies' history of use. Once these sutras were consecrated, they were presumably deposited in various temples in Shazhou, Guazhou, and other parts of the eastern Tibetan Empire (e.g. Bde blon khams) and beyond. We know from PT 999 that 135 rolls of Chinese *Ap* and 480 rolls of Tibetan *Ap* were taken from the Longxing Temple 龍興寺 and used in a festival for the people of Shazhou in 844.¹¹⁵ Longxing si was Dunhuang's largest temple, and enjoyed state sponsorship. It also had the largest library of all of Dunhuang's temples.¹¹⁶

In addition to such statements, we can associate the *Ap* copies with Longxing si through the presence of marks on the versos of some sutra copies, called *ex-libris*. Such marks indicated the temple to which a roll or a packet belonged and to which they should be returned after recitation, etc. These are especially common among rolls and packets of Chinese *MP*, which were often lent out for rituals such as sutra rotation. In his study of such *ex-libris* among the Dunhuang manuscripts, Jean-Pierre Drège mentions a Chinese *Ap* copy, S.3915, marked *long* 龍 for Longxing si 龍興寺. He also notes a Chinese *Ap* copy, S.4208, marked *tu* 圖 for Lingtu si 靈圖寺.¹¹⁷ This was the temple of Wu Facheng/ 'Go Chos grub. It had a library and a scriptorium, and its monks were involved in copying sutras for the Tibetan emperor.¹¹⁸ Drège also notes that another Chinese *Ap* copy, S.4201, is marked *jin* 金 for Jinguangming si 金光明寺.¹¹⁹ This temple had a library and scriptorium and we know from administrative records that it was involved in copying sutras during the Tibetan period.¹²⁰ We find the same *ex-libris* (*jin* 金) on the versos of complete copies of Chinese *Ap* in the Stein Collection, S.115 (Fig. 9), S.2611 (Fig. 61), and S.4201.

On the verso of a multiple-sutra roll kept in Gansu, GM. t. 10461, “sutra of Sanjie si library” appears in Chinese (*san jie si zang jing* 三界寺藏經).¹²¹ This was the famous Dunhuang temple that grew in size during the Guiyijun (歸義軍) period (851–mid-eleventh century), and whose library's tenth-century renovation or restructuring accounts for many of the manuscript deposits in Cave Seventeen.

There are marks on other Tibetan *Ap* copies that look very much like *ex-libris*, but which do not correspond to those listed by Drège. There is a Chinese glyph that

¹¹⁵ See Scherrer-Schaub 1991 and Imaeda 1998.

¹¹⁶ Sørensen 2021, 57–61.

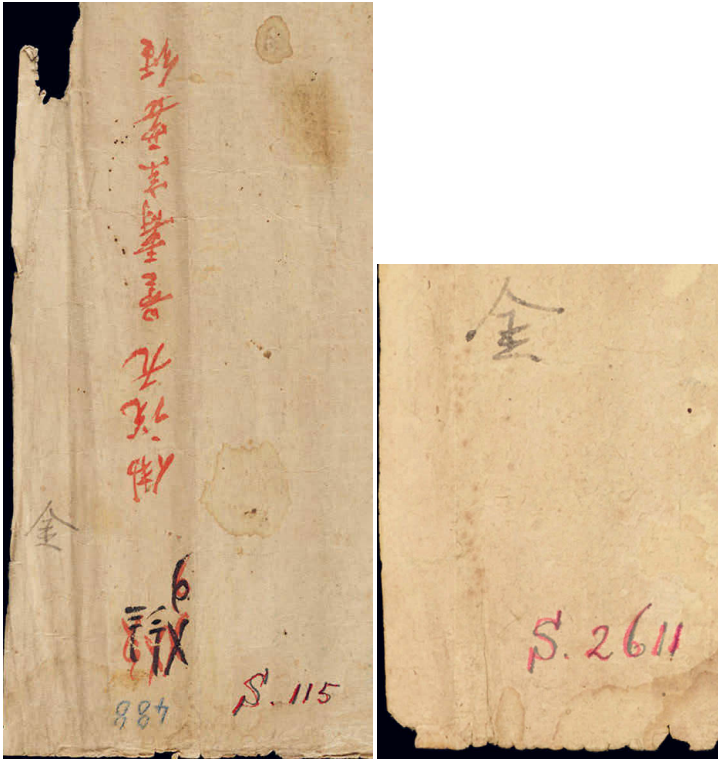
¹¹⁷ Drège 1991, 241–242.

¹¹⁸ Sørensen 2021, 53–56.

¹¹⁹ Drège 1991, 239.

¹²⁰ For a helpful overview of this temple, see Sørensen 2021, 46–50.

¹²¹ Ma 2011, 34. The entries here appear to have a typo, reading “10401” instead of “10461.”

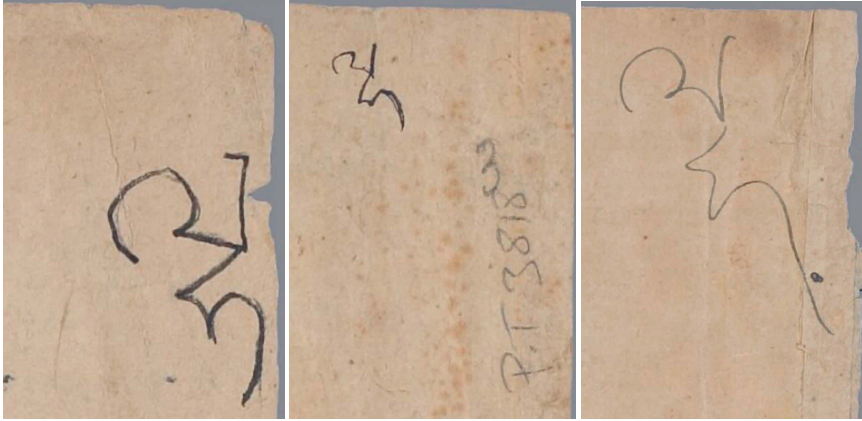


Figs 60 and 61: *Ex-libris* on S.115v and S.2611v – the former also includes Jiang’s numbering, its “translation” into Arabic numbers, and Jiang’s title in red; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.



Figs 62, 63, 64, and 65: *Ex-libris* PT 3954v, PT 3632r, PT 3819v, and ITJ 310.1187; images captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.

includes the elements *nü* 女 and *chuan* 川, which is found in the corners of PT 3546, PT 3821, and PT 3954 (Fig. 62). There is another, indistinct glyph that appears in the corners of PT 3632 (Fig. 63), PT 3655, PT 3656, and PT 3758. All are in rubrics except for one, resembling the character 禾, on PT 3819 (Fig. 64). A further indistinct set of partial characters in the margins of ITJ 310.1187 (Fig. 65) might read Liantai si 蓮臺寺.



Figs 66, 67, and 68: Possible Tibetan *ex-libris*, PT 3512v, PT 3818v, and PT 3669v (note also the “modern *ex-libris*” in pencil on PT 3818); images captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

There are also at least eleven Tibetan *Ap* copies in the Stein Collection on which we find the word *lha* written in large letters. This appears on the corner of the verso of the last panel of four copies,¹²² on the corner of the verso of the first panel of three copies,¹²³ and on the corner of the recto of the first page of four.¹²⁴ The word *lha* is also found written on several *Ap* in the Pelliot Collection (see Figs 66, 67, and 68) on several copies kept in Gansu, and on at least one copy kept in St. Petersburg.¹²⁵ If this

¹²² ITJ 310.131 and 310.1117, scribe Cang Zhun zhun (also appearing at the panel changeovers in these to texts); ITJ 310.449, scribe Cang Lha legs; and ITJ 310.779, scribe Stag legs.

¹²³ ITJ 310.296, scribe Lu Tse shing; ITJ 310.457, scribe Kim Lha bzher; and ITJ 310.1044, scribe Mgar Klu khong.

¹²⁴ ITJ 310.334, scribe Bam Stag bzang; ITJ 310.381, 400, and 401, all scribe Ngo brom Khyung kong.

¹²⁵ PT 3512 and 3998, scribe Do khong legs; PT 3585, scribe Wang hva tse; PT 3618, scribe ^An dge brtan; PT 3656, scribe Je'u Hva 'do; PT 3681, scribe Ldong nya; PT 3669, scribe Lha bu; PT 3695, scribe Hing tshin; PT 3739, scribe Phab dzang; PT 3748, scribe Phan phan; PT 3777, Spang po Ldong nya; PT 3818, unsigned; PT 3891, scribe Khang kog khen; and the fragments PT 3977, 4057 and 4091 (which

were to follow the practice of Chinese *ex-libris*, then *lha* would abbreviate the name of the temple where these sutras were kept. It is unclear which temple this would have been – presumably a Tibetan temple in or near Dunhuang with *lha* in its name.

If these marks are not linked to temples, then an alternate explanation of their presence could be as other marks of belonging, perhaps referring to different teams in the scriptoria. This interpretation might be supported by the existence of a few copies (ITJ 310.160 and 161) that bear the Tibetan letter *kha* in the corners of their versos, but if this were an internal system for numbering sheets of paper one would expect to find more than just these few letter numerals, if letter numerals they be. The resemblance of *lha* and the undeciphered Chinese glyphs to other *ex-libris* therefore suggests that these abbreviate the names of temples, even if the temples they apparently abbreviate remain unknown.

These *ex-libris*, along with the use of Tibetan *Ap* panels as packet wrappers, present us with problems that relate both to the immediate fate of the sutra copies and to their movements up to and including their deposit in Cave Seventeen. We do not know how many copies were made, nor where they were intended to be deposited. If administrative documents and jottings that refer to *SP* copies intended for Bde gams and *SP* copies being sent to Guazhou may be taken as a parallel, then it is likely that Tibetan and Chinese *Ap* copies were also sent to temples all over the eastern Tibetan Empire. As noted above, the *Ap* copy found in Mirān has the same *mise-en-page* as the Dunhuang copies and may have been produced at Dunhuang. There are also a few examples of leaves of Dunhuang *SP* copies found in temples in central Tibet. This suggests that the copies were sent all over the Tibetan Empire, probably in order to fulfill their apotropaic functions of sanctification and protection. In this light, Dunhuang, along with Guazhou, may have been the source for many or most of these sutra copies, but it may be that Dunhuang was only one among many destinations for these copies. It may therefore be the case that the note in the Chinese *Ap* colophon of S.1995 that it is the 15,559th copy is a factual statement, and not hyperbole.

The fate of the sutra copies after Tibetan rule is interesting to ponder, since these copies were gifts for the Tibetan emperor, and were ostensibly part of Tibet's engagement with what has come to be known, especially in the context of Japan, as “state-protection Buddhism.” Judging from our extant collections, these copies

therefore contain no scribal attribution), all have *lha* written on their versos. Further examples undoubtedly exist, though not all of the versos of the Pelliot Collection have been photographed and uploaded to Artstor, Gallica, or the International Dunhuang Programme website as of the time of writing. There is also an *Ap* copy in St. Petersburg, Dkh. Tib. 142, with *lha* written in four places on its verso; Savitsky 1991, 64.

fares better than other palladia of empire such as the royal tombs, whose looting marked a symbolic and real desecration of the Tibetan royal line. As objects that sanctify place and which benefit people, and as embodiments of the Buddha's words, it may be that these sutras still found a place for themselves in Dunhuang under the Guiyijun, after Tibetan rule. It may also be the case that the merit-making act of copying them was paramount, and that these sutra copies were effectively "banked" and deposited as "receipts" shortly after being finalized, and that they were then largely forgotten. We have seen that sutras were accounted for in roll bundles (*bam thum*), and it may also be the case that they were deposited in temples in this form. Temples, in any case, kept rolls together in packets, and it is in such packets/ bundles that the *Ap* copies were eventually deposited in Cave Seventeen. The general coherence of the two types of bundles (mostly edited single-sutra rolls of mainly version B1 versus unedited single- and multiple-sutra rolls of version A1) suggests that each bundle's copies were generally kept together, and were not significantly disturbed by the interventions of monk librarians in Dunhuang's temples such as Longxing si, Jinguangming si, Lingtu si, and Sanjie si, where we know they were kept. It equally suggests that their rolls were not significantly disturbed in the twentieth century by Wang Yuanlu, or by Stein and Jiang. Fred Andrews and his assistants in the "Beehive" under the British Museum in London, as well as C.M. Ridding and Louis de La Vallée Poussin in Cambridge, assigned site numbers that permit us to discern the differences among these bundles, even in their transformed state as booklets that are kept in boxes.

The evidence from the sutra copies, colophons, and administrative and legal texts suggests that the Tibetan *Ap* was commissioned – but not necessarily completed – prior to the commissioning of the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* in the horse year 826. This assumption accounts for the absence of any mention of the Tibetan *Ap* copies in the administrative text ITJ 1254. There, the commissioning of Chinese *Ap* copies is mentioned after that of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies, suggesting that the Chinese *Ap* commission came last. Such a timeline also accounts for the fact that several scribes of Tibetan *Ap* are found as editors of Tibetan *SP2*, but not vice-versa. This earlier start to the copying of the Tibetan *Ap* additionally fits with its use of the deficient version one of the sutra in contrast to the complete version five used for the Chinese *Ap*.

Various hypotheses could account for the existence of the two types of bundles of Tibetan *Ap* copies. Hypothesis one, perhaps the most obvious, and the one that first occurred to us when we noticed their differences, is that the two types of bundle represent two steps in a single editorial process. In this case, the bundles of mostly unedited single-sutra rolls would represent the end of the production process, and the mixed bundles of unedited rolls would represent the stage before these

sutra copies were submitted to editors. This hypothesis accounts for the glue in the margins of most rolls, since this makes it clear that the sutra copies in bundles of single-sutra rolls were once part of longer rolls with multiple copies. In the case of the various roll lengths in the mixed bundles, one would assume that a scribe was issued with a long roll of paper, perhaps forty-five or fifty panels long (i.e. a *theb* or *tie*), and that it was a matter of preference whether they copied up to fifteen sutras onto this long roll or whether they separated this into smaller, less unwieldy rolls. The one anomalous unedited two-sutra roll ITJ 310.394 in the single-sutra-roll bundle 86.XV could be cited to support this hypothesis if one assumes that it was meant to be separated and edited, but that it somehow was overlooked. This hypothesis need not take a position on whether it was the scribes, editors, or someone else who separated the longer rolls into single-sutra-rolls, and whether this took place before, during, or after editing. The closely overlapping names of scribes in both types of bundles are no problem for this hypothesis, since it assumes that these represented steps in the same process, in close temporal succession.

The main problem with hypothesis one is that it cannot account for the significant differences between the sutra copies in the two types of bundles. If the copies in the mixed bundles represent a prior step in a single editorial process whose next step is represented by the copies in bundles of single-sutra rolls, then why do the former use a three-panel, six-column layout and the type-A *dhāraṇī* whereas the latter use a variety of layouts and prefer the type-B *dhāraṇī*? One can review Tables Three and Four above, as well as the discussion of layouts and *dhāraṇīs* in these bundles to see that this objection is unanswerable, and that it reveals the fatal flaw of hypothesis one. The other challenge to this hypothesis is that it would have to explain what circumstances could produce such a “snapshot” of the editorial process, with its two steps frozen in time, so to speak, in the two types of bundles. One almost requires a *deus ex machina*, or the eruption of a Gansu Vesuvius, to produce such a situation. On the other hand, the various interruptions and the apparent mismanagement of the sutra-copying projects, as described in the administrative text ITJ 1254 and in other documents about unpaid scribes, could provide some plausible circumstances under which the project may have been abandoned midstream.

Hypotheses two and three are less comprehensive, and are chiefly concerned with the status of the bundles of single-sutra rolls. Hypothesis two holds that all of the edited *Ap* copies in these bundles are discards. The editing of these *Ap* copies took place prior to the commissioning of the eight Tibetan *SP* copies and three Chinese *MP* copies, and it was therefore possibly prior to the articulation of editorial standards by which sutra copies or portions of sutra copies were rejected and tallied as “discards” (*ro*). Our lone example of an *Ap* discard that does use this vocabulary, detailed above, would represent the intrusion of these standards once the

same group of scribes and editors began work on the Tibetan *SP* in 826 and thereby adopted more rigorous norms.

Hypothesis two must assume a practice of discarding sutra copies without marking them as discards and without tearing them. It must also contend with why some edited copies were marked as “finalized” (*gtan la bab*) if these were in fact discards. Hypothesis two also has trouble accounting for the many unedited *Ap* copies (about thirty percent) alongside the edited copies in these bundles of single-sutra rolls. Some of these also include in their colophons the line, “to be edited” (*zhu lags*). Why were these not edited, and why were they rolled up among the edited copies if the latter are discards? Are they also discards? These are difficult objections for hypothesis two to answer.

Hypothesis three similarly views the edited copies as categorically different from the unedited copies by postulating that the former are all exemplars for producing the latter. We have seen that some exemplars were marked as such in colophons that stated that they were a certain scribe’s “exemplar” (*dpe*) copy from which they produced their own copies. Most of these exemplars were written by an editor. We find some instances, however, of heavily edited copies that serve as exemplars in which scribes must attend closely to all of the corrections in order to produce a clean copy. For hypothesis three, such would be the status of all of the edited *Ap* copies.

Hypothesis three is challenged by the existence of edited copies with minimal corrections. These might be explained as resulting from the generally lax editorial standards of a project to copy what was, after all, a defective version of the sutra, or these might result from a gradual relaxation of standards. A further objection is that there are exemplar copies in the mixed bundles that presumably helped with producing the sutra copies in single- and multiple-sutra rolls found alongside them. If exemplars were meant to be kept in the bundles of single-sutra rolls, then why are these exemplars in the mixed bundles? Also, the ratio of exemplars to unedited copies in the mixed bundles is very low. There are only four such exemplar copies, and they are found in three bundles, in each case appearing at the very beginning (ITJ 310.1045 and 310.1046 in bundle 78.VII and ITJ 1617 in bundle 78.VI) or very end (ITJ 310.683 in bundle 73.IX) of the bundle.¹²⁶ Exemplars would thus comprise 0.5 percent of copies in the mixed bundles and seventy percent of copies in the single-sutra-roll bundles. An argument for hypothesis three might hold that these were exemplars that produced thousands of copies, no longer extant, that were sent all

¹²⁶ “Beginning” and “end” are probably meaningless here, and could be due to whether these bundles were numbered top to bottom or bottom to top in London or Cambridge. Nor can one necessarily assume whether the exemplar “should” be at the top or the bottom of a given bundle.

over the Tibetan Empire. Like hypothesis two, it still has trouble explaining why thirty percent of the copies in these bundles of “exemplars” should be unedited. Presumably, these would represent copies that have been made from the edited exemplars. Still, it could be asked why these should be kept together in the same bundle, and in such odd proportions when compared with the proportions in the mixed bundles.

Having established some parameters by entertaining these hypotheses and raising some objections, we now present our preferred explanation for the state of these twenty-six bundles. It inverts hypothesis one by understanding the bundles of single-sutra rolls to be prior to the mixed bundles, not as steps in a single process, but rather as two phases separated by some months or perhaps one or two years. This is to assume a gradual movement towards more efficient layouts, a gradual standardization of the *dhāraṇī*, and a relaxation of editorial practices. In this scenario, the bundles of single-sutra rolls would have been largely produced prior to the horse year 826. The application of more rigorous editorial norms to the Tibetan *SP* in 826, by many of the same scribes and editors, would have prompted a reassessment of the norms applied to the *Ap* copies. The thirteen bundles of single-sutra rolls would represent the state of the project when it was paused for this reassessment, in or shortly after the horse year 826. Given the overlap of personnel between the two types of bundles, the pause would have been brief, but sufficient to reassess the editorial practices for producing the Tibetan *Ap*, and to update the preferred *dhāraṇī*. When copying restarted, the *Ap* copies were no longer to be edited or to be separated into single-sutra rolls, and the type-A *dhāraṇī* was to be employed. That is, the project’s managers chose to produce clean copies not through rigorous editing and revising, but by not editing them at all. By mandate or simply by economic imperatives, the more efficient three-panel, six-column layout was also preferred.

The lone example of a discarded sutra copy (*ro*) in a bundle of single-sutra rolls would, on this reading, be viewed as evidence of the intrusion of the new editorial norms from the horse-year project into the production of Tibetan *Ap* copies. Similarly, the presence of A1 copies and copies with three-panel, six-column layout in the bundles of single-sutra rolls, particularly 78.VIII and 73.XVI, may have contributed to a felt need to reassess what one was copying and how one was doing so. The precipitating event, however, was most likely the onset of the project to produce eight copies of the Tibetan *SP* and three copies of the Chinese *MP*, and the articulation of editorial norms that focused on producing clean copies of these sutras.

The revision of editorial norms for copying the Tibetan *Ap* must be understood in conversation with those applied to the Tibetan *SP*. The managers of the two projects, in all likelihood monastic officials, consciously chose to apply different norms to the Tibetan *Ap* than they applied to the *SP*. From the perspective of the

editorial practices governing the production of the Tibetan *SP*, the edited Tibetan *Ap* copies, with their splashes of editorial red and interlinear and marginal insertions, were already compromised. Rather than harmonize editorial standards by applying the more rigorous *SP* editorial processes to the *Ap* – which would be to follow the lead of the editorial note on our lone Tibetan *Ap* discard, ITJ 310.382 (Fig. 55), and perhaps entail the discarding of all edited *Ap* copies – they chose a two-track system in which the newly produced *Ap* copies were not to be edited at all. With this decision, the bundles of mostly edited single-sutra rolls from the first phase of the project were instantly outmoded. They now occupied an awkward middle ground between the new practice of not editing *Ap* copies and the more rigorous practice of producing clean copies of the Tibetan *SP*. It is for this reason that they were set aside, with the not-yet-edited copies – some with the phrase “to be edited” (*zhu lags*) – rolled up in bundles together with the edited copies.

At a more granular level, and looking to the putative first phase of the project, the differences among the bundles of single-sutra rolls could be understood as temporal developments within this first phase. The preference for less efficient layouts and for three editors in a bundle like 86.I could, for example, represent the earliest and least efficient stratum of the project. The presence of more efficient layouts and type-A *dhāraṇīs* in bundle 73.XVI could date from the end of the first stage of the project, just prior to the suspension of sutra copying and the decision to no longer edit *Ap* copies. These could equally be produced by differing norms across Dunhuang’s various temple scriptoria, or across teams in the main scriptorium. Whatever the case, the new norms for producing *Ap* copies entailed greater standardization, which is evident in the mixed bundles of unedited A1 copies.

A fairly short suspension of the project and a quick transition to new editorial norms would also account for some inconsistencies in the otherwise more homogeneous choice of *dhāraṇī* and layout in the mixed bundles. The few sutra copies in the newer mixed bundles that do employ type-B *dhāraṇīs*, or that use a layout other than three-panel, six-column layout would have resulted from initial confusion about the new standards. Some copies in these rolls from mixed bundles were scribed by people like Bam Stag bzang, Cang Weng yir, and Ha Stag slebs, who are listed as editors in *SP* colophons. The implication is that they were not yet editors when they scribed these unedited copies of multiple-sutra rolls. This circumstance may also suggest that the *Ap* copies were completed shortly after the resumption of the project, whereas the *SP* copying project dragged on for many years, allowing these scribes to be promoted to editors.

The Chinese *Ap* copies, being almost exclusively unedited and in single- and multiple-sutra rolls, align with the production of the mixed bundles of Tibetan *Ap*. This also speaks in favor of understanding the bundles of single-sutra rolls as

products of the earlier phase of Tibetan *Ap* copying, and the mixed bundles as created at a later stage, when they were joined by Chinese *Ap*.

No bundle seems to represent the copies commissioned in 844 to replace the *Ap* copies used in the Buddhist festival described in the text PT 999, since one would expect much less overlap in personnel for copies produced at least eighteen years later than the sutra copies in bundles of single-sutra rolls. It may also be the case that these copies commissioned in 844 were never in fact produced, given that this order came at a time when the Tibetan imperial administration was nearing collapse.

There are two main implications of this hypothesis. First, the bundles of single-sutra rolls would have been set aside after the putative “horse-year reassessment” and the decision to no longer edit *Ap* copies. The hypothesis remains agnostic on whether this “setting aside” meant declaring them finished in the sense of banking them for their merit on the one hand, or declaring them finished in the sense of consigning them to the dark corner of a temple library on the other. In the latter case one might expect them to be repurposed for their blank versos, or cut up and re-used as wrappers/ patches for other manuscripts, and this obviously did not occur on a large scale. The colophons suggest that they were not intended to be discarded at the point that work on producing these copies was suspended. In terms of their being deposited, there is a profound ritual difference between consecrating the sutras and placing them in a temple to sanctify it and spread its benefits on the one hand, and charging a temple with the storage of bundles of unconsecrated sutra rolls on the other. Physically speaking, however, there is little to no difference: the former bundles would be stored in one part of the temple library, and the latter in another part. Over the course of time, the consecrated bundles would join the unconsecrated bundles in a dark corner to make room for other texts, and the line between these two bodies of sutra copies would be blurred. Eventually, they would be indistinguishable, and both types of bundles would end up in Cave Seventeen, whether as part of a library reorganization, as part of an offering to a deceased figure who was associated with these sutras, or both.¹²⁷

A second main implication of our hypothesis is that the preferred form of the *dhāraṇī* changed over a short period of time around the year 826. One possibility is that the defective B1 version of the sutra came from a prestigious central Tibetan translation, but that the influence of the type-A *dhāraṇī* – either due to its appearance in the A5 translation in Dunhuang or due to other sources for its popularity – was such that it began to intrude into some Tibetan sutra copies produced in Dunhuang. The revision of editorial norms in or shortly after 826 presented the opportunity to update the exemplars with the more popular form of the *dhāraṇī*.

127 On the funerary context of Cave Seventeen, see Imaeda 2008; and Doumy and van Schaik 2023.

However, this did not also involve updating the version of the sutra, despite the fact that a superior Tibetan C5 version and Chinese A5 version were then in circulation.

There may be other hypotheses that could account for the distribution of the sutra copies in the bundles as they have come down to us. The picture we have constructed from the data is one of norms cohering through practice over time, and in conversation with the editorial standards for producing the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies.

Conclusions to Part One

Our detailed survey of over 1,500 copies and fragments of the Tibetan *Ap* kept in the Stein Collection has been augmented by investigations of nearly 300 Chinese *Ap* copies from the same collection, and hundreds more Tibetan *Ap* copies kept in Paris, Gansu, and St. Petersburg. We have also contextualized these sutra copies in relation to thousands of rolls and folia of the Tibetan *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* in 100,000 lines (SP) and the Chinese *Daboreboluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (**Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*; MP), which were part of a commission of sutras that began in 826 and which involved many of the same scribes and editors who produced the *Ap* copies. Besides these sutra copies and fragments, we have also drawn on administrative and legal documents related to supplying paper and other resources for these sutra-copying projects, paying scribes and editors, delivering or failing to deliver sutra copies, accounting for lost or missing paper, punishing scribes for suspected theft of paper and ink, and replacing sutra copies that were given to the people of Dunhuang during a festival held in 844. In addition, we have tried to sketch the social milieu of Dunhuang's scribes and editors with recourse to their activities as witnessed in loan and sale contracts and lawsuits, and by attending also to the scant information found in and after scribal and editorial colophons. While this is chiefly a case study of a body of sutras and the forces that produced them, it also draws sparingly on data from a somewhat comparable venue for sutra copying at the scriptorium in Nara in eighth-century Japan. This has served to underline some continuities in the processes of scriptural production, and some interesting contrasts, notably with regard to the pace of work and with respect to the purity practices observed by scribes and editors.

By attending to all these sources, and to the distribution of the names of scribes and editors in the colophons of the sutra copies, we have put forward a rough chronology that builds upon that already established by earlier scholars such as Akira Fujieda. The chronology is anchored by the horse year – generally agreed to be 826 – in which an order was made to copy eight copies of the Tibetan *SP* and three copies of the Tibetan *MP* as a gift for the Tibetan emperor. Administrative documents and comparative data from Nara about the pace of sutra copying under sound management reveal that the horse-year project was beset by difficulties, and that it dragged on for many years. It is unclear, in fact, if it ever came to fruition. Our study has proposed that prior to this order there was already a project to produce copies of the Tibetan *Ap*, also as a gift for the Tibetan emperor. The copying of

this particular sutra, as has been suggested before, may well have been undertaken as a response to the emperor's poor health.

The initial copies of *Ap* produced for the Tibetan emperor would have been copied not long before the horse year. They are represented by the mostly edited copies that were kept in bundles of single-sutra rolls, at least thirteen of which were documented by site numbers assigned in London and Cambridge between 1909 and 1918. These sutra copies often have inefficient layouts of four panels of paper and eight columns of text, sometimes with entire columns left blank or else including only the colophon. These copies also tend to use the B1 version of the sutra, that is, the defective Tibetan version with the shorter type-B *dhāraṇī*. The horse-year project to copy the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* in Tibetan and Chinese involved many of the same scribes and editors, but it forced them to operate by different editorial norms with respect to these two bodies of sutras. The final copies of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* in Tibetan and Chinese were to be spotless: any mistake that an editor flagged up, or any insertion they added between the lines or in the margin necessitated that folio's replacement by a new, clean and correct folio. The administration of the sutra-copying project took account of this system by requiring scribes to recover and submit their rejected folia so that these would not be presumed missing or stolen. In a measure that seems anathema to the ethic of reproducing the words of the Buddha, those scribes who submitted fewer completed folia or panels of sutra copies than they had received as sheets of paper, and who could not account for this shortfall in terms of rejected folia or panels, were to be whipped ten times per missing sheet. This whipping was apparently done publicly, at the very scriptorium where these sutras were copied.

These editorial norms and accounting practices had significant effects upon how the Tibetan *Ap* were copied and edited after the horse-year project commenced in 826. Also, perhaps in parallel to the horse-year project's decision to copy both Tibetan and Chinese versions of the longest *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras, thousands of copies of the Chinese *Ap* were commissioned as gifts for the Tibetan emperor. Probably in response to the ethic of submitting clean copies of the *Perfection of Wisdom* sutras, Tibetan *Ap* copies were now also to be free of editors' corrections. Also, whereas the earlier *Ap* copies mostly used version B1, the newer copies used exclusively the A1 version with the longer, type-A *dhāraṇī*. Notably, this is the same *dhāraṇī* used in the Chinese A5 version of the sutra that many of these same scribes copied. Also, perhaps in response to the administration's accounting practices, and as a move towards economizing on paper, these new copies mostly employed a more efficient three-panel, six-column layout. The most obvious departure from the earlier phase of the project is apparent in the length of the rolls: whereas the older copies were divided into single-sutra rolls, the newer copies were largely kept in

longer rolls ranging from two to fifteen *Ap* copies. Thirteen bundles of such rolls were documented in London and Cambridge, for a total of twenty-six bundles of mostly or exclusively Tibetan *Ap* copies.

The practice of the publicly whipping scribes for missing paper and ink also produced a trade in sutra copies, and opportunities for client scribes and “ghost scribes.” One scribe could take on another scribe’s debts in paper and insert their client scribe’s name in the colophons of sutra copies so as to square their client’s accounts. This is evident from the many cases where the scribal attribution does not match the scribal hand, that is, where we can establish a given scribe’s hand from multiple sutra copies, and can then identify an outlier written in a different hand but including the same scribe’s name in the colophon. It is even more clear from the many instances where one name has been rubbed out or struck through and replaced by another in a scribal colophon. In addition, there are cases where a note states plainly that a sutra copy was written by one scribe and then given to another. This, together with the desultory strikethroughs of one scribe’s name next to another’s, suggest that this was not an illicit trade in scribed sutra copies, but rather one that was tolerated by the project’s administrators. In fact, it may have been one of the only ways for these officials to balance their accounts and to thereby avoid whipping scribes hundreds of times.

It is uncertain how much time elapsed between the production of the *Ap* copies that ended up in single-sutra-roll bundles, and the production of those *Ap* copies that ended up in mixed bundles of single- and multiple-sutra rolls. Decisive in this regard is the fact that the personnel overlap significantly between sutra copies in the two types of bundles. This means that although a pause in the project would be necessary to reassess and to establish new norms before proceeding to produce unedited A1 copies in single- and multiple-sutra rolls, this pause must have been brief. We therefore assume that the earlier copies were produced only a year or two before and during the onset of the horse-year project in 826, e.g. 824–826, and that the later copies were produced not long after, e.g. 826–828. In parallel with the problems that beset the horse-year project, however, it may be that these sutras continued to be copied for some years.

Given this brief temporal horizon of the project, it is interesting to see the preferred form of the *dhāraṇī* change during this time. It is also notable that there were multiple Chinese and Tibetan versions of the sutra in circulation at this time, with significant differences between them. In particular, the Chinese A5 version that scribes copied was a complete version of the sutra, whereas the Tibetan version that they copied was defective in the sense of missing several paragraphs. In terms of bilingualism and translation practice, it is significant that the putative pause in the project to copy the Tibetan *Ap* entailed only a change to its *dhāraṇī*,

rather than a choice to produce and/or copy a more complete or less defective version of the sutra. This could have been done by filling in the Tibetan A1 version's missing paragraphs with translations from those paragraphs from the Chinese A5 version. Even this would not be necessary, however, since we know from three copies in our corpus that a complete C5 version of the sutra existed in Tibetan at this time. Its survival here seems like an accident, but it is fortuitous, since it provides us with what is possibly the most complete extant version of the sutra, and one dating to the mid-to-late 820s.

The number of rolls produced is less clear. We have the sutra copies themselves in London, Paris, Gansu, St. Petersburg, and elsewhere, but these represent only those that happened to find their way into Mogao Cave Seventeen. From administrative documents and from manuscript finds in central Tibet and in Mirān, it is clear that these sutras were not meant only to be deposited in Dunhuang. Dunhuang and Guazhou were rather centers for scriptural production, and the sutras produced there were sent all over the Tibetan Empire. In the case of these royal sutras, which were meant to benefit the emperor and the realm, they were likely sent across the Tibetan Empire's network of Buddhist temples. In this context, we mentioned the note following the scribal colophon to the Chinese *Ap* copy, S.1995, which simply states, "roll number 15,559" (*juan di yi wan wu tian wu bai wu shi jiu* 卷第一萬五千五百五十九).¹ This number seems astronomical at first, but it must be placed in the context of the horse-year commission of eight copies of the Tibetan *SP* and three of the Chinese *MP*.

Paper was measured with the unit *yug*, which could indicate a double-layered *pothi*-format leaf of 20 × 73 cm or a panel of 45 × 31 cm paper, where one of the former (often called *glegs bu yug*) equated to two of the latter. We estimated that one *SP* copy required 2,371 *glegs bu yug*, which means that 18,968 would be required for the eight copies commissioned in the horse year. Translating the eight *SP* copies' approximately 19,000 *glegs bu yug* into panels, that is 38,000. This would be sufficient to produce 12,667 three-panel copies or 10,857 three-and-a-half-panel copies. For Chinese *Ap* copies, which were usually four or five panels, the same amount of paper could yield 9,500 or 7,600 copies, respectively. There is no necessary reason why the amount of *Ap* copies produced should be comparable to the amount of *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra* copies produced, but as we have seen, the two projects were in conversation with one another in terms of editorial norms, so it is possible that they sought to cohere in terms of quantity as well. These rough calculations also show that the Chinese *Ap* copy S.1995's statement that it is "roll number 15,559" is not outlandish, but rather nearly twice as large as three copies of Chinese *MP* or

1 Giles 1957, 145; no. 4921.

eight copies of Tibetan *SP*. Those latter quantities – three and eight – are resonant Buddhist numbers that evoke the three jewels and the eight auspicious symbols or the noble eightfold path. It worth noting in this context that roll 15,559 would not be the final roll, and that one would expect the target number of *Ap* copies to also be an auspicious, Buddhist number, such as 18,000. On such an assumption, scribes would have produced, by volume, twice as much of the Chinese *Ap* as they did of the Chinese *MP*. The same could apply, by analogy, to the Tibetan *Ap* copies in relation to the Tibetan *SP* copies. This could be another instance where the *Sutra of Limitless Life's* will to reproduce, coupled with its relatively short length and the comparative ease of producing a copy when compared with the massive undertaking of producing an *SP* or *MP* copy, led it to outstrip those sutras in at least one measure of importance.

The practice of writing multiple sutra copies on a long roll, or else of separating these into numerous rolls of one sutra copy each, relates to the production and storage of rolls. Besides the measurement of individual sheets or folia in *yug*, the unit *theb/ tie* 帖 was used for fifty or one hundred sheets. It may be more than coincidence that the longest extant rolls of fifteen *Ap* copies consist of forty-five panels, which is almost this amount. Scribes or someone else in the scriptorium prepared these long rolls by inking their columns and guidelines. A scribe then had the option to fill this long roll with up to fifteen sutra copies, or else to divide it into multiple rolls of more manageable sizes. The former option had the advantage of keeping a scribe's copies together, to prevent them from being misplaced or stolen. Once these sutra copies were completed, they were accounted for as a "roll bundle" (*bam thum*). This is quite possibly the same unit in which the rolls were stored in temple libraries, where they would resemble the unit called a "packet" (*zhi* 秩), which was typically used to house ten to twelve rolls. To go by how they were arranged when bundles were unrolled and rolls were numbered in London and Cambridge, we can see from stains and damage that the sutra copies were placed in a stack and then rolled up together to form a bundle. As a matter of practicality, this practice of stacking and rolling prevents the individual rolls from being flattened and squashed under one another's weight as individual rolls. It also may account for why so few of the Tibetan *Ap* copies have wooden rollers.²

This manner of keeping or storing the sutras also aligns with the assumption that these sutras were made to be deposited, as essentially a receipt of the meritorious act of their copying, and as objects that sanctify the place where they are kept. Unlike a packet of ten *MP* rolls, there was little value in separating one roll from another, since they were not different chapters, but all copies of the same sutra. Of

2 For one example of an *Ap* copy with a roller, see PT 3618.

course, it is possible that this manner of rolling up the sutra copies in a stack was effected by a temple librarian clearing out these sutra copies and depositing them in Cave Seventeen. Even if such an intervention occurred, however, the bundle thereby produced was either a bundle of single-sutra rolls or a mixed bundle, and it preserved all of the attendant distinctions between the two types of bundles. We can fairly confidently draw a through line, therefore, from the bundles assigned site numbers in London and Cambridge to the bundles kept in Cave Seventeen, to the packets (*zhi*) kept in Dunhuang's temple libraries to the "roll bundles" (*bamthum*) in which sutra copies were submitted once they were completed in the mid-to-late 820s. In other words, these sutra copies, by their ubiquity and due to their perceived lack of value, retained something like their archeological context despite Stein's lamentations about the disturbed state of Cave Seventeen and his inability to properly document its contents.

Our study is limited in its scope to the Tibetan *Ap* copies from the Stein Collection at the British Library, but its conclusions extend beyond these. Most obviously, our typologies of the versions of the sutra and the types of the *dhāraṇī* can be applied to the Dunhuang *Ap* copies held in other collections throughout the world. Among these there may well be further rare C5 versions, as well as other versions that we did not identify. These sutra copies in other collections would have also been kept in bundles, and our observations on the two different types of bundles, together with the teams of scribes and editors that our data lays bare, may be useful for tentatively reconstructing some of these bundles, to the extent that cataloguing, storing, and conservation renders this possible in the collections in Paris, St. Petersburg, and Gansu. Our use of site numbers to perceive these bundles, coupled with our equation of some of the bundles to the packets (*zhi*) in which Dunhuang's temple libraries kept many of their manuscripts, has obvious applications to how scholars can navigate the Stein Collection as a whole. The *Ap* copies may be a special case in that they were rolled up as bundles and appear to have remained largely undisturbed from the time of their initial deposit until their documentation in London and Cambridge. Other bundles within Stein's "regular library bundles" may have similar histories, and studies that operate at the level of the bundle have the potential to uncover further details about groups of manuscripts, their storage, and production.

Part Two: The Sutra Copies and our Documentation

The information that we have recorded about these sutra copies both falls short of and also exceeds that found in a normal catalogue. It does not record height and width, incipit, and explicit for each pressmark. At the same time, it does record roll numbers; numbers of panels, columns, and lines; *dhāraṇī* type; scribes' and editors' names; editors' corrections; and curators' notes. Some of this documentation is unwieldy, and our "augmented catalogue" is therefore split across two chapters. Chapter Four includes the information that is most profitably arrayed in table form, so as to disclose patterns and relationships within and between booklets, rolls, and bundles, between scribes and editors, and so forth. Chapter Five records more detailed information such as explicits and corrections, which we gathered from a representative sample of sutra copies in order to offer some conclusions on orthographic norms.

4 Documenting *Limitless Life*

“The frequent repetition of certain particularly cherished chapters and prayers, a quasi-mechanical process for acquiring spiritual merit which seems at all times to have had a fatal attraction for pious Tibetans, has confirmed the suspicions I entertained from the first.”
– Stein, *Ruins of Desert Cathay*, vol. 2, 219

4.1 Catalogues of Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies

Despite – or perhaps even due to – their ubiquity, the sutras officially commissioned during the Tibetan Empire’s control of Dunhuang have received comparatively little attention, especially in the case of the *Ap* in general and the Tibetan *Ap* in particular. In the triage of cataloguing and studying Dunhuang manuscripts, scholars tended to privilege the unique and more intriguing texts. The *Ap* copies were not properly catalogued by Louis de La Vallée Poussin or by Marcelle Lalou in their respective catalogues of the Stein and Pelliot collections. Partial catalogues and studies came later, and have gathered pace in recent decades. Our augmented catalogue draws on these works and the standards they have set, and also responds to some of the unique circumstances of the Stein Collection, most notably its site numbers and the binding of these manuscripts into booklets.

The catalogue of La Vallée Poussin and the cataloguing work of van Schaik have already been discussed in detail in Chapter One. For the sake of completeness, it should be noted that between 1977 and 1988 Zuihō Yamaguchi and a team at the Tōyō Bunko published a twelve-volume catalogue of the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts in the Stein Collection and assigned further numbers to many of the manuscripts that La Vallée Poussin did not catalogue.¹ This cataloguing process relied on microfilm, and was therefore limited to those manuscripts that had been photographed. The microfilm apparently included only five of the 1,207 manuscripts that were then kept under the 310 pressmark, and these are listed in the Tōyō Bunko catalogue. However, only three of these five manuscripts are in fact *Ap* copies. The first, site number 77.XVI, was misidentified by La Vallée Poussin,² and is not an *Ap* copy; it is now catalogued as ITJ 1136. The third, ITJ 310.1207, is not an *Ap* copy but

1 Yamaguchi et al. 1977-1988.

2 La Vallée Poussin 1962, 101.

an invocation to Amitābha.³ The second and fourth correspond to ITJ 310.1206 and ITJ 310.417, but the latter's scribal and editorial colophon is not recorded in the Tōyō Bunko catalogue. No site number is supplied for the fifth copy, but it uses the rare type-C *dhāraṇī*.⁴

Turning to catalogues of other collections, in 1975, Wu Chi-yu published a study of the four copies of the Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* conserved in Taipei.⁵ Research gathered pace in the early 1980s, and in 1982 Huang Wenhuan published a catalogue of the colophons of 313 Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* rolls (and four roll-type *SP3* copies) kept at the Dunhuang Museum, the Dunhuang Academy, the Jiuquan Museum, Zhangye Museum, and Lanzhou Library.⁶ In many ways, this catalogue was exemplary. Huang transcribed the colophons, and noted the following for each pressmark: number of sutras contained in the roll; number of panels of paper per sutra copy; number of columns per panel of paper; number of lines per column; and the height and width of the roll. In 1984, Nishioka Soshū partially filled one of the lacunae in Lalou's catalogue by recording the names of the scribes and editors of most of the Tibetan *Ap* copies in the Pelliot Collection, and noting the pressmarks under which they appear.⁷ This article took the form of an index of scribes and editors, however, so it less helpful than Huang's catalogue for seeing how the pressmarks might be clustered in edited or unedited copies. In the same year, Lev Savitsky published an article that similarly indexed the scribes and editors of the 202 Tibetan Dunhuang *Ap* copies conserved at the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. Savitsky also made detailed observations on the codicology and paleography of the Tibetan *Ap* in general, attending to layout, margins, and measurements.⁸

Savitsky presented his paper at the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium held in Vienna in 1981, before the publication of Huang's or Nishioka's work. Drawing on the scant information in La Vallée Poussin's catalogue, however, Savitsky was able to note that five of the seven scribes recorded in the latter also appeared in the St. Petersburg *Ap* colophons. From this, he made the following conclusion: "it can be supposed that the Tunhuang scrolls bearing the *dbu-can* text of the *Aparimitāyurjñāna-sūtra* kept in Leningrad, London, Paris, Kyoto and Taipei are wholly identical."⁹ In addition to providing some discussion of editorial practices, Savitsky also made important observations concerning future research. First, he lamented the lack of a

³ For a translation and discussion, see Halkias 2013, 75–83.

⁴ Yamaguchi et al. 1980, 10–14; see also the five entries in the table in Yamaguchi et al. 1977, xi.

⁵ Wu 1975.

⁶ Huang 1982.

⁷ Nishioka 1984.

⁸ Savitsky 1984, 281–283.

⁹ Savitsky 1984, 283.

catalogue of the Tibetan *Ap* held in London, Paris, and Kyoto. Second, he underlined the importance of collating and analyzing the names of the scribes and editors – both in order to help ascertain their ethnicities and also as a method for identifying and dating scribal hands.¹⁰

A Russian version of Savitsky's article appeared as the introduction to his 1991 catalogue of the Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. Savitsky's catalogue included incipits, measurements, colophons, and brief observations on orthography.¹¹ This took the form of a traditional catalogue with one entry after another, and was followed by indices of names, and by images of the incipits of ninety-two *Ap* copies.

A few years after the works of Huang, Nishioka, and Savitsky, the Dunhuang copies of the Tibetan *Ap* once again received increased attention from scholars, and some of Savitsky's hopes began to be realized. In 1999, Wang Yao and Chen Jian published a catalogue including twenty-two brief entries for the rolls and fragments of Tibetan *Ap* in the Pelliot Collection numbered PT 3500 to PT 4168. These are hardly catalogue entries at all, since they give only the title and the number of items, e.g. rolls or fragments, within each of the twenty-two entries.¹² In 2011, Ma De compiled a catalogue of Dunhuang manuscripts kept at various institutions in Gansu, including images of some of the manuscripts.¹³ This is another exemplary catalogue that includes measurements, incipits, explicits, and colophons, as well as notes about any irregular content, for hundreds of single and multiple-sutra rolls. In 2012, Gertraud Taenzer used the sutra copies' colophons in precisely the way that Savitsky suggested, in order to examine the ethnicities of Dunhuang's inhabitants.¹⁴ Besides confirming that scribes were predominantly Chinese, and proposing Chinese equivalents for their names, Taenzer also identified official or legal documents in which some of the scribes are mentioned. In the same year, Kazushi Iwao published an article on the sutra-copying project that gave a general overview of the sutras, their formats, and the manners of their production. Iwao concluded from the non-standard, small writing on the Chinese *Ap* that the aesthetic appearance of both it and the Tibetan *Ap* copies mattered less at the Dunhuang scriptoria than the number of copies that were produced.¹⁵ Iwao related this fact to their purpose, which he saw as probably being for the generation of merit on behalf of

¹⁰ Savitsky 1984, 284–287.

¹¹ Savitsky 1991.

¹² Wang and Chen 1999, 276–277.

¹³ Ma 2011.

¹⁴ Taenzer 2012, 110–154.

¹⁵ Iwao 2012, 103.

the Tibetan emperor – so that he may have a long life and a good afterlife.¹⁶ Although it does not directly concern the *Ap*, it is worth noting that Iwao followed up his article on the sutra-copying project with an investigation into the features of the roll-format 100,000-line *Perfection of Wisdom Sutra*, dubbed *SP3*,¹⁷ whose scribes were also the focus of an article by Taenzer.¹⁸

In 2013, Marta Matko and Sam van Schaik fulfilled another one of Savitsky's wishes by publishing an online catalogue of the colophons of the Tibetan *SP* and *Ap* kept at the British Library.¹⁹ Apart from the *SP*, they transliterated the colophons of every *Ap* catalogued under sub-pressmarks of ITJ 310, of which there are 1,208, as well as the colophons of the *Ap* catalogued under 134 other pressmarks. Those *Ap* that lack colophons, for example fragments, or copies whose colophons are left blank, were not included in this resource. Matko and van Schaik identified the transliterations with numbers that correspond to the panel number and line number on which they are found. The entry for ITJ 310.4, for example, gives the colophon at "3.38" and "3.39."²⁰ This means that it appears on the third panel of paper, on lines 38 and 39. As noted in Chapter Three, each column of text in a Tibetan *Ap* copy generally contains nineteen lines; here the authors have added the lines of the two columns of a single panel, where the colophon appears at the very end of the second column. (Our use of letters for columns would designate these as, e.g. f18 and f19.) Our own work benefits from that of Matko and van Schaik, and can be profitably consulted in concert with their record of these colophons. We have made no special note of those instances where our documentation contradicts theirs, although there are some such cases. It is worth noting that their electronic version already incorporates some of our suggestions,²¹ and we hope that it will benefit further from the augmented catalogue provided below.

The catalogues of Nishioka, Huang, Savitsky, Ma De, and Matko and van Schaik are extremely helpful in aiding our research into the Tibetan *Ap*. Drawing on Nishioka's catalogue to examine *Ap* manuscripts in the Pelliot Collection, and comparing our data with Savitsky's catalogue of *Ap* in St. Petersburg and Huang's and Ma De's catalogues of *Ap* in the archives of Gansu, we can readily confirm Savitsky's supposition that the *Ap* are essentially the same in every collection. Were one to perform

16 Iwao 2012, 104.

17 Iwao 2013.

18 Taenzer 2021.

19 Matko and van Schaik 2013.

20 Matko and van Schaik 2013, no. 14.

21 A statement below the copyright information for the catalogue's original creation now reads: "First electronic edition was made in 2013. New edition with corrections from Lewis Doney and Brandon Dotson was made in September 2014" (Matko and van Schaik 2013).

a study similar to ours on the *Ap* in these collections, and those held in Japan and elsewhere, the overall results in terms of codicology, paleography, and orthography are unlikely to be very different. We also find the same teams of editors, the same occasional homages to Amitābha, and the same *ex-libris* for Sanjie si and other temples. Within these collections there are no doubt some hidden gems, such as interesting colophons and jottings, perhaps even beyond those that we highlighted in Chapter Three. These may well allow future scholars to further establish the contours of different scribal and editorial teams, and to more fully document the shifts in editorial and scribal practices that we have uncovered.

It remains to be seen whether or not the conservation and cataloguing practices in St. Petersburg, Paris, and Gansu have disarranged these collections' sutras to the extent that our insights about the two main types of bundles cannot be applied. In the Stein Collection's case, the site numbers lay bare which rolls belonged to which bundles, but it is also the case that those manuscripts from the same bundle are catalogued sequentially, or at least together. A hypothetical researcher going through the entire collection without the aid of site numbers might notice that the *Ap* copies occur in groups of mostly edited copies in single-sutra rolls, or else in groups of unedited A1 copies in both single- and multiple-sutra rolls. The hundreds of Tibetan *Ap* copies in Dunhuang manuscript collections in Paris, St. Petersburg, and Gansu would have also come from bundles, and may also be catalogued in sequences that allow one to perceive this, together with other contextual clues such as the scribes, editors, and *dhāraṇīs*. A rigorous study of their disparate conservation histories, and a tabular collation that allows one to visualize the data, might allow one to perceive the rough contours of these bundles.

There remains much to be done on the analysis of scribal hands, and for this one must rely on digital images and thereby collate and analyze the ductus of individual graphemes. At present, only a handful of the *Ap* copies in the British Library have been digitized, as compared with the hundreds (though not all) of the *Ap* digitized by the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The full digitization of these collections, along with those in China, Russia, and Japan, must become a greater priority if research is to continue to accelerate in the manner that it has over the past few decades.

4.2 In lieu of a catalogue

For each Tibetan *Ap* copy, we noted the following: the pressmark or sub-pressmark; the site number; the roll and panel numbers; the number of panels of paper in each sutra copy (usually three); the number of columns of text (usually six); the number of lines per column (usually nineteen); the type(s) of the *dhāraṇī* it uses; scribe's

name; and name(s) of editor(s) where applicable. In addition, we made notes of any extraordinary codicological or paleographical features, or of other marks left on the manuscripts. Such features include rolls of non-standard height, copies written in a square handwriting style, and the rare cases where one finds anything written on the verso. Here we may also include marks left on the manuscripts during the processes of conservation and cataloguing.

We measured orthography through a more detailed process that we applied to approximately ten percent of the collection in a largely representative sample of 168 sutra copies. In the interest of studying orthography, we biased these towards edited rather than unedited copies. In the first place, we attended to the editors' corrections. These, like the names of the editors given in the colophons, are often written in red ink. In the second place, we transliterated an extended explicit consisting of the final phrases of the sutra. These transliterations form a searchable sample from which we draw conclusions about orthographic norms in Chapter Five. In order to have a fixed point of reference for the corrections throughout each copy, we noted them not on the panel and line where they appeared in each copy, since this is variable, but on the corresponding panel and line in an *Ap* copy that we transliterated for this purpose. This is PT 3901, written over eight columns, to which we assigned the corresponding first eight letters of the alphabet. Thus a correction that we record in a given *Ap* copy may, for example, be at "d3." This means that the correction that we record was made to a passage within that copy corresponding to the third line of the fourth column of PT 3901. We provide a transliteration of the latter in Chapter Five.

We did not record the height and width of the manuscripts. One option was to catalogue them as they are, as booklets, giving the dimensions of the booklets (e.g. 31.5×23 cm ± 1 cm) and their numbers of "pages." This is of questionable value. Another option was to measure each panel and then to add these measurements together, perhaps subtracting a centimeter for overlap. This is complicated by the circumstance that it would reconstruct the original state of rolls split across multiple pressmarks. Although we have elected not to do so, the fairly standard size of the panels used for these sutra copies (31.5×45 cm), is such that it would be possible to roughly reconstruct the original widths (lengths) of each roll using our documentation.

The binding of these rolls into booklets also problematizes the cataloguing norm of recording incipit and explicits. There are booklets, and thus pressmarks, that begin one-third of the way through a given sutra copy due to the copy having been split into multiple booklets across multiple pressmarks or sub-pressmarks. In such cases, recording the incipits of the booklets under their corresponding pressmark would give the false impression that they contain texts that begin differently

from the *Ap*. This is also true of any explicit of a booklet/pressmark that ends in the middle of a sutra copy. In addition, the *Ap*'s beginning itself is of questionable value for our aims of studying orthography, since it merely consists of the Tibetan transcription of the sutra's Sanskrit title followed by the same Tibetan title that is recorded in the explicit. In any case, we have recorded in the notes any sutra copy's incipit that diverges from the norm, as was discussed in Chapter Three in the context of "false starts" to the sutra when a scribe accidentally launched into the *dhāraṇī* in the midst of writing the title.

Our augmented catalogue is given below in table form. The more detailed information on explicits and corrections is too long to include in a table, and so these are given separately in Chapter Five, where they form the dataset on the basis of which we offer some preliminary conclusions about orthography. The "notes" field contains a variety of information, sometimes referring to the site number or pressmark. Where these are detailed, they have required the addition of footnotes. Initially we recorded the presence or absence of glue on the first and final margins, but this proved to be so common that we ceased to record it. As discussed in Chapter Three, the traces of glue in these margins suggest that scribes worked with long rolls of paper that were separated into shorter rolls once they had filled these longer rolls with sutra copies.

The different characters of the bundles often dictate the nature of our notes. In some bundles the notes may focus on paleography, in others they emphasize the *dhāraṇī*, and in still others they focus on booklet numbers. In no bundle have we made exhaustive notes of all such features, since this would cause our augmented catalogue to collapse under its own weight, and would make it harder to visualize the connections between the sutra copies of a given bundle. Those instances where we have gone into more detail documenting site numbers or booklet numbers have enabled our insights about the conserving and cataloguing of these manuscripts in Chapter One. The notes that we have offered on handwriting have similarly aided us in piecing together the trade in sutras within the "sutra economy" as described in Chapter Three. The latter notes also provide leads for other scholars to follow in studies of scribal attribution. While this is a rich data set, it is in no way exhaustive, and there is more to be found among these sutra copies.

Our sigla and shorthands require some explanation. The roll number is the first number that La Vallée Poussin wrote at the top of each panel of an *Ap* copy. Thus a three-panel, six-column roll that was the first of a bundle would, after being bound into a booklet, bear the numbers "1,1" 1,2" and "1,3" in the top margins of its three panels. In the field for "roll number," we do not simply record this as "1," but as "1,1-3." This is more or less redundant in single-sutra rolls, but is helpful in multiple-sutra rolls where a booklet might, for example, be recorded as "17,6-10,"

meaning it contains panels six to ten of roll seventeen. Where a roll number is only recorded as, for instance, “1-3,” this means that the numbering in the top margins includes a panel number but no roll number, for example “1,” “2,” and “3,” on successive panels.

The “panels” column is self-explanatory, save for the fact that we have abbreviated “panels” with “P.” The number of columns is less straightforward, since there are a variety of layouts, as discussed in Chapter Three. We refer to the columns of a sutra copy with lowercase letters, “a” through “h” – even up to “j” in the case of the rare ten-column copy ITJ 310.1033. We then use shorthand to indicate when a column is blank (e.g. “a blank”), or when it consists of only a colophon (e.g. “h colophon”). In the cases of three-and-a-half-panel, seven-column copies, either the first or last panel is a half-panel that was cut down the middle. For these we do not record 3.5 panels but rather four. If the half-panel starts the sutra copy we indicate this with “no a,” and if the half-panel ends the copy we indicate this with “no h.” Of course this does not mean that anything is missing or incomplete: it is simply a shorthand that permits this data to fit on the page.

As noted in Chapter Two, there are variations in the type-A and type-B *dhāraṇī*. “A+” means that a copy uses type A but the first *dhāraṇī* iteration begins with *tadyathā* (as if it were type B). “B+” means that a copy uses type B but each iteration adds *tadyathā* in the middle of the *dhāraṇī* after *tathāgataya* (as if it were type A). “B-” means that a copy using type B omits *tadyathā* at the start of the first *dhāraṇī*. “A-” means that a copy using type A omits *tadyathā* in the middle after *tathāgataya*. These typologies and their frequent recurrence testify to the situation we have described in which there was a shift from the type-B to the type-A *dhāraṇī* around the year 826. We have recorded the type of the *dhāraṇī* in the column marked “dh.”

We abbreviate column with “col.,” but do not abbreviate colophon. In describing panels and their measurements we use a shorthand that designates their columns. In a three-panel, six-column copy, for example, “ab” is panel one; “cd” is panel two; and “ef” is panel three.

Where we record deletions or strikethroughs we have done so with <[deleted]>, e.g. “<’bye mdo snang gi brIs so /> / cang yem tse” = “’bye mdo snang gi brIs so / / cang yem tse.” To mark the use of red ink in a colophon or elsewhere we use, e.g. “(red <) sgron ma yang zhus leng pe’u suM zhuste lhag chad bcos nas gtan phab bo// (> red).”

In discussing ductus we draw on Sam van Schaik’s rough categorization of styles – chiefly “square style” and “sutra style,” and on some of the rubrics described in Dotson and Helman-Ważny 2016.²² Among the latter, we use the shorthand “/:/” to point out the use of *shad* – double *tsheg* – *shad* as a form of punctuation.

²² van Schaik 2013b.

We separate our documentation according to the differing characters of the two types of bundles. First come the thirteen bundles of mostly edited single-sutra rolls. Here the table gives the names of the editors, so that one can easily see which editors worked together in teams. Next come the thirteen mixed bundles of unedited sutra copies, where the documentation has no need for editors. In both of these sections of our documentation, we offset each bundle by giving its volume number and the number of booklets in a volume. Here we also add information about curators' notes, etc. that are pertinent to the booklets in a given volume. Third, we document the "orphans," that is, the *Ap* copies and fragments that come from bundles that were not predominantly comprised of *Ap* copies, or which curators misplaced from their bundles during the documentation process.

Since some of these "orphans" were not categorized as part of the 310 series, they have been assigned different ITJ pressmarks. In order to alert the reader to the resulting "mixed" nature of the final table, we have titled the third column "ITJ 310.x." Then, all sub-pressmarks of ITJ 310 are identified by a simple number, e.g. "1041," while non-310 pressmarks are provided in full, e.g. "ITJ 309."

In all three cases we have ordered our documentation by bundle number and not primarily following pressmarks, since Chapters One and Three showed the former to be a more helpful ordering principle for showing patterns in the production of Tibetan *Ap*. However, the concordance in Appendix Two aligns pressmarks and sub-pressmarks with site numbers, volume numbers, the type of bundle, number of booklets, number of rolls, and number of sutra copies in order to help scholars to navigate the Tibetan *Ap* copies in the Stein Collection.

4.2.1 Bundles of single-sutra rolls

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
<p>Vol. 118: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to thirty-eight. They are wrapped up together in thick paper, on which is written in blue pencil and large letters “Ch 73 x. [?] + 79 XIII” and “-5”; and below it, smaller and in black ink: “Ch. 73. x. 1-38” (see Figs 16a and 16b). On the back of this paper wrapper is written in red ink: “Ch 73.x. C.m.R.” and “[Contents <i>aparimitayurjñānam</i> Cm.R.]” (see Figs 16c and 16d). On a red-and-black sticker in the middle of the cover of the first booklet, in black pen: “Ch. 73.X.1-38, No. 310.” On a sticker on the spine, in black: “Ch.73.XVI, No. 310.” In blue: “64.” Pencil adds “1-64” to 73.XVI, also adds, “U.P. 30/4/97” (see Fig. 28). Site numbers in this bundle are written in faded red on verso of col. a (i.e. the booklet’s covers). They have been written again, adjacent, in pencil, probably after they faded.</p>											
73.X.1	1,1-4	1083	4	6 (no a, h)	19	A-	chos grub	ci keng	dam 'gi	ci keng	
73.X.2	2,1-3	1084	3	6	19	B	lha	ci shan	pug 'gi	dpal mchog	
73.X.3	3,1-4	1085	4	7 (no h)	19	B	dpal mchog	de'u ^'ing	dam ^'ing	de'u ^'ing	
73.X.4	4,1-3	1086	3	6	19	B	ser thong thong	li phab weng	he cing	[none] <i>sum zhuso</i>	
73.X.5	5,1-3	1087	3	6	19	B	dze'u tsheng tsh				
73.X.6	6,1-3	1088	3	6	19	B	wang rma snang	phab weng	leng pe'u	ci keng	
73.X.7	7,1-4	1089	4	8 (a blank)	19	A+	ser thong thong	li phab weng	heg ching	[none] <i>sum zhuso</i>	
73.X.8	8,1-3	1090	3	6	19	B	dze'u tsheng tsh				
73.X.9	9,1-4	1091	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	do khong legs				Square style, thick ink
73.X.10	10,1-3	1092	3	6	19	B	cang tsi dam				
73.X.11	11,1-4	1093	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	chos grub	phab ci	phab dzang	phab ci	
73.X.12	12,1-4	1094	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	chos grub	ci keng	dam 'gi	ci keng	See footnote ²³

²³ Scribe self corrects *chom ldan 'das* in final line.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
73.X.13	13,1-3	1095	3	6	19	B	ha stag lod				i. 19 blank on panel e
73.X.14	14,1-3	1096	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	jeg bzang	leng pe'u	ll phab weng	sgron ma	i. 20 blank on panel d ²⁴
73.X.15	15,1-3	1097	3	6	20	B	unsigned				
73.X.16	16,1-3	1098	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	phan phan	phab weng	leng pe'u	cl keng	na mo ^a mi ta phur in colophon
73.X.17	17,1-4	1099	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	^an phab dzang	dam 'gi	cl keng	dam 'gi	See footnote ²⁵
73.X.18	18,1-4	1100	4	7 (no h)	19	B	ser thong thong	ll phab weng	heg cing	[none] sum zhuso	na mo ^a mi ta phur in colophon
73.X.19	19,1-3	1101	3	6	19	B	cang stag lod	cl keng	dam 'gi	cl keng	After sum zhus: / gtan la phab /
73.X.20	20,1-3	1102	3	6	19	B	ha stag lod				
73.X.21	21,1-4	1103	4	7 (no h)	19	B	gtsug bzang	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	See footnote ²⁶
73.X.22	22,1-3	1104	3	6	19	B	^im lha bzher	leng pe'u	phab weng	cl keng	See footnote ²⁷
73.X.23	23,1-3	1105	3	5 (e 1.5 width)	20	B	jln lha	phab weng	leng pe'u	cl keng	
73.X.24	24,1-4	1106	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam zhan 'do	de'u ^ing	[none] yang zhus	[none] sum zhus	

²⁴ Scribal colophon: *jeg bzang bris// sangs rgyas dang / byang cub sems dpa' tham chad la phyag 'tshal lo//*.

²⁵ Scribe leaves 2.5–2.7 cm gap between left margin and all text on col. b (first column).

²⁶ Holes in lower portion of panels. Note card on top reads, “Ch.73.X.21” in black, repeated underneath in red. Then “a few Chinese words and [illegible].” There are twenty-nine characters of Chinese, including numbers, in two lines on verso of col. a, in two hands.

²⁷ Another name (or other writing) on the line below ^im lha bzher has been rubbed out such that the paper is very thin at that point.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
73.X.25	25,1-3	1107	3	6	19	B, B+	je'u hva 'do	leng pe'u	phab weng	ci keng	See footnote ²⁸
73.X.26	26,1-3	1108	3	6	19	B	unsigned	ci keng	dam 'gi	ci keng	
73.X.27	27,1-4	1109	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	chos ye shes				
73.X.28	28,1-3	1110	3	5 (e 1.5 width)	20	B	cang stag lod	leng pe'u	phab weng	ci keng	
73.X.29	29,1-4	1111	4	7 (no a)	19	B	chos kyj ye shes				See footnote ²⁹
73.X.30	30,1-4	1112	4	6	19	B	cang tsi dam				
73.X.31	31,1-4	1113	4	7 (no h)	19	B	'gi tig	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.X.32	32,1-4	1114	4	8 (h blank, 0.66 width)	19	B	wang stagu				
73.X.33	33,1-4	1115	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	ha stag lod				
73.X.34	34,1-4	1116	4	7 (no h)	19	B	dpal mchog	dge slong dam tseng	shin dar	ji keng	
73.X.35	35,1-4	1117	4	8	19	B	cang zhun zhun	[none] zhus so			See footnote ³⁰
73.X.36	36,1-4	1118	4	6 (no a)	19	B	leng 'ho be'u tshven	leng pe'u	phab weng	shin dar	0.5 width colophon on col. h
73.X.37	37,1-3	1119	3	6	19	B	wang legs britan	daM ^ing	de'u ^ing	[none] sum zhus	See footnote ³¹
73.X.38	38,1-3	1120	3	6	19	B	chos gyi ye shes				

²⁸ Paper is thin, fibers visible on surface. As with other works by this scribe, the first seven *dhāraṇīs* sometimes include *tad tya tha* and also occasionally omit *ta tha ga ta ya* (fifth *dhāraṇī* again); not corrected by editors here.

²⁹ Panels proceed a, bc, d, ef (single-col. half panel at front and in middle).

³⁰ Large *ha* at changeover on versos. It is pink, matches ink in the first colophon. Second colophon's ink is orange.

³¹ Scribe begins sutra: \$/:rgya gar skad du ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yur na ma ha <na> ya na su tra //.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scripte	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
<p>Vol. 113: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to sixty-four. Booklet numbers are written in pencil on the spines, with inverse booklet numbers on the verso of the final col., lower corner, upside-down, beginning "61" on booklet "3" (ITJ 310.972) and then proceeding in descending order until the end. Only the inverse numbers one through nine are struck through. A note card on top of the first booklet reads: "Ch.73.XV + 79.XIII⁵ 310." Below this, "Aparimitayur"; on the verso of the card, in pencil: "39 Rolls each roll in a section (Binder)." Site numbers are written in pencil in upper corner of verso of col. a (i.e. the booklet's covers), over faded red ink that provided the initial site number. The faded red site numbers are legible in places, and confirm that this is bundle 73.XVI, with serial site numbers.</p>											
73.XVI.1	1,1-3	970	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.2	2,1-3	971	3	6	19	A	mchims lha rton	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	See footnote ³²
73.XVI.3	3,1-3	972	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.4	4,1-3	973	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.5	5,1-3	974	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.6	6,1-3	975	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.7	7,1-3	976	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.8	8,1-3	977	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.9	9,1-3	978	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.10	10,1-3	979	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.11	11,1-3	980	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.12	12,1-3	981	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.13	13,1-3	982	3	6	19	A	mchims lha rton	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	Same hand as above

³² Strong signs of ink running out and then being refreshed throughout the text (ink only seems to last two or three syllables). On a red-and-white curator's sticker on the spine, in black: "ch 73.X.1-38, no. 310." This is crossed out in pencil, dated "30/4/97," initialled "UP."

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
73.XVI.14	14,1-3	983	3	6	19	A	snyal stag snya	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	Different hand
73.XVI.15	15,1-3	984	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.16	16,1-3	985	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.17	17,1-3	986	3	6	19	A	kho sma bye gro(s)	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	Different hand
73.XVI.18	18,1-3	987	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.19	19,1-3	988	3	6	19	A	kho sma bye gro(s)	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.20	20,1-3	989	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	dpa+l mchog
73.XVI.21	21,1-3	990	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.22	22,1-3	991	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.23	23,1-3	992	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang		
73.XVI.24	24,1-3	993	3	6	19	A	se thong pa				
73.XVI.25	25,1-3	994	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		See footnote ³³
73.XVI.26	26,1-3	995	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	See footnote ³⁴
73.XVI.27	27,1-3	996	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.28	28,1-3	997	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.29	29,1-3	998	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.30	30,1-3	999	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.31	31,1-3	1000	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.32	32,1-3	1001	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	

³³ On verso of col. a, perpendicular: *dbon zhang*: Verso of col. a, left hand side vertically, writing down to up reads: *dbon / shens pa tshé*.

³⁴ Many of these sutra copies attributed to Se thong pa in the colophon show the name to be written in a messier style than the rest of the sutra.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
73.XVI.33	33,1-3	1002	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.34	34,1-3	1003	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.35	35,1-3	1004	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.36	36,1-3	1005	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		
73.XVI.37	37,1-3	1006	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.38	38,1-3	1007	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.39	39,1-3	1008	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab cī	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.40	40,1-3	1009	3	6	21	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab cī	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.41	41,1-3	1010	3	6	20	A	se thong pa	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.42	42,1-3	1011	3	6	19	A	lho lha gzigis	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.43	43,1-3	1012	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.44	44,1-3	1013	3	6	19	B	legs rma	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	See footnote ³⁵
73.XVI.45	45,1-3	1014	3	6	19	B	legs rma	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.46	46,1-3	1015	3	6	19	B	jin lha bzhe+r	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.47	47,1-3	1016	3	6	19	B	legs rma	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.48	48,1-3	1017	3	6	19	B	cang legs rtsan	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	ci keng	See footnote ³⁶
73.XVI.49	49,1-3	1018	3	6	19	B	shin cheg	ban 'de phab cī	phab dzang	phab cī	
73.XVI.50	50,1-3	1019	3	6	18	B	leng ho be'u tshwen	de'u 'ing	dam 'ing	phab weng	
73.XVI.51	51,1-3	1020	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	heng je'u	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	dam 'gi	

³⁵ Long insertion of \$18, just after \$18, making paragraphs proceed \$15, \$17, \$18, \$18, \$20.

³⁶ Two Chinese characters at corner of verso of col. a.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
73.XVI.52	52,1-3	1021	3	6	19	B	leng ho be'u tshven	de'u ^ing	dam ^ing		
73.XVI.53	53,1-4	1022	3	6	19	B	leng pe'u	ci shan	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	
73.XVI.54	54,1-4	1023	4	7 (no a)	20	B, B+	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci		See footnote ³⁷
73.XVI.55	55,1-4	1024	4	7 (no h)	19	B	legs rma	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.56	56,1-4	1025	4	7 (h blank, 0.5 width)	19	B	bam rma bzher	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	chi keng	
73.XVI.57	57,1-4	1026	4	8	19	A+	cang shib tig	dge slong daM tsheng	leng ce'u	shIn dar	
73.XVI.58	58,1-4	1027	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
73.XVI.59	59,1-4	1028	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	ci sun	dam ^ing	de'u ^ing	dam ^ing	See footnote ³⁸
73.XVI.60	60,1-4	1029	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci king	
73.XVI.61	61,1-4	1030	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	bam zhan 'do	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
73.XVI.62	62,1-4	1031	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	bam thong thong	shes rab	dzeng the	ji ^in	
73.XVI.63	63,1-4	1032	4	8	19	B	legs rma	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
73.XVI.64	64,1-5	1033	5	10	19	B	bam thong thong	shes bar	dzeng the	ji ^in	See footnote ³⁹

³⁷ End of text is in a slack hand. Scribal and editorial colophons in single hand. Editorial colophon: *phab dzang dang phab ci zhus / /*. Scribe inserts *tad thya tha* in the middle of many *dhāraṇīs* throughout the sutra, occasionally omitting *ta tha ga ta* (e.g. third *dhāraṇī*, though not on fifth *dhāraṇī* as with Je'u hva 'do). Perhaps not the same as the Se thong pa whose copies are in a neater hand with type-A *dhāraṇīs*.

³⁸ Scribal colophon: *ci sun gyi bris so sva h'a /*.

³⁹ Col. a has beginning of text that was abandoned in first line; col. j is blank. Red-and-white curator's sticker, in middle of verso of final col., upside-down: "Ch.73.XVI, No. 310."

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
Vol. 103: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to fifty-one.											
78.III	1,1-4	523	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	bam thong thong	jī ^in	shes rab	dzeng the	See footnote ⁴⁰
78.III	2,1-4	524	4	7(a blank, no h)	19	B	lu tse shing	shes rab	jī ^in	dpal mchog	
78.III	3,1-4	525	4	7(a blank, no h)	19	B	lu tse shing	shes rab	jī ^in	dpal mchog	
78.III	4,1-4	526	4	6	19	A+	cang shib tig	dam ^ing	de'u ^ing	phab weng	Scribbles down middle of h verso
78.III	5,1-4	527	4	7(a blank, no h)	19	B	lu tshe hing	de'u ^ing	dam ^ing	phab weng	
78.III	6,1-3	528	3	6	20	B	myag le g.yu bzang				
78.III	7,1-4	529	4	7 (no h)	19	B	ser thong thong	li phab weng	heg ching	[none] <i>sum zhus</i>	
78.III	8,1-4	530	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	cang zhun tse	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	See footnote ⁴¹
78.III	9,1-4	531	4	7(a blank, no h)	19	B	lu tshe hing	dam ^eng	de'u ^eng	phab weng	
78.III	10,1-3	532	3	6	19	B	ser thong thong	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	
78.III	11,1-4	533	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	phan la brtan	od snang	dzeng the	phab dzang	
78.III	12,1-4	534	4	7 (no a)	19	B, B+	je'u hva 'do	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	See footnote ⁴²
78.III	13,1-4	535	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	phab ting	cl keng	

⁴⁰ A large circle appears before the *shad* in the colophon; double circles between *shads* in text.

⁴¹ In every instance of *rmying rje'i grong khyer*, the 'i is crossed out.

⁴² Scribe begins writing *tad ya tha* in the middle of the *dhāraṇī*, though not in the first instance. The opening *tad ya tha* in the first instance is corrected in red to *tyad thya tha* by writing over the black ink. Some later *tad ya tha* occurring in the middle of the *dhāraṇī* are crossed out in red ink, and some of these amended to *ta tha ga ta ya* (fifth and seventh *dhāraṇī*). These *tad ya tha* are only in the first half of the sutra copy: the tenth *dhāraṇī* forward revert to classic type B (see also IOL 310.72).

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.III	14,1-3	536	3	6	19	B	cang 'phan legs				See footnote ⁴³
78.III	15,1-4	537	4	8	19	B	cang zhun tshe	ci keng	dam 'gi	ci keng	
78.III	16,1-4	538	4	8 (a, h blank)	19	B	mgar klu mthong				
78.III	17,1-4	539	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	See footnote ⁴⁴
78.III	18,1-4	540	4	7 (no a)	19	A+	shIn dar	shIn dar	sgron ma	leng pe'u	
78.III	19,1-4	541	4	8	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ji keng	
78.III	20,1-4	542	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal gyI sgron ma	ci keng	
78.III	21,1-4	543	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	lu tse shing	shes rab	ji ^in	dpal chog	
78.III	22,1-4	544	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
78.III	23,1-3	545	3	6	19	B	lu tse shing	shes rab	ji ^in	dpa+l mchog	
78.III	24,1-4	546	4	8	19	B	cang zhun tshe	ci keng	dam 'gi	ci keng	
78.III	25,1-4	547	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	^im lha bzer	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	
78.III	26,1-3	548	3	6	19	B	cang jung jung	sgron ma	ci keng	leng pe'u	
78.III	27,1-4	549	4	8 (a blank)	20	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	See footnote ⁴⁵
78.III	28,1-4	550	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal gyI sgron ma	ji keng	
78.III	29,1-4	551	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	dge-slong leng pe'u	sgron ma	ji keng	

⁴³ After colophon: *dang zhu dang bar zhu sum zhu legs*.

⁴⁴ As in ITJ 310.534 and 310.72, *tad ya tha* occurs in the middle of some of the first seven *dhāraṇīs*, once omitting *ta tha ga taya* (fifth *dhāraṇī*, amended by editor in red ink).

⁴⁵ As in other works by this scribe (above), *tad ya tha* occurs in the middle of some of the *dhāraṇīs*, alongside omitting *ta tha ga ta ya*, amended by editor in red ink (again in fifth *dhāraṇī*, but also in penultimate, so this time throughout text).

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.III	30,1-4	552	4	7 (no h)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	See footnote ⁴⁶
78.III	31,1-4	553	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
78.III	32,1-4	554	4	7 (no h)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	Same as other copies by this scribe
78.III	33,1-4	555	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ji keng	
78.III	34,1-4	556	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	cang zhun tse	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	
78.III	35,1-4	557	4	8 (a blank)	19	A+	ser thong thong	dam 'gi			See footnote ⁴⁷
78.III	36,1-4	558	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	
78.III	37,1-4	559	4	7 (no h)	19	B	gtsug legs	leng pe'u	pab weng	shin dar	
78.III	38,1-4	560	4	8	19	B	chang zhun tshe	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	
78.III	39,1-4	561	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	Same as other copies by this scribe
78.III	40,1-4	562	4	8 (a blank)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	
78.III	41,1-3	563	3	6 (f blank)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	ci keng	dam 'gi	ci keng	
78.III	42,1-4	564	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	bam zhan 'do	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	
78.III	43,1-4	565	4	8 (h blank)	19	A+	jin lha bzher	leng pe'u	pab weng	shin dar	
78.III	44,1-4	566	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	

⁴⁶ As in other works by this scribe, *taḍ ya tha* occurs in middle of some *dhāraṇīs*, which also often omit *ta tha ga ta ya* (e.g. fifth *dhāraṇī*, though not amended). Some cases amended by editor in black ink (though less thoroughly than the red-ink editing above).

⁴⁷ Editorial colophon: *dam 'gi zhus ya+ng zhu ste sum zhus gtan la phab*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.III	45,1-4	567	4 7 (no a, h: colophon)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	Same as other copies by this scribe
78.III	46,1-3	568	3 6	19	B	ser thong thong	ci keng	dam 'gi	ci keng	
78.III	47,1-4	569	4 7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
78.III	48,1-4	570	4 7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ji keng	
78.III	49,1-4	571	4 7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
78.III	50,1-4	572	4 8 (a blank)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	
78.III	51,1-4	573	4 7 (no h)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	Same as other copies by this scribe
Vol. 104: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to thirty-eight.										
78.IV	1,1-4	574	4 7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
78.IV	2,1-4	575	4 7 (no a)	18	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	na mo ^a myi ta phur in colophon
78.IV	3,1-4	576	4 7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	na mo ^a myi ta phur in colophon
78.IV	4,1-4	577	4 7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ji keng	na mo ^a myi ta phur in colophon
78.IV	5,1-4	578	4 7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	na mo ^a myi ta phur in colophon
78.IV	6,1-4	579	4 7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	na mo ^a myi ta phur in colophon
78.IV	7,1-3	580	3 6	19	B	cang zhun tse	dge slong dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	
78.IV	8,1-3	581	3 6	19	B	lu tshe hing	dam ^ing	de u ^eng	phab weng	

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.IV	9,1-4	582	4	7 (ablanK, no h)	19	B	lu tshe hing	dam ^Ing	de'u ^Ing	weng	
78.IV	10,1-3	583	3	6	19	B	phan phan	leng pe'u	dpal kyI sgron ma	leng pe'u	
78.IV	11,1-3	584	3	6	19	B	wang klu legs				
78.IV	12,1-4	585	4	7 (no h)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	dam 'gI	ci keng	dam 'gI	
78.IV	13,1-4	586	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dge slong pab ting	ci keng	
78.IV	14,1-4	587	4	8	19	A+	lha snang	de'u ^Ing	dam ^Ing	phab wang	
78.IV	15,1-5	588	5	9 (no I)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	dam 'gI	ci keng	dam 'gI	See footnote ⁴⁸
78.IV	16,1-3	589	3	6	19	B	ser thong thong	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
78.IV	17,1-4	590	4	7 (ablanK, no h)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	dam 'gI	ci keng	dam 'gI	
78.IV	18,1-4	591	4	8	19	B	cang zhun tshe	ban de ci keng	dam 'gI	leng pe'u	
78.IV	19,1-4	592	4	7 (no h)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	dpal mchog	phug 'gI	phab dzang	See footnote ⁴⁹
78.IV	20,1-4	593	4	7 (no a)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	ci keng	dam 'gI	ci keng	
78.IV	21,1-4	594	4	7 (no h)	19	B	lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyI sgron ma	ci keng	See footnote ⁵⁰
78.IV	22,1-3	595	3	6	19	B	khang thig thig				
78.IV	23,1-4	596	4	7 (ablanK, no h)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	ci keng	dam 'gI	ci keng	See footnote ⁵¹
78.IV	24,1-4	597	4	7 (no h)	19	B	lu tshe hing	dam ^Ing	de'u ^Ing	phab weng	See footnote ⁵²

48 Editorial colophon ends *dam 'gi sum zhuiste gtan la phab bo//*.

49 Same as other works by this scribe, though less thoroughly edited here.

50 Lha legs should be Bam Lha legs by looks of script and association with editors (compare with ITJ 310.574).

51 Editorial colophon ends *ci keng sum zhuiste gtan la phab bo//*.

52 Col. a has false start to text (...a4 thos pa dus na /) then text begins again on col. b.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.IV	25,1-4	598	4	8	18	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma leng pe'u	jī keng sgron ma	leng pe'u ji geng	^om drawn in red after zhus
78.IV	26,1-4	599	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u de'u ^ing	sgron ma dam ^eng	ji geng daM ^ing	
78.IV	27,1-4	600	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	lu tshe hing	de'u ^ing dam 'gi	dam ^eng ci keng	leng pe'u phab weng	
78.IV	28,1-4	601	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	dam ^ing dam ^ing	de'u ^ing dpal kyi sgron ma	leng pe'u ji keng	
78.IV	29,1-4	602	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	lu tshe hing	leng pe'u leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma jī keng	sgron ma phab dzang	Same as other copies by this scribe
78.IV	30,1-4	603	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u phug 'gi	jī keng dpal mchog	sgron ma phab dzang	
78.IV	31,1-4	604	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u shes rab	jī ^in dam 'gi	dpal mchog ci keng	
78.IV	32,1-4	605	4	7 (no a)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	shes rab ci keng	jī ^in dam 'gi	dpal mchog ci keng	
78.IV	33,1-4	606	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	lu tse shing	ci keng dam 'gi	dam 'gi ci keng	dpal mchog dam 'gi	
78.IV	34,1-4	607	4	7 (no a)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	dam 'gi leng pe'u	ci keng dpal kyi sgron ma	dam 'gi ji keng	shig at end of colophon na mo ^a myi ta phur in colophon
78.IV	35,1-3	608	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	leng pe'u phug 'gi	dpal kyi sgron ma dpal mchog	ji keng leng pe'u	See footnote ⁵³ Verso of f: "site no. ch. 78.IV no. 310"
78.IV	36,1-4	609	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u dpal kyi sgron ma	dpal mchog jī keng	leng pe'u	
78.IV	1-4	610	4	7 (no a)	19	B	je'u hwa 'do	phug 'gi dpal kyi sgron ma	dpal mchog jī keng	leng pe'u	
78.IV	1-3	611	3	6	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	jī keng	leng pe'u	

⁵³ Not the same type of *dhāraṇī* as the above works with the same scribe's name in the colophon. Paper is rougher too, but the handwriting is similar. Only very light editing in red. This and the next copy have no roll numbers.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
Vol. 107: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to fifty-four.											
78.VIII	1,1-4	684	4	8	(a blank, h colophon)	19	B- 'bre lha bu	de'u ^'ing	[none]yang zhus	daM ^'ing	
78.VIII	2,1-4	685	4	7	(no h)	19	B wang rma snang	shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
78.VIII	3,1-4	686	4	7	(no a)	19	B stag snang				
78.VIII	4,1-4	687	4	7	(no a)	21	A+ cang r'gyal legs				
78.VIII	5,1-4	688	4	8	(a blank)	19	A+ ser thong thong	bam zhun tse	heg cing	heg cing	See footnote ⁵⁴
78.VIII	6,1-3	689	3	6		21	B sag chos grub	phab ci	phab dzang	phab ci	See footnote ⁵⁵
78.VIII	7,1-3	690	3	6		20	B cang ^'I tse				
78.VIII	8,1-4	691	4	7	(no a, h blank)	19	B lha lod	dam 'gI	ci keng	leng pe'u	
78.VIII	9,1-3	692	3	6		19	B lha lod	ci keng	leng pe'u	dam 'gI	
78.VIII	10,1-3	693	3	5	(a 1.5 width)	20	A+ so hva hva	shin dar	sgron ma	leng che'u	
78.VIII	11,1-4	694	4	7	(no a, h colophon)	19	B wang rma snang	dge long shin dar	leng ci'u	ci keng	
78.VIII	12,1-3	695	3	6		19	B lha lod	ci keng	leng pe'u	dam 'gI	
78.VIII	13,1-4	696	4	8	(a blank)	19	B stag ja brtsan	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
78.VIII	14,1-4	697	4	7	(no h)	19	A+ wang shun thong				See footnote ⁵⁶
78.VIII	15,1-3	698	3	6		20	A+ unsigned				

⁵⁴ Glue and scraps of previously attached panel on final margin.

⁵⁵ Glue and scraps of previously attached panel on final margin.

⁵⁶ Square writing, but not as impeccable as ITJ 310.280 and others; midline tslegs, /:.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.VIII	16,1-3	699	3	6	19	B	bzang kong	shin dar	sgron ma	leng ce'u	
78.VIII	17,1-4	700	4	8 (a blank)	19	A+	dvan hing dar	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mdhog	See footnote ⁵⁷
78.VIII	18,1-4	701	4	8	19	B	wang rma snang	dge slong shin dar	ci keng	leng ce'u	See footnote ⁵⁸
78.VIII	19,1-3	702	3	6	19	B	klu legs				See footnote ⁵⁹
78.VIII	20,1-4	703	4	7 (no a, h colophon)	19	B	chos grub	phab ci	phab dzang	phab ci	See footnote ⁶⁰
78.VIII	21,1-3	704	3	6	20	A	'go klu skyes				See footnote ⁶¹
78.VIII	22,1-4	705	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	lha lod	dam 'gi	ci keng		
78.VIII	23,1-4	706	4	7 (no h)	19	B	ser thong thong	dge long shin dar	ban 'de leng ce'u	ci keng	Double circles between <i>shads</i>
78.VIII	24,1-3	707	3	6	20	A	je'u hyen tse				See footnote ⁶²
78.VIII	25,1-3	708	3	6	20	B	jin legs kong				Final half-sheet 27.5 cm high
78.VIII	26,1-4	709	4	7 (no h)	19	A+	song gung legs				
78.VIII	27,1-3	710	3	6	19	B	klu legs				
78.VIII	28,1-4	711	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	phan la brtan				

⁵⁷ Evidence of writing (*shads*) on otherwise blank col. a from a previously attached sutra copy.

⁵⁸ Col. g is a quarter-width panel with editorial and scribal colophons at end.

⁵⁹ Different style of writing; similar to van Schaik's sutra style; with wide horizontal spacing.

⁶⁰ Beautiful writing, with orthography correct almost to Classical Tibetan standards, e.g. with respect to genitive and ergative. Very few *gi log*; still alternates aspiration, e.g. *the/te*.

⁶¹ Thin strip of paper on verso of final margin suggests that a previously extant following panel was cut off to make a single-sutra roll.

⁶² Scribe skips the first instance of the *dharanī*, eye-skip from b4 to b7 (*dri'am 'dri*).

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.VIII	29,1-3	712	3	6	19	B	stag lod				
78.VIII	30,1-3	713	3	6	19	B	wang rma snang	shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
78.VIII	31,1-3	714	3	6	19	B	bung stag snya				
78.VIII	32,1-4	715	4	7 (no a)	19	B	wang rma snang	shIn dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	See footnote ⁶³
78.VIII	33,1-4	716	4	7 (no h)	21	B	unsigned				Ugly square <i>dbu can</i> writing ⁶⁴
78.VIII	34,1-3	717	3	6	19	B	lha lod	dam 'gI	phab ting	ci keng	Newspaper print on glued margin of b
78.VIII	35,1-3	718	3	6	20	B	heng je'u				
78.VIII	36,1-3	719	3	6	20	B	khang tig tig				
78.VIII	37,1-3	720	3	6	19	B	cang snang legs	chos brtan	sgron ma	shIn dar	
78.VIII	38,1-4	721	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	hye'I keng	de'u ^'ing	de'u ^'eng	dam ^'eng	
78.VIII	39,1-3	722	3	6	19	A	wang hing tse				
78.VIII	40,1-3	723	3	6	19	B	ser thong thong	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
78.VIII	41,1-3	724	3	6	20	B	cang klu legs				
78.VIII	42,1-3	725	3	6	20	B	stag ra				
78.VIII	43,1-3	726	3	6	20	A+	song ^'ag tse				

⁶³ Glue and scraps of following panel on final margin.

⁶⁴ Looks like a first-year student's hand. Glue and scraps of preceding panel on first margin; also some evidence of writing across the margin (not from previous pressmark: different handwriting).

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.VIII	44,1-3	727	3	6	19	B	cang se'u hvan	chos brtan	sgron ma	leng che'u	See footnote ⁶⁵
78.VIII	45,1-3	728	3	6	19	B	lha lod	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	ci keng	
78.VIII	46,1-4	729	4	6 (no a, h)	18	B	lha lod	ci keng	leng pe'u	dam 'gi	
78.VIII	47,1-3	730	3	6	20	A+	wang rgyal legs				
78.VIII	48,1-3	731	3	6	19	A+	klu legs				
78.VIII	49,1-3	732	3	5 (e 1.5 width)	19	B	leng ho zhun tse	cang chos brtan	shin dar	leng che'u	28 cm high ⁶⁶
78.VIII	50,1-4	733	4	7 (no h)	21	A+	cang dge legs				
78.VIII	51,1-3	734	3	6	19	B	dze'u cang zhi	shin dar	sgron ma	leng che'u	
78.VIII	52,1-3	735	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	unsigned	phug 'gi	dpal mchog		See footnote ⁶⁷
78.VIII	53,1-3	736	3	6	19	B	shin chag	ci keng	dam 'gi	ci keng	
78.VIII	54,1-3	737	3	6	19	B	si dze yeng				

Vol. 108: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to sixty-three.

78.IX 1,1-4 738 4 8 19 B shes rab

78.IX 2,1-3 739 3 5 (a 1.5 width) 21 B jin lha bzher

78.IX 3,1-3 740 3 6 19 B stag ra

⁶⁵ Glue and scraps of following panel on final margin.

⁶⁶ Glue and scraps of paper from the following panel on final margin.

⁶⁷ Editor adds *tyad thya tha 'om* in red before first instance of *dharaṇī*. Two editorial colophons. First: *'phug gi zhus/ dpal mchog yang zhus*; second: *dpal mchog zhus*.

⁶⁸ First instance of *dharaṇī* amended in red to add *tad thya tha* before / *na mo* [...].

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.IX	4,1-3	741	3	6	20	B	hVA hva hva				
78.IX	5,1-3	742	3	6	19	B	'go klu zigs				
78.IX	6,1-4	743	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	shig 'gI tig	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
78.IX	7,1-3	744	3	6	20	B	khang tig tig				
78.IX	8,1-3	745	3	6	19	B	^im stag rma				
78.IX	9,1-3	746	3	6	19	A+	je'u brtan kong	phab dzang	phab cI	dpal mchog	
78.IX	10,1-3	747	3	6	20	B	wang rma snang				
78.IX	11,1-3	748	3	6	19	B	rubbed out	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	pab dzang	
78.IX	12,1-3	749	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B-	phan la brtan	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	pab dzang	
78.IX	13,1-4	750	4	6 (no a, h)	19	A+	shin dar	shIn dar	leng pe'u	ben ceng	
78.IX	14,1-3	751	3	6	19	B	^im stag rma				
78.IX	15,1-3	752	3	6	20	B	khang tig tig				
78.IX	16,1-3	753	3	6	20	B	cang yem tse				
78.IX	17,1-3	754	3	6	19	B	II stag snang				See footnote ⁶⁹
78.IX	18,1-4	755	4	7 (no a, h blank)	19	B	'bye mdo snang				
78.IX	19,1-3	756	3	6	20	B	phan phan				
78.IX	20,1-3	757	3	6	19	B	hVA hva hva				
78.IX	21,1-4	758	4	7 (no a)	19	B-	khang dpal mchog	de'u ^ing	de'u ['^ing?]	dam ^ing	
78.IX	22,1-3	759	3	6	19	B	unsigned				
78.IX	23,1-3	760	3	6	19	B	unsigned	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	Shorter height

69 Scribal colophon: <bye mdo sna bris so> // cang yem tse bris //.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.IX	24,1-3	761	3	6	20	B	jIn lha bzher				
78.IX	25,1-4	762	4	7 (no a)	19	A+	unsigned				See footnote ⁷⁰
78.IX	26,1-4	763	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	A+	hvan hing dar				See footnote ⁷¹
78.IX	27,1-3	764	3	6	20	B, B+	je'u hva 'do				
78.IX	28,1-3	765	3	6	20	B	phan phan				
78.IX	29,1-4	766	4	8 (a blank, 0.5 width)	19	B	unsigned				See footnote ⁷²
78.IX	30,1-4	767	4	8	19	B	stag legs	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	See footnote ⁷³
78.IX	31,1-3	768	3	6	20	B	phan la brtan				
78.IX	32,1-3	769	3	6	19	B	wang rma snang				
78.IX	33,1-3	770	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B-	unsigned	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	pab dzang	
78.IX	34,1-4	771	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	zhang rgyal bzang	phug 'gi			
78.IX	35,1-4	772	4	7 (no a)	19	A+	shIn dar	leng pe'u			See footnote ⁷⁴
78.IX	36,1-3	773	3	6	20	B	lI'u lha leg				
78.IX	37,1-4	774	4	7 (a blank, g tom)	19	B	n/a				See footnote ⁷⁵

⁷⁰ *tad dya tha* crossed out in red ink, in the middle of the second *dhāranī*, among other small corrections only in the first two panels. Unfinished editing job?

⁷¹ See above on first seven *dhāranīs* in edited works by the same scribe. Perhaps he is copying from an exemplar that contains these divergences.

⁷² After scribal colophon: *dang zhu bar zhu sum zhu tags/*.

⁷³ Editor (Phug 'gi?) adds ^{om} after *tad tya tha* at the beginning of the first *dhāranī*, in red ink.

⁷⁴ Editorial colophon: *leng pe'u zhus ben ceng gtan la bab zhuso//*.

⁷⁵ Col. g is torn such that colophon is missing. Panels proceed ab, cd, e, fg.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.IX	38,1-3	775	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	wang rma snang	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
78.IX	39,1-3	776	3	6	19	B	dpal kyl sgron ma	phab ting	dpal mchog	leng pe'u	
78.IX	40,1-5	777	5	9 (a blank, i colophon)	19	B	unsigned	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	See footnote ⁷⁶
78.IX	41,1-4	778	4	7 (no a)	19	B	ser thong thong	li phab weng	he jeng	[none] sum zhuso	
78.IX	42,1-4	779	4	8	19	B	stag legs	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	pab dzang	Large /ha on a verso
78.IX	43,1-3	780	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	19	B	unsigned	dpal mchog	phug 'gi		
78.IX	44,1-3	781	3	6	20	B, B+	je'u hva 'do				Same as other copies by this scribe
78.IX	45,1-3	782	3	6	20	B	gtsug bzang				See footnote ⁷⁷
78.IX	46,1-3	783	3	6	19	B	dam 'gi	dam ^'ing	de'u ^'ing	dam ^'ing	
78.IX	47,1-4	784	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ji keng	
78.IX	48,1-4	785	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	shig 'gi tig	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	pab dzang	See footnote ⁷⁸
78.IX	49,1-4	786	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	ser thong thong	li phab weng	he jing	[none] sum zhuso	
78.IX	50,1-3	787	3	6	19	B	^im stag rma				
78.IX	51,1-4	788	4	7 (no a)	19	B	dge srong he kong	dam ^'ing	de wu ^'ing	dam ^'ing	See footnote ⁷⁹
78.IX	52,1-3	789	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	21	B	jin lha bzher	dpal mchog	pab dzang	phug 'gi	

⁷⁶ Panels proceed ab, cd, ef, g, hi. Sutra begins \$/:/ <da tshē> rgya gar [...].

⁷⁷ Panel/bifolio two is coming detached, needs to be rebound to spine.

⁷⁸ Editor (Phug 'gi?) adds ^om after *taḍ tya tha* at the beginning of the first *dharanī*, in red ink.

⁷⁹ Name may be He kang (possible strikethrough of a *na ro*).

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.IX	53,1-3	790	3	6	19	B	phan phan				
78.IX	54,1-4	791	4	7 (no h)	19	B-	shes rab	de'u ^ing	dam ^ing	de'u ^ing	
78.IX	55,1-4	792	4	7 (no h)	19	B	li'u lha legs	leng ce'u	leng pe'u	shIn dar	
78.IX	56,1-4	793	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	unsigned	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
78.IX	57,1-3	794	3	6	20	B	cang yem tse				See footnote ⁸⁰
78.IX	58,1-3	795	3	6	19	B	^im stag rma				See footnote ⁸¹
78.IX	59,1-3	796	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	19	B	cang snang legs				
78.IX	60,1-4	797	4	8 (a blank, 0.5 width)	19	A+	dvan hing dar	shin dar	leng pe'u	leng ce'u	
78.IX	61,1-4	798	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	'gi tig	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	Scribe's name in faded dark red ink
78.IX	62,1-3	799	3	6	20	B	cang snang legs				Col. f. end title and colophon
78.IX	63,1-4	800	4	8 (h blank)	19	A+	phan legs				No end title

Vol. 109: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to fifty. On the cover of the first booklet, on a red-and-white curator's sticker mounted on brown paper, between site number and pressmark, is written in blue: "50."

78.X	1,1-4	801	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	cl keng	
78.X	2,1-3	802	3	6	19	B	ser thong thong				

⁸⁰ Scribal colophon: <bye mdo snang gi brIs so /> cang yem tse. Scribe's name struck through in the same manner as 310.753 (above, with three horizontal lines).

⁸¹ Scribal colophon: <him lha bzher bris /> cang snang legs gyi bris. Desultory horizontal strikethrough.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.X	3,1-3	803	3	6	19	B	jIn lha bzher	phab cI	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
78.X	4,1-3	804	3	6	20	B	heng je'u				
78.X	5,1-3	805	3	6	20	B	lu tse shing	shes rab	ji ^in	dpal mchog	
78.X	6,1-3	806	3	6	19	B	cang stag lod				
78.X	7,1-4	807	4	8 (a, h blank)	19	B	'bre lha bu	daM ^ing	de'u ^ing	dang man tshe	
78.X	8,1-3	808	3	6	19	B	unsigned				See footnote ⁸²
78.X	9,1-4	809	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	ldong nya	phab dzang	phab cI	dpal mchog	bag bag sos on column a
78.X	10,1-3	810	3	6	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyI sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
78.X	11,1-3	811	3	6	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
78.X	12,1-3	812	3	6	19	B	khang tig tig				
78.X	13,1-4	813	4	7 (no a)	19	B	phan phan	dpal gyI sgron ma	leng pe'u	ji keng	
78.X	14,1-4	814	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyI sgron ma	cI keng	
78.X	15,1-4	815	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	cang jung jung	phab dzang	phab cI	dpal mchog	
78.X	16,1-4	816	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyI sgron ma	cI keng	leng pe'u	
78.X	17,1-3	817	3	6	20	B	je'u hva 'do				
78.X	18,1-3	818	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	bam stag siebs	phab dzang	phab cI	dpal mchog	
78.X	19,1-4	819	4	8 (a, h blank)	19	B	dze'u hing tsin	phab weng	leng pe'u	shIn cig	
78.X	20,1-4	820	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	legs kong				See footnote ⁸³
78.X	21,1-3	821	3	6	19	B	ser thong thong	li phab weng	he jIn	[none] sum zhuso	

⁸² In lieu of colophon: *dang zhu dang bar zhu sum zhu lags*.

⁸³ After scribal colophon: *dang zhu dang bar zhu sum zhu lagso*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.X	22,1-4	822	4	6 (a 1.5 width, no f)	19	B	kvag sha sam	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzam	
78.X	23,1-4	823	4	7 (no a)	20	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	See footnote ⁸⁴
78.X	24,1-4	824	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
78.X	25,1-3	825	3	6	19	B	phan phan	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
78.X	26,1-3	826	3	6	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
78.X	27,1-3	827	3	5 (e 1.5 width)	20	B	de'u kong	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	Before colophon: <i>na mo bu sar</i>
78.X	28,1-3	828	3	6	20	B	stag ra				
78.X	29,1-3	829	3	6	20	B	jin legs kong				
78.X	30,1-3	830	3	6	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	leng pe'u	ci keng	Smudged black fingerprints on verso
78.X	31,1-3	831	3	6	19	B	wang legs brtan				
78.X	32,1-3	832	3	6	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	leng pe'u	ci keng	
78.X	33,1-3	833	3	6	19	B	legs kong				See footnote ⁸⁵
78.X	34,1-4	834	4	7 (no h)	19	B	phan phan	dpal ky/sgron ma	leng pe'u	ji keng	^ <i>a mi ta phur</i> preceding colophon ⁸⁶
78.X	35,1-4	835	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	brtan legs	dge slong daM tsheng	dge slong ban 'de shin dar	leng ce'u	

⁸⁴ Smudges and fingerprints in red and black ink on verso of final column.

⁸⁵ Before colophon: *dang zhu dang bar zhu sum zhu lags*.

⁸⁶ Large red ^om below editors' names.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes	
78.X	36,1-4	836	4	8	(a blank)	18	B	phan phan	dpal gyi sgron ma	leng pe'u	ji keng	
78.X	37,1-3	837	3	6		19	B	bzang kong				
78.X	38,1-3	838	3	6		19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	leng pe'u	ji keng	
78.X	39,1-3	839	3	6		19	B	sheg dam 'gi	dam ^'ing	de'u ^'ing	dam ^'ing	
78.X	40,1-3	840	3	5	(a 1.5 width)	19/	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	ci keng	See footnote ⁸⁷
78.X	41,1-3	841	3	5	(a 1.5 width)	19	B	heng je'u	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	ci keng	ji on upper right corner of col. a recto
78.X	42,1-3	842	3	6		19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	ci keng	leng pe'u	
78.X	43,1-4	843	4	7	(no a)	19	B	legs kong				See footnote ⁸⁸
78.X	44,1-4	844	4	7	(no h)	19	B	cang zhun tshe	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	See footnote ⁸⁹
78.X	45,1-3	845	3	6		19	B	^an dge brtan	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	Square style, midline tshegs, /:/
78.X	46,1-3	846	3	6		19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	leng pe'u	ci keng	
78.X	47,1-4	847	4	7	(no h)	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	ci keng	leng pe'u	
78.X	48,1-4	848	4	6	(no a, h)	19	B	ban 'de hye	dam ^'ing	[none] yang zhus	de'u ^'ing	

⁸⁷ First sheet is standard height (31 cm) and has 19 ll./ col., the rest are 29 cm high and 18 ll./ col.. First *dhāraṇī*: *tad ya tha/ ^om sa rba sang ska ra pa ri shud dhe/ dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sba ha/*. The rest are B+ with *taḍyathā* in middle, or B.

⁸⁸ Before scribal colophon: *dang zhu dang bar zhu sum zhu lags*.

⁸⁹ In scribal colophon, a rubbed-out name: <'bye mdo snang gi briso>. *Dhāraṇī* divided by *shads* into twelve sections.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
78.X	1-3	849	3	5	(a 1.5 width)	17	B	wang rma snang phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	See footnote ⁹⁰
78.X	1-5	850	5	8	15	B	leng ho pe'u tshven de'u ^ing	dam ^ing	phab weng	27.5 cm high ⁹¹	
Vol. 90: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to forty-six.											
86.I.1	1,1-4	15	4	8	(h blank)	19	B	brtan legs dge slong shin dar	dam tseng	leng ce'u	
86.I	2,1-3	16	3	6	19	B	phan phan dpal gyI sgron ma	leng pe'u	ci keng		
86.I	3,1-4	17	4	7	(f 0.5 width)	19	B	II brtan legs dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	See footnote ⁹²
86.I	4,1-4	18	4	7	(f 0.5 width)	19	B	leng ho be'u dzven de'u ^ing	dam ^ing	phab weng	
86.I	5,1-4	19	4	8	(h blank)	19	B	II brtan legs dge slong dam tsheng	shin dar	leng ce'u	
86.I	6,1-4	20	4	8	(a blank)	19	B	ldong nya phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
86.I	7,1-3	21	3	6	19	B	^an dge brtan phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog		
86.I	8,1-4	22	4	8	(h colophon)	19	B	brtan legs dge slong shin dar	phrul dkyI rtod pa	leng ce'u	
86.I	9,1-4	23	4	8	(h colophon)	19	B	brtan legs dge slong daM tsheng	shin dar	leng ce'u	
86.I	10,1-4	24	4	8	(h blank)	19	B	II brtan legs dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
86.I	11,1-4	25	4	8	(a blank)	19	B	II brtan legs shin dar	dam tseng	ce king	
86.I	12,1-4	26	4	8	(h blank)	19	B	bam stag bzang			

⁹⁰ 27 cm high; column widths: a: 33.5 cm; b: 24.5; c: 22; d: 23; e: 23.

⁹¹ Panels proceed ab, c, de, f, gh.

⁹² "46" in pencil by site number (indicating number of rolls in bundle).

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scripte	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.I	13,1-3	27	3	6 (f colophon)	20	B	yam lha sbyin				
86.I	14,1-3	28	3	6	19	B	dze'u hang tsin	phab weng	ci keng	leng pe'u	
86.I	15,1-4	29	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
86.I	16,1-4	30	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	II brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	dge slong leng ce'u	ban 'de ci keng	
86.I	17,1-4	31	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	II brtan legs	dge slong dam	dge slong ban 'de	ce keng	
								tsheng	le'u ceng		
86.I	18,1-3	32	3	6	19	B	khang tig tig				
86.I	19,1-3	33	3	6	19	B	dze'u cang zhi	leng ce'u	sgron ma	shIn dar	
86.I	20,1-4	34	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	II brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	dge slong dam	ce king	
									tsheng		
86.I	21,1-3	35	3	6	19	B	bzang kong				
86.I	22,1-3	36	3	6	19	B	cang snang legs				
86.I	23,1-3	37	3	6	20	B	jIn bzher				
86.I	24,1-3	38	3	6	19	B	cang klu legs				
86.I	25,1-4	39	4	8 (h colophon)	19	B	brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	dge slong dam	ce king	
									tsheng		
86.I	26,1-3	40	3	6	19	B	'bye mdo snang	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
86.I	27,1-4	41	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	dze'u hing tsin	leng pe'u	pab weng	ci keng	
86.I	28,1-3	42	3	6 (a blank, 0.5 width)	20	B	unsigned	dpal mchog	phug gi	phab dzang	
86.I	29,1-4	43	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	II brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	phruld kyir tod pa	leng tse'u	
86.I	30,1-4	44	4	8 (h colophon)	18	B	II brtan legs	dge slong dam	dge slong leng ce'u	ci keng	
								tsheng			

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes		
86.I	31,1-4	45	4	8	(h blank)	19	B	brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
86.I	32,1-4	46	4	8	(h colophon)	19	B	brtan legs	dge slong daM tsheng	dge slong leng ce'u	ci keng	See footnote ⁹³
86.I	33,1-4	47	4	7	(a 0.5 width)	19	B	bam kIm kang				
86.I	34,1-4	48	4	8	(a blank)	18	B	cang klu legs				
86.I	35,1-4	49	4	8	(h colophon)	19	B	brtan legs	dge slong shin dar	ban 'de dam 'tseng	leng ce'u	
86.I	36,1-4	50	4	8	(h colophon)	19	B	II brten legs	dge slong shin dar	dam 'tseng	leng ce'u	
86.I	37,1-3	51	3	6		19	B	ser thong thong				
86.I	38,1-4	52	4	8	(a blank)	19	B	dze'u hing tsin	leng pe'u	ci keng	pab weng	Col. h: colophon
86.I	39,1-3	53	3	6		19	B	'bye mdo snang	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
86.I	40,1-4	54	4	7	(g 0.5 width)	19	B	^an dge brtan	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
86.I	41,1-4	55	4	7	(g 0.5 width)	19	B	'phug 'gi	shin dar	sgron ma	leng ce'u	
86.I	42,1-4	56	4	7	(g 0.5 width)	19	B	leng ho pe'u tshven	dam ^ing	de'u ^ing	phab weng	
86.I	43,1-3	57	3	6		20	B	klu legs				
86.I	44,1-3	58	3	5	(a 1.5 width)	20	B	cang klu legs	leng ce'u	sgron ma	shIn dar	
86.I		59						[=HEART SUTRA, NO SCRIBE]				
86.I	46,1-3	60	3	5	(a 1.5 width)	21	B	ser thong thong				

⁹³ Second or third editor (names written in dark red ink) adds the same *dhāraṇī* B at the end, in dark red ink on col. h.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
Vol. 91: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to twenty-eight.											
86.III	1,1-4	61	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
86.III	2,1-3	62	3	6	19	B	heng je'u				
86.III	3,1-3	63	3	6	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	ci keng	leng pe'u	
86.III	4,1-4	64	4	8 (h colophon)	18	B	ll brten legs	dge slong shin dar tsheng	dge slong daM	ce king	
86.III	5,1-4	65	4	(no a, h)	19	B	chos grub	phab ci	phab dzang	phab ci	
86.III	6,1-4	66	4	7 (no a, h 0.5 width)	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
86.III	7,1-3	67	3	6	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	ci keng	leng pe'u	
86.III	8,1-3	68	3	6	19	B	dpal gyi sgron ma	leng pe'u	phab ting	dpal mchog	
86.III	9,1-4	69	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ci keng	
86.III	10,1-3	70	3	6	19	B	phan phan	dpal gyi sgron ma	leng pe'u	ci keng	
86.III	11,1-4	71	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
86.III	12,1-4	72	4	7 (no a)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	Same as other copies by this scribe
86.III	13,1-3	73	3	6	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
86.III	14,1-3	74	3	6	20	B	cang shib tig				
86.III	15,1-4	75	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	^an dge brtan	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
86.III	16,1-4	76	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
86.III	17,1-4	77	4	7 (no a)	19	B	cang zhun tse	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.III	18,1-3	78	3	6	20	B	mdo brtsan				See footnote ⁹⁴
86.III	19,1-4	79	4	7 (no h)	18	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	
86.III	20,1-3	80	3	6	18	B	lu tshe hing	dam ^Ing	de'u ^Ing	phab weng	
86.III	21,1-3	81	3	6	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	leng pe'u	ci keng	
86.III	22,1-4	82	4	8 (h blank)	18	B	phan phan	dpal gyi sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
86.III	23,1-3	83	3	6	20	B	dze'u cang zhi				
86.III	24,1-3	84	3	6	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
86.III	25,1-4	85	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ci keng	
86.III	26,1-3	86	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	cang shib tig	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
86.III	27,1-3	87	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	21	B	heng je'u	shin dar	ci keng	leng ce'u	
86.III	28,1-3	88	3	6	16	B	cang 'gi che 'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	

Vol. 92: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to forty-seven. In his catalogue, La Vallée Poussin (1962, 101) writes “86. VI. [and?] 86. VIa,” probably on account of some confusion about the last two rolls. The first forty-five proceed in sequence, but the last two are numbered rolls three and one. Of these last two, the first lists editors not found in any of the other rolls, and the last is of an irregular height and employs both the type A and type B *dhāraṇī*.

86.VI 1,1-3 89 3 6 19 B lha lod ci keng leng pe'u ci keng

86.VI 2,1-4 90 4 7 (no h) 19 B ban de deng dam shes rab shes rab dpal mchog phug 'gi

86.VI 3,1-4 91 4 8 (h blank) 19 B sag klu grigs dpal mchog phug 'gi chos kyi rje

86.VI 4,1-4 92 4 7 (no a) 19 B sag klu grigs dpal mchog phug 'gi ci shan

⁹⁴ First instance of *dhāraṇī* begins *tad thya tha ^om ./ na mo [...]*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes	
86.VI	5,1-4	93	4	7	(no a)	19	B	ban de deng dam ^ing	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	
86.VI	6,1-4	94	4	8	(a blank)	19	B	bam thong thong	shes rab			
86.VI	7,1-4	95	4	7	(no h)	19	B	ll chos gyi rgyan	shes rab	ji ^in	[none] suM zhus	See footnote ⁹⁵
86.VI	8,1-4	96	4	7	(no a)	19	B	ban de daM ^ing	shes rab	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	
86.VI	9,1-4	97	4	8	(h blank)	19	B	legs rma	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
86.VI	10,1-3	98	3	6		19	B	ser thong thong	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	Divides <i>dhraraji</i> into 12 sections
86.VI	11,1-4	99	4	8	(a blank)	19	B	cang stang ra	shes rab	dzeng the	ji ^in	
86.VI	12,1-3	100	3	6		19	B	ser thong thong	shin dar	ban 'de leng ce'u	ci keng	
86.VI	13,1-3	101	3	6		19	B	lha lod	dam 'gi	phab ting	ci keng	
86.VI	14,1-4	102	4	7	(no h)	19	B	cang stag ra	sgron ma	leng pe'u	ci keng	See footnote ⁹⁶
86.VI	15,1-3	103	3	6		20	B	stag ra				See footnote ⁹⁷
86.VI	16,1-3	104	3	6		19	B	lha lod	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	ci keng	
86.VI	17,1-3	105	3	6		19	B	lha lod	ci keng	leng pe'u	dam 'gi	
86.VI	18,1-4	106	4	8	(a blank)	19	B	sag klu grigs	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	ji ^in	See footnote ⁹⁸
86.VI	19,1-3	107	3	6		19	B	lha lod	dam 'gi	ci keng	ling pe'u	

95 Several subscribed suffixes at ends of lines.

96 Different (messier) hand from previous copy by Cang Stag ra.

97 Thick black ink splashes along base of paper.

98 Red ink bled on verso, probably an impression of five or six Tibetan words.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.VI	20,1-4	108	4	7 (no a)	19	B	ll chos gyi rgyan	shes rab	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	
86.VI	21,1-4	109	4	8	19	B	stag legs	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	
86.VI	22,1-4	110	4	7 (no h)	19	B	ser thong thong	shin dar	leng ce'u	ci ke<u>ng	
86.VI	23,1-3	111	3	6	19	B	dam 'gi	dam ^ing	de'u ^ing	dam ^ing	
86.VI	24,1-4	112	4	7 (no h)	19	B	ll chos gyi rgyan	shes rab	ci yin	phug 'gi	
86.VI	25,1-4	113	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	lha lod	ci keng	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	
86.VI	26,1-4	114	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	dge legs	phab dzang	phab ci	ben ceng	Uses double circles
86.VI	27,1-4	115	4	7 (no a)	19	B	dge slong dam tseng	shes rab	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	Hand turns very slack towards end of sutra ⁹⁹
86.VI	28,1-4	116	4	7 (no h)	19	B	ll chos gyi rgyan	shes rab	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	
86.VI	29,1-3	117	3	6	19	B	ci sun	ban 'de phab rtsi	phab dzang	phab ci	See footnote ¹⁰⁰
86.VI	30,1-4	118	4	8 (a 0.5 width)	19	B	wang rma snang	shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
86.VI	31,1-4	119	4	6 (no a, h)	18	B	cang lha lod	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	ci keng	
86.VI	32,1-3	120	3	6	19	B	wang rma snang				
86.VI	33,1-3	121	3	6	19	B	lha lod	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	ci keng	
86.VI	34,1-4	122	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	lha lod	dam 'gi	leng pe'u	ci keng	
86.VI	35,1-3	123	3	6	19	B	khang tig tig				
86.VI	36,1-4	124	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	sag klu gzigs	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	ci shan	
86.VI	37,1-3	125	3	6	20	B	jin legs kong				

⁹⁹ *Ta tha ga ta ya* inserted in first *dhāraṇī*.

¹⁰⁰ Editorial insertion at end of col. a, between ll. 18–19, then curving up the column gutter. Contains *dhāraṇī*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.VI	38,1-3	126	3	6	19	B	^an phab dzang	dam 'gi	ci keng	dam 'gi	See footnote ¹⁰¹
86.VI	39,1-4	127	4	8	19	A+	ser thong thong dar	dge slong shin	ci keng	leng ce'u	
86.VI	40,1-4	128	4	8 (h colophon)	18	B	sag klu gzigs	phug 'gi	ci shan		
86.VI	41,1-4	129	4	7 (no h)	19	B	lha lod	dam 'gi	ci keng	leng pe'u	
86.VI	42,1-3	130	3	6	19	B+	je'u hwa 'do				Smaller writing, fine ink. ¹⁰²
86.VI	43,1-4	131	4	8 (h colophon)	19	B	cang zhun zhun				See footnote ¹⁰³
86.VI	44,1-3	132	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	cang stag lod	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
86.VI	45,1-3	133	3	6	19	B	lha lod	ci keng	leng pe'u	dam 'gi	
86.VI	3,1-4	134	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	do lha sbyin	ban de dam yu	heng tsi		See footnote ¹⁰⁴
86.VI	1,1-3	135	3	6	18	B, B+, A, A+	cang yem tshé				26.5 cm high; possibly in 2 hands

¹⁰¹ Someone has written *te gtan la phab*, now in fainter red, perhaps in a different hand from final two editors' names.

¹⁰² Long descenders on *pa*, *ba*, and *ya*.

¹⁰³ Red *shad* inserted between two black *shads* in cols c and d. Large red-and-black *lha*, top left of verso, and twice more, marking panel changeovers. This is an exemplar copy: after scribal colophon: *zhus so yang zhus sum zhus lags// \$:/phug 'gi gyis dpe lags so//zhus*.

¹⁰⁴ This booklet has a red-and-white sticker that reads "86.VI" and "No. 310"; top right corner is numbered "46" for the booklet number, but inner margin roll numbers show "3." Faded red *shads* are inserted into the *dhāranī*, on every appearance: *na mo ba ga ba te/ ^a pa ri mi ta/ ^a yu gnyā na/ su bi ni shci ta/ ra dza ya/ ta thA ga tha ya/ ^om sa rba sang ska ra/ pa ri shud dha/ dhar ma te/ ma ha na ya/ pa ri ba re sva ha*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
<p>Vol. 95: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to fifty-five. On a red-and-white sticker in the middle of col. a, verso of the first booklet, ITJ 310.245: “80.X” crossed out for “86.X” (see Fig. 19). A second red-and-white sticker is mounted on brown paper on the spine. Above its first line is written in blue ink: “86x 2.” First line, in black ink: “Ch. 86.X” (blue ink adds “99”). Second line: “No. 310.” Between lines, in blue: “54”; then, trailing onto brown paper, in blue, but struck through also in blue: “but wrongly numbered two 2s” (see Fig. 21). The site numbers, which appear on the fronts of some booklets and on the backs of others, are discussed above in Chapter One (see also Figs 15a and 15b).</p>											
86.X	1,1-3	245	3	6	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	leng pe'u	ci keng	
86.X	2,1-4	246	4	7 (no h)	19	A+	cang shib tig	dge slong daM	shIn dar	leng pe'u	
							tsheng				
86.X	1,1-4	247	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	ll britan legs	dge slong daM	shn dar	leng ce'u	Earlier scribe's name rubbed out
								tsheng			
86.X	2,1-3	248	3	6	19	A+	dvan snang bzang	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	Square style script
86.X	3,1-4	249	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	phan phan	leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ci keng	
86.X	4,1-3	250	3	6	19	B	khang thig thig				
86.X	5,1-4	251	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	do lha sbyin	shin dar	leng ce'u	sgron ma	See footnote ¹⁰⁵
86.X	6,1-3	252	3	6	19	B	cang shib tig				
86.X	7,1-3	253	3	6	20	B	so hva				
86.X	8,1-4	254	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
86.X	9,1-3	255	3	6	19	B	do khong legs				See footnote ¹⁰⁶
86.X	10,1-3	256	3	6	19	B	leng ho be'u tshvon	dam ^ing	de'u ^ing	phab weng	

¹⁰⁵ Conservator's paper on first and final margins.

¹⁰⁶ After scribe's name, *cang lyaMs plo bris* is crossed out (see below ITJ 310.272, and ITJ 310.291). Cols a, c, and e are 20 cm; b, d, and f are 23 cm.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.X	11,1-3	257	3	6	19	B	jin legs kong				
86.X	12,1-4	258	4	7 (no h)	19	B	dpal kyi sgron ma	leng pe'u	sgron ma	leng pe'u	See footnote ¹⁰⁷
86.X	13,1-4	259	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	unsigned				See footnote ¹⁰⁸
86.X	14,1-4	260	4	7 (h blank, 0.5 width)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	Large /ha written on recto of (blank) a
86.X	15,1-3	261	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	19	B	kvag stag rtsan	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	phab dzang	
86.X	16,1-3	262	3	6	20	B	ser thong thong				
86.X	17,1-3	263	3	6	20	B	cang lha legs				
86.X	18,1-3	264	3	6	20	B	phan phan	dpal kyi sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	Black ink fingerprints on col. b verso
86.X	19,1-3	265	3	6	20	B	mdo brtsan				See footnote ¹⁰⁹
86.X	20,1-3	266	3	6	19	B	chos grub	phab ci	phab dzang	phab ci	See footnote ¹¹⁰
86.X	21,1-3	267	3	6	19	B	cang shib tig				
86.X	22,1-3	268	3	6	19	B	dze'u hing tsin	phab weng	ci keng	leng pe'u	
86.X	23,1-4	269	4	7 (no h)	20	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	dpal kyi sgron ma	ci keng	
86.X	24,1-3	270	3	6	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	ji keng	leng pe'u	
86.X	25,1-3	271	3	6	19	B	cang legs				Square style script

¹⁰⁷ First *dhāraṇī* ends with *ma ha na ya* (skips to *jam dpal [...]*).

¹⁰⁸ Scribe writes *dang zhu dang bar zhu sum zhu legs /*.

¹⁰⁹ First *dhāraṇī* adds *om* between *tadyathā* and *namo*.

¹¹⁰ Glue on first margin seems to have picked up newsprint (see Fig. 25).

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.X	26,1-3	272	3	6	20	B	cang yem tse				See footnote ¹¹¹
86.X	27,1-4	273	3	6	20	B	klu legs				
86.X	28,1-4	274	4	7 (no a)	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	See footnote ¹¹²
86.X	29,1-3	275	3	6	19	B	cang shib tig				
86.X	30,1-3	276	3	6	19	B	lu tse shing	shes rab	jī ^in	dpal mchog	
86.X	31,1-3	277	3	6	19	B	jīn lha bzhe+r	phab cī	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
86.X	32,1-3	278	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	cang stag lod	phab dzang	phab cī	dpal mchog	
86.X	33,1-4	279	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	stag la brtsan				See footnote ¹¹³
86.X	34,1-3	280	3	6	19	B, B+	je'u hwa 'do				See footnote ¹¹⁴
86.X	35,1-3	281	3	6	19	B	unsigned				
86.X	36,1-4	282	4	8 (a, h blank)	19	B	'bye mdo snang				Square style, midline tshegs, /:/
86.X	37,1-3	283	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	17	B	rma snang	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	phab dzang	
86.X	38,1-3	284	3	6	20	B	klu legs				
86.X	39,1-3	285	3	6	19	B	dpal gyī sgron ma	leng pe'u	sgron ma	leng pe'u	See footnote ¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Strikethrough in scribal colophon: *bye <n>klu legs bris so/* (perhaps the whole name is crossed out with an extremely fine line) *cang yem tse bris //.*

¹¹² Same pattern of first seven *dhāranīs* as in other edited copies by same scribe. Col. a pictured in Fig. 2.

¹¹³ First *dhāranī*: *tad dya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra pa ri shud de dar ma te ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sva ha/*. In colophon, scribe writes *dang zhu bar zhu sum zhu lags*. Newsprint bled into verso margin of col. b.

¹¹⁴ Midline *tshegs*, but not very square style. Same pattern of first seven *dhāranīs* as in other edited copies by same scribe.

¹¹⁵ Different size manuscript: 45.5 × 27 cm panels, 22.5 cm wide cols. Editorial colophon written vertically up right side of col. e due to space constraints.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.X	42,1-4	286	4	7	(no h)	19	B	^im 'phan la brtan	[none] zhus	phab dzang	Roll number should probably be 40
86.X	43,1-4	287	4	8	(h blank)	19	B	phan phan	dpal kyI sgron ma ci keng	leng pe'u	Roll number should probably be 41 ¹⁶ Square style; /: /
86.X	42,1-3	288	3	6		19	B	'go mdo rtsan			See footnote ¹⁷
86.X	43,1-4	289	4	7	(no h)	19	B	^an dge brtan	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog
86.X	44,1-3	290	3	6		19	B	jim legs kong	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog
86.X	45,1-3	291	3	6		19	B	do khong legs			
86.X	46,1-4	292	4	6	(no a, h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ji keng
86.X	47,1-4	293	4	7	(no h)	19	B	bam lha legs	leng pe'u	sgron ma	ji keng
86.X	48,1-3	294	3	6		19	B	lu tse shing	shes rab	dpa+l chog	
86.X	49,1-3	295	3	6		19	A+	shIn dar	shes rab	[none] surm zhus	See footnote ¹⁸
86.X	50,1-4	296	4	8	(a blank)	19	B	lu tse shing	shes rab	dpa+l chog	See footnote ¹⁹
86.X	51,1-3	297	3	6		20	B	stag ra			
86.X	52,1-4	298	4	7	(no a, h blank)	19	B	phan phan	sgron ma	leng pe'u	Big black ink blot on a16
86.X	53,1-3	299	3	6		20	B	unsigned			

¹¹⁶ Smudged fingerprints in black ink on verso.

¹¹⁷ The ductus of scribe's name does not resemble the rest of the text, and below it another name is rubbed out (*fxxxlu ry[xxx]?*), see ITJ 310.255 and ITJ 310.272 above.

¹¹⁸ Beautiful square and small script and midline *tshegs* (see Figs. 18a–c and Figs. 23a–g).

¹¹⁹ On verso of col. a, top right corner, *lha* written in fine/faded ink, 6 cm from head to foot, 2 cm wide.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
<p>Vol. 97: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to forty-eight. Pencil numbering on the spine governs volume numbering, 1–48. There is inverse numbering, upside-down on the lower right corner of verso of final column, also in pencil, and not crossed out. Written on a red-and-white sticker on the first booklet's cover is: "Ch. 86.XIV, No. 310" in black pen. "48" appears in blue pencil in between. Otherwise, site numbers are in black on versos of each roll, some near the start, most near the end of a roll.</p>										
86.XIV	1,1-3	329	3	6	20	B	wang klu legs			
86.XIV	2,1-4	330	4	7 (no h)	19	B	wang sta gu	phab dzang	phab cī	dpal mchog
86.XIV	3,1-4	331	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	ʼjim ʼphan la brtan	ʼod snang	dzeng the	phab dzang
86.XIV	4,1-3	332	3	6	19	B	so hva hva			
86.XIV	5,1-4	333	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	cang ʼi tse			
86.XIV	6,1-4	334	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	bam stag bzang			Large /ha written on col. a recto
86.XIV	7,1-3	335	3	6 (f colophon)	20	B	cang lha legs			
86.XIV	8,1-3	336	3	6	19	B	jim lha bzher			
86.XIV	9,1-3	337	3	6	19	B	stag lod			
86.XIV	10,1-4	338	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	do khong legs			See footnote ¹²⁰
86.XIV	11,1-3	339	3	6	20	B	ser thong thong			At bottom of verso of final column: <i>log</i>
86.XIV	12,1-3	340	3	6	19	B	je'u cang zhi			
86.XIV	13,1-3	341	3	6	20	B	so hva hva			
86.XIV	14,1-4	342	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	bam stag bzang			

¹²⁰ Name struck through in scribal colophon: < *cang ngur hur bros* >. Hand of sutra and colophon resembles that of PT 3850, also attributed to Do Khong legs.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scripte	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.XIV	15,1-3	343	3	6	19	B	ling ho zhun tse	he jing	plg gi'	li phab weng	
86.XIV	16,1-4	344	4	8	18	A+	je'u brtan kong	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
86.XIV	17,1-4	345	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam stag slebs	he jing	pug 'gi	he jing	
86.XIV	18,1-4	346	4	8 (h colophon)	19	A+	je'u brtan kong	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
86.XIV	19,1-4	347	4	8 (h colophon)	19	B	wang klu legs				
86.XIV	20,1-4	348	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam stag slebs				
86.XIV	21,1-3	349	3	6	20	B	phan phan				
86.XIV	22,1-3	350	3	6	19	B	cang snag legs				
86.XIV	23,1-3	351	3	6	19	B	leng ho zhun tse	dge srong he jing	shIn dar	ll phab weng	
86.XIV	24,1-3	352	3	6	19	B	je'u brtan kong	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
86.XIV	25,1-3	353	3	6	20	B	wang rma snang				
86.XIV	26,1-4	354	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	wang klu legs				
86.XIV	27,1-4	355	4	7 (no a)	19	B	unsigned				
86.XIV	28,1-4	356	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	bam stag bzang				
86.XIV	29,1-4	357	4	7 (no h)	19	B	bam kim kang				
86.XIV	30,1-3	358	3	6	20	B	phan phan				
86.XIV	31,1-3	359	3	6	19	B	heng je'u				
86.XIV	32,1-3	360	3	6	20	B	cang stag lod				
86.XIV	33,1-3	361	3	6	20	B	wang rma snang				
86.XIV	34,1-4	362	4	7 (no a)	19	B	bam kim kang				

See footnote¹²¹

¹²¹ This may be the first of the two Dunhuang manuscripts used by Konow; its final col. has seven lines before the end title and colophon.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scripte	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.XIV	35,1-3	363	3	6	20	B	ser thong thong				
86.XIV	36,1-3	364	3	6	20	B	wang rma snang				
86.XIV	37,1-3	365	3	6	20	B	khang kog khen				
86.XIV	38,1-3	366	3	6	20	B	wang rma snang				
86.XIV	39,1-3	367	3	6	19	B	je'u [^] ing tse	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	See footnote ¹²²
86.XIV	40,1-4	368	4	7 (no h)	19	B	unsigned				
86.XIV	41,1-3	369	3	6	19	B	heng je'u				
86.XIV	42,1-3	370	3	6	19	B	dam tshong	dge slong dam tseng	shin dar	ci keng	
86.XIV	43,1-3	371	3	6	20	B	stag slebs				
86.XIV	44,1-4	372	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	bam kim kang				
86.XIV	45,1-4	373	4	8 (a blank)	19	A+	je'u brtan kong	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	
86.XIV	46,1-4	374	4	7 (no h)	19	B	khang tig tlig				
86.XIV	47,1-3	375	3	6 (f colophon)	20	B	cang snang legs				
86.XIV	48,1-3	376	3	6	20	B	phan phan				See footnote ¹²³

Vol. 98: the booklets are numbered one to forty-two. The last four booklets in this volume, with roll numbers eleven through fourteen, are from bundle 87.XIII and are therefore documented below in the “Other copies and fragments” section. These four copies have booklet numbers 39–42 from their inclusion here, but they also have struck-through booklet numbers 1–4, presumably from their previous inclusion with other copies from bundle 87.XIII. Returning to the

¹²² In lieu of colophon: *dang zhu dang bar zhu sum zhu lags*.

¹²³ Red-and-white sticker on the back, upside-down, with black pen: “86.XIV, No. 310.”

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
booklets in this volume, the first four have booklet numbers in pencil on their spines. Booklet numbers are also found in the top right corners, with the latter struck through only in these first four booklets. Site numbers are in black pen on the verso of col. a (i.e. the booklet's covers).										
86.XV	1,1-3	377	3	6	19	B	ling ho hing je'u			See footnote ¹²⁴
86.XV	2,1-4	378	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	cang stag lod	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	phab dzang
86.XV	3,1-4	379	4	7 (no a)	19	A+	ldang cang / lha snang	de'u ^ing	ci keng	dam ^ing
86.XV	4,1-4	380	4	8 (a, h blank)	19	B	^an btsan zigs			See footnote ¹²⁷
86.XV	5,1-4	381	4	7 (no h)	19	B	ngo brom	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	phab dzang
							khyung kong			See footnote ¹²⁸
86.XV	6,1-4	382	4	7 (no h)	19	B	khang 'go 'go	shin dar	ci keng	leng pe'u
86.XV	7,1-4	383	4	8 (h colophon)	19	B	cang stag lod	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang
86.XV	8,1-3	384	3	6	19	B	stag ra			
86.XV	9,1-4	385	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	wang rma snang	dge slong khan	leng ce'u	ci keng
								po shin dar		
86.XV	10,1-4	386	4	7 (no h)	19	B	^an btsan zigs			

¹²⁴ The struck through number on this booklet is "4."

¹²⁵ Editors' names written in bottom margin under g19. Struck through booklet number, top right verso of column a: "3."

¹²⁶ Struck through booklet number, top right verso of col. a: "2." Scribal colophon: *ldang cang / lha snang bris* // Scribal hand resembles that of PT 3671, which is attributed to Lha snang (no attributions to Ldang cang, but Lha snang's family name may be Cang; cf. PT 3899).

¹²⁷ Two red-and-white stickers on verso of col. a. On spine, perpendicular: "Ch.86.XV, No. 310" in black ink. Between these two lines, in blue: "38." In middle of paper a similar sticker says "86.XV, No. 310." Struck through booklet number, top right verso of col. a: "2."

¹²⁸ On verso of col. a: large *lha* in upper right corner.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.XV	11,1-4	387	4	8 (a blank, h colophon)	19	B	wang rma snang	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	cl keng	
86.XV	12,1-4	388	4	(h blank)	19	B	do khong legs	leng pe'u			Col. g: colophon, ^om
86.XV	13,1-4	389	4	7 (no h)	19	B	cang stag lod	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	pab dzang	
86.XV	14,1-4	390	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	gtsug legs	he jing	ll phab weng	dam 'gi	
86.XV	15,1-4	391	4	7 (no h)	19	B	cang stag lod	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
86.XV	16,1-3	392	3	6	19	B	cang tsi dam	leng pe'u			
86.XV	17,1-4	393	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	cang stag lod	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
86.XV	18,1-6	394	3	6	19	A+	lha lod x2				
86.XV	19,1-3	395	3	6	19	B	cang jung jung	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
86.XV	20,1-5	396	5	8	19	B	cang stag lod	dpal mchog	dge legs	pab dzang	Panels proceed ab, cd, e, fg, h
86.XV	21,1-4	397	4	6 (no a, h)	19	B	stag [lod?]	dpal mchog	phu[g 'gi?]	phab dzang	
86.XV	22,1-4	398	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	ngo brom khyung kong	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	
86.XV	23,1-3	399	3	6	19	B	^im lha bzher				
86.XV	24,1-4	400	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	ngo brom khyung kong	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	See footnote ¹²⁹

¹²⁹ On verso of col. a: large *lha* in upper right corner.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P	Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
86.XV	25,1-4	401	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	ngo brom khyung kong	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	See footnote ¹³⁰
86.XV	26,1-3	402	3	6	19	B	cang lha legs	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
86.XV	27,1-4	403	4	7 (no h)	19	B	cang stag ra	leng pe'u	ci keng	sgron ma	
86.XV	28,1-4	404	4	7 (no h)	19	B	cang stag ra	sgron ma	ci keng	leng pe'u	
86.XV	29,1-4	405	4	7 (no a)	19	B	wang rma snang	shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
86.XV	30,1-4	406	4	7 (no a)	19	B	^an btsan zigs				
86.XV	31,1-4	407	4	7 (a blank, no h)	19	B	wang rma snang	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
86.XV	32,1-3	408	3	6	20	B	cang lha legs	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	phab dzang	
86.XV	33,1-3	409	3	6	19	B	ser thong thong	dge slong shin dar	leng ce'u	ci keng	
86.XV	34,1-4	410	4	7 (no a)	19	B-	^an btsan zigs				
86.XV	35,1-4	411	4	8 (a blank)	19	B	cang stag lod	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
86.XV	36,1-4	412	4	7 (no h)	19	B	chos gyi ye shes	phab weng			
86.XV	37,1-4	413	4	7 (no h)	19	B	cang stag lod	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phab dzang	
86.XV	38,1-3	414	3	6	19	B	ling ho hing je'u				

¹³⁰ On verso of col. a: large *lha* in upper right corner.

4.2.2 Mixed bundles

Our documentation of the thirteen mixed bundles pays a bit more attention to notes and circumstances relevant to binding. As described in Chapter One, La Vallée Poussin penciled a number on the verso of the front of each multiple-sutra roll to indicate how many copies of the sutra it contained. These numbers are now found on the cover of the first booklet made from such a roll, but of course they are not present on the subsequent booklets made from the same roll. We omit these numbers in our documentation, but they may be taken for granted.

There are only four edited copies among these bundles, and their explicits, colophons, and corrections are noted in Chapter Five.

As noted in Chapter One, the binders often split a sutra copy into two parts, binding a three-sutra roll into one booklet with 1.33 copies and into a second booklet with 1.66. In recording the names of scribes, we begin our record of the second colophon in such cases with “cont.” This advertises that the booklet is a continuation of the sutra copy bound in the booklet with the previous pressmark. Where a booklet contains two copies signed by the same scribe – or with the same scribe’s name in the colophon – we have usually recorded this as, e.g. “jin lha bzher x2.” In cases of significant orthographic variation between the same names in the same booklet, e.g. “weng yir; wang yer,” we have recorded this.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
Vol. 117: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to thirty-eight. Each booklet bears a struck-through number, written in pencil on the top right, onto the verso of col. a (i.e. each booklet's cover). These are all one number higher than the number, also written in pencil, along the spine in the upper left corner of the booklet. The exception is the final booklet, which has "38" on the spine and "1" on the verso of booklet.								
73.IX.1	1,1-3	1045	3	6	19	B	dpal kyI sgron ma	Exemplar copy ¹³¹
73.IX.2	2,1-4	1046	4	6 (no a, h)	19	A+	shIn dar	Exemplar copy ¹³²
73.IX.3	3,1-3	1047	3	6	20	A+	je'u hva 'do	
73.IX.4	4,1-6	1048	3	6	19	A+	1: unsigned; 2: lu dze shing	Sutras in same hand
73.IX.5	5,1-6	1049	3	6	19	A	snyal kha ba skyes x2	
73.IX.6	6,1-6	1050	3	6	20	A+	cang weng yir x2	See footnote ¹³³
73.IX.7	7,1-6	1051	3	6	19	A+	1: wang hva tshé; 2: unsigned	Sutras in same hand; colophon in slack hand ¹³⁴
73.IX.8	8,1-4	1052	3	6	19	A+	cang shib tig	
73.IX.8	8,5-9	1053	3	6	19	A+	cont: cang shIb tig x2	
73.IX.9	9,1-4	1054	3	6	19	A+	weng yer	
73.IX.9	9,5-9	1055	3	6	19	A, A+	cont: weng yir; 2: wang yer	
73.IX.10	10,1-4	1056	3	6	19	A+	cang weng yir	
73.IX.10	10,5-9	1057	3	6	19	A+	cont: cang weng yir x2	

131 Colophon: *dpal kyI sgron ma brIs/ijI keng zhus/* (red <) *sgron ma yang zhus leng pe'u suM zhuSte lIag chad bcos nas gtan phab bo//* (> red). See also Chapter Five.

132 Colophon: *shIn dar gIs brIso//* (red <) *sgron ma zhus/ ben cer yang zhus leng pe'u suM zhus//* (> red). See also Chapter Five.

133 Second Ap copy has squeezed seven lines into the space for four at the bottom of col. f.

134 After first colophon: *na mo a myi ta phur /*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.IX.11	11,1-6	1058	3	6	19	A+	yem lha sbyin x2	First and last panels 30 cm; others 31,5 ¹³⁵
73.IX.11	11,7-12	1059	3	6	19	A+	yam lha sbyin X 2	See footnote ¹³⁶
73.IX.12	12,1-6	1060	3	6	20	A	gu rlb lha lung brtsan x2	
73.IX.12	12,7-12	1061	3	6	20	A	gu rib lha lung brtsan x2	
73.IX.13	13,1-6	1062	3	6	19	A+	je'u hva 'do x2	
73.IX.13	13,7-12	1063	3	6	19	A+	1: unsigned; 2: je'u hva 'do	Same hand
73.IX.14	14,1-4	1064	3	6	19	A	'go gyu len	
73.IX.14	14,5-10	1065	3	6	19	A	cont: 'go gyu len x2	
73.IX.14	14,11-15	1066	3	6	19	A	cont: 'go gyu len x2	
73.IX.15	15,1-4	1067	3	6	19	A	'go gyu len	Chinese characters in middle of final margin, verso
73.IX.15	15,5-10	1068	3	6	19	A	cont: 'go gyu len x2	Chinese characters in middle of margin at end of cont, verso
73.IX.15	15,11-15	1069	3	6	19	A	cont: 'go gyu len x2	
73.IX.16	16,1-4	1070	3	6	19	A+	cang shib tig	
73.IX.16	16,5-10	1071	3	6	19	A+	cont: cang shlb tig x2	
73.IX.16	16,11-15	1072	3	6	19	A+	cont: unsigned; 2: cang shib tig	Same hand
73.IX.17	17,1-6	1073	3	6	20	A	gu rlb lha lung brtsan x2	
73.IX.17	17,7-12	1074	3	6	20	A	1: gu rib lha lung brtsan; 2: gu rlb lha lung brtsan	

¹³⁵ For both sutra copies, the first *dhāraṇī* goes *tad thiya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra* [...] (never corrects itself). Others are type A.

¹³⁶ Copy 1: first *dhāraṇī* as in previous two copies; copy 2: scribe writes *sa*, corrects it by writing *na mo* over it.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.IX.17	17,13-18	1075	3	6	20	A	gu rib lha lung brtsan x2	
73.IX.18	18,1-6	1076	3	6	20	A+	khang kog ken x2	
73.IX.18	18,7-12	1077	3	6	20	A+	khang kog ken x2	
73.IX.18	18,13-18	1078	3	6	20	A+	khang kog ken x2	
73.IX.19	19,1-6	1079	3	6	20	A	gu rib lha lung brtsan x2	
73.IX.19	19,7-12	1080	3	6	20	A	gu rib lha lung brtsan x2	
73.IX.19	19,13-18	1081	3	6	20	A	gu rġb lha lung brtsan x2	See footnote ¹³⁷
73.IX.19	19,19-24	1082	3	6	20	A	gu rġb lha lung brtsan x2	See footnote ¹³⁸

73.XI.1	1,1-3	1121	3	6	19	A+	cang tsi dam	See footnote ¹³⁹
73.XI.2	2,1-3	1122	3	6	22	A+	cang tsġ dam	
73.XI.3	3,1-3	1123	3	6	19	A+	leng ho zhun tse	See footnote ¹⁴⁰
73.XI.4	4,1-3	1124	3	6	19	A+	stag brtan	
73.XI.5	5,1-3	1125	3	6	21	A+	stag brtan	

Vol. 119: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to seventy-nine. On the back covers of booklets, in the corner, booklets are numbered backwards, “79” to “1.” Faded red serial site numbers are written perpendicular on many of the booklets’ front covers, or on some back covers (see Fig. 13). Adjacent, this is also given in pencil. On a red-and-white sticker mounted on brown paper, is written in pen: “Ch.73.XI, No. 310.” Between these two lines, in pencil: “28.” Next to them, in blue pen: “+73XV.” Below, on brown mounting paper, in black pen: “+73.XIII, 73.XV.”

73.XI.1 1,1-3 1121 3 6 19 A+ cang tsi dam See footnote¹³⁹

73.XI.2 2,1-3 1122 3 6 22 A+ cang tsġ dam

73.XI.3 3,1-3 1123 3 6 19 A+ leng ho zhun tse See footnote¹⁴⁰

73.XI.4 4,1-3 1124 3 6 19 A+ stag brtan

73.XI.5 5,1-3 1125 3 6 21 A+ stag brtan

¹³⁷ All of these copies attributed to Gu rib are in the same hand, and match that of PT 3516, 3653, and 3755.

¹³⁸ In pencil on corner, “1” is crossed out. Two red-and-white stickers on back of booklet both say “Ch. 73.IX.1-19.”

¹³⁹ Another scribe’s name is rubbed out, barely legible: *b[tsa]h bzhe+r gyis bris//*

¹⁴⁰ The first *dhārāṇī* goes *tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra* [...] (never corrects itself). Others are type A.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.XI.6	6,1-3	1126	3	6	19	A+	stag britan	
73.XI.7	7,1-3	1127	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	
73.XI.8	8,1-3	1128	3	6	19	A+	cang ^1 tse	
73.XI.9	9,1-3	1129	3	6	21	A+	stag britan	Two faint Chinese characters on final margin, verso
73.XI.10	10,1-3	1130	3	6	20	A+	lu tshe hing	
73.XI.11	11,1-3	1131	3	6	19	A+	stag britan	
73.XI.12	12,1-3	1132	3	6	21, 22	B	stag slebs	
73.XI.13	13,1-3	1133	3	6	19	A+	bdag	ab, ef: 22 lines; cd: 21 lines Colophon: 'di ni bdag gis bris
73.XI.14	14,1-3	1134	3	6	19	A	stag lod	In pencil, perpendicular, booklet's front "2"
73.XI.14	14,4-6	1135	3	6	19	A	cang stag lod	In pencil, perpendicular, booklet's front "2."
73.XI.15	15,1-3	1136	3	6	20	Bx*	stag slebs	Scribe skips first <i>dhāraṇī</i>
73.XI.15	15,4-6	1137	3	6	20	B	stag slebs	
none	"15+", 1-3	1138	3	6	19	A	'go gyu len	This roll may be from bundle 73.XV
none	"15+", 4-6	1139	3	6	19	A	unsigned	Same hand as previous
73.XI.16	16,1-3	1140	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	
73.XI.16	16,4-6	1141	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	
73.XI.16	16,7-9	1142	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	
73.XI.17	17,1-3	1143	3	6	20	B	stag slebs	
73.XI.17	17,4-6	1144	3	6	20	B	ha stag slebs	
73.XI.17	17,7-9	1145	3	6	20	B	ha stag slebs	
73.XI.18	18,1-3	1146	3	6	19	A+	leng ho zhun tse	

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.XI.18	18,4-6	1147	3	6	19	A+*	leng ho zhun tse	See footnote ¹⁴¹
73.XI.18	18,7-9	1148	3	6	19	A+	leng ho zhun tse	
73.XI.19	19,1-3	1149	3	6	19	A+	cang stag lod	
73.XI.19	19,4-6	1150	3	6	19	A+	cang stag lod	
73.XI.19	19,7-9	1151	3	6	19	A	cang stag lod	
73.XI.20	20,1-3	1152	3	6	20	A+	cang snang legs	
73.XI.20	20,4-6	1153	3	6	20	A+	cang snang legs	
73.XI.20	20,7-9	1154	3	6	20	A+	cang snang legs	
73.XI.20	20,10-12	1155	3	6	20	A+	cang snang legs	
73.XI.21	21,1-3	1156	3	6	19	A+	'go le'u le'u	
73.XI.21	21,4-6	1157	3	6	19	A+	'go le'u le'u	
73.XI.21	21,7-9	1158	3	6	19	A+	'go le'u le'u	
73.XI.21	21,10-12	1159	3	6	19	A+	'go le'u le'u	
73.XI.22	22,1-3	1160	3	6	20	A	se'u hvan	See footnote ¹⁴²
73.XI.22	22,4-6	1161	3	6	20	A	se'u hvan	
73.XI.22	22,7-9	1162	3	6	20	A	se'u hvan	
73.XI.22	22,10-12	1163	3	6	20	A	se'u hvan	
73.XI.22	22,13-15	1164	3	6	20	A	se'u hvan	
73.XI.23	23,1-3	1165	3	6	20	A+	hva hva hva	

¹⁴¹ The first *dhāraṇī* goes *tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra [...]* (never corrects itself). Others are type A.

¹⁴² On top of this booklet is a loose slip of white paper with a note in red: "5 copies each", and in pencil: "22-27." Possibly intended for the bindery.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.XI.23	23,4-6	1166	3	6	20	A+	hVA hva hva	
73.XI.23	23,7-9	1167	3	6	20	A+	hVA hva hva	See footnote ¹⁴³
73.XI.23	23,10-12	1168	3	6	20	A+	hVA hva hva	
73.XI.23	23,13-15	1169	3	6	20	A+	hVA hva hva	
73.XI.24	24,1-3	1170	3	6	19,20,21	A+*	bzang kong	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> consistently wrong ¹⁴⁴
73.XI.24	24,4-6	1171	3	6	19	A+*	jeg bzang kong	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> as above ¹⁴⁵
73.XI.24	24,7-9	1172	3	6	19	A+*	jeg bzang kong	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> , size and layout as immediately above
73.XI.24	24,10-12	1173	3	6	19	A+*	jeg bzang kong	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> , size and layout as immediately above
73.XI.24	24,13-15	1174	3	6	19	A+*	jeg bzang kong	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> , size and layout as immediately above
73.XI.25	25,1-3	1175	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Right cols: 23 cm; left: 19
73.XI.25	25,4-6	1176	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Cols as immediately above
73.XI.25	25,7-9	1177	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Cols as immediately above
73.XI.25	25,10-12	1178	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Cols as immediately above
73.XI.25	25,13-15	1179	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Cols as immediately above
73.XI.26	26,1-3	1180	3	6	19	A+	cang tsi dam	

¹⁴³ Sutra begins: \$/ <rgya gar skad du ^a pa rī mi ta ^ yur nya na su bi ni sci ta ra dza ya ta tha ga ta ya tad thya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra pa ri shud dha/ dhar ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te sha bha ba bi shud de ma ha na ya pa rī ba re sva hA/ >.

¹⁴⁴ The *dhāraṇī* consistently reverses *tathāgataya* and *tadyathā ^om*. The first *dhāraṇī* is, for example: *tad dya tha na mo ba ga ba te/ ^a pa rī mi ta/ ^a yu gya' na / su bi ni sci ta/ ra dza ya/ tad dya tha ^om/ ta tha ga ta ya/ ^om sa rba sang ska ra/ pa rī shud dha/ dar ma te/ ga ga na sa mu dga te/ sva ba ba bi shud de/ ma ha na ya/ pa rī bare sva hA/* Right hand cols (b, d, f) narrower than left cols (16.5 : 22.5). Paper is slightly short at 30 cm high. Lines per col.: ab: 21; cd: 20; ef: 19.

¹⁴⁵ Uses three-quarter-width panels: panel one is 30 cm; thereafter 31.5 cm. Right-hand cols (b, d, f) narrower than left cols (16.5 : 22.5). Height 30 cm.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.XI.26	26,4-6	1181	3	6	19	A+*	cang tsi dam	See footnote ¹⁴⁶
73.XI.26	26,7-9	1182	3	6	19	A+	cang tsi dam	
73.XI.26	26,10-12	1183	3	6	19	A+	cang tsi dam	
73.XI.26	26,13-15	1184	3	6	19	A+	cang tsi dam	
73.XI.27	27,1-3	1185	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Right cols: 22.5 cm; left: 19.5
73.XI.27	27,4-6	1186	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Right cols: 22 cm; left: 20
73.XI.27	27,7-9	1187	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Even cols. Three Chinese characters in first margin, verso (see Fig. 65)
73.XI.27	27,10-12	1188	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Even cols until panel er, where e is 20 cm and f is 22.5
73.XI.27	27,13-15	1189	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	
73.XI.28	28,1-3	1190	3	6	20	A	snyal lha gzigs	Right cols: 22.5 cm; left cols: 20.5 ¹⁴⁷
73.XI.28	28,4-6	1191	3	6	20	A	snyal lha gzigs	Right cols: 23 cm; left cols: 21
73.XI.28	28,7-9	1192	3	6	20	A	unsigned	Same hand. Left cols: 20.5 cm; right cols: 23
73.XI.28	28,10-12	1193	3	6	20	A	snyal lha gzigs	Left cols: 20.5 cm; right cols: 23
73.XI.28	28,13-15	1194	3	6	20	A	snyal lha gzigs	Left cols: 18 cm; right cols: 23.5 cm
73.XI.28	28,16-18	1195	3	6	20	A	snyal kha ba skyes	Same hand. Left cols: 20.5 cm; right cols: 23
73.XI.28	28,19-21	1196	3	6	20	A	snyal lha gzigs	Left cols: 18 cm; right cols: 23.5 cm

¹⁴⁶ First *dhāraṇī* begins *tad thya tha <sup>om sa rba/ sa> ba ga te* [...]. Left cols wider than right cols on first sheet (a and b), 19.5 ; 23.5 cm. On next sheets they even out.

¹⁴⁷ This pressmark is written only in faded red ink, and not in pencil.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.XI.28	28,22-24	1197	3	6	20	A	snjal lha gzigs	Left cols: 18 cm; right cols: 23.5 cm
73.XI.28	28,25-27	1198	3	6	20	A	snjal lha gzigs	Left cols: 18 cm; right cols: 23.5 cm
73.XI.28	28,28-30	1199	3	6	20	A	snjal lha gzigs	See footnote ⁴⁸
<p>Vol. 114: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to fifty-one. Booklets are numbered in pencil on the spine, with different numbers in the upper right corner of the front cover, struck through. There are faded red site numbers, mostly illegible, with black site numbers adjacent. On top of the stack of booklets is a scrap of paper written on in blue pencil: "N.B. 73.XVII now in bundle in Stein order – check Poussin's pagination if copies are ever bound!" A note in pencil states that the order was changed from Stein's order to Poussin's order, initialled "SVS, 7/2/02."</p>								
73.XVII.28	1,1-6	ITJ 1666	3	6	21	A+	1: jIn lha bzher; 2: unsigned	In pencil on upper right cover: "48," i.e. booklet no., crossed out. In pen: "roll of 8"
73.XVII.28	1,7-12	ITJ 1667	3	6	21	A+	jIn lha bzher x2	Booklet no. "49" crossed out
73.XVII.28	1,13-18	ITJ 1668	3	6	21	A+	jIn lha bzher x2	Booklet no. "50" crossed out
73.XVII.28	1,19-24	ITJ 1669	3	6	21	A+	jIn lha bzher x2	Booklet no. "51" crossed out
73.XVII.27	2,1-6	ITJ 1670	3	6	19	A	1:snjal lha gzigs; 2: unsigned	Booklet no. "45" crossed out. "Roll of 6" on verso of col. a
73.XVII.27	2,7-12	ITJ 1671	3	6	19	A	unsigned x2	Booklet no. "46" crossed out
73.XVII.27	2,13-18	ITJ 1672	3	6	19	A	unsigned x2	Booklet no. "47" crossed out
73.XVII.26	3,1-4	ITJ 1673	3	6	21	A+	lha lod	Booklet no. "42" crossed out. "Roll of 5" on col. a verso
73.XVII.26	3,5-10	ITJ 1674	3	6	21	A+	cont: unsigned; 2: lha lod	Booklet no. "43" crossed out
73.XVII.26	3,11-15	ITJ 1675	3	6	21	A+	cont: lha lod; 2: lha lod	Booklet no. "44" crossed out
73.XVII.25	4,1-4	ITJ 1676	3	6	19	A	unsigned	Booklet no. "39" crossed out. "Roll of 5" on col. a verso

⁴⁸ Red-and-white sticker on back of booklet: "Ch.73.XI, no. 310." Left cols: 18 cm; right cols: 23.5.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.XVII.25	4,5-10	ITJ 1677	3	6	19	A	cont: snyal lha gzigs x2	Booklet no. "40" crossed out
73.XVII.25	4,11-15	ITJ 1678	3	6	19	A	cont: unsigned; 2: snyal lha gzigs	Booklet no. "41" crossed out
73.XVII.24	5,1-4	ITJ 1679	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	Booklet no. "36" crossed out ¹⁴⁹
73.XVII.24	5,5-10	ITJ 1680	3	6	19	A	cont: ser thong thong x2	Booklet no. "37" crossed out ¹⁵⁰
73.XVII.24	5,11-15	ITJ 1681	3	6	19	A	cont: ser thong thong x2	Booklet no. "38" crossed out
73.XVII.23	6,1-4	ITJ 1682	3	6	19	A+	mchims g.yu gzigs	Booklet no. "33" crossed out ¹⁵¹
73.XVII.23	6,5-10	ITJ 1683	3	6	19	A+	cont: mchims g.yu gzigs x2	Booklet no. "34" crossed out
73.XVII.23	6,11-15	ITJ 1684	3	6	19	A+	cont: mchims g.yu gzigs x2	Booklet no. "35" crossed out
73.XVII.22	7,1-4	ITJ 1685	3	6	21	A+	jñ lha bzher	Booklet no. "31" crossed out. "Roll of 3" on col. a verso
73.XVII.22	7,5-9	ITJ 1686	3	6	21	A+	cont: jñ lha bzher x2	Booklet no. "32" crossed out
73.XVII.21	8,1-4	ITJ 1687	3	6	19	A	unsigned	Booklet no. "29" crossed out ¹⁵²
73.XVII.21	8,5-9	ITJ 1688	3	6	19	A	cont: cang se'u hvan 2: se'u hvin	Booklet no. "30" crossed out
73.XVII.20	9,1-4	ITJ 1689	3	6	20	A+	lu dze shing	Booklet no. "27" crossed out. "Roll of 3" on col. a verso
73.XVII.20	9,5-9	ITJ 1690	3	6	20	A+	cont: lu dze shing x2	Booklet no. "28" crossed out
73.XVII.19	10,1-4	ITJ 1691	3	6	19	A+	lu dze shing	Booklet no. "25" crossed out ¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ "Aparitiñyāyur jñana – roll of 5" on col. a verso. There are one or two illegible Chinese characters at bottom margin on crossover between panels 1 and 2 of second copy. The conservators have cut the paper on the left edge of panel 2 rather than ungluing the panels, since the text spills over from panel 1 onto panel 2.

¹⁵⁰ Traces of Chinese character(s) in bottom left hand corner of page one of this booklet.

¹⁵¹ "Roll of 5 copies of Aparitiñyāyur jñana – roll of 5" on col. a verso.

¹⁵² "Roll of 3" on col. a verso. Omits final title as well as colophon due to lack of space.

¹⁵³ "Roll of 3" on col. a verso. Two or three Chinese characters in lower corner of col. a verso, upside-down.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.XVII.19	10,5-9	ITJ 1692	3	6	19	A+	cont: lu dze shing x2	Booklet no. "26" crossed out
73.XVII.18	11,1-4	ITJ 1693	3	6	19	A	unsigned	Booklet no. "23" crossed out
73.XVII.18	11,5-9	ITJ 1694	3	6	19	A	cont: snyal stag snya x2	Booklet no. "24" crossed out
73.XVII.17	12,1-4	ITJ 1695	3	6	20	A+	unsigned	Booklet no. "21" crossed out. "Aparimitayur jnana roll of 3" on col. a verso
73.XVII.17	12,5-9	ITJ 1696	3	6	20	A+	cont: unsigned; 2: ^im lha bzher	Booklet no. "22" crossed out
73.XVII.16	13,1-6	ITJ 1697	3	6	19	A+	1: deng ^ing tse; 2: deng ^ing tsi	Booklet no. "16" crossed out ¹⁵⁴
73.XVII.15	14,1-6	ITJ 1698	3	6	21	A	1: unsigned; 2: khang tig t'ig	Booklet no. "15" crossed out
73.XVII.14	15,1-6	ITJ 1699	3	6	19	A	1: unsigned; 2: snyal gzigs	Booklet no. "14" crossed out. "Roll of 2" on col. a verso
73.XVII.13	16,1-6	ITJ 1700	3	6	19	A+	khang tig t'ig x2	Booklet no. "13" crossed out
73.XVII.12	17,1-6	ITJ 1701	3	6	19	A+	unsigned x2	Booklet no. "12" crossed out ¹⁵⁵
73.XVII.11	18,1-6	ITJ 1702	3	6	19	A-	phan phan x2	Booklet no. "11" crossed out ¹⁵⁶
73.XVII.10	19,1-6	ITJ 1703	3	6	19	A-	unsigned x2	Booklet no. "10" crossed out ¹⁵⁷
73.XVII.9	20,1-6	ITJ 1704	3	6	19	A	snyal stag snya x2	Booklet no. "9" crossed out
73.XVII.8	21,1-3	ITJ 1705	3	6	19	A+	deng ^ing tse	Booklet no. "8" crossed out ¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁴ "Roll of 2." In both colophons, one name replaces another: *deng <de'u de'u bris> / ^ing tse bris* /. Second copy omits final title. Handwriting doesn't match that of ITJ 1705 below or those attributed to Ding ^ing t'ishe (310.172 and 173 (93-37 and 38) above).

¹⁵⁵ "Aparimitayur jnana roll of 2" on col. a verso. Final six to eight lines of both copies very cramped.

¹⁵⁶ "Aparimitayur jnana roll of 2" on col. a verso. Scribe consistently omits *tad dya tha* from the middle of the *dhāraṇīs*.

¹⁵⁷ "Aparimitayur jnana roll of 2 copies" on col. a verso. Scribe (Phan phan?) consistently omits *tad dya tha* from the middle of the *dhāraṇīs*.

¹⁵⁸ Rubbed out, below attributed scribe: / < [se'u hvan lxxx] > /; doesn't appear to have written "bris" and ductus of attributed scribe's name matches that of text.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
73.XVII.7	22,1-3	ITJ 1706	3	6	20	A+/A*	khang tig tig	Booklet no. "7" crossed out ¹⁵⁹
73.XVII.6	23,1-3	ITJ 1707	3	6	17	A+	cang lyang 'gi	Booklet no. "6" crossed out ¹⁶⁰
73.XVII.5	24,1-3	ITJ 1708	3	6	19	A+	[lhaʔ] bzhe+rr	Booklet no. "5" crossed out. Handwriting resembles that of ITJ 1711 below
73.XVII.4	25,1-4	ITJ 1709	4	7 (no h)	19	A	dzi'u cang zhi	Booklet no. "4" crossed out
73.XVII.3	26,1-3	ITJ 1710	3	6	20	A+	^Im lha bzhe+rr	Booklet no. "3" crossed out
73.XVII.2	27,1-3	ITJ 1711	3	6	20	A+	^im lha bzhe+rr	Booklet no. "2" crossed out
73.XVII.1	28,1-3	ITJ 1712	3	6	19	A-	phan phan	Booklet no. "47" crossed out ¹⁶¹
73.XVII.29	29,1-6	ITJ 1713	3	6	19	A-	cang shIb tig x2	Booklet no. "18" crossed out
73.XVII.29	29,7-12	ITJ 1714	3	6	19	A-	1: cang shib tig; 2:cang shIb tig	Booklet no. "19" crossed out
73.XVII.29	29,13-18	ITJ 1715	3	6	19	A-	cang shIb tig x2	Booklet no. "20" crossed out
73.XVII.29	29,19-24	ITJ 1716	3	6	19	A-	cang shib tig x2	Booklet no. "17" crossed out

Vol. 101: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to forty-seven. A red-and-white sticker on the cover of the first booklet gives the pressmark (310) and site number; between these, in blue: "24" indicates the number of rolls.

78.I 1,1-4 433 3 6 19 A gzIgs gong

78.I 1,5-10 434 3 6 19 A cont: gzIgs gong x2

¹⁵⁹ The opening *tad dya tha* of the first *dtharanī* appears crossed out diagonally in black ink, yet so does *bha ga ba te ^a pa ri* on that line, so it may simply be a slip of the pen.

¹⁶⁰ 28 cm high; hole patched and written over with sutra on col. e (patch is on the verso). Square style, midline *tshegs*, high proportion of *gi logs*.

¹⁶¹ Red-and-white sticker on spine reads: "73.VI, No. 310" in black. Blue crayon corrects: "73.XVII" and, below, "29." A second sticker, in middle of verso of col. a., reads: "73.XVI, No. 310." Blue crayon corrects it to: "73.XVII."

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.I	1,11-15	435	3	6	19	A; A+	cont: gzigs gong x2	
78.I	2,1-4	436	3	6	20	A+	khang btsan bzher	
78.I	2,5-10	437	3	6	19	A+	cont: khang btsan bzher x2	
78.I	2,11-15	438	3	6	19	A+; A	cont: khang btsan bzher x2	
78.I	3,1-4	439	3	6	19	A	snyal kha ba skeyes	2: four Chinese characters on col. a verso, top right corner
78.I	3,5-10	440	3	6	19	A	cont: snyal kha ba skeyes x2	
78.I	3,11-15	441	3	6	19	A	cont: snyal kha ba skeyes x2	
78.I	4,1-4	442	3	6	20	A+	khang btsan bzher	1: scribe omits middle <i>tao dya tha</i> on first instance of <i>dhāraṇī</i> only
78.I	4,5-9	443	3	6	20	A+	cont: khang btsan bzher x2	
78.I	5,1-3	444	3	6 (fcolophon)	20	A	cang stag lod	
78.I	6,1-4	445	3	6	19	A+	j'in legs kong	
78.I	6,5-9	446	3	6	19	A+	unsigned x2	Jin Legs kong's hand
78.I	7,1-4	447	3	6	20	A	cang stag lod	
78.I	7,5-9	448	3	6	20	A	cont: cang stag lod x2	
78.I	8,1-6	449	3	6	19	A+	cang lha legs x2	Large <i>lha</i> on verso corner of last col. ¹⁶²
78.I	9,1-3	450	3	6	19	A+	^im lha bzher	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> first begins <i>ta thya tha ^om / na mo</i> [...]
78.I	10,1-3	451	3	6	19	A+	^im lha bzher	

¹⁶² Quite a bad copy, to judge from many omissions in the *dhāraṇī*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.I	11,1-7	452	4;3	7; 6	19	A+	^Im lha bzher x2	See footnote ¹⁶³
78.I	12,1-4	453	4	7 (no a)	19	A+	^im lha bzher	
78.I	13,1-4	454	3	6	19	A+	khang t'ig tig	
78.I	13,5-9	455	3	6	19	A+; A	cont: khang t'ig tig; 2: khang t'ig tig	
78.I	14,1-6	456	3	6	19	A+	^im lha bzher x2	
78.I	15,1-3	457	3	6	19	A+	kim lha bzher	Verso of a: lha bzher, vertically
78.I	16,1-4	458	3	6	19	A+	lu tshe hing	
78.I	16,5-10	459	3	6	19	A+	cont: lu tshe hing x2	
78.I	16,11-16	460	3	6	19	A+	cont: lu tshe hing x2	
78.I	17,1-3	461	3	6	19	A+	lu tshe hing	
78.I	18,1-6	462	3	5 (no a); 6	20	A+	1: unsigned; 2: lu tshe hing	
78.I	19,1-4	463	3	6	19	A+	bam rma bzher	
78.I	19,5-10	464	3	6	19	A+	cont: bam rma bzher x2	2: omits much of <i>dhāraṇī</i> in first instance: <i>tad dya tha ^om sa rba</i> [...]
78.I	19,11-15	465	3	6	19	A+	bam rma bzher x2	
78.I	20,1-4	466	3	6	19	A+	li stag snang	
78.I	20,5-10	467	3	6	19	A+	cont: stag snang x2	
78.I	20,11-15	468	3	6	19	A+	cont: stag snang x2	
78.I	21,1-4	469	3	6	19	A	unsigned	Same hand as following

¹⁶³ In the first copy, panel 2 consists of a single col. (c); col. g begins the new sutra copy, but stops after \$// rgya.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.I	21,5-9	470	3	6	19	A	cont: khang tig tig; 2: snyal stag snya	See footnote ¹⁶⁴
78.I	22,1-4	471	3	6	19	A+	cang legs rtsan	
78.I	22,5-10	472	3	6	19	A+	cont: cang legs rtsan; 2: unsigned	
78.I	22,11-15	473	3	6	19	A+	cont: cang legs rtsan x2	
78.I	23,1-4	474	3	6	19	A	snyal lha gzigs	
78.I	23,5-10	475	3	6	19; 18	A	cont: snyal lha gzigs x2	
78.I	23,11-15	476	3	6	18; 19	A	cont: snyal lha gzigs x2	
78.I	24,1-4	477	3	6	19	A	unsigned	Snyal Lha gzigs's hand. Site no. in pencil
78.I	24,5-10	478	3	6	19	A	cont: snyal lha gzigs x2	
78.I	24,11-15	479	3	6	19	A	cont: snyal lha gzigs x2	See footnote ¹⁶⁵

78.II	1,1-4	480	3	6	20	A+	cang legs bzung	
78.II	1,5-10	481	3	6	20	A+	cont: cang legs rtsan x2	
78.II	1,11-15	482	3	6	20	A+	cont: cang legs rtsan; 2: unsigned	
78.II	2,1-6	483	3	6	21	A+	cang legs bzung x2	On binding in pencil: "4"; struck through in upper right: "10"

Vol. 102: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to forty-three. Booklet numbers are in pencil in the upper left corner on the binding, but also penciled into top right corner. The latter numbers are more jumbled, and most are struck through; they do not proceed in reverse order, unlike in some other volumes. On the cover of the first booklet is a red-and-white sticker on brown paper, stating: "Ch.78.II, No. 310." In blue, between these lines: "26." In pencil, on brown paper: "LVP 310 Ch.78.II.26." This would suggest that the roll numbers follow the inverse order of the intended serial site numbers.

¹⁶⁴ Scribal hand resembles that of Snyal Stag snya (e.g. PT 3628) against that of Khang tig tig (e.g. PT 3557).

¹⁶⁵ A red-and-white sticker on the back of this booklet gives pressmark (310) and site number; between these, in blue: "24" indicates the number of rolls.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.II	2,7-12	484	3	6	20	A+	cang legs bzung x2	
78.II	3,1-3	485	3	6	19	B	^i 'do	
78.II	4,1-6	486	3	6	19	A	gu rib lha lung brtsan x2	
78.II	4,7-12	487	3	6	19	A	gu rib lha lung brtsan x2	
78.II	5,1-3	488	3	6	19	A+	cang legs bzung	
78.II	6,1-4	489	4	7 (no h)	19	B	li stag legs	Large, more rounded hand than copies below ¹⁶⁶
78.II	7,1-3	490	3	6	20	A	unsigned	See footnote ¹⁶⁷
78.II	8,1-3	491	3	6	20	A	unsigned	Same hand as previous
78.II	9,1-4	492	3	6	19	A+	lu ju ju	Slack <i>dbu can</i> , descenders at 5 to 5:30
78.II	9,5-10	493	3	6	19	A+	cont: lu ju ju x2	
78.II	9,11-15	494	3	6	19	A+	cont: lu ju ju x2	
78.II	10,1-3	495	3	6	19	A+	cang lha legs	Name rubbed out and written over in thick ink, separate hand
78.II	11,1-3	496	3	6	20	A	li stag legs	See footnote ¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ This copy doesn't share their abrupt ending, either. Scribe's name written in lighter ink than text, as are those attributed to Li Stag legs and Cang Kong tse, below. Those latter all share square style handwriting and abrupt ending to sutra (*mdo rdzogs so* or *rdzogs so*), so perhaps an anonymous scribe (or Zhim Tshir tshir of ITJ 310.517) wrote them and someone traded or sold them to other scribes. Some of these colophons, e.g. at ITJ 310.490 and 491, are left blank.

¹⁶⁷ Same hand at ITJ 310.517 (Zhim Tshir tshir), below: squarish style with midline *tshegs*, ungrammatical *shads*, */:/* punctuation, and abrupt ending; ends incipit with *thra*; \$ to 12:00 o' clock.

¹⁶⁸ Square style, midline *tshegs*; no */:/* punctuation or non-grammatical *shads* at end of lines. Inserts *shad* in explicit after *thams cad*, where ITJ 310.490, 491, and 517 do not. \$ points to 3:00. Not the same hand as "Li Stag legs" at ITJ 310.496. Scribe's name written in lighter ink than text.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.II	12,1-3	497	3	6	19	A	cang kong tse	See footnote ¹⁶⁹
78.II	13,1-3	498	3	6	20	A+	unsigned	Not same hand as previous
78.II	14,1-6	499	3	6	19	A+	1: unsigned; 2: kong tse	See footnote ¹⁷⁰
78.II	14,7-12	500	3	6	20	A+	unsigned x2	Same hand as previous
78.II	14,13-18	501	3	6	20	A+	kong tse x2	Same hand as previous
78.II	14,19-24	502	3	6	19	A+	1: unsigned; 2: kong tse	Same hand as previous
78.II	14,25-30	503	3	6	19	A+	kong tse x2	Same hand as previous
78.II	15,1-4	504	3	6	21	A	unsigned	See footnote ¹⁷¹
78.II	15,5-9	505	3	6	21	A	cont: unsigned x2	Same hand as previous. Booklet number in pencil, "24," is in error
78.II	16,1-4	506	3	6	19	A+*	bzang kong	ITJ 310.506-15 all in the same hand, with same idiosyncratic <i>dhārāṃ</i> ¹⁷²
78.II	16,5-10	507	3	6	19	A+*	cont: jeg bzang kong; 2: bzang kong	
78.II	16,11-15	508	3	6	19	A+*	cont: bzang kong x2	

¹⁶⁹ Same hand as previous: square style, midline *tshags*, ungrammatical *shads* at the end of the line (ten out of nineteen lines end in *shads*, not counting -g as a quasi-*shad*) e.g. see end line *pa / la*. No /: punctuation, and writing is slightly smaller than in rolls 7, 8, 22, and following. \$ points to 3:00. Scribe's name written in lighter ink, very similar to previous roll.

¹⁷⁰ Not square style, large, but no midline *tshags* or abrupt ending. In the first copy nineteen lines are lined, but in col. f, five lines crammed into space provided for two lines – probably in order to reach the end of the text in three panels.

¹⁷¹ Same style as ITJ 310.489: square style, uses /: and some ungrammatical *shads*; incipit ends with *tra*, not *thra*, as in rolls 7, 8, 22 and following; abrupt ending to the sutra.

¹⁷² Scribe consistently writes *ra dza ya / tad dya tha ^om / ta thaga ta ya / ^om sarba* [...] Orthographic variants (though usually sic) in the middle of the *dhārāṃ*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.II	17,1-4	509	3	6	19	A+*	unsigned	
78.II	17,5-10	510	3	6	19	A+*	cont: bzang kong x2	
78.II	17,11-15	511	3	6	19	A+*	cont: bzang kong x2	
78.II	18,1-4	512	3	6	19, 20	A+*	bzang kong	First 2 panels are 20 II., next 2 are 19 II.
78.II	18,5-10	513	3	6	20	A+*	cont: bzang kong x2	
78.II	19,1-3	514	3	6	20	A+*	bzang kong	
78.II	20,1-3	515	3	6	20	A+*	bzang kong	
78.II	21,1-3	516	3	6	20	A-	lIng ho bing bing	Similar hand to ITJ 310.506-15, not square style ¹⁷³
78.II	22,1-3	517	3	6	21	A	zhim tshir tshir	Same style as ITJ 310.490, 491 ¹⁷⁴
78.II	23,1-6	518	3	6	21	A	zhim tshir tshir x2	Squarish, similar but not identical to previous hand ¹⁷⁵
78.II	24,1-3	519	3	6	21	A	unsigned	See footnote ¹⁷⁶
78.II	25,1-6	520	3	6	21	A	1: zhim tshir tshir; 2: unsigned	Second copy in same hand as first. Square style; similar hand as previous
78.II	25,7-12	521	3	6	21	A	1: zhIm tshir tshir; 2: zhIm tshir tshir	Same hand as previous
78.II	26,1-6	522	3	6	21	A	1: zhIm tshir tshir; 2: zhIm tshir tshir	Same hand as ITJ 310.519

¹⁷³ Scribe always omits *tad dya tha* in the middle of the *dhāraṇī*. After colophon: “offered to Bam Stag Slebs as a gift” (*Ung ho bing bing gis 'bris // bam stag slebs gyi lag stang gi phul ba //*).

¹⁷⁴ Not the same hand as PT 1478 and 310.161, also ascribed to Zhim Tshir tshir; no *kha* on verso either.

¹⁷⁵ No /:/, few ungrammatical *shads* at line ends; and explicit ends in *tra*.

¹⁷⁶ Square, similar to previous, uses /:/ ungrammatical *shads* at line ends; incipit ends in *tra*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	Li.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
	Vol. 105: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to forty-nine. The first roll/ booklet, ITJ 1617, bears the site number 78.VI; the second roll/ booklet, ITJ 1618, and seventh roll (tenth booklet), ITJ 1626, bear the site number 78.V. No others bear site numbers. A red-and-white sticker in the middle of the first booklet's cover states: "Ch.78.VI <No. 97> 310." In a small sticker on spine: "78.V No. 310" and in blue: "2 [illegible], 17 + 24" (see Fig. 17). Based on this information, we surmise that the first twenty-four rolls – minus the very first roll, which is an edited exemplar – belong to bundle 78.V, and that the last 17 – plus the edited exemplar – belong to 78.VI. We start, therefore, with the second booklet, and catalogue the first booklet – the edited exemplar – as the last. Incidentally, that is how this latter booklet was once numbered.							
78.V	1,1-4	ITJ 1618	3	6	19	A+	lha lod	"2" on spine in pencil, "1" struck through in upper right corner ¹⁷⁷
[78.V]	1,5-10	ITJ 1619	3	6	19	A+	cont: lha lod x2	"3" on spine, "2" struck through
[78.V]	1,11-15	ITJ 1620	3	6	19	A+	cont: lha lod x2	"4" on spine, "3" struck through
[78.V]	2,1-6	ITJ 1621	3	6	20	A+	bam stag bzang x2	^a <i>myi ta phur</i> in colophon. "5" on spine, "11" struck through
[78.V]	1,1-6	ITJ 1622	3	6	20	A+	cang snang legs x2	"6" on spine, "10" struck through ¹⁷⁸
[78.V]	4,1-6	ITJ 1623	3	6	20	A+	1: 'bye hing; 2: 'bye hing	"7" on spine, "9" struck through
[78.V]	5,1-6	ITJ 1624	3	6	20	A+	hvan hing dar x2	"8" on spine, "8" not struck through
[78.V]	6,1-6	ITJ 1625	3	6	19	A+	ser thong thong x2	"9" on spine, "7" struck through
78.V	7,1-6	ITJ 1626	3	6	19	A	1: gu rib lhas btsha's; 2: gu rib lhas btshas	"10" on spine, "6" struck through ¹⁷⁹
[78.V]	8,1-4	ITJ 1627	3	6	18	A	mchims g.yu gzlgs	"11" on spine, "4" struck through
[78.V]	8,5-9	ITJ 1628	3	6	18	A+	cont: unisigned; 2: mal gzlgs kong	Sutras in same hand. "12" on spine, "5" struck through

¹⁷⁷ Red-and-white sticker on col. a verso: "78.V, No. 310."

¹⁷⁸ ^a *myi ta phur* in first colophon. Thin strip of paper from cut-off following panel on final margin (verso).

¹⁷⁹ Site number in pen, verso of col. c. In changeover, bottom corner of col. d, verso: *ershi wu zhang* 二十五張 ("25 sheets").

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[78.V]	9,1-4	ITJ 1629	3	6	19	A+	lu ju ju	"13" on spine, "38" struck through
[78.V]	9,5-9	ITJ 1630	3	6	19	A+	cont: lu ju ju x2	"14" on spine, "39" struck through
[78.V]	10,1-6	ITJ 1631	3	6	20	A+	khang stag snya x2	"15" on spine, "37" struck through ¹⁸⁰
[78.V]	11,1-3	ITJ 1632	3	6	20	A	gnang rma gong	"16" on spine, "33" struck through
[78.V]	12,1-6	ITJ 1633	3	6	20	A	snyal stag snya x2	"17" on spine, "34" struck through
[78.V]	13,1-3	ITJ 1634	3	6	20	B	ha stag slebs	"18" on spine, "35" struck through
[78.V]	14,1-3	ITJ 1635	3	6	19	A	gu rib brtan kong?	"19" on spine, "36" struck through ¹⁸¹
[78.V]	15,1-6	ITJ 1636	3	6	19	A+	so hva hva x2	"20" on spine, "25" struck through
[78.V]	16,1-3	ITJ 1637	3	6	20	A+	jIn lha bzher	"21" on spine, "26" struck through
[78.V]	17,1-6	ITJ 1638	3	6	20	A+	khang bitsan bzher x2	"22" on spine, "40" struck through
[78.V]	17,7-12	ITJ 1639	3	6	20	A+	khang bitsan bzher x2	"23" on spine, "41" struck through
[78.V]	18,1-6	ITJ 1640	3	6	20	A	1: unsigned; 2: gnyal stag snya	"24" on spine, "42" struck through
[78.V]	19,1-6	ITJ 1641	3	6	20	A	snyal lha gzigs x2	"25" on spine, "43" struck through
[78.V]	20,1-6	ITJ 1642	3	6	19	A	snyal lha gzigs x2	"26" on spine, "44" struck through
[78.V]	21,1-7	ITJ 1643	3; 4	6; 7 (no h)	20; 19, 18	A+	1: lha legs; 2: unsigned	"27" on spine, "45" struck through ¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Thin strip of paper from cut-off following panel on final margin (verso).

¹⁸¹ On bottom of col. b: *gu rib brtan kong gi sug ris*. Roll ends before sutra is finished, but glue on the final margin suggests that it was once attached to a following panel. Signs of Chinese at the panel changeovers, but only right half of the characters extant. Also, oddly, there is no overlap between panel 1 and 2, and the Tibetan runs over from one panel to another, (see especially the bottom line, corresponding to b14 in PT 3901). There is sign of overlap between panel 2 and 3 though. Final panel is missing; sutra copy ends in middle of §39 at end of col. f.

¹⁸² Second sutra copy starts with nineteen lines per col., then ef, g of second copy are eighteen lines per col. Copies may be different hands. Small format: panels at 28.5 cm high.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[78.V]	22,1-6	ITJ 1644	3	6	19	A+	lu tshe hing x2	"28" on spine, "46" struck through
[78.V]	23,1-3	ITJ 1645	3	6	19	A+	lu tshe hing	"29" on spine, "47" struck through
[78.V]	24,1-6	ITJ 1646	3	6	20	A+	jIn lha bzher x2	"30" on spine, "48" struck through
[78.VI]	1,1-4	ITJ 1647	3	6	21	A-	cang shIb tig	"31" on spine, "14" struck through
[78.VI]	1,5-9	ITJ 1648	3	6	19	A-	cont: cang shIb tig x2	"32" on spine, "20" struck through
[78.VI]	2,1-3	ITJ 1649	3	6	20	A+	mchIms brtan la bse	"33" on spine, "12" struck through
[78.VI]	3,1-6	ITJ 1650	3	6	19	A-	1: unsigned; 2: cang shib tig	"34" on spine, "13" struck through
[78.VI]	4,1-3	ITJ 1651	3	6	19	A	unsigned	"35" on spine, "12" struck through
[78.VI]	5,1-3	ITJ 1652	3	6	19	A-	stag skyes	"36" on spine, "13" struck through
[78.VI]	6,1-6	ITJ 1653	3	6	19	A+	1: jIn lha bzhe+r; 2: jIn lha bzher	"37" on spine, "14" struck through
[78.VI]	7,1-6	ITJ 1654	3	6	19	A+	lha lod x2	"38" on spine, "15" struck through
[78.VI]	8,1-6	ITJ 1655	3	6	20; 19	A+	1: lha legs; 2: cang hIq tshe	These copies look to be in separate hands. "39" on spine, "16" struck through
[78.VI]	9,1-6	ITJ 1656	3	6	20	A+	cang jung jung x2	"40" on spine, "27" struck through ¹⁸³
[78.VI]	10,1-6	ITJ 1657	3	6	19	A	khang tIq tig x2	"41" on spine, "28" struck through
[78.VI]	11,1-3	ITJ 1658	3	6	20	A+	cang jung jung	First <i>dhārāṇī</i> begins <i>tad thya tha ^om na mo</i> [...].
[78.VI]	12,1-6	ITJ 1659	3	6	21	A+; A-	khang btsan bzher x2	"42" on spine, "29" struck through "43" on spine, "30" struck through ¹⁸⁴

¹⁸³ First *dhārāṇī* begins *tad thya tha ^om na mo* [...] and variants. After second colophon: *chad lag ma mchis*//. Thin strip of paper from cut-off following panel on final margin (some Tibetan went over the panel crossover, necessitating the cutting-off instead of ungluing the panels).

¹⁸⁴ Unruled line between first and second line (not counted here as a line). Scribe omits *tad thya tha* from the middle of many (but not most) of the *dhārāṇīs*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[78.VI]	13,1-6	ITJ 1660	3	6	20	A+, A-	1: Khang bitsan bzher+; 2: bitsan bzher	<i>Dhāranīs</i> as in preceding copy. "44" on spine, "31" struck through
[78.VI]	14,1-6	ITJ 1661	3	6	19	A+	jIn lha bzher x2	First <i>dhāranī</i> begins <i>tad thya tha 'om na mo</i> [...]. "45" on spine, "32" struck through
[78.VI]	15,1-4	ITJ 1662	3	6	20	A	mal gzīgs kong	"46" on spine, "21" struck through
[78.VI]	15,5-9	ITJ 1663	3	6	20	A	cont: mal gzīgs kong; 2: mal gzīgs kong	"47" on spine, "22" not struck through
[78.VI]	16,1-3	ITJ 1664	3	6	20	A	mchims g.yu bzīgs	Same hand as previous. "48" on spine, "23" not struck through
[78.VI]	17,1-3	ITJ 1665	3	6	20	A	mal gzīgs kong	Same hand as previous. No number on spine, "24" struck through
78.VI	1,4	ITJ 1617	2	3 (no h)	19	B	cang tsi dam	"1" on spine, "49" struck through ¹⁸⁵

Vol. 106: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to seventy-two. Booklet numbers are in pencil on corners of the booklet covers. No site numbers are written onto the manuscripts themselves, excepting the final roll/booklet, as discussed in Chapter One. On the spine of the first booklet, on a red-and-white sticker mounted on brown paper, is written: "78.VII, No. 310" and in blue: "60."

78.VII[.60] 1,1-4 612 3 6 19 A snyal stag snya

[78.VII.60] 1,5-9 613 3 6 19 A cont: snyal stag snya x2

[78.VII.59] 2,1-3 614 3 6 19 A+ stag tse

[78.VII.58] 3,1-3 615 3 6 19 A+ stag

¹⁸⁵ In pencil, top right of cover: "Ch.78.VI (97)," with "97" struck through (see Fig. 17). In pen on recto of col. c: "78.VI." Exemplar copy, edited by Leng pe'u. First panel ab is torn on left. Second and final page in booklet is g. with colophon, in a separate hand, as if two separate fragments were bound into one.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[78.VII.57]	4,1-6	616	3	6	19	A+	stag tse x2	
[78.VII.56]	5,1-6	617	3	6	19	A+	1: ^an stag slebs; 2: ^an stag tse	
[78.VII.55]	6,1-6	618	3	6	19	A+	1: unsigned; 2: lu tshe hing	
[78.VII.55]	6,7-10	619	3	6	19	A+	lu tshe hing	
[78.VII.55]	6,11-15	620	3	6	19	A+	cont: lu tshe hing x2	
[78.VII.54]	7,1-6	621	3	6	19	A+	lu ju ju x2	
[78.VII.54]	7,7-12	622	3	6	19	A+	lu ju ju x2	
[78.VII.53]	8,1-3	623	3	6	19	A	'be nya rma	
[78.VII.52]	9,1-3	624	3	6	19	A	se tong pa'	
[78.VII.51]	10,1-3	625	3	6	19	A	be nya rma	
[78.VII.50]	11,1-3	626	3	6	19	A	se tong pa	
[78.VII.49]	12,1-3	627	3	6	19	A	si tong pa	
[78.VII.48]	13,1-3	628	3	6	19	A	'be nya rma	
[78.VII.47]	14,1-3	629	3	6	20	A	'be nya rma	
[78.VII.46]	15,1-3	630	3	6	19	A	'be nya rma	
[78.VII.45]	16,1-3	631	3	6	19	A	se tong pa	
[78.VII.44]	17,1-3	632	3	5 (no f)	19	A	se tong pa	
[78.VII.43]	18,1-3	633	3	5 (no a)	19	A	se tong pa	
[78.VII.42]	19,1-3	634	3	5 (no a)	19	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.41]	20,1-3	635	3	6	20	A	'be nya rma	
[78.VII.40]	21,1-3	636	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.39]	22,1-3	637	3	5 (no f)	19	A	se tong pa	
[78.VII.38]	23,1-3	638	3	5 (no f)	19	A	seng tong pa	

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[78.VII.37]	24,1-3	639	3	5 (no f)	19	A	se tong pa	
[78.VII.36]	25,1-3	640	3	6	20	A	'be nya rma	
[78.VII.35]	26,1-3	641	3	6	19	A	'be nya rma	
[78.VII.34]	27,1-3	642	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.33]	28,1-3	643	3	6	19	A	mchims lha rton	
[78.VII.32]	29,1-3	644	3	6	21	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.31]	30,1-3	645	3	5 (no f)	19	C	se thong pa	
[78.VII.30]	31,1-3	646	3	6	20	C	se thong pa	See footnote ¹⁸⁶
[78.VII.29]	32,1-3	647	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.28]	33,1-3	648	3	6	19	A	se tong paA	
[78.VII.27]	34,1-3	649	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	See footnote ¹⁸⁷
[78.VII.26]	35,1-3	650	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.25]	36,1-3	651	3	6	20	C	se thong pa	
[78.VII.24]	37,1-3	652	3	6	20	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.23]	38,1-3	653	3	5 (no f)	19	A	si tong pa'	
[78.VII.22]	39,1-3	654	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.21]	40,1-3	655	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.20]	41,1-3	656	3	6	19	A	se thong pa	
[78.VII.19]	42,1-3	657	3	6	20	A+	cang jung jung	

¹⁸⁶ Writing is small and compressed on the second half of the last col., then expands again for the end and colophon (see Fig. 54).

¹⁸⁷ In scribal colophon <ma kong gyis briso> is replaced with *se thong pa*. Note also variant spellings of *Se thong pa* in these copies.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[78.VII.18]	43,1-3	658	3	6	19	A+	cang jung jung	
[78.VII.17]	44,1-3	659	3	6	19	A+	so hva hva	
[78.VII.16]	45,1-3	660	3	6	19	A+	cang jung jung	
[78.VII.15]	46,1-3	661	3	6	21	A+	so hva hva	
[78.VII.14]	47,1-5	662	3	6	20	A+	unsigned	
[78.VII.14]	47,6-11	663	3	6	20	A+	cont: wang hva tshe x2	
[78.VII.14]	47,12-15	664	3	6	20; 19	A+	cont: wang hva tshe x2	
[78.VII.13]	48,1-6	665	3	6	20	A+	1: cang wing yir; 2: spro phod mol	Both texts and colophons written in the same hand
[78.VII.12]	49,1-4	666	3	6	19	A+	kong tse	
[78.VII.12]	49,5-9	667	3	6	20	A+	cont: kong tshe x2	
[78.VII.11]	50,1-3	668	3	6	20	A+	cang weng yir	
[78.VII.10]	51,1-4	669	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong	
[78.VII.10]	51,5-10	670	3	6	19	A	cont: ser thong thong x2	
[78.VII.10]	51,11-15	671	3	6	19	A	cont: ser thong thong x2	
[78.VII.9]	52,1-3	672	3	6	21	A+	cang jung jung	
[78.VII.8]	53,1-6	673	3	6	19	A+	cang weng yir x2	
[78.VII.7]	54,1-3	674	3	6	19	A+	^an stag tse	
[78.VII.6]	55,1-4	675	3	6	19	A+	leng ho zhun tse	
[78.VII.6]	55,5-9	676	3	6	19	A+	cont: leng ho zhun tse x2	
[78.VII.5]	56,1-3	677	3	6	19	A+	leng ho zhun tse	
[78.VII.4]	57,1-4	678	3	6	19	A-	unsigned	
[78.VII.4]	57,5-10	679	3	6	19	A-	cont: phan phan; 2: unsigned	
[78.VII.4]	57,11-15	680	3	6	19	A-	cont: phan phan; 2: phan phan	

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[78.VII.3]	58,1-3	681	3	6	19	A	snyal stag snya	This is the sutra copy pictured in Stein's plates of "Ch.05" (see Fig. 5) ¹⁸⁸ Exemplar copy, edited by Bal Gtsug rton ¹⁸⁹
[78.VII.2]	59,1-3	682	3	6	19	A	unsigned	
78.VII.1	60,1-3	683	3	6	19	A+	^an stag tse	
Vol. 110: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to sixty-five. A red-and-white sticker on the front of the first booklet, mounted on brown paper, gives the site number and pressmark. Between these, in blue, "40" indicates the number of rolls.								
78.XI	1,1-6	851	3	6	19	A+	so hva hva x2	1: starts <i>tadyathā</i> ^om
78.XI	2,1-6	852	3	6	19	A+	yam lha sbyin x2	2: first <i>dhāraṇī</i> begins <i>tadyathā</i> ^om sarva.
78.XI	2,7-12	853	3	6	19	A, A+	yam lha sbyin x2	Insertion adds <i>na mo...tathāgataya</i>
78.XI	3,1-3	854	3	6	19	A+	yam lha sbyin	First <i>dhāraṇī</i> begins <i>tadyathā</i> ^om <sarva sangskara> na mo
78.XI	4,1-5	855	3	6	19	B	ha stag slebs	Same hand as the rest of roll
78.XI	4,6-9	856	3	6	19	B	cont: ha stag slebs x2	
78.XI	5,1-4	857	3	6	19	A+	unsigned	
78.XI	5,5-10	858	3	6	19	A+	cont: khang kog hen; 2: khang kog ken	
78.XI	5,11-15	859	3	6	19	A+	cont: khang kog khen; 2: khang kog <kog> khen On verso of final panel: <i>lha dang /</i>	

¹⁸⁸ Bottom of final panel has upside-down start of sutra.

¹⁸⁹ Red-and-white sticker on middle of verso of final col., upside-down: "78.VII, No. 310." On verso of col. a, near bottom, upside-down, in black pen, "78.VII.1"; next to this, India Office Library stamp; and within stamp, in pencil: "Ch.05" (see Fig. 8).

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.XI	6,1-4	860	3	6	19	A+	cang legs rtsan	
78.XI	6,5-10	861	3	6	19	A+	cont: chang legs rtsan; 2: cang legs rtsan	
78.XI	6,11-15	862	3	6	19	A+	cont: cang legs rtsan x2	2: first <i>dhāraṇī</i> begins <i>tad dya tha <^om sa rba sang> na mo</i>
78.XI	7,1-4	863	3	6	19	A+	jīn lha bzher	
78.XI	7,5-10	864	3	6	19	A+	cont: jīn lha bzher x2	
78.XI	7,11-15	865	3	6	19	A+	cont: jīn lha bzher x2	
78.XI	8,1-3	866	3	6	19	A+	khang 'go 'go	
78.XI	9,1-6	867	3	6	19	A+	'e wam khyī brug x2	1: colophon hand does not match sutra hand
78.XI	9,7-12	868	3	6	19	A+	1: 'ebam khyī brug; 2: 'e wam khyī brug	
78.XI	10,1-3	869	3	6	19	A+	e wam khyi brug	
78.XI	11,1-4	870	3	6	19	A+	khyi brug	Same hand as previous
78.XI	11,5-10	871	3	6	19	A+	cont: khyī brug x2	
78.XI	11,11-15	872	3	6	19	A+	cont: khyī brug; 2: 'e wam khyī brug	
78.XI	12,1-3	873	3	6	19	A+	lu dze shing	
78.XI	13,1-6	874	3	6	19	A	ser thong thong x2	
78.XI	14,1-6	875	3	6	19	A+	1: wang hwa tshe; 2: unsigned	Roll is all in a single hand
78.XI	14,7-12	876	3	6	19	A+	unsigned x2	2: first <i>dhāraṇī</i> goes <i>tadya tha om/ sa rba...</i> ¹⁹⁰
78.XI	15,1-3	877	3	6	19	A+	wang klu legs	
78.XI	16,1-6	878	3	6	19	A+	wang klu legs x2	

¹⁹⁰ Inserted below the line, after *tadyathā: na mo* [...] *tathāgataya*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.XI	17,1-6	879	3	6	20	A+	cang weng yir x2	2: first <i>dhāraṇī</i> : <i>tadya tha om/ sa rba...</i> ¹⁹¹
78.XI	17,7-12	880	3	6	20	A+	1: unsigned; 2:cang weng yir	
78.XI	18,1-3	881	3	6	19	A+	khang 'go 'go	Panels 1 and 3: 31.5 cm; panel 2: 30 cm
78.XI	19,1-5	882	3	6	19	A+	stag snya	
78.XI	19,6-9	883	3	6	19	A+	cont: khang 'go 'go; 2: khang 'go go	
78.XI	20,1-3	884	3	6	19	A+	cang shib tig	
78.XI	21,1-6	885	3	6	19	A+	stag britan x2	
78.XI	21,7-12	886	3	6	19	A+	stag britan x2	
78.XI	22,1-6	887	3	6	19	A	1: cang stag lod; 2: stag lod	
78.XI	22,7-12	888	3	6	19	A	1: stag lod; 2: cang stag lod	
78.XI	23,1-4	889	3	6	20; 19	A+	jīn legs kong	
78.XI	23,5-10	890	3	6	19	A+	cont: jīn legs kong x2	
78.XI	23,11-15	891	3	6	19	A+	cont: jīn legs kong; 2: jīn legs kong	
78.XI	24,1-3	892	3	6	20	A+	unsigned	See footnote ¹⁹²
78.XI	25,1-3	893	3	6	19	A+	stag lod	
78.XI	26,1-6	894	3	6	19	A+	cang legs rtsan x2	
78.XI	27,1-3	895	3	6	20	A	unsigned	
78.XI	28,1-6	896	3	6	19	A+	1: lu dze shing; 2: unsigned	Both copies in same hand
78.XI	29,1-3	897	3	6	19	A+	wang rma snang	

¹⁹¹ Inserted below the line, after *tadyathā: na mo* [...] *tathāgataya tadyathā*.

¹⁹² On verso, perpendicular, and where panel had been glued to a longer roll: *do kyang 'do phul ba*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.XI	30,1-3	898	3	6	19	A+	unsigned	
78.XI	31,1-3	899	3	6	19	A+	unsigned	Height: ab: 30.5 cm; cd, ef: 31.5 cm
78.XI	32,1-3	900	3	6	19	A+	wang klu legs	
78.XI	33,1-3	901	3	6	20	A+	^im lha bzher	See footnote ¹⁹³
78.XI	34,1-5	902	3	6	19, 20	A+	^Im lha bzher	See footnote ¹⁹⁴
78.XI	34,6-9	903	3	6	19, 20	A+	cont: ^Im lha bzher; 2: ^Im lha b<r>zher	
78.XI	35,1-4	904	3	6	19	A+	tsh'e'u cang zhi	
78.XI	35,5-10	905	3	6	19	A+; A	cont: dze'u cang zhi; 2: unsigned	Both copies in same hand
78.XI	35,11-15	906	3	6	19	A	cont: tse'u cang zhi; 2: dze'u cang zhi	
78.XI	36,1-4	907	3	6	19	A	mchims g.yu gzigs	Scribe's name written in a thin ink
78.XI	36,5-10	908	3	6	19	A	cont: mchims g.yu gzigs x2	Chinese character in upper left margin of panel 6
78.XI	36,11-15	909	3	6	19	A	cont: mchims g.yu gzigs x2	
78.XI	37,1-6	910	3	6	19	A+	khe rgad lha tse x2	
78.XI	37,7-10	911	3	6	19	A+	khe rgad lha tse	
78.XI	37,11-15	912	3	6	19	A+	cont: khe rgad lha tses x2	
78.XI	38,1-6	913	3	6	20	A-	phan phan x2	

¹⁹³ Another scribe's name is scribbled over; only the beginning ^e is legible. Only fourth panel contains twenty lines per col.

¹⁹⁴ Another scribe's name is scribbled over in both colophons: ^em lha sbyin. Only eighth panel has twenty ruled lines. Cont: first *dhārāṇī* begins *phad sva ha/ na mo ba ga ba te/*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.XI	39,1-6	914	3	6	19	A	unsigned x2	<i>Dhāraṇī</i> divided by <i>shads</i> and spaces into 15 sections
78.XI	40,1-3	915	3	6	19	A+	unsigned	
<p>Vol. 111: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to fifty-one. This follows the numbers penciled on their upper left spines. They are numbered fifty-one to one on their back covers, in the opposite corners.</p>								
78.XII	1,1-3	916	3	6	19	A	khang tig tig	
78.XII	2,1-3	917	3	6	20	A+	'go kog thong	
78.XII	3,1-4	918	4	7	20,21	B	heng je'u	See footnote ¹⁹⁵
78.XII	3,5-10	919	4	7	21	B	cont: heng je'u x2	
78.XII	3,11-16	920	4	7	21	B	cont: heng je'u x2	
78.XII	3,17-21	921	4	7	21	B	cont: heng je'u x2	
78.XII	4,1-4	922	4	7 (no a; h blank)	20	B	'go klu gzigs	
78.XII	6,1-4	923	3	6	19	A	snyal lha gzigs	
78.XII	6,5-10	924	3	6	19	A	cont: snyal lha gzigs x2	
78.XII	6,11-15	925	3	6	19	A	cont: snyal lha gzigs x2	
78.XII	5,1-4	926	3	6	21	A+	stag brtan	

¹⁹⁵ First two panels contain 20 ll./col. The third, which ends the cont and begins the next, contains 21 ll./col. Sutra copies in this roll are: ab, cd, ef, g; a, bc, de, f; a, bc, de, f; a, bc, de, f; a, bc, de, f; and a, bc, de. By panels, that is 3.5.3 × 5, and 2.5. The construction of this roll is such that one could not detach individual copies without cutting a panel in half.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.XII	5,5-10	927	3	6	21	A+	cont: stag brtan x2	
78.XII	5,11-15	928	3	6	21	A+	cont: stag brtan x2	
78.XII	7,1-3	929	3	6	21	A+	unsigned	
78.XII	8,1-3	930	3	6	21	A-	unsigned	See footnote ¹⁹⁶
78.XII	13,1-3	931	3	6	20	A+	bam rma bzher	
78.XII	12,1-6	932	3	6	20	A+	cang legs bzang x2	
78.XII	12,7-12	933	3	6	19	A+	cang legs bzang x2	
78.XII	11,1-3	934	3	6	19	B+	unsigned	
78.XII	10,1-4	935	3	6	20	A+	le'u lha legs	
78.XII	10,5-10	936	3	6	20	A+	cont: lI'u lha legs; 2: le'u lha legs	First panel is 31.5 cm, others are 30 cm
78.XII	10,11-15	937	3	6	20	A+	cont: lha legs x2	
78.XII	9,1-6	938	3	6	21	A-	1: unsigned; 2: phan phan	First copy is aborted near explicit ¹⁹⁷
78.XII	14,1-3	939	3	6	19	A+	li'u lha legs	Colophon: <i>rje lha sras gyi sku yon du bsngos the</i> //li'u lha /legs bris//
78.XII	15,1-3	940	3	6	19	A+	lha lod	
78.XII	16,1-6	941	3	6	19	A+	1: lha lod; 2: unsigned	Both copies in same hand

¹⁹⁶ Paper is rougher, has large fibers visible on surface, same hand as Phan phan (see 310.938 below); ten laidlines per 3 cm, chainlines every 6.5 cm, patchy coverage of paper.

¹⁹⁷ Col. f. 1. 9 ends *lha dang myi dang* (g16 of PT 3901). Paper is rougher, has large fibers visible on surface, and same hand as ITJ 310.930 above, so probably owned by the same scribe; ten laidlines per 3 cm, chainlines every 6.5 cm, patchy coverage of paper.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.XII	16,7-12	942	3	6	19	A+	1: lha lod; 2: cang stag gu	See footnote ¹⁹⁸
78.XII	17,1-6	943	3	6	21, 20	A+	stag britan x2	
78.XII	17,7-12	944	3	6	20	A+	stag britan x2	
78.XII	18,1-3	945	3	6	19	A+	'go le'u le'u	
78.XII	19,1-6	946	3	6	19	A-	cang legs bzang x2	
78.XII	20,1-4	947	3	6	19	A	cang stag lod	
78.XII	20,5-10	948	3	6	19	A	cont: stag lod x2	
78.XII	20,11-15	949	3	6	19	A	cont: cang stag lod x2	
78.XII	21,1-3	950	3	6	19	A	cang stag lod	
78.XII	22,1-3	951	3	6	20	A	tshe'u dge la rton	Square style, midline <i>tshegs</i>
78.XII	23,1-3	952	3	6	19	A+	'go le'u le'u	Colophon in separate hand
78.XII	24,1-6	953	3	6	19	A+; A	1: 'go le'u le'u; 2: 'go mdo btshan	See footnote ¹⁹⁹
78.XII	24,7-12	954	3	6	19	A+	'go le'u le'u x2	See footnote ²⁰⁰
78.XII	25,1-4	955	3	6	20	B	ha stag slebs	
78.XII	25,5-10	956	3	6	19	B	cont: ha stag slebs; 2: 'l' do	Sutras in same hand
78.XII	25,11-15	957	3	6	19	B	cont: 'l' do; 2: ha stag <stobs> slebs	Sutras in same hand

¹⁹⁸ Same hand in sutra and colophons of both copies, which matches other copies attributed to Lha lod (e.g. PT 3672 and PT 3706).

¹⁹⁹ Colophon may be in separate hand or just in slack, colophonic hand; both copies in same hand.

²⁰⁰ Colophon may be in separate hand or just in slack, colophonic hand. 1: First *dhāraṇī* begins *tad ṭhiya tha/ /'om ba ga ba the/*.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
78.XII	26,1-4	958	3	6	20, 19	B	ha stag slebs	Same hand as previous roll ²⁰¹
78.XII	26,5-10	959	3	6	19	B	cont: ha stag slebs; 2: yi' do	Sutras in same hand
78.XII	26,11-15	960	3	6	19	B	cont: ha stag slebs x2	
78.XII	27,1-4	961	3	6	20	B	yi' do	28.5 cm high ²⁰²
78.XII	27,5-10	962	3	6	20	B	cont: 'I' do; 2: ha stog slebs	28.5 cm high. Sutras in same hand
78.XII	27,11-15	963	3	6	20	B	cont: ha stag slebs; 2: stag slebs	28.5 cm high. Cont: first <i>dhāraṇī</i> is missing
78.XII	28,1-3	964	3	6	19	A	snyal lha gzigs	
78.XII	29,1-4	965	3	6	19	A	unsigned	See footnote ²⁰³
78.XII	29,5-9	966	3	6	19	A	cont: unsigned; 2: heng ce'u	The sutras in this roll are in the same hand

Vol. 93: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to fifty-four. A slip of paper, wrongly placed in Vol. 11, reads: "86VII. 310. 31 Sheets. 30 rolls. (Each roll done up separate.) Binder. *Aparimitayuh*."

86.VII 1,1-6 136 3 6 19 A+ stag slebs x2

86.VII 2,1-6 137 3 6 19 A she'u klu legs x2

86.VII 2,7-12 138 3 6 19 A she'u klu legs x2

86.VII 2,13-18 139 3 6 19 A she'u klu legs x2

86.VII 3,1-6 140 3 6 20 A II ben tshe x2

201 Writing from end of line visible in first margin, showing it was previously attached to a scribed sutra copy. These match with the final margin of previous pressmark, demonstrating that rolls 25 and 26 were once part of a single roll.

202 Same hand as previous. These use *mgon bar dga' 'o* instead of *mmgon*.

203 Red-and-white sticker mounted on brown paper on back of booklet: "78.XII. No 310"; and in pencil: "29," referring to number of rolls.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
86.VII	3,7-12	141	3	6	20	A	II ben tshe x2	
86.VII	3,13-18	142	3	6	21	A	II ben tshe x2	
86.VII	3,19-24	143	3	6	21	A	II ben tshe x2	See footnote ²⁰⁴
86.VII	3,25-30	144	3	6	20	A	II ben tshe x2	
86.VII	3,31-36	145	3	6	20	A	II ben tshe x2	
86.VII	3,37-40	146	3	6	20	A	II ben tshe	
86.VII	3,41-45	147	3	6	21	A	cont: II ben tshe x2	
86.VII	4,1-6	148	3	6	19	A	snyal stag snya x2	
86.VII	4,7-12	149	3	6	19	A	snyal stag snya x2	
86.VII	4,13-16	150	3	6	19	A	snyal stag snya	
86.VII	4,17-21	151	3	6	19	A	cont: unsigned; 2: snyal stag snya	
86.VII	5,1-6	152	3	6	19	A+	'go le'u le'u x2	
86.VII	6,1-6	153	3	6	19	A+	lha lod x2	Conservator's paper covers final margin
86.VII	6,7-12	154	3	6	19	A+	lha lod x2	
86.VII	6,13-16	155	3	6	19	A+	lha lod	
86.VII	6,17-21	156	3	6	19	A+	cont: lha lod x2	
86.VII	7,1-3	157	3	6	19	A+	unsigned	Maybe Lha lod's hand
86.VII	8,1-4	158	3	6	19	A+	unsigned	
86.VII	8,5-9	159	3	6	19	A+	cont: unsigned x2	

204 1: hand is small, square, with long spaces before and after each iteration of the *dhāraṇī*. Not the same hand as other copies in this roll; 2: back to hand of above three pressmarks and the following pressmarks.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
86.VII	9,1-6	160	3	6	19	A+	1: unsigned; 2: tse weng	See footnote ²⁰⁵
86.VII	9,7-12	161	3	6	19	A+	1: zhim tshir; 2: unsigned	See footnote ²⁰⁶
86.VII	10,1-3	162	3	6	19	A	'go le'u le'u	
86.VII	11,1-3	163	3	6	19	A	'go le'u le'u	
86.VII	12,1-6	164	3	6	19	A	she'u klu legs x2	
86.VII	13,1-5	165	3	6	19,18,19	A+	unsigned	Copies in this roll are in the same hand ²⁰⁷
86.VII	13,6-9	166	3	6	19	A+	cont: unsigned; 2: jin lha bzher	Conservator's paper on final margin
86.VII	14,1-3	167	3	6	21	A-	stag chab	
86.VII	15,1-6	168	3	6	21	A+	cang snang legs x2	See footnote ²⁰⁸
86.VII	16,1-3	169	3	6	19	A+	cang rgya ta	Same hand as previous. Name is rubbed out of colophon: [xxx xxx] <gyf bris>/
86.VII	17,1-3	170	3	6	20	A+	cang snang legs	Same hand as previous

205 1: In lieu of colophon: *zhus/ yang zhus* /; 2: after colophon: *zhus/ yang zhus*/. Only the second of the four sutra copies from this roll is in a different hand. On front of booklet (verso of a): *kha*. This *kha* is also found on verso of the end of the third copy and start of the fourth copy of this roll.

206 After colophon in first copy: *zhus lags/ yang zhus* /; in lieu of colophon in second copy: *zhus/ yang zhus*/. A *kha* on verso of 1.f and 2.a. Not the same hand as ITJ 310.517–310.522, also ascribed to Zhim Tshir tshir. Glue on final margin, showing it was part of a longer roll.

207 1: nineteen ruled lines (scribe adds one line at the bottom of cols d and e, and two lines at the bottom of final col. f); 2: eighteen ruled for cols a, b, c, d (scribe adds one line at the bottom of each column); nineteen ruled for cols e and f (scribe adds one line at the bottom of e and two lines at the bottom of final col. f).

208 1: scribe writes *blon*(?) and then crosses it out before his name (was he going to write what he did below but for councilors, as in the St. Petersburg *Ap* copy Dkh. Tib. 1427); 2: scribe writes *rje lha sras gyi sku yon du bsnagos the* // before writing his name. Conservator's paper on final margin.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
86.VII	18,1-3	171	3	6	19	A	cang se'lu hvan	See footnote ²⁰⁹
86.VII	19,1-4	172	4	6	21	A+	ding ^eng tshe	Panels proceed ab, c, de, f ¹⁰
86.VII	20,1-3	173	3	6	21	A+	ding ^'ing tse	Different, squarer hand from above ²¹¹
86.VII	21,1-3	174	3	6	20	A-	ban de la li	Conservator's paper on final margin
86.VII	22,1-6	175	3	6	20	A-	sag zhun zhun x2	1: first <i>dhāraṇī</i> repeats <i>na mo bha ga ba te</i> ²¹²
86.VII	22,7-12	176	3	6	20	A-	sag zhun zhun x2	In both colophons another name seems to have been rubbed out but original <i>bris</i> left
86.VII	23,1-4	177	3	6	19	A+	lu tshe hing	
86.VII	23,5-9	178	3	6	19	A+	cont: lu tshe hing x2	Conservator's paper on final margin
86.VII	24,1-6	179	3	6	20	A+	1: khang tig tig; 2: khang tig tig	2: first <i>dhāraṇī</i> : <na> <i>tad dya tha</i>
86.VII	25,1-6	180	3	6	20	A	khang tig tig x2	See footnote ²¹³
86.VII	25,7-10	181	3	6	20	A	khang tigi tig	
86.VII	25,11-15	182	3	6	20	A+	cont: khang tig tig x2	
86.VII	26,1-6	183	3	6	20	A+	1: khang tig tig; 2: khang tig tig	

²⁰⁹ Traces of three Chinese characters on crossover between panels (right hand side of verso of c and e).

²¹⁰ At bottom of final panel are three upside-down lines starting the sutra. Probably abandoned due to errors, e.g. *bya bcub sems dpa'*, then paper re-used for panel 3.

²¹¹ In colophon, a name has been completely rubbed out beneath scribal attribution, but *gis bris* // is retained.

²¹² In both colophons another name seems to have been rubbed out but original *bris* left.

²¹³ Among the copies attributed to Khang Tig tig, there are some differences between those that use the A+ *dhāraṇī* and those that use A. The latter open with *\$/* or even *\$/.* instead of *\$/:*; they begin *bod skad du* on l. 2, rather than on the far right of l. 1; their colophons read *khang tig tig gis briso*, or *khang tig tig*, whereas A+ colophons read *khang tig tig bris*, or *khang tig tig*; and their explicit ends *rdzogsso* rather than *rdzogs so*. The hands are fairly similar.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
86.VII	27,1-3	184	3	6	20	A+	khang tig tig	
86.VII	28,1-3	185	3	6	20	A+	sag lug nyeng	Very square script ²¹⁴
86.VII	29,1-3	186	3	6	20	A	'go gyu len	
86.VII	30,1-4	187	3	6	20	A	khang tig tig	See footnote ²¹⁵
86.VII	30,5-10	188	3	6	20	A	cont: khang tig tig; 2: khang tig tig	
86.VII	30,11-15	189	3	6	20	A	khang tig tig x2	

Vol. 94: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to fifty-five, following the numbers penciled on the top left of each spine. There is an inverse set of penciled numbers, (fifty-five to one) on the back of each booklet's lower left corner, which corresponds to the upper-right corner when the stack of booklets was upside-down and numbered in that way. A note card on top of these booklets reads, in pencil: "34 Rolls of M.S.S. Each roll in separate lot. [*Underlined*:] Binder. *Aparamityur*."

86.IX 1,1-6 190 3 6 19 A gzangs lha sto x2

86.IX 1,7-12 191 3 6 19 A gzangs lha sto x2

86.IX 1,13-16 192 3 6 19 A gzangs lha sto

86.IX 1,17-21 193 3 6 19 A cont: gzangs lha sto x2

86.IX 2,1-6 194 3 6 19 A gzangs lha sto x2

86.IX 2,7-12 195 3 6 19 A gzangs lha sto x2

86.IX 2,13-18 196 3 6 19 A gzangs lha sto x2

²¹⁴ Upside down, below scribe's name in final column, f. \$ / : / rgya gar skad du ^a pa ri mi ta/ ^a yu na ma ma ha na ya. Scribe realized mistake and stopped, rotated the roll 180 degrees, and started over.

²¹⁵ Twenty lines ruled, but scribe writes five lines in space lined for three at the bottom of col. f. Incipit of second copy: \$ / : / rgya gar skad du ^a pa ri mi ta ^a yu <gya' ga> na <ga> ma ma ya na su tra //.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
86.IX	2,19-22	197	3	6	19	A	gzangs lha sto	
86.IX	2,23-27	198	3	6	19	A	cont: gzangs lha sto x2	
86.IX	3,1-6	199	3	6	19	A+	lu ju ju x2	
86.IX	3,7-10	200	3	6	19	A+	lu ju ju	
86.IX	3,11-15	201	3	6	19	A+	cont: lu ju ju x2	
86.IX	4,1-3	202	3	6	19	A+	cang shib tig	
86.IX	5,1-6	203	3	6	19	A+	cang shIb tig x2	
86.IX	5,7-10	204	3	6	19	A+	cang shIb tig	
86.IX	5,11-15	205	3	6	19	A+	cont: cang shib tig 2: cang shib tig	See footnote ²¹⁶
86.IX	6,1-3	206	3	6	19	A+	cang shib tig	
86.IX	7,1-6	207	3	6	19	A+	cang stag rma x2	
86.IX	8,1-6	208	3	6	19	A+	1: cang ^i tse; 2: cang ^I tse	
86.IX	8,7-10	209	4	7 (no h)	19	A+	unsigned	See footnote ²¹⁷
86.IX	9,1-3	210	3	6	19	A+, A-	cang jung jung	See footnote ²¹⁸
86.IX	10,1-6	211	3	6	19	A+	'go le'u le'u x2	
86.IX	11,1-4	212	4	7 (no h)	19	A	bam rma bzher	Incipit: <i>brgya gar skad du</i>
86.IX	12,1-4	213	3	6	19	A+	cang stag rma	
86.IX	12,5-9	214	3	6	19	A+	cont: cang stag rma x2	

²¹⁶ Cont: three Chinese characters in changeover (they would have been under glue) between panels 10 and 11.

²¹⁷ Writing changes on cols e and f to become very large and lax. Returns to tight *dbu can* on col. g.

²¹⁸ First instance of *dhāraṇī: tad tya ^om / na mo [...]* and omits *tad dya tha* in the middle. Rest are standard type A.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
86.IX	13,1-6	215	3	6	19	A+	cang stag rma x2	
86.IX	14,1-4	216	3	6	19	A	mchims g.yu gzlgs	
86.IX	14,5-9	217	3	6	19	A	cont: mal gzlgs kong; 2: mchims g.yu gzlgs	2: col. d is 0.75 width ²¹⁹
86.IX	15,1-6	218	3	6	19	A-	cang shib tig x2	
86.IX	16,1-6	219	3	6	19	A-	1: unsigned; 2: cang shib tig	Both copies in same hand
86.IX	17,1-6	220	3	6	19	A-	1: cang shib tig; 2: cang shib tig	
86.IX	18,1-3	221	3	6	19	A-	khang btsan bzher	Uses /-/
86.IX	19,1-3	222	3	6	19	A-	khang btsan bzher	
86.IX	20,1-6	223	3	6	20	A+	1: le'u le'u; 2: cang stag skyes	See footnote ²²⁰
86.IX	21,1-6	224	3	6	19	A+	jIn lha bzher x2	See footnote ²²¹
86.IX	22,1-6	225	3	6	19	A+	stag mdo snang x2	Begins first <i>dhāraṇī tad thya tha ^om ...</i>
86.IX	23,1-3	226	3	6	19	A+	lha legs	
86.IX	24,1-3	227	3	6	19	A+	unsigned	
86.IX	25,1-3	228	3	6	19	A+	lha legs	
86.IX	26,1-4	229	4	7 (no h)	19	B	lha legs	See footnote ²²²
86.IX	27,1-6	230	3	6	19	A	mchims g.yu gzlgs x2	

²¹⁹ The final copy is not in an obviously different hand. Resembles ITJ 310.230–231 below. A similar situation with same scribes is found in PT 3653 and 3932. Cang Stag skyes' name is written rather messily, but then so is latter half of this second copy.

²²⁰ The second colophon reads: *\$/jIn lha bzher gyis bris / blon g.yu bzang gis zhus*. There are no signs of editing.

²²¹ Name of Lha legs given in a thicker black ink, closer to the ink and style of the preceding sutra copy.

²²² Name of Lha legs given in a thicker black ink, closer to the ink and style of the preceding sutra copy.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
86.IX	27,7-12	231	3	6	19	A	mchims g.yu gzigs x2	
86.IX	28,1-3	232	3	6	19	A+	cang snang legs	
86.IX	29,1-3	233	3	6	19	A+	cang jung jung	
86.IX	30,1-6	234	3	6	19	A-	1: unsigned; 2: cang shib tig	Both copies in same hand
86.IX	31,1-4	235	3	6	19	A-	cang shlb tig	
86.IX	31,5-9	236	3	6	19	A-	cont: unsigned; 2: cang shib tig	Both copies in same hand
86.IX	32,1-6	237	3	6	19	A	gzangs lha sto x2	
86.IX	33,1-4	238	3	6	19	A	gzangs lha sto	
86.IX	33,5-9	239	3	6	19	A	cont: gzangs lha sto x2	
86.IX	34,1-6	240	3	6	19	B	heng je'u x2	
86.IX	34,7-10	241	3	6	19	B	heng je'u	Uses /:/
86.IX	34,11-15	242	3	6	19	B	cont: heng je'u x2	
86.IX	35,1-6	243	3	6	19	A+	bam rma bzher x2	
86.IX	35,7-12	244	3	6	19	A+	bam rma bzher x2	

Vol. 96: the booklets in this volume are numbered one to twenty-nine. A red-and-white sticker in center of first booklet's cover reads: "86. XIII. 4" and "No. 310." A blue pencil has crossed out the "4." Another red-and-white sticker, mounted on brown paper, gives the site number and pressmark. A blue pencil has added "24," referring to the number of rolls. In pencil, also on booklet's cover: "86. XIII. 4," and "310." No site numbers are marked on any of the other booklets. Evidently the first three rolls from this bundle were misplaced, probably after the blue pencil's annotation. There is water damage found in the top margins of some copies and the bottom margins of others, which becomes more severe in the higher-numbered rolls (that were presumably closer to the outside of the bundle).

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[86.XIII.1]	none	1208	4	7 (no h)	17	A+	be hing tse	See footnote ²²³
[86.XIII.2]	none	1209	4	7 (no h)	17	A+	yang kog cung	See footnote ²²⁴
[86.XIII.3]	none	1210	3	6	20	A+	khang bishan bzher	See footnote ²²⁵
86.XIII.4	4,1-6	300	3	6	19	A+	cang lha legs x2	1: in first <i>dhārānī</i> : <i>tad dya tha <^om sa rba sang ska ra pa ri shud> na no</i>
[86.XIII.4]	4,7-12	301	3	6	19	A+	cang lha legs x2	Colophon of second copy has blotted out name
[86.XIII.4]	4,13-18	302	3	6	19	1:A;2:A+	cang lha legs x2	1: name rubbed out and written over in colophon
[86.XIII.4]	4,19-24	303	3	6	19	A+	cang lha legs x2	Final panel of first copy is 0.5 width ²²⁶
[86.XIII.5]	5,1-7	304	4; 3	7 (no h); 6	19	B+;A+	1: unsigned; 2: hvA hva hva	28 cm high. Very square writing. First <i>dhārānī</i> lacks <i>tathāgataya</i>
[86.XIII.6]	6,1-4	305	4	7 (no h)	19	A+	bye hing tse	

²²³ There is a large diagonal cut that removed the lower right corner of the end of the roll (col. f). The slice starts from the left column gutter at the bottom of f and then travels up and to the right to end at the right margin adjacent line 8. The pressmark ITJ 310.1208 is written in pencil by Sam van Schaik on the verso of the final col., perpendicular, adjacent to a purple India Office Library Stamp, dated 10 Oct 1929 (Fig. 27). Nearby, also in pencil is the site number “Chien. 0698.”

²²⁴ There is a large diagonal cut that removed the lower right corner of the end of the roll (col. f). The slice starts from a third of the way across col. f and then travels up and to the right to the right margin adjacent line 7. The pressmark ITJ 310.1209 is written in pencil by Sam van Schaik on the verso of the final col., perpendicular, adjacent to a purple India Office Library Stamp, dated 10 Oct 1929.

²²⁵ Third panel is a different, darker paper, which doesn't lie flush with the second panel, or its cols. The pressmark ITJ 310.1210 is written by Sam van Schaik perpendicular in pencil on the verso of the final col.

²²⁶ 1: first *dhārānī* begins *tad dya tha ^om na mo*; others are B+. 1: upside-down struck-through line at bottom of final column. Water damage across top of manuscript.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[86.XIII.7]	7,1-4	306	4	7 (g 0.75 width)	19	A-	yang kog cung	Square style, midline <i>tshegs</i>
[86.XIII.8]	8,1-4	307	3	6	19	A+	unsigned	Copies in this roll are in the same hand
[86.XIII.8]	8,5-9	308	3	6	19	A+	cont: hVA hva hva x2	Water damage along top of verso of final panel
[86.XIII.9]	9,1-6	309	3	6	19	A+	leng ho zhun tse x2	Water damage along bottom margin
[86.XIII.9]	9,7-12	310	3	6	19	A+	leng ho zhun tse x2	Water damage along bottom margin
[86.XIII.10]	10,1-3	311	3	6	20	A	'go lang	End title repeated ²²⁷
[86.XIII.11]	11,1-3	312	3	6	20	A+	unsigned	Writing becomes small and cramped on final col., crams in 22 ll. ²²⁸
[86.XIII.12]	12,1-3	313	3	6	21	A	unsigned	
[86.XIII.13]	13,1-3	314	3	6	20	A	shig 'gi tig	Colophon hand does not match sutra hand
[86.XIII.14]	14,1-3	315	3	6	21	A	baM stag siebs	Square script, midline <i>tshegs</i>
[86.XIII.15]	15,1-6	316	3	6	20	A	unsigned x2	At end of 2: upside down on last line: <i>\$/:/rgya gar sku</i>
[86.XIII.15]	15,7-12	317	3	6	20	A	unsigned x2	2: <i>Pha</i> on col. a verso
[86.XIII.16]	16,1-3	318	3	6	20	A	smon legs	Writing becomes smaller, compact at end, scribe fits final two lines below l. 20
[86.XIII.17]	17,1-6	319	3	6	19	A	gu rib lha lung brtsan x2	

²²⁷ First ends in *^om sa bA bha*. Final margin cut, with remnants of attached panel glued into final margin.

²²⁸ Paper is absorbent, bleeds onto verso.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.	P.	Cols	LI.	Dh.	Scribe(s)	Notes
[86.XIII.17]	17,7-12	320	3	6	19	A	gu rib lha lung brtsan x2	See footnote ²²⁹
[86.XIII.17]	17,13-19	321	4; 3	7 (g 0.5 with); 6	19	A; A+	1: gu rib lha lung brtsan; 2: mchims g.yu gzlgs lyang sha tse	See footnote ²³⁰
[86.XIII.18]	18,1-3	322	3	6	17	A+	sag legs bzang	28 cm high. Very square writing
[86.XIII.19]	19,1-3	323	3	6	19	A	cang hing tse	28 cm high. Col. g 28 cm wide. Very square writing; midline <i>tshegs</i> .
[86.XIII.20]	20,1-4	324	4	7 (no h)	17	A+	shig t'ig t'ig	
[86.XIII.21]	21,1-3	325	3	6	19	A	shig 'gI tig	
[86.XIII.22]	22,1-3	326	3	6	20	A	shig 'gI tig	
[86.XIII.23]	23,1-3	327	3	6	19	A	shig 'gI tig	
[86.XIII.24]	24,1-3	328	3	6	19	A	leng ho zhun tse	Water damage along top margin

229 1: *dhāraṇī* divided into fifteen sections; 2: the first two panels are written in small, cramped letters. The final two are written in huge, spaced letters. Seems to be the same hand.

230 Colophon of the second copy reads: *gu rib lha lung brtsan gyi bam po mchims g.yu gzlgs gyis brts / /*. Second copy could be in a different hand from ITJ 310.319, 310.320 and 310.321, copy 1, but difficult to say.

4.2.3 Other copies or fragments

The rolls and fragments documented here are essentially of three types. First there are the forty-five fragments, running from just one panel to five panels. Second, there are those complete *Ap* copies that come from bundles that include a variety of texts rather than predominantly *Ap* copies. Third, there are those copies that seem to have originally come from a bundles of single-sutra rolls or from mixed bundles of *Ap*, but which have been mislaid during the conservation and cataloguing processes. Our documentation above already virtually reunited three of these – ITJ 310.1208 to 1210, with the mixed bundle from which they were separated, 86.XIII. Inversely, we have virtually removed four booklets (site nos 87.XIII, subpressmarks ITJ 310.415 to 418) from Vol. 98, where they have been mistakenly kept with booklets that have the site number 86.XV. As noted in Chapter Three, many of the rolls that bear simple serial numbers like “10” or “fr. 33,” or “fragment 39” seem to have come from a bundle of single-sutra rolls. However, they only bear these deficient site numbers, and it is possible that the sequence with these site numbers was grouped together when roll numbers were assigned.

Ordering these manuscripts by site number, the fragments are mixed in with the complete copies, and edited copies are together with the unedited copies. This renders the data a bit less wieldy than the documentation of the two types of bundles above.

In Chapters One and Three we noted a few groups of these copies that belonged together under an existing site number. In these cases our documentation places the site number we have inferred in brackets, and gives the existing, deficient site number in bold, e.g. “[I.1.a] **54.**” In our reconstructions we have been guided by La Vallée Poussin’s record in his catalogue and by the marks and numbers on the manuscripts themselves. It may be possible to make further reconstructions using our data, but we have stopped short of grouping every complete copy by roll number, mostly out of caution for creating a “quasi-bundle” where none may have existed. As we saw in Chapter Three, there is some variation in terms of the scribes and editors one finds in a given bundle. One could not, for example, accurately reconstruct the bundles of *Ap* copies kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France by sorting these according to their editors. The same is true of these “orphaned” *Ap* copies in the Stein collection, notwithstanding their deficient quasi-site numbers and their useful, albeit vexing roll numbers.

In the case of fragments, we have identified a *dhāraṇī* based only on what is visible. In cases where we do not have the first *dhāraṇī* in the sutra and at least one subsequent *dhāraṇī*, “B” or “A” is a basic identification, since one cannot specify variants, e.g. A+ or B+. If there is no complete *dhāraṇī*, but one can see that *tadyathā* is in the middle, this could be A, or it could be B+. In such cases, we have entered “A?”

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	LI.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
73.VI.1	1,1-3	1041	3	6	20	B	myeg le g.yu bzang				Square style, midline <i>tshegs</i> , /: No <i>tshegs</i> in colophon
73.VI.7	n/a	ITJ 309	n/a	n/a	4	A	n/a				9 <i>pothi</i> -format leaves, incomplete
73.VI frag. 1-3	3,1-3	1042	3	6	20	B	cang stag lod				See footnote ²³¹
73.VII?	3,1-3	1043	3	6	19	A	dang smon legs				See footnote ²³²
73.VII.3	4,1-4	1044	4	8	19	B	mgar klu mthong				See footnote ²³³
73.XIII.12	none	967	1	2	n/a	B?	je'u hwa 'do	phug 'gi	[phug 'lgi?	pab dzang	See footnote ²³⁴
"FRAGMENT"											
73.XV.001	none	IOL KhotS 17	3	4	18	B	bam stag slebs	lI phab weng	phug 'gi	ha jing	See footnote ²³⁵
73.XV.2	5,1-3	968	3	6	20	A+	wang hwa tse				See footnote ²³⁶

²³¹ First *dhāraṇī* is about to end, but then goes: *na ha na ya/ ^om sa rba sang ska ra* [...]. Top and bottom left of col. a are torn. Original sticker on front of booklet (with lots of scribbles) ripped off; pencil: “73.VII”; back cover has: “73.VI frag. 1-3.” On front of booklet, “*aparimitāyur*,” in black ink and underlined.

²³² Site number in blue pencil: “73.VII” Given its roll number is the same as the previous item, the doubt is warranted.

²³³ *Iha* written on verso of col. a; ^*om* written after scribe’s name. Remedial square style. Pencil amends site number “73.VII.3” to “1-3,” blue pencil adds “?” Given that this is roll 4, it probably should be 73.VII.4.

²³⁴ Verso of penultimate col. has Chinese in red (three larger characters) and black (ten smaller characters) written on it. Three lines of a Tibetan prayer on verso of right side of the final col., running up the page: (1) \$ // *sang rgya tso la phyag 'tshal lo // skyab (sgyab) pa'I chos la phyag 'tshal lo dge 'dun tshe las phyag 'tshal (2) lo // yang dag par bzhug pa'I rnam la phyag 'tshal lo // rgyun du zhug (interline <) pa'I (> interline) rnam la phyag 'tshal lo / lan cig byo[xxx] (3) ba' 'I rnam ta <> phyag lo //*

²³⁵ Includes the final four cols of the sutra. Cols have been separated and mounted onto conservator’s paper, still in scroll format. Site number given in black pen: “Ch. 00120 (73.XV.001)” with pencil crossing out the “1.” Further pencil clarifies that these site numbers, 00120 and 0020, are equated. See Figs 11a and 11b.

²³⁶ The non-correspondence of site numbers and roll numbers in this and the next copy suggest confusion.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
73.XV.8	2,1-3	969	3	6	19	A	stag lod				
74.V	15,1-4	430	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	sag dge legs	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	
75.IV.1	none	1205	1, torn	2 (g, part of h)	18	B?	cang zhun				Fragment is 30 × 32 cm
75.IX.5	1,4	431	1	2	19	A?	lha lod				After colophon: <i>zhus lags so //</i>
77.VIII.1	1,1-3	432	3	6	19	B	^im stag rma				
79.VIII.5	none	3	1	2	20	B?	n/a				
79.XIII.1	2,1-3	4	3	6	19	B	lu dze shing	shes rab	ji ^i na	dpal mchog	See footnote ²³⁷
79.XIV.3	none	1206	1, torn	1 (a)	19	A	n/a				31.5 × 22 cm
79.XVI.6	2,1-5	5	5 (a incipit)	8	19	B, A+	cang zhun zhun				See footnote ²³⁸
79.XVI.9	none	ITJ 514	1, torn	1, torn	n/a	A	n/a				
80.II.1	1,1;2,2;3	ITJ 1588	3	6	19	B	cang stag lod				First 9 lines of a; 7.5 × 13.5 cm
80.II	none	1201	1, torn	2 (ab)	n/a	n/a	n/a				Last 3 lines of cols; 5.7 × 12 cm
80.II	none	1202	1, torn	2 (ab)	n/a	A?	n/a				Last 11 lines of cols; 18.5 × 17 cm
80.II	none	1203	1, torn	1	n/a	B	n/a				
80.IV	4,1	ITJ 1589	1	2	19	B	wang rma snang				

²³⁷ Does not correspond to IDP image of ITJ 310.4, which depicts the wrong item as of 12 July 2024.

²³⁸ After scribal colophon: (red <) *zhuso* (> red) / *yang zhus* / *sum zhus* / *bzhi zhuso*. This same hand amends first instance of the *dhiarant* alone (col. 2 ll. 6–8) from B to A+ in thinner black ink, with the interlinear insertions marked with a cross. There is an extra page at front of booklet with the final line of sutra written vertically from bottom to top, seemingly in a different hand to the main text: \$ // *tshe dpog du myed pa zhes bye ba theg pa chen po* <n?> *i mdo rdzogs so* /.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
80.V	3,1	ITJ 1590	3	6	19	B	'go mdo brtsan	shin dar	sgron ma	chos brtan	See footnote ²³⁹
80.V.2	5,1-4	ITJ 1488	4	8 (a blank)	19	A+	dvan heng dar	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	Pressmark "777" crossed out in pencil for "310"
80.V.3	6,1-4	ITJ 1489	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	dge legs	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	See footnote ²⁴⁰
80.VIII.4	1,1-3	6	3	5	19	B?	cang klu legs				Pencil amends "80.VIII.1" to "80.VII.4"
80.VIII.5	7,1-3	ITJ 1591	4	8 (a,h blank)	19	B	bam kim kang				See footnote ²⁴¹
80.VIII.2	8,1-2	ITJ 1592	2	4	20	B?	khang tlg tig				Pencil strikes through pressmark "99," adds "310"
80.IX.1	1-2	7	2	4	19	B?	dge slong dam ^ing				See footnote ²⁴²
81.V.1	none	2	4	7 (no a)	19	B	n/a				See footnote ²⁴³
81.VIII.8	1,1-3	8	3	6	19	B	phan phan	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	Pencil adds "8" to site no.
81.VIII.9	2,1-3	9	3	6	19	A	dza'u dge la rton				Pencil adds "9" to site no.

²³⁹ Pressmark "777" crossed out in pencil and replaced with "310." This appears to be the second of the two Dunhuang manuscripts used by Konow. He claims it includes "an invocation of Amitabha in barbaric Sanskrit." This was not observed, and it makes the identification uncertain.

²⁴⁰ Panels 2 and 3 (containing cols c–f) have become displaced and are marked in pencil in the wrong order (as 6,3 and 6,2 respectively). Pressmark "777" crossed out in pencil and replaced with "310."

²⁴¹ Jottings/invocations on recto of col. a. Pencil amends "80.VIII.1" to "80.VII.5," strikes through pressmark "778," and adds "310."

²⁴² Final (fragmentary) panel reads *rdzogs so* / [further down col.: *\$/:/dge slong dam ^ing gis /xxx/*] [further down col.: *\$/ / [r?]e[xxx]*]. On red-and-white sticker with site number and pressmark, pencil adds "B," making it "80.IX.B1." On the manuscript itself, in pencil: "80.IX.1."

²⁴³ Does not correspond to IDP image of ITJ 310.2 as of 12 July 2024. Jotting of opening of sutra on verso of the first panel, perpendicular, top to bottom.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
82.II.4?	2.1-2	10	2	4	19	A?	so hva hva				Site no.: "82.II.4?6"
82.XVI	none	ITJ 1593	1	2	n/a	B?	n/a				Sign of editing in red. Pressmark "184b" struck through for "310."
83.V.1	9.1-4	11	4	7 (no a)	19	A+	jīn lha bzher	phab weng	phab weng	shin dar	Pressmark "230" struck through for "310"
83.VI.2	10.1-3	12	3	6	19	B	'bye mdo snang	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	phabdzang	Site no.: "80" struck through for "83"
83.IX.10	none	1200	1, torn	2	n/a	A?	n/a				
84.XIV.5	none	ITJ 930	1, torn	1 (h)	19	B	n/a	dpal mchog	phug 'gi	vacat	
85.IV.2	1-3	13	3	6	19	B	bam kim kang				
85.IX.1	1-3	14	3	5 (a 1.5 width)	20	B	klu legs	dam 'gi	leng pe 'u	ci keng	
85.IX.2	none	ITJ 1497	2	3	19	B	'phan la brtan	dge slong	shin dar	leng che'u	Pencil adds "2" to site no., adds "310"
[85.IX.3]	none	ITJ 1501	1	2	20	C	n/a	cang chos brtan			See footnote ²⁴⁴

²⁴⁴ As above (a missing middle panel of the same sutra copy, col. a, l. 5, corresponds to ITJ 310.645 line c8, explicit to d15), *dhāraṇī* includes *te dzo* and *ʿa ri ha te sam(JM) myag sam(JM) bud d+ha (bud+ha) ya* in the same places consistently. First complete instance of *dhāraṇī* (not first of the once-complete copy), panel 1, ll. 14–16, reads: *na mo b+ha ga ba te a pa ri mI ta ʿa yu gnyaʿ / na su bi ni shci te dzo na dza ya ta tha ga ta ya / ʿa ri ha te sam myag sam bud d+ha ya / tad ya tha ʿom sa rba sang skar / pa ri shu de d+har ma de ga na sa mud ga te sva b+ha bi shu d+he ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sva h a //* and explicit (col. b, l. 20, corresponding to ITJ 310.645 d15) ends *dirir j'ug pa'i sa phyogs de yang mtshorten dang / ITJ 1499 and 1501 appear to be fragments of the same copy, which justifies our assigning a site number here.*

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
85.IX.4	none	ITJ 1499	3	4	20	C	n/a				Pencil adds "4" to site no., adds "310"
85.IX.5	none	ITJ 1500	1	2	19	B	khang 'go 'go	[le]ng ce'u	ci keng	shin dar	Pencil adds "5" to site no., adds "310"
87.XIII.a	11,1-3	415	3	6	19	B	chos gyi'ye shes	phab weng			See footnote ²⁴⁵
87.XIII.b	12,1-4	416	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	ci king	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	See footnote ²⁴⁶
87.XIII.d	13,1-3	417	3	6	19	B	kvag stag rtsan	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	See footnote ²⁴⁷
87.XIII.f	14,1-4	418	4	8 (h blank)	19	B	chos gyi'ye shes	phab weng			See footnote ²⁴⁸
[87.XIII] 50	15,1-4	ITJ 1608	4	7 (h blank)	19	B	ci king	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	By site no., in pencil: "310"
[87.XIII] 51	16,1-4	ITJ 1609	4	7 (a blank)	19	B	ban de ci king	leng pe'u			By site no., in pencil: "310"
[87.XIII] 35	17,1-4	ITJ 1599	4	7 (a blank)	19	B	sag dge legs	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	By site no., in pencil: "310"
[87.XIII] 36	18,1-4	ITJ 1600	4	7 (no a)	19	B	dpal mchog	de[u] ^ing	dam ^ing	de'u ^ing	By site no., in pencil: "310"

245 Red-and-white sticker upside-down in middle of verso of final col.: "87.XII.a, No. 310." All in black ink except for "a," which is in pencil. It partly covers writing in pencil, "Aparimitayur." Site number "87.XIII" in large letters, black pen, upside down at bottom of verso of final col. On spine, lower right, upside-down: "39." Across, on left, "4" is struck through.

246 Red-and-white sticker in middle of verso of col. a: "87.XII.b, No. 310." All in black ink except for "b," which is in pencil. On spine, in pencil: "40"; on upper right, struck-through: "2." Red-and-white sticker in middle of verso of final col.: "87.XIII, No. 310." Writing in pencil: "Aparimitayur." Site number "87.XIIIb" in large letters, black pen, at top of verso of final col.

247 Red-and-white sticker in middle of verso of col. a: "87.XII, No. 310." On spine, in pencil: "41"; on upper right, struck-through: "1." Under site number, in pencil: "310." In middle of verso of final col., in pencil: "Aparimitayur."

248 Red-and-white sticker in middle of verso of col. a: "87.XII.f, No. 310." All in black ink except for "f," which is pencil. On spine, in pencil: "42"; on upper right, struck-through: "3." Perpendicular, under site number, and in pencil: "Aparimitayur."

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
[87.XIII]	19,1-3	1038	3	6	19	B	wang klu legs				See footnote ²⁴⁹
Fragment 38											
[87.XIII]	20,1-3	1037	3	6	19	B	unsigned				See footnote ²⁵⁰
Fragment 38											
[87.XIII]	21,1-3	1040	3	6	20	B?	stag lod				See footnote ²⁵¹
Fragment.39.b											
[87.XIII]	22,1-3	1039	3	6	n/a	B	n/a				See footnote ²⁵²
Fragment.39.c											
[87.XIII]	23,1-4	422	4	7 (no h)	19	B	cang stag ra	leng pe'u	ci keng	sgron ma	By site no., in pencil: "310"
Fragment 41											
87.XIII	none	1204	1, torn (a)	1	19	n/a	n/a				See footnote ²⁵³
[I.1.a]54	9,1-3	ITJ 1611	3	6	18	A+	'gu khong britan				See footnote ²⁵⁴

249 Nine Chinese characters on verso of col. f (similar to ITJ 310.1040 below). Site number in pencil: "fr. <38 40> 39c"; sticker: "Fragment 39c." The quasi-site numbers of this and the following three rolls do not follow their roll numbers. This and the next roll were probably La Vallée Poussin's "Fragment 38," which he listed as including three copies. (We only identify these two, which at least have "38" struck through).

250 In pencil, on front cover: "fr. 38"; in pen, on back cover: "fragment 39b"; same on sticker.

251 Final 2 ll. damaged in similar way as the next roll; both have ragged edge. Nine Chinese characters on verso of col. f (similar to ITJ 310.1038 above). Site number in pen: "Fragment 39e"; on sticker: "Fragment 39-d>e." This and the next roll probably correspond to La Vallée Poussin's "Fragments 39b-c."

252 Bottom 4 ll. of scroll torn off or damaged; this is where colophon would have been. Quasi-site number in pencil: "39.D"; in pen, on back cover: "Frag.39d."

253 The letter "d" was added below the site number on this fragment, as seen in Fig. 22.

254 28.5 cm high; nice square script and midline *tshegs* until the final four lines (g13, *bha ga ba te* onwards) when script becomes smaller, less square with no midline *tshegs*, and this hand matches scribal attribution. PT 3957 (also attributed to 'Gu Khong britan) shares this square style throughout sutra copy, even at end and in the colophon. Might this suggest how scribes can change their styles? By site number, in pencil: "310."

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	LI.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
[I.1.b] 53	10,1-3	423	3	6	19	A+	dze'u weng tse				28 cm high. Very nice square script
[I.1.c] 49	11,1-3	ITJ 1607	3	6	20	A+	khang btshan bzher				By site no., in pencil: "310" ²⁵⁵
[I.1.d] 47	12,1-3	ITJ 1605	3	6	21	A+	leng ho shing tse				By site no., in pencil: "310"
I.1[e]	13,1-4	1034	4	7 (no h)	19	A+	unsigned				See footnote ²⁵⁶
XV	n/a	ITJ 478			4	A	n/a				Torn <i>pothi</i> -format leaf; belongs with ITJ 308
XXXIII.003	8,1-4	1035	4	7 (no h)	19	B	stag slebs	he jing	phug 'gi	he jing	
XL.004	9,1-4	1036	4	7 (no h)	19	B	cang stag lod	phug 'gi	dpal mchog	pab dzang	
XLIII.002 (Fragment 29)	none	420	1	2	19	A?	se thong pa	phab dzang	phab ci	dpal mchog	Next to site no.: "fragment 29, no. 310"
CXLVII.2	none	419	1	2	15	A?	n/a				See footnote ²⁵⁷
CCC.2	n/a	ITJ 308			4	A	n/a				Three torn <i>pothi</i> -format leaves; belongs with ITJ 478

²⁵⁵ At end of scribal colophon, in separate hand: "zhus."

²⁵⁶ In pencil on verso of col. a: "*qparamitayur*, 5 copies, incomplete, Ch.I.1. Part of a bundle numbered Ch.I from sorted Chinese bundles." We have located what we believe are the other four copies, immediately above. There are ten Chinese characters in black on the verso of col. c.

²⁵⁷ On top of this fragment, which is the first in Vol. 99, is a note written on back of India Office memo paper: "85 IX.3 *Usnisa vyaya dhāranī* = 322 same." Type-written document is headed "Miss A.F. Thompson, India Office Library, King Charles Street." Ends with date "18th September, 1964." Many of the fragments in this volume are mounted on Kraft paper, essentially glued onto it so that one cannot see their versos for jottings, etc. At the bottom of col. 2, beginning of text written upside down (...) *ma ha yan na*). No guidelines or margins. Manuscript measures 27.5 × 49.5 cm.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	Ll.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
10	2-3	ITJ 1594	2	4	19	B?	n/a				See footnote ²⁵⁸
13	none	ITJ 1595	2	3	20	B?	n/a				Square script, midline <i>tshegs</i>
14	none	ITJ 1596	1	2	n/a	B?	n/a				Pencil has struck through "77.XV.10 no. 769"
23	none	ITJ 1597	2	3	19	A?	n/a				See footnote ²⁵⁹
fr. 33	none	421	1	2	18	B+?	n/a				See footnote ²⁶⁰
34	5,1-3	ITJ 1598	3	5	20	B?	n/a				By site no., in pencil: "310" ²⁶¹
Fragment 39.a	1-6	1	3	6	20	B, A*	cang lha legs				By site no., in pencil: "310" ²⁶²
44	10,1-2	ITJ 1602	2		19	B?	jin legs kong				By site no., in pencil: "310" ²⁶³
45	8,1-3	ITJ 1603	3	6	19	B	Jin lha bzher				By site no., in pencil: "310"
46	7,1-3	ITJ 1604	3	6	19	B	n/a				By site no., in pencil: "310" ²⁶³
48	6,1-3	ITJ 1606	3	6	19	B	legs rtsan	phab ci	phab dzang	dpal mchog	By site no., in pencil: "310" ²⁶³

258 The site numbers for this and the following three fragments are in pencil, with "310" adjacent in black ink.

259 Two Chinese characters written on verso of col. e (last extant col.). In pen, on front of booklet: "aparimitāyur." By site number, in pencil: "include in 310." 260 On the verso corresponding to cols e and f we find the first part of the sutra, essentially col. a, perpendicular (scroll, rather than roll format), in a separate hand. A small paper fragment is also glued to col. f at the end, which contains two Chinese characters. Verso *dhāraṇī* contains *su bi ni ci ta te tso ra tsa ya*, also some errors: *na mo ba ga ba te/ ^a pa ra myi ta/ ^a yu gnya na/ su bi ni ci ta te tso ra tsa ya / ta tha ga tha ya/ tad ya tha / ^om sa rva sang ska ri/ pa ri shud de/ da ma te/ ga ga na sa mud ga te/ ^a ba wa bi shud de/ ma ha ya na pa ri bare swa ha.*

261 Upper right of front cover (verso of col. a), in pencil: "10" and "53." The latter number suggests that this may belong with "Fragment 53."

262 Upper right of front cover (verso of col. a), in pencil: "8." On back of booklet: "aparimitāyur."

263 Upper right of front cover (verso of col. a), in pencil: "6." Underneath, perpendicular and in ink: "aparimitāyur." Traces of faded red ink in upper right corner, probably site number.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	LI.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
52	6,1-3	ITJ 1610	3	6	19	B	ling ho hing je'u				By site no., in pencil: "310" ²⁶⁴
Fragment 53	1,1-4	426	4	7 (no a)	19	B	cl king	phab cl	phab dzang	dpal mchog	See footnote ²⁶⁵
Fragment 53	2,1	427	1	2	19	B	khang tig tig	he jing	leng pe'u	pab weng	See footnote ²⁶⁶
Fragment 53	3,1-3	424	3	6	19	B	n/a				Last panel(s) missing ²⁶⁷
Fragment 53	4,1-4	425	4	8	19	B	bam stag bz< >ang				See footnote ²⁶⁸
55	14,1-3	ITJ 1612	3	6	20	B	heng je'u	phab dzang	phab cl	dpal mchog	By site no., in pencil: "310"
56	17,1-2	ITJ 1613	3	6	20	A+	n/a				End missing ²⁶⁹
57	16,1-3	ITJ 1614	3	5	19	A	jeng legs rtsan				See footnote ²⁷⁰
58	18,1-2	ITJ 1615	2	4	19	B	n/a				By site no., in pencil: "310"
Fragment 59	7,1-4	428	4	7 (a blank)	19	B	cl king	phab cl	phab dzang	dpal mchog	By site no., in pencil: "310"
Fragment. 81	none	ITJ 1569	1	1	n/a	n/a	n/a				First 10 ll. of col. a
fragment 84-85	19,1-3	429	3	6	20	B	ser thong thong				By site no., in pencil: "310"

²⁶⁴ By site number, in pencil: "310." Upper right of front cover (verso of col. a), in pencil: "6." Chinese on the verso of col. f. Appears to include Jiang numbers. Chinese characters at top right corner of verso of col. b in black and red, next to "53." These are tallies or Jiang numbers. Pencil adds ".4" after site number, and "no. 310."

²⁶⁶ This could be the end of the sutra copy ITJ 310.424, to judge by the handwriting, but if so there is still a missing panel in between. At g18 *dga' go* is corrected to *dga'o*. Pencil adds ".5" after site number, and "no. 310." On verso: "53."

²⁶⁷ Pencil adds ".2" after site number, and "no. 310." On verso of panel d: "53."

²⁶⁸ Smaller manuscript: panel measures 46.5 × 27.5 cm. Pencil adds ".3" after site number, and "no. 310."

²⁶⁹ First instance of *dhāraṇī* has *tad dya ta* added below the line in a less square script than the script of the main text. By site number, in pencil: "310."

²⁷⁰ The first col. of this fragment is missing. Col. e contains nineteen lines drawn but scribe has written six lines in the space for four lines at the bottom.

Site No.	Roll No.	ITJ 310.x	P	Cols	LI.	Dh	Scribe	Editor 1	Editor 2	Editor 3	Notes
Fragment.99	none	ITJ 1234	1, torn	1	n/a	B?	n/a				See footnote ²⁷¹
Fragment.99	none	ITJ 1235	1, torn	1 (a)	n/a	n/a	n/a				See footnote ²⁷²

²⁷¹ Five lines of fragment; 7.5 × 15 cm; one partial *dhārāṇī* (ll. 4–5) reads: *na mo bA ga [ba t]e [xxx] (l. 5) shcI ta / ra dza ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rba sang ska ra pa rI shud d+ ha / d[xxx]*.

²⁷² Six lines of fragment; 12 × 10 cm; represents opening lines of the sutra (l. 1: *[xxx s]tu tra // bod skad [dlu [xxx]]*).

5 Correcting *Limitless Life*

“The *Sutra of Limitless Life* is complete. Copied by Cang Ssang legs. ~~Not edited by Chos btan. Third edited by Ci keng. Copied by [illegible].~~

Edited by Chos brtan, re-edited by Sgron ma, third edited by Shin dar.

There are omissions and hands [sic] in it.

\$/: tshē dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //;
cang ssang legs brIs // <chos btan myI zhus // cI keng sum zhus />
<[xx x]ing gis briso /> \$:/ chos brtan zhus // sgron ma yang zhus
shIn dar sum zhus // 'de la chad lag mchis so /.

ITJ 310.720

There are many sorts of corrections in these *Ap* copies. Scribes corrected their own mistakes as they wrote and sometimes after. Editors corrected a scribe's copy, often in red ink. Scribes also “corrected” colophons by rubbing out or striking through one name and adding another. Later, curators and cataloguers corrected site numbers, booklet numbers, and pressmarks. The practice of having an *Ap* copy edited by between one and three editors suggests a concern for their quality and their “correctness,” even if this ethic apparently only held in the initial phase of the project and was abandoned in its second phase. Some of these “corrections,” such as the effaced colophons, offer windows into the social history of scribes and editors in Dunhuang, as described in Chapter Three. Others, such as a type-B *dhāraṇī* corrected into a type-A *dhāraṇī*, pertain to the history of the *dhāraṇī* and of the sutra and of their transmission(s), documented in Chapter Two. Corrected site numbers and pressmarks help to reconstruct a history of conservation, as documented in Chapter One. Turning to the more pedestrian corrections of spelling and grammar by scribes and editors, these sutra copies also contribute to the study of the development of orthographic norms for written Tibetan in the mid-ninth century, and offer a snapshot of how the difference between a variant and an error was negotiated in the mid-to-late 820s in Dunhuang. In order to gauge this contribution, we have attended to corrections and to the various (mis)spellings of names in colophons, and we have transcribed explicits to form a searchable database. This represents just one use to which the data of our augmented catalogue might be put.

5.1 Corrections

As noted in Chapter Three, the editors of the Tibetan *Ap* in Dunhuang generally did not engage in rigorous corrections. Scribes produced copies based on their exemplars,

and editors corrected these based on *their* exemplars. In many cases, an editorial colophon names up to three editors, but no corrections are found in the sutra copy. More often, editors focused their work on a few common mistakes, found in the same passages in each sutra copy they edited. Anchoring these according to the line numbers of the transliterated *Ap* copy PT 3901 at the end of this chapter, some of the most common corrections are as follows:

In *dhāraṇī*: *de* to *dhe*; insertion of *na mo* when scribe forgot it

a7: *de na* to *de nas*

a9: *stsogs pa* to *la stsogs pa*

a11: *bzhugs 'tsho* to *bzhugs shing 'tsho*

b7, c11, e15, f2: *gang zhig* to *gang la la zhig*

b10: *'gyur ro* to *'gyur to*

c16: *myI 'gyur te* to *myI 'gyur to*

c16: *myI 'gyur ro* to *myI 'gyur to*

e6 and e12: *mdo* to *mdo sde*

f7: *rin che* to *rin p(h) che*

f11: *rgyal po chen po bzhi* to *rgya mtsho chen po bzhi*

f13: *nus kyī* to *nuso*

Less frequently, editors corrected the sutra's title. In one case the scribe corrected himself at *ḥrgya dkar skad du* (ITJ 310.111), but in another the same error goes uncorrected (ITJ 310.212). In several cases the Sanskrit title had to be corrected. In a few instances we have the mistake *na ma ma ha na ya* corrected to *na ma ma ha ya na* (ITJ 310.788; ITJ 310.1119). This is an understandable mistake when one remembers that the *dhāraṇī* ends “*ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sva ha*,” and the scribe must write this multiple times. A similar, but even graver error is evident from this struck-through incipit at ITJ 310.1167: ~~\$/: rgya gar skad du ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yur nya na su bI ni sei ta ra dza ya ta tha ga ta ya tad thya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra pa ri shud dha/ dhar ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te sba bha ba bi shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha/~~ ~~\$/: rgya gar skad du ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yur na ma ma ha ya na su tra /~~. The Tibetan title, too, often required correction: in ITJ 310.523, *tshe dpa zhes bya ba'* is corrected to *tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba'*.

From the scribe's perspective, the most challenging aspect of copying this text is its repetition, and a few instances of difficult grammar. Because of the nature of the text and the recurrence of the *dhāraṇī*, it is very easy to skip a short passage, due to eyeskip either by the scribe or by a reader giving dictation. The rendering of foreign place names (e.g. *Dza' ta'i tshal* for Jetavana) and foreign terms (e.g. *ka sha ni 'ga'* for *kārṣāpaṇa*, an Indian coin) is by comparison only a minor annoyance. The

content and vocabulary of the sutra are elementary, apart from two sentences that make use of the contrastive or adversative use of the genitive, and which consistently gave the scribes problems. The second of these two sentences is as follows:

'di lta ste rgya mtsho chen po bzhI'i chus yongs su gang ba'I thIgs pa re re nas bgrang bar nus gyI tshe dpag du myed pa'i mdo 'di bsod nams gyI phung po'i tshad ni bgrang bar myI nus so / (Adversative *gyI* in bold).

One may be able to count each drop of water that fills the four great oceans, **but** one cannot count the extent of the heaps of merit of this *Aparimitāyuh-sūtra*.

The most common error was to end the sentence with a second, redundant, *myi nus gyi* instead of closing it with *myi nus so*. In some cases, as in our sample copy PT 3901 transliterated at the end of this chapter, the editors missed this error. Another common mistake was to insert a negation in the first clause, e.g. *myi bgrang bar nus gyi*, in which case many a dutiful editor struck through the *myi*. A third, less grammatical but no less common error in this particular passage was to write *rgyal po chen po bzhi* (“the four great kings”) instead of *rgya mtsho chen po bzhi* (“the four great oceans”). The four great kings occur elsewhere in the text and may also be an understandable substitution based on their comparative ubiquity in a ninth-century Dunhuang milieu, and based also on their association with sutra copying, as noted in Chapter Three.

It is also instructive to examine what the editors have either introduced or left to stand. One consequence of the light-touch model of editing that operated here is that in nearly every sutra copy we could find errors that have been overlooked. In the sample sutra copy PT 3901, for example, *'jig rten* is spelled *'jin rten* in line a8, *ri rab* is *rib rab* in line d4, and the negation *myed* is misspelled *myis* at line f9. More interesting are those cases where editors have corrected a word, but done so in a way that allows for spelling variations. To name a few examples taken from our data, we observed that in correcting *bzhugs 'tsho'* to *bzhugs shing 'tsho'*, the editor did not strike through the suffix at the end of *'tsho'* (ITJ 310.104). Similarly, in this same passage in a separate sutra copy, an editor has corrected *tso* to *'tso*, rather than *'tsho* (ITJ 310.248). At a9, between *yon tan dpag du myed pa* and *zhes bya*, an editor inserted in red *lastsogs pa*, and not *la stsogs pa* or *las stsogs pa* (ITJ 310.343). In another copy, in the final sentence at g18, *'ga' go* is corrected to *'ga'o*, rather than *dga'o* (ITJ 310.1030).

There is no doubt that editors sometimes introduced errors. To note one of the worst, an editor “corrects” *sangs rgyas* to *sang rgyas* at line f16, ITJ 310.554, thus

misspelling the word for Buddha. Our epigraph is another such example, where *chad lhag* (“omissions and additions”) is misspelled *chad lag* (“omissions and hands”).¹

There were precious few cases where editors have corrected grammatical particles. One editor corrected *tshe’ang* to *tshe yang* at b1 (ITJ 310.694). Another, in the passage from g1–g13, thrice corrected *stobs gis* to *stobs gyis*; and corrected *rten gl* to *rten gyI* at both e17 and g17 (ITJ 310.694). Incidentally, the scribe uses *kyi(s)* elsewhere in this copy, and the editor lets it stand. Another correction that concerns the use of the *ma ya btags* is that of *bud med* to *bud myed* at e13 (ITJ 310.1116).

Editorial thoroughness varied from one copy to another, and individual teams of editors had their own respective *modi operandi* and favorite passages to correct. This was probably dictated in large part by the editorial exemplar that they used to check and correct sutra copies.

5.2 Names and their spellings

It appears to be customary that one editor performed the corrections, even if two or three editors are named in the editorial colophon. In many cases this meant that one editor wrote the names of one or two colleagues alongside their own, and this created another opportunity for misspellings. The dynamic of scribes and client scribes produced a parallel situation where one scribe wrote another scribe’s name in the scribal colophon. As a consequence, scribes’ and editors’ names are not spelled the same way every time. Fellow scribes and editors have written down another scribe’s or editor’s name phonetically. In many cases this is a Chinese name rendered in Tibetan script. These misspellings helpfully provide us with an inventory of the sorts of errors of hearing (aural or sub-aural) to which scribes and editors were prone. Also, this type of phonemic spelling is an apt introduction to Old Tibetan orthography in that it pushes one to abandon a rigid adherence to fixity and morphemic norms. The names are non-lexical items, and so they display a purer fluidity than a proper noun would. Because of this, they can aid the study of historical phonology and consideration of the types of phonemic variation that one might also find in lexical items. We list some of these variations below.

Alternation between voiced and voiceless consonants:

Leng ho Be’u tshvon / Leng ho Pe’u tshven

Lu Dze shing / Lu Tshe hing / Lu Tse shing

Tshe’u Dge la rton / Dza’u Dge la rton

¹ We are aware that its use in this compound could motivate the de-aspiration of *lhag* here.

CI keng / Ci keng / JI keng / Ce king / CI king
 He jing / Heg cing / He jeng

Alternation between aspirated and unaspirated consonants:

Se thong pa / Se tong pa
 Phug 'gi / Phu 'gi / Phag 'gI / PIg gi'

Other consonant alternations:

j/dz:
 Je'u Hva 'do / Dza'u Hva 'do
 Tshe'u Dge la rton / Dza'u Dge la rton

dz/z:
 Phab dzang / Pab dzang / Pab zang

^/y:
 Dam ^Ing / Dam ying
 ^I do / Yi 'do

^/k:
 ^Im Lha bzher / Kim Lha bzher

sh/h:
 Lu Dze shing / Lu Tshe hing / Lu Tse shing

b/w:
 'E bam Khyi brug / 'E wam Khyi brug²

'/w:
 De'u ^ing / De wu ^ing

o/e vowel alternation:
 Leng ho Be'u tshvon / Leng ho Pe'u tshven

2 Another variation pertinent to the Tibetan consonants *ba* and *wa* comes from Ma De's catalogue and the scribal colophons to the two-sutra roll Db. t. 151, and adds aspiration into the mix: Rje'u Hva 'do/ Rje'u Rba 'do; Ma 2011, 131.

i/e vowel alternation:

Ding [^]ing tshe / DIng [^]eng tshe

Heng je'u / Hing je'u

Leng ho Zhun tse / Ling ho Zhun tse

CI keng / Ci keng / JI keng / Ce king;

He jing / Heg cing / He jeng

Se thong pa / Si thong pa' / Se thong pA

Weng yir / Wang yer

a/e vowel alternation:

Yam Lha sbyin / Yem Lha sbyin

Je'u Hva 'do / Dza'u Hva 'do

Tshe'u Dge la rton / Dza'u Dge la rton

Brtan legs / Brten legs

Weng yir / Wang yer

Other variations include alternation between *gi gu* (-i) and *gi log* using the reversed diacritic (here “-l”) in names such as Khang tig tlg / Khang tlg tlg / Khang tlg tig, and the equivalence of *a'* suffixes and subscribed *a'*, for instance Se thong pa' / Se thong pA. The widest variation occurs in one name that is written with *a*, *i*, and *u* vowels: Phug 'gi / Phu 'gi / Phag 'gI / PIg gi'.

5.3 Explicit orthography

The transcribed explicit provide a searchable dataset that includes information relevant to orthography. In all cases, scribes are copying from exemplars and editors are editing from exemplars, so little variation would be expected. On the other hand, this comes at the end of the sutra – a sutra that scribes have copied many times before – so it is perhaps here that errors are most likely to creep in. Our sample explicit are of two types. The first is taken from approximately every tenth pressmark from Tibetan *Ap* copies in the British Library. The second is taken from twenty-two additional copies that appear to the editors' exemplars due to their being scribed by prolific editors. These are held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Among the editors' exemplars are copies written by the prolific editors Ci keng, Shin dar, Dpal gyi Sgron ma, and Dpal mchog. Analyzing these copies, and comparing the groups of copies attributed to a single editor, we find no false attributions. That is to say, all of the copies “signed” by Dpal gyi Sgron ma, for example, are of the same hand, and the same principle holds true for all the fifty-two example

copies in this group.³ Apart from paleographic features, we noted orthographic practices that are generally consistent across the copies written by a single editor. Ci keng, for instance, places the *shad* punctuation mark after *thams chad*, and sometimes after *gsung ba la*, and prefers *cen po* to *chen po*; Shin dar consistently writes *de dag thams cad* instead of *de thams cad*; Dpal gyi Sgron ma prefers *dga' go* to *dga' 'o*. This latter point is relevant to the matter of whether or not *dga' go* was viewed as an incorrect form; to judge from the exemplars written by the editor Dpal gyi Sgron ma, it was not.

When taken together as a group, the editors' copies display an orthography remarkably similar to that of the representative sample of explicits. This justifies the grouping together of these explicits with those of the representative sample taken from approximately every tenth pressmark. It is also unsurprising, if we assume that the former copies served as models for the latter. The corpus also demonstrates that the sort of variation that we have observed, e.g. *dga'o* versus *dga go*, is not simply a product of poorly edited copies, but represents variations beyond the simple dichotomy of correct and incorrect forms.

In versions one, two, and three of the sutra, the final part (just before the colophon) reads: “and all were truly pleased at what the *bhagavan* said. The *Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra* is complete.” One more or less “correct” version of this reads *de thams chad / bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o :// tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //* (ITJ 301.1). To the uninitiated, there might seem to be little room for variation in this ending. However, in 188 searchable explicits, we find omissions and additions, and we find variants or errors for nearly every syllable. We will now outline some of the major ones.

“And all”:

The explicit begins *de thams chad*. The word immediately preceding is *'khor*. In a few cases (e.g. ITJ 310.150 and PT 3951), scribes omit *de*, and in one case it is inserted interline (ITJ 310.426). In one case, it is misspelled *te* (ITJ 310.1011). A more acceptable variant is the plural *de dag*, and we find twenty of these against 165 *de*. There is some interesting orthographic variation in the word “all.” The spelling *thams cad* as in Classical Tibetan is only one of three acceptable forms in our corpus. There are eighty-six *thams cad*, seventy-nine *thams chad*, and eight *thams shad*. One of the latter is spelled without *tshegs*, *dethamsshad* (ITJ 310.981). In three cases, we find the *anusvāra*, e.g. *thaMs chad* (ITJ 310.140 and 776) and *thaMs shad* (ITJ 310.258). We find subscribed suffixes, e.g. *tham+s chad*, twice (ITJ 310.1021 and PT 3812).

³ One exception is PT 3648, which appears to be the scribe Dang Tse tse's defective copy of the editor Dam 'gi's exemplar.

Among misspellings, we have two *thams can* (ITJ 310.1044 and ITJ 1658), one *thams cadu* (ITJ 310.449), one *thaMs shas* (ITJ 310.649), one *thams cas* (ITJ 310.523), and one *thams* (ITJ 1687). We also find the correction *thams bchad* (ITJ 310.94). The most egregious misspelling is *tha ced* at PT 3648.

“Bhagavan”:

The word *bcom ldan 'das* may also be spelled with a medial 'a, e.g. *bcom ldan 'da's*. The aspirated *bchom* is also a variant. We find 170 *bcom* and eleven *bchom*. We also find three *pcom*, two *brcom*, and one *mchom*. In terms of corrections, we find two ~~*m*~~*bcom*, and one ~~*b*~~*mcom*. Twice we find an *anusvāra* used, i.e. *bcoM* (ITJ 310.258 and 1094). We find the form *ldan* 185 times, and *ldand* twice. There is also one *ltan* (ITJ 1707), one *ltaldan* (ITJ 310.177), one *ldag* (ITJ 310.124), and once *ldan* is elided, i.e. *bcom 'da's* (ITJ 310.310). We also find five instances where the word is corrected to *ldan*, e.g. ~~*l*~~*tdan* (ITJ 310.1084) or ~~*l*~~*dañ* (ITJ 310.111). There are 116 'da's, seventy 'das, one 'da (ITJ 310.352), and one 'da' (ITJ 310.666). In one case, 'da is inserted interline, below the *s* suffix (ITJ 310.517). In another case, we find 'da' sa for 'das (ITJ 1488).

Ergative (*gyis*):

Besides the ergative *kyis* or *gyis*, we also find here the genitive *kyi* or *gyi*. This error is not surprising, given the sentence structure. Still, the vast majority of scribes were correct, as we find 146 ergative against thirty-five genitive, and five instances where no particle is used, e.g. *bcom ldan 'da's gsungs pa*. As for the form of *sandhi*, and disregarding whether it is ergative or genitive or whether there is a *gi gu* or *gi log* – e.g. counting both *kyI* and *kyis* under the rubric “*kyi(s)*” – we find fifty-seven *kyi(s)*, 120 *gyi(s)*, three *gi(s)*, two *yi(s)* and one *kis* (ITJ 310.612).

“What he said” (*gsungs pa*):

The verb *gsungs* is found as such 176 times, ten times as *gsung*, and once as *stsungs* (ITJ 310.228). In two of the above cases we count *gsung sa* as *gsungs*. In 159 cases the nominal particle is *pa*, in thirteen cases it is *ba*, in one case *pa'* (ITJ 310.730), and in two cases it is absent (in ITJ 310.533 naturally and in ITJ 310.44 by being crossed out). In one case it is an interlinear insertion (ITJ 310.94). In 167 cases we find *la*, and in fifteen cases *las*. In one case we find *pa pa* instead of *pa la* (PT 3865).

“Truly”:

In 171 cases we find *mngon bar*, as opposed to nine *mngon par*, four *mgon bar*, one *mngond bar* (ITJ 310.324), and one *mngon du* (ITJ 310.798). We once find *mngor* corrected to *mngon* (ITJ 310.517).

“Were pleased”:

In thirty-eight cases we find the *dga'o* one would expect in Classical Tibetan. In sixty-nine cases, a *tsheg* intervenes, e.g. *dga' 'o*, in eleven cases we find *dga'o*, and we find eight *dga' o*. In forty-three cases, we find the unexpected *dga' go*. Where the verb's suffix is left off we find eight *dga go*, one *dgago* (ITJ 310.241), two *dga ga'o* (ITJ 310.248), and one *dga 'go'* (ITJ 310.592). Intriguingly, we find seven cases where the sentence final particle *go* is struck through and replaced with *'o*. Once we find the misspelling *gda'o* (ITJ 1609).

“The *Aparimitāyur* (*tshe dpag du myed pa*):”

This part of the sutra's end is missing from nine copies of our sample, and is written twice in one (ITJ 310.428, the first crossed out). The sample size is thus different from above. We find 174 *tshe*, four *tse*, one *dshe*, and one *che*. There are 167 *dpag*, eleven *dphag*, one *dbag*, and one *pag*. We never find the expected *tu*, but rather have 181 *du*, and one omission (e.g. *dpag myed*; ITJ 310.318). We find 179 of the expected *myed*, and not a single *med*. In a few cases, *myid* is corrected to *myed*. Among the *myed pa* we include the correction *myed pa'i mdo 'di b pa* (ITJ 310.235). There are 160 *pa*, eleven *pa'*, six *pa'i*, and one omission, *myed pa'i zhes* (ITJ 310.971). In seven cases, we find *pa'i*.

“*nāma*” (*zhes bya ba*):

We find 171 *zhes*, two *shes*, two *zhe* – one of which is *zhes* (ITJ 310.967) – and one omission (e.g. *myed pa bya ba*; ITJ 310.582). There are others that skip even more text, e.g. *tshe dpag du myed pa'i mdo* at ITJ 1697. We find one instance of the correction ~~*shzhes*~~ (ITJ 310.34). For the *bya* of *bya ba* we find 165 *bya*, twelve *bye*, one *byas* (ITJ 310.241), and two missing (*zhes theg* in ITJ 310.563, and *zhes ba* in ITJ 310.649). In a few cases this is corrected, *byea* (ITJ 1600), and *byas* (ITJ 310.967). Once we also find the reverse “correction,” ~~*bya*~~ *bye* (ITJ 310.772). The nominal particle varies as follows: 171 *ba*, three *ba'*, two *ba 'I* (ITJ 310.825 and ITJ 310.825), and one *pa* (ITJ 310.196).

“*Mahāyāna-sūtra*” (*theg pa chen po 'i mdo*):”

For the *theg* of *theg pa* we find 168 *theg*, four *thig*, two *thegs*, two *then*, one *them*, and several omissions (e.g. *zhes bya ba'i mdo*). For the nominal particle there are 172 *pa* and two *pe*. We also find the corrections *thөг pa* (ITJ 310.177) and *thieg pa* (PT 3520). For *chen po'i* the results are 158 *chen*, eleven *ched*, eight *cen*, and one *ced* (ITJ 310.839). There are 110 *po'i*, thirty *po'I*, nineteen *po 'i*, seven *po 'I*, four *pho'i*, two *pho'I*, one *pho* and three *po*. We find 178 *mdo*, two *mdo'*, one *'do*, one *mo*, one *ma*, one *mdo'o*, and one omission (e.g. *dga'o // rdzogs so*). We also find the correction

bdmdo. In two instances we find the determinative “this sutra” *mdo* 'di, but in just as many cases we find this struck through.

“Is complete”:

We find 114 *rdzogs so*, nineteen *rdzogs so*’, fifteen *rdzogs s+ho*, four *rdzogsso*, one *rdzogsso*’, one *rdzogs+ho*, one *rdzogsso*’, one *rdzogs stso*, three *rdzogs*, and one skipped (*mdo'o*).

Orthography in Dunhuang’s scriptoria in the 820s

From this sample it is possible to make a number of observations. Assuming that this is representative of these officially sponsored sutra copies, it provides a fairly good baseline for the orthographic principles of its time and place, namely the mid-to-late 820s in Dunhuang. Some results are not particularly surprising, but others help to establish a relative chronology of orthographic change during this period. To begin, medial 'a are licit. This is evident from the 116 'da's as against seventy 'das in the word *bcom ldan* 'da's. The *ma ya btags* is normative with *i* and *e* vowels, e.g. *myi* and *mye*. The one exception to this comes in the name *^a mi ta phur*, but this can be explained as a special case pertaining to the transcription of a foreign word. In the sutra's title given in the explicit, we find only *myed* and not a single *med*. Our sample sentences do not include any words where the *da drag* is expected, although we do find the odd over-eager scribe adding these at *ldand* and *mngond*. Had we applied the same methods to the *SP*, we would have found a sufficient proportion of *pha rold du phyind pa* to demonstrate that *da drag* are licit, perhaps even expected.⁴

The sample also demonstrates another common feature of early Tibetan writing, the alternation of *n* and *d* suffixes. This is attested in the ratio of 164 *c(h)en* : twelve *c(h)ed*, showing a clear preference for *c(h)en*. The *gi log* is also common. Making a ratio from the appearance of the *i* vowel in our sample explicits – mostly, but not exclusively, limited to ergative and genitive particles – we get 272 *gi gu* : 147 *gi log*. By comparison, the ratio is 100 : 86 in the north and south faces of the Sri Pillar (c. 764), and 229 : 287 in the Dbon zhang Inscription of 823.⁵

Our sample provides fairly ample data on the variation between aspirated and unaspirated voiceless consonants. Here one must take account of whether or not

⁴ For confirmation, see the transcriptions in Lalou 1961.

⁵ For transcriptions of, and bibliographic data on, these two inscriptions, see Iwao, Hill, and Takeuchi 2009, 4–9 (“The Zhol inscription”) and 32–42 (“The Sino-Tibetan treaty inscription of 821–822”) respectively.

the aspiration occurs in an initial position, word-internally, or otherwise. For example, in the initial position we find a ratio of 167 *chen* and *ched* to nine *cen* and *ced* in the word *chen po*, and a ratio of 174 *tshe* : 4 *tse*. Word-internally, we have 169 *po* : 7 *pho* in *c(h)en po/c(h)ed po*. These results are not far from Classical Tibetan standards, where one expects an aspirated initial and an unaspirated second syllable, e.g. *chen po*. *Theg pa* in fact fully accords with such standards, with 168 *theg* : 0 *teg* and 172 *pa* : 0 *pha*. If we consider the use of the sentence final particle in the same context, we find the second syllable mostly unaspirated: 118 *rdzogs/rdzogs so* : 16 *rdzogs s+ho/rdzogs+ho*.⁶ Yet there is significant divergence from Classical Tibetan standards in the ratio 167 *dpag* : 11 *dphag*, where the consonant in question is not in the onset position. This is almost identical to the ratio of 170 *bcom* : 11 *bchom*. Our sample's relative alignment of aspiration with Classical Tibetan norms is further complicated by the ratio of 86 *thams cad* : 79 *thams chad*, where the former became the standard Classical form. Compared with the other ratios, this is the most anomalous. Precisely this phenomenon has already been discussed, however, by Nathan Hill: "the use of aspirated spellings word-internally may be credited to a morphophonemic tendency in the orthography. Since these morphemes were most frequently spelled as aspirated, the aspirated spellings were generalized, despite the unaspirated pronunciation word-internally."⁷ In other words *chad*, as in the phrase *chad lhag* ("omissions and additions"), was sufficiently frequent to override the "correct" form *thams cad* in favor of the "popular" form *thams chad*.

Our transcribed explicit also measure the fluidity of syllable margins. We find a ratio of 128 *dga' 'o/dga' go/dga 'o/dga go* : 50 *dga'o/dga''o/dgago*. The preference for separated syllables is more pronounced in the ratio of 148 *rdzogs so/rdzogs so+/'rdzogs s+ho/rdzogs stso* : 7 *rdzogs/rdzogs'rdzogs+/'rdzogs+ho*. Absent or excessive syllable margins, (e.g. *dethamsshad* and *gsung sa pa*, respectively) are rare.

In the case of the 'i(s) forms of the genitive and ergative particles, the preference for separated syllables is reversed. In our sample, we found twenty-six separated *p(h)o 'i* or *p(h)o 'I* : 146 attached *p(h)o'i* or *p(h)o'I*. This latter ratio is 0 : 1 in all imperial-period inscriptions (e.g. 0 : 29 in the north and south faces of the Sri Pillar and 0 : 94 in the Dbon zhang Inscription). This appears to be part of a general movement from the mid-eighth century to the late-tenth century, whereby attached 'i(s)

⁶ We omit here nineteen *rdzogs so+*, one *rdzogs+*, one *rdzogs'* and one *rdzogs stso*. It also remains to be confirmed that the distinction between *so* and *s+ho* is one of aspiration, particularly given that such alternation is rare for sibilants. (We are indebted to Nathan Hill for this observation.) It may be the case that *s+ho* represents, for example, a lengthened vowel. On a related matter, Yoshiro Imaeda contends that subscribed 'a, as in *rdzogs so+*, is used to "emphasize the terminal particle," but that it cannot lengthen the vowel; Imaeda 2011, 40–41.

⁷ See Hill 2007, 480 and cf. 477, n. 7.

or 'I(s) gave way to separated 'i(s) or 'I(s). In PT 44, for example, which dates to either 966 or 978, the ratio of separated to attached 'i(s) or 'I(s) is 37 : 0.⁸ In a Guiyijun administrative document, PT 1097, the ratio is 26 : 0. Of course there are outliers, and ratios are less stark in many documents, such as the mid-to-late ninth-century Guiyijun legal document PT 1081, which, in an admittedly small sample, has a ratio of 6 : 6. Moreover, the trend would reverse itself when separated 'i(s) and 'i(s) were replaced with *yi(s)*, generally employed *causa metri*. Nevertheless, making allowance for such outliers, and understanding that the ratios did not all flip in the same place at the same time, the gradual separation of 'i(s) from the preceding syllable appears to be one of the few features one can fairly reliably use to distinguish early ninth-century orthographies from mid- to late-tenth-century orthographies. Our sample includes one example each of *yi(s)* and *yl* as an ergative and genitive particle (ITJ 310.196 and ITJ 310.373, respectively), suggesting that this convention may have been just edging its way into Dunhuang in the 820s.

As for the *sandhi* of grammatical particles, the data turned up a few surprises. The first is the use of *go* as a sentence final particle following *dga'*. Here one expects 'o, and indeed 'o was far more prevalent. Additionally, several instances of *dga' go* were corrected to *dga' 'o*. This suggests that *dga' go* was viewed, at least by some editors, as incorrect. For many of the Chinese scribes of Dunhuang, *dga' 'o* and *dga' go* must have been phonologically equivalent. We see this also in the spelling *mthag dag* for *mtha' dag*, found in numerous *Ap* copies, a point that demonstrates that the *sandhi* in *dga' go* was not the result of an agreement with the root letter *ga*. This adds some further support for Nathan Hill's conclusions concerning the status of the consonant 'a as a velar fricative.⁹ There are several examples in the colophons that bear this out, ranging from the spellings of personal names to the use of 'is following a suffix.

The forms of the genitive and ergative particles, like the use of attached versus separated 'i(s), appear to have been in a state of flux between the eighth and ninth centuries. In some texts one finds a distinct preference for *gyi(s)* where, following *d*, *b*, and *s* suffixes, one would expect *kyi(s)*. This is true of the east face of the Sri Pillar (c. 784), the Bsam yas Inscription (c. 779), and many other texts (e.g. *Old Tibetan Annals*, *Shangshu Paraphrase*, PT 999, PT 1111, and PT 1132).¹⁰ On the other hand, the Dbon zhang inscription uses *kyi(s)* where it would be expected by Classical

⁸ On the date, see Akagi 2011.

⁹ Hill 2005; Hill 2009; and Hill 2011. Cf. Róna-Tas 1992, 699.

¹⁰ A transcription of the Bsam yas Inscription and bibliographic data on further studies, are found in Iwao, Hill, and Takeuchi 2009, 11–12; and many of these other texts are found on <https://otdo.aaken.jp/archives>.

Tibetan standards. Furthermore, one finds idiosyncratic uses such as in the late Guiyijun administrative text, PT 1082, where only *gi(s)* is used. In the *Ap* sample, the ergative following *bcom ldan 'da's* should, by the Classical Tibetan standards, be *kyis*. The results, however, are 120 *gyi(s)* : 57 *kyi(s)*.

More decisive is the terminative particle. In the title of the text we invariably find *dpag du*, and not the Classical-Tibetan-mandated *dpag tu*. The ratio of the former to the latter is 181 : 0. In fact, this is representative of other Old Tibetan texts generally datable to the ninth century, and may apply to Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts more generally. *Du* is consistently used where Classical Tibetan standards expect *tu* in the Dbon zhang Inscription and in the vast majority of official imperial Tibetan letters, the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, etc. Occurrences of *tu* in Old Tibetan documents are so rare as to be suspect: if they are not mistranscriptions or written in error by a sloppy or barely literate scribe, they should cause one to query the date and provenance of the document in which they are found. This is not, however, to claim that *tu* simply did not exist in eighth- and ninth-century Tibetan. Indeed, one does find the occasional bona fide *tu*, as in the case of a few unequivocal *rab tu* interspersed with *rab du* in a *pothī*-format *SP* (type 1), PT 1321, r1. Here one must also take into account the graphic variations in the consonant *t* when it is joined with the *u* vowel. In most cases its descender is shortened such that *tu* can resemble *du*. The obvious way to reduce this judgment from a matter of opinion to an informed and verifiable statement based on visible evidence is to compare closely any ambiguous *du/tu* of a given manuscript with unambiguous *du/tu* as they appear in the same manuscript within words such as *dus* or *btus*. So, while it is indicative, there are exceptions, and the presence of *tu* cannot be taken, by itself, as proof that a given manuscript is late (e.g. post-tenth century).

Two features, the *anusvāra* and the *a'* suffix, are hardly attested. Only three of 153 *thams c(h)ad/ thams shad* use the *anusvāra*, and we find a similar ratio of 2 *bcoM* : 179 *bc(h)om*. Were one to include the scribal and editorial colophons, the ratios would likely even out, as we find a preponderance of *suM zhus*. As for the *a'* suffix, we could conceivably find it in our sample as *gsungs pa'*, *myed pa'*, and *theg pa'*. Only the former two are attested. This follows a more general pattern observed elsewhere, according to which the *a'* suffix is more common in nominalized verbs or in a prepausal position than it is in a noun such as *theg pa*. Even so, its occurrence in our sample is rare: we find 172 *gsungs pa / gsungs ba* against one *gsungs pa'*, and 160 *myed pa* to eleven *myed pa'*.

Our results are limited by the size and nature of our sample. As a fairly representative sample of the orthography employed by sutra-copying scribes in the 820s in Dunhuang, it flattens out and averages the data, drawing out the generalized standards of the sutra-copying scribes. At the same time, certain scribes might

consistently use orthographic forms that are in the statistical minority, or forms that some editors correct. This is true, for example, of Dpal gyi Sgron ma's use of *dga' go*. Such is the nature of how orthographic norms coalesce. In this context, however, our sample also reveals an editorial process in which some exemplars to be copied themselves contained forms that were on the borderline between acceptable variant and unacceptable error. These are relevant both to the process by which orthographic norms coalesced, and also to the mode of editing applied to copies of the *Ap* in the sutra-copying project. Nonetheless, the aggregate data point to the existence of certain clear orthographic standards. These, taken together with studies of other Dunhuang documents and early Tibetan writings, help us to establish some of the prevailing orthographic norms of Old Tibetan at this time.

Our sample explicit contains information about syllable margins, aspiration, forms of genitive and ergative particles, *d/n* suffix variation, the use of *my* with *i* and *e* vowels, and the use of medial 'a, *anusvāra*, and *a'* suffixes. The sample tells us nothing of several other interesting features, including the semi-final particle (*ste, te, de*), the presence or absence of the genitive preceding the pluralizer *rnams*, and the forms of the concessive (*yang, kyang, 'ang*), co-ordination (*cing, zhing, shing*), or quotation particles (*ces, zhes*). Two features, 'i(s) and *tu*, were identified as fairly reliable indicators for dating certain orthographies. Mid-eighth and early-ninth-century documents from both central Tibet and Dunhuang tend to attach the 'i and 'is forms of the genitive and ergative particles to the preceding syllable. Tenth-century Dunhuang manuscripts, on the other hand, usually insert a *tsheg* to mark 'i(s) as a separate syllable. For the period from the late Tibetan Empire to the early Guiyijun, that is, mid-ninth to late-ninth century, the data tends to be mixed. It remains to be determined when and where the 'i(s) rejoined the preceding syllable, and when *yi(s)* – probably by analogy with 'ang and yang – replaced the stand-alone form 'i(s). Here one must look to materials from Turfan, Tabo and elsewhere.¹¹ Clues may also lie in the *Dga' thang 'bum pa* texts from southern Tibet, which, while preferring attached 'i(s), do include some separated 'i(s) and show no knowledge of the form *yi(s)*.¹²

The absence of *tu* in our sample is striking. At the same time, we find unequivocal *tu* in copies of imperial-period *SP* and in a few other texts. If these are not phonemic misspellings – which is a real possibility, given the variation between voiced and voiceless consonants, e.g. *te thams cad* in ITJ 310.1011 – then they constitute evidence that this form of the case particle was not unknown in Tibetan at this

11 See, e.g. Durkin-Meisterernst et al. 2004 on Turfan; and Scherrer-Schaub 1999 on Tabo.

12 See the images and transcriptions in Pa tshab Pa sangs dbang 'dus and Glang ru Nor bu tshering 2007.

time. The uncertainty in this matter stems from both the graphic similarity of *du* and *tu*, and the alternation between voiced and voiceless consonants. In our sample, *gyi(s)* and *kyi(s)* are almost interchangeable following the *s* suffix. Morphemic norms seem to have developed in a piecemeal manner, with the norms governing the morphology of one case particle offering easy analogies for the standardization of another. Such seems to have happened, for example, with the innovation of *yi(s)* by analogy with the concessive particle *yang*, which enjoyed widespread use for centuries before *yi(s)* came into common use. The same principle stands behind forms such as *thams shad*, which probably owes its existence to an analogy with the morphology of the coordination particle (*cing*, *zhing*, *shing*), where *shing* follows the *s* suffix. To consider the emergence of *tu*, then, one might look to the use of unaspirated voiceless consonants in other case particles, such as *ces*, *cing*, *kyi(s)*, *kyang*, and *te*. These are all attested in eighth- and early ninth-century Tibetan writing. The relative absence of *tu* in the corpus of searchable Old Tibetan documents might be taken to suggest, however, that these were secondary developments from their voiced counterparts and part of the same process that would eventually normalize *tu*. Indications that this process was still being settled include the preponderance of forms like *ches* and *ching*, but more especially the use of *gyang*, *de*, and *gyi(s)* where *kyang*, *te*, and *kyi(s)* are expected.

5.4 Transcribed explicits, colophons, and corrections

The explicits, colophons, and corrections have been recorded for just over ten percent of the Tibetan *Ap* sutra copies in the Stein Collection. In the case of the explicits and colophons, this is straightforward in a single-sutra roll. Where one explicit and colophon is recorded for a pressmark that includes more than one sutra copy, the transcription is always for the first copy, whether this be a continuation from one that began on the previous pressmark, or the first copy beginning a pressmark.

ITJ 310.1: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o /:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so / /; / cang lha legs bris // \$// sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo // kyim phan sum gi g.yar dam lags so / cha yod par gyis shig ya[x] 'bri mkhan ni ga cu ba [xx]u[x] [x]o[x] mkhan yin no /. Corrections: few.

ITJ 310.7: de thams chad // bcom ldan 'das gyi gsungs pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so /; \$:/dge slong dam ^ing gis [xxx] \$// [d?]e[xxx]. Corrections: none.

ITJ 310.14: l. 17: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's kyI gsungs pa la mngon bar dga <go> / 'o /; l: 19: dtshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo

- rdzogs so //; l. 18: \$/ / dam 'gI zhus leng pe 'u yang zhus ci keng sum zhus / /; l. 20, right side: klu legs bris so /. Corrections: mostly in *dhāraṇī*.
- ITJ 310.24: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa las mngon bar dga'o / / tshe dpag du myed pa' zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; II brtan legs / (2 lines below:) \$:/ dge slong shin dar zhus // leng ce'u yang zhus / ci keng sum zhus /. Corrections: in *dhāraṇī*, e.g. dhe; also a7: de na to de nas.
- ITJ 310.34: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa' <I> <sh>zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; II brtan legs bris // (three lines below:) \$/ dge slong shin dar zhus // dge slong dam tsheng gi yang zhuso / ce king gI sum zhuso // . Corrections: gang zhig gi<s>; <sh>zhes bya.
- ITJ 310.44: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs <pa> las mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa' zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs so / /; II brtan legs bris / dge slong daM tsheng gI zhuso / dge slong leng ce'u yang zhus / cI keng sum zhus/. Corrections: gsungs <pa> las.
- ITJ 310.54: de thams cad <nI> bcom ldan 'da's gyls gsung pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba 'I mdo 'di rdzogs sO /:/ na mo dyi dzang bo sar /; / ^an dge brtan bris / phab dzang zhus / phab cI yang zhus / dpal mchog suM zhus. Corrections: in *dhāraṇī* e.g. dhe, or dza.
- ITJ 310.55: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / / tshe dpag dumyed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; phug 'gI bris / shin dar zhus / sgron ma yang zhus / leng ce'u sum zhus // . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.64: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa shes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; II brten legs bris // (next panel:) \$:/ dge slong shin dar zhus // dge slong daM tsheng gI yang zhus / ce king gi sum zhuso // . Corrections: a11: bzhugs 'tsho to bzhugs shing 'tsho; c16: myI 'gyur the to myI 'gyur tho; mdo to mdo sde.
- ITJ 310.68: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go / / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ^a mo ta bur na mo ^a mI ta phur //; / dpal gyI sgron ma bris // (red <) leng pe'u zhus / phab ting yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.74: de thams cad // bcom ldan 'das gyi gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba' theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; cang shIb tig bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.75: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o //; ^an dge brtan bris / phab dzang zhus / phab cI yang zhus / dpal mchog sum

zhus. Corrections: snying rje grong khyer to snying rje'i grong khyer; mdo to mdo sde.

- ITJ 310.84: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa las mngon bar dga' go // tshe dbag du myed pa zhes bya ba thIg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs so /; phan phan brIs so // (next line:) sgron mas zhus / jI keng yang zhus / leng pe'u sum zhus //. Corrections: d4: phung po re rab mtsham to re rib tsham.
- ITJ 310.90: de thams chad // bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga 'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ; ban de deng dam ^ing bris // shes rab zhus // (red <) dpal mchog yang zhus // phug 'gI sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.93: de thams chad // bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga 'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ; ban de deng dam ^ing gis bris // (red <) dpal mchog zhus // phug 'gI yang zhus // phab dzang sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.94: de thams chad bchom ldan 'das gyis gsungspa (interline pa) la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs /; bam thong thong bris / shes rab dang zhus / jI ^in yang zhus [x] / suM zhus /. Corrections (in red): a7: de na to de nas; a15: 'dri 'am to 'dri ba'am; (in black, in title:) na ma ma ma ha ya to na ma ma ha ya.
- ITJ 310.96: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyi gsungs pa la mngon bar dga 'o // tshe dpag du my<i>ed pa zh<I>es bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ; ban de daM ^ing bris / shes rab gyis zhus / (red <) phug 'gi gyis yang zhus dpal mchog gyis sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.104: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs sO // ; lha lod gyis bras / dam 'gI zhus // leng pe'u yang zhus / cI keng sum zhus /. Corrections: typical: mdo to mdo sde, gang zhig to gang la la zhig, bzhugs 'tsho to bzhugs shing 'tsho (though here it is tsho').
- ITJ 310.111: de thams cad bcom lda<d>n [self-correction] 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon par dga 'o / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs stso /; / dam 'gI gyis bri s+ho // (red <) dam ^ing zhus // de'u ^Ing yang zhus // dam ^ing sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: title, self correction: rgya gar skad du.
- ITJ 310.114: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // tse dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs+ho // ; \$ / / dge legs bris // phab dzang zhus / phab cI yang zhus / ben ceng sum zhus /. Corrections: typical, but in black, and *signe de renvoi* looks like an *dbu med anusvāra* or a small *gi log*.

- ITJ 310.124: de thams chad / bcom ldag 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba / theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs sO //; sag klu gzigs bris // dpal mchog zhus / phug 'gI yang zhus / cI shan sum zhus. Corrections: few, typical.
- ITJ 310.126: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la // mngon bar dgo'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bye ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs s+ho //; ^an phab dzang kyis bras / (red <) dam 'gI gis zhus // cI keng yang zhus / daM 'gI sum zhus te gtan la phab (bab) / (> red); “te gtan la phab” perhaps written in a different hand from final two editors' names. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.134: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga go / / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ^a myI da phur na mo ^a myI da phur //; do lhas sbyin bris / ban de dam yu dang heng tsi zhus (in red, next line:) yang zhuso. Corrections: editor inserts ten *shads* in red into the *dhāraṇī*, dividing it into twelve sections.
- ITJ 310.140: de dag thaMs shad // bchom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa las mngon bar dga' go // \$ // tshe dphag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; II ben tshe. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.145: de dag thams shad // bcom ldan 'da's gyIs // gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // \$ / : / tshe dphag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pe chen po'i mdo rdzogso //; II ben tshe. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.150: 2: thams chad / bchom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o //; snyal stag snyas briso /. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.156: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pe chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; lha lod bris /. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.163: de thams chad bchom ldan 'das kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po <rda?> mdo rdzogs so //; // 'gole'u le'u bris /. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.170: de thams cad bchom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs s'o //; cang snang legs bris //. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.177: 2: de thams cad bcom <lta>ldan (lta should be omitted) 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba th<o>eg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; lu tshe hing bris //. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.190: 2: de thams chad / pcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la / mngon bar dgaA'o // // tshe dphag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogso; 2: gzangs lha stos bris. Corrections: none.

- ITJ 310.196: 1: de thams shad pcom ldan 'da's yis gsungs pa la mngon par dga'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya pa theg pa chen po'i mdo' rdzogs'o //; 1: gzangs lha stos bris. Corrections: few, typical.
- ITJ 310.202: de thams cad / <m>bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; cang shib tig bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.208: 2: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'I mdo rdzogs'o //; 2: cang ^I tse bris. Corrections: 2: very few, typical.
- ITJ 310.215: 2: de thams chad bcom / ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; 2: cang stag rma bris /. Corrections: 2: few, by rubbing out and writing over.
- ITJ 310.221: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs'o //; khang btsan bzhe+r bris /. Corrections: few, by scribble.
- ITJ 310.228: de thams chad // bcom ldan 'das kyIs gscungs (/gstsungs) pa la mngon bar dga'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo'; lha legs brIs /. Corrections: very few.
- ITJ 310.235: 1: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed <pa'I mdo 'di b> pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; cang shIb tig bris. Corrections: 1: by rubbing, probably with water; few, typical.
- ITJ 310.241: de / thams cad // bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dgago /:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes byas ba thegs pa chen po 'I mdo rdzogs so /:/; heng je'u bris. Corrections: few, horizontal strikethroughs.
- ITJ 310.248: de dag thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyi gsungs pa la mngon bar dga ga'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba thIg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs's'o //; dvan snang gis bris // pab zang zhus / phab cI yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus /. Corrections: a11: tso corrected to 'tso.
- ITJ 310.258: de dag thaMs chad <m>bcoM ldan 'das gyis gsungs pala mngon bar dga'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ^a mI ta bur / na mo ^ mI ta bur //; \$ // dpal kyI sgron ma brIs // (red <) leng pe'u zhus // sgron ma yang zhus // leng pe'u suM zhus //(> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.268: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o /// \$ / : tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; dze'u hIn tsin bris s+ho // // phab weng zhus / ci keng yang zhus leng pe'u sum zhus. Corrections: a9: stsogs pa corrected to la stsogs pa.

- ITJ 310.278: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs <so> pa las mngon par dga' 'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; cang stag lod gis bris / phab dzang zhus / phab cI yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus //. Corrections: a9: stsogs pa corrected to la stsogs pa.
- ITJ 310.285: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa'I zhes bya ba theg pa chen pho'i mdo rdzogs so / / ^a mI t<i>a bur / na mo ^a mI ta bur //; / dpal gyI sgron ma bris / (red <) leng pe'u zhus / sgron ma yang zhus leng pe'u sum zhus / (> red). Corrections: few.
- ITJ 310.287: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa las mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa' zhes bya ba thIg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so / ^a mi ta phur / na mo ^a myI ta phur; phan phan brIs so / dpal kyI sgron mas zhus / ci keng yang zhus leng pe'u suM zhus //. Corrections: a9: stsogs pa to la stsogs pa.
- ITJ 310.295: de dag thams cad // bcom ldan 'da's gyi gsungs pha la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs s+ho / :; shIn dar gyis bris so // \$ / : / shes rab zhus / dzeng the'I yang zhus / (red <) sum zhus / (> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.298: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon ba (interline <) r (> interline) dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po mdo rdzogs so //; phan phan bris so // (red <) sgron mas zhus / jI keng yang zhus / leng pe'u sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: few, typical.
- ITJ 310.304: 1: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //; 1: unsigned. Corrections: 1: few, vertical strikethrough.
- ITJ 310.310: 2: de thams cad / bcom 'da's gyis / gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bye ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs s+ho //; 2: leng ho zhun tse bris //. Corrections: 2: few, blotted.
- ITJ 310.318: de thams cad bchom ldan 'da's gyi gsungs ba la mgon bar dga' go // tshe dpag myed pa shes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs //; smon legs bris. Corrections: few, blotted.
- ITJ 310.324: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngond bar dga''o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; cang hing tse bris so //. Corrections: few, horizontal strikethrough.
- ITJ 310.333: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //; cang ^i tse bris. Corrections: few.
- ITJ 310.343: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsung pa la mngon bar dga' <go> 'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so

//; leng ho zhun tse bris // (red <) he jing zhus / pIg gi' bar zhus / li phab weng sum zhus (> red). Corrections: usual; end: dga' go to dga'o; c16: 'gyurd ro to 'gyurd to; de na to de nas; a9: between yon tan dpag du myed pa and zhes bya, inserted in red: lastsogs pa.

ITJ 310.352: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bye ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogso //; je'u brtan kong bris / phab dzang zhus / (red <) phab cI yang zhus dpal mchog sum zhus / (> red). Corrections: few, mostly in *dhāraṇī*.

ITJ 310.362: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga go / / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs sO //; bam kIm kang bris /. Corrections: few.

ITJ 310.373: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das yI gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$// tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bye ba theg pa ched po 'I mdo rdzogso //; je'u brtan kong bris / phab dzang zhus / phab cI yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus //. Corrections: virtually none.

ITJ 310.382: de thams chad bchom ldan 'da's gyis / gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o /// tshe dpag du <ch>myed pa'I <myi> mdo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogso // (on g, in red:) \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo 'di rdzogs so /; khang 'go 'gos bris // (in red:) \$/: shin dar zhus / cI keng <su>yang zhus / leng pe+u 'u sum zhuso /. Corrections: insertion on col. c of §15, interlinear, up gutter, and upside-down around top margin to left margin, but it inserts this between §18 and §17. Another insertion in right margin of col. d starts under l.4, loops up to top; long insertion in col. e interlinear of §32, which curves up middle margin, then curves around the top to the left, upside down. At bottom of e: \$:/ dar ma 'di le'u gchig gi ro 'byung ba 'di ni / khang 'go 'go gi lagso // (see Fig. 55).

ITJ 310.392: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba thegs pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs sO / na mo ^a mye da phur //; cang cI dam bris // leng pe'u zhus //. Corrections: f7: rin che to rin pho che; e10: rdzogs pa'I sangs rgyas su mngon rdzogs to rdzogs pa'i byang cub du mngon rdzogs.

ITJ 310.402: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'das kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so / /; cang lha legs gyIs bris // phug 'gi zhus // dpal mchog yang zhus // / phab dzang sum zhus //. Corrections: few, vertical strikethrough.

ITJ 310.412: de thams cad // bcom ldan 'das gyI gsung ba la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes / bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; / chos gyi ye shes brIs // phab weng zhus. Corrections: de na to de nas; few others.

- ITJ 310.416: de thams cad // bcom ldan 'das kyI gsungs ba la // mngon bar dga'o / \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogsso //; / ci king bris / phab ci zhus / phab dzang yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus // . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.420: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa mngon bar dga' 'o // \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; phab dzang zhus / phab ci yang zhus / dpal mchog suM zhus / se thong pa. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.422: de thams chad / bcom ldan / 'da's kyis gsungs pa la / mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogsso //; cang stag ras briso // len pe'u zhus / ci keng yang sgron ma suM zhus. Corrections: a12: ston / corrected to ston to /; f13: nus kyi / corrected to nuso /.
- ITJ 310.426: (interline <) de (> interline) thams cad // bcom ldan 'das gyI gsung ba la / mngon bar dga'o // \$ // tshe pag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogsso /; / ci king bris / phab ci zhus / phab dzang yang zhus / dpal (interline <) m (> interline) chog sum zhus // . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.428: de thams cad // bcom ldan 'das kyI gsung ba la / mngon bar dga'o // \$ // <tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di> \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; ci king bris // phab ci zhus / phab dzang yang zhus / dpal mchog gsum zhus / . Corrections: very few.
- ITJ 310.429: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen <a>po'i mdo rdzogs so //; bdag cag sha cu yig po che // ser thong thong bris // . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.430: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyis g<ng>sungs pa las mngon bar dga' 'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; sag dge legs bris / phab ci zhus / phab dzang yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus / . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.435: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //; \$ / : / gzIgs kong gyis bris // . Corrections: few, by blotting.
- ITJ 310.441: de thams chad // bchom ldan 'da'skyi+s gsungs pa la mngon par dga' go (next line:) tshe dphag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i 'do rdzogsso /; nyal kha ba skyes bris. Corrections: few by blotting and vertical strikethrough.
- ITJ 310.449: de thams cadu // bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa la pa mngon bar dga'o // / tshe dpag du myed pa'I zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo'o //; cang lha legs kyis bris // . Corrections: none.

- ITJ 310.461: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go' /
/ \$/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ;
lu tshe hing bris. Corrections: few, blotted.
- ITJ 310.471: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyi gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' o' /
\$/:/ tse dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so /:/ ;
cang legs rtsan bris /:/ . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.497: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyI gsungs pa / la mngon bar dga' o' /
/ rdzogs so / . / ; cang kong tses bris (in lighter ink to text). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.517: de thams chad bcom ldan '(interline <) da (> interline) s<s> gyIs
gsungs pa la mngo <r> (interline <) n (> interline) / bar dga' o' / : \$ // mdo
rdzogs zhim tshir tshIr bris / : / . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.523: de thams cas / b<m>com ldan 'das kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'
go' /:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so' /
/ ^a myI ta phur / na mo ^a myi ta phur / ; (red <) shes rab yang zhus so' /
dzeng the'i sum zhuso' \$:/ jI ^in zhuso' (> red) / bam thong thong bris so' / .
Corrections: few; in title: tshe dpa zhes bya ba' is corrected with g du myed
pa inserted below line.
- ITJ 310.533: de thams cad // bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs la mngon bar dga' go' /
\$/:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ;
phan la brtan bris / 'od snang zhus dzeng the yang zhus / phab dzang sum
zhus / . Corrections: very few.
- ITJ 310.540: de dag thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's gyI gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'
'o' / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ;
shin dar gIs bris so // shIn dar zhus // sgron ma yang zhus / leng pe'u suM
zhus / . Corrections: few, mostly deletions.
- ITJ 310.543: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go
// \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa' zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so' /
/ ^a myi ta phur / na mo ^a myI ta phur / ; (red <) shes rab zhus so' // jI ^in
yang zhus / (> red) lu tse shing bris so // (red <) dpa+l chog suM / zhus so' .
Corrections: very few.
- ITJ 310.553: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'
go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so' /
^a myi ta phur / na mo ^a myi ta phur / ; bam lha legs bris / (red <) leng pe'u
zhus / sgron ma yang zhus ci keng suM zhus / (> red). Corrections: two gi
struck through.
- ITJ 310.563: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o' /
/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ; jang zhun
tshe bris (red <) \$// cI keng zhus / dam 'gI yang zhus ci keng sum zhus
[space] shig (> red). Corrections: usual dh and mdo sde.

- ITJ 310.573: de thams cad brcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar <dga' go> dga'o // tshe dpag du myed pa //; je'u hva 'do gyis bris / (red <) phug 'gi zhus dpal mchog gyis yang zhus // pab dzang gyis sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: dga' go' to dga'o; otherwise usual.
- ITJ 310.574: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; (red <) leng pe'u zhus// sgron ma zhus (> red) bam lha legs brIs / (red <) cI keng suM zhus/ (> red). Corrections: few.
- ITJ 310.582: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon ba (interline <) d (> interline) g<d>a' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; lu tshe hing bris // dam ^Ing zhus de'u ^Ing yang zhus // weng sum zhus // . Corrections: a7: de na corrected to de nas; f13: nus gyi corrected to nus so.
- ITJ 310.583: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa las mngon bar dga<I> go// tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs so///; phan phan brIs so// (red <) leng pe'u zhus// dpal kyI sgron mas zhus/ leng pe'u sum zhus/ (> red). Corrections: gang la la zhig gi to gang la la zhig.
- ITJ 310.592: de thams cad brcom(?) ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga 'go' / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes byab (=bya ba) theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; (red <) pa [xxx] \$ / : / dpal mchog zhus / phug 'gI yang zhus / phab dzang sum zhus / (> red) je'u hva 'do bris /. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.593: de thams chad/ / bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o/ // tshe dpag du <bya ba> myed pa bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; cang zhun tshe bris/ (red <) \$// cI keng zhus/ dam 'gI yang zhus ci keng sum zhus/ shig (> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.602: de thams cad bcom <l>ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar <d> (interline <) dga' (> interline) 'o / \$// tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; lu tshe hing bris / dam ^Ing zhus / de'u ^Ing zhus // phab weng suM zhus /. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.603: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so / / ^a myi ta phur / na mo ^a myi ta phur //; (red <) leng pe'u zhus / (> red) bam lha legs bris / (red <) leng pe'u zhus / (> red) dpal kyI sgron mas yang zhus/ jI keng sum zhus. Corrections: rin chen to rin po che.
- ITJ 310.612: de thams chad bchom ldan 'da's kis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen pho'i mdo rdzogs so //; snal stag legs briso. Corrections: none.

- ITJ 310.627: de thams chad // bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // (SHAPE: g+) \$ / / tshe dpag du myed pa <I> zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs s+ho // ; sI tong pa. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.637: de thams cad / pcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$ / / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa ched po'I mdo rdzogs so // ; se tong paA /. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.649: de / thams shas / bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la / mngon bar dga'o // /tshe dphag du myed pa zhes ba / theg pa ched po theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so // ; <rma kong gyis briso> se thong pa. Corrections: by blotting and strikethrough.
- ITJ 310.666: de / thams chad bcom ldan 'da' gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so; kong tshe bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.678: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba thig pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so // ; phan phan bris // . Corrections: very few.
- ITJ 310.688: de dag thams cad bcom ldan 'da's kyi gsungs pa la / mngon bar dga' 'o // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa ched po'i mdo rdzogs so+' // ; (red <) heg cing yang zhu sum so / (> red) bam zhun tse kyis zhus / (red <) heg cing yang zhus / (> red) ser thong thong bris. Corrections: few.
- ITJ 310.694: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa ched po'i mdo rdzogs so // ; wang rma snang gI bris so // (red <) dge slong shin dar zhus // / leng ci'u yang zhuss ci keng sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: genitive: stobs gis to stobs gyis (3 times); rten gI to rten gyI (twice). Incidentally, the scribe does use kyi elsewhere in this copy.
- ITJ 310.703: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // /:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs // ; chos grub bris / phab ci zhus // (red <) phab dzang yang zhus / phab ci sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: very few.
- ITJ 310.713: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa cen po'I mdo rdzogs so // ; wang rma snang bris / (red <) shin dar zhus / leng ce'u yang zhus / ci keng sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: mdo sde, etc.
- ITJ 310.720: de / thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so // ; cang snang legs brIs // <chos btan myI zhus // ci keng sum zhus /> <[xx x]ing gis briso // > \$:/ chos brtan zhus // sgron ma yang zhus shIn dar sum zhus // 'de la chad lag mchis so /. Corrections: few, usual.

- ITJ 310.730: de dag thams cad bcom ldan 'da's kyi gsungs pa' la / mngon bar dga' 'o / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa ched po 'I mdo rdzogs so+' /; / wang rgyal legs brIs so //. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.738: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis // gsungs pa las mngon bar dga' 'o // \$ /: / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; (red <) da [next line:] de'u ^ing zhus dam ^ing yang zhus (> red) /shes rab gIs bris / [next line:] (red <) de'u ^ing (interline <) suM (> interline) zhus / (> red). Corrections: few, usual.
- ITJ 310.740: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa 'a mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs / so //; / stag ras bris //. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.750: de dag thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's gyi gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$ /: / tshe dpag du myed pa' zhes bye ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs s+ho //; / shIn dar gIs brIs so // leng pe'u zhus / yang zhus ben ceng suM zhus. Corrections: very few.
- ITJ 310.758: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis // gsungs pa las mngon bar dga' 'o // \$ /: / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya batheg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs s+ho //; / khang dpa+l mchog gis bris / (red <) de'u ^ing zhus // de'u yang zhus dam ^ing suM zhus / (> red). Corrections: few, usual.
- ITJ 310.760: de thams cad // bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa<'i> zhes bya ba' theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; / (red <) phug 'gi zhus / dpal mchog yang zhus / pab dzang sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: few.
- ITJ 310.770: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa las mngon bar dga'o <go> /; / dpal mchog zhus / (red <) phug 'gi yang zhus / phab dzang sum zhus (> red). Corrections: dga' go to dga'o; few others.
- ITJ 310.772: de<g> dag thams cad // bcom ldan 'da's gyI gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o /: / \$ /: / tshe dpag du myed pa' zhes <bya> bye ba theg pha chen po'I mdo rdzogs s+ho // [both deletions = self-corrections]; /shin dar gIs bris // (red <) leng pe'u zhus ben ceng gtan la bab zhuso // (> red). Corrections: very few.
- ITJ 310.776: de thaMs chad / bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // \$ /: / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen pho'i mdo rdzogs s+ho // ^a mI ta bur / na mo ^a mi ta bur //; / dpal gyI sgron ma bris / phab tIng zhus / (red <) dpal mchog yang zhus / leng pe'u gsum zhus // (> red). Corrections: very few.
- ITJ 310.783: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga ga'o // \$ / . / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogsso

- //; (red <) dam ^ing zhus // (> red) dam 'gi gis bris / (red <) de'u ya+ng zhus dam ^ing suM zhus / (> red). Corrections: few, usual.
- ITJ 310.788: de dag thams chad bcom ldan 'das kyi gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs so //; dge slong he k<o>ang brIs // (red <) dam ^Ing zhus // dewu ^ing yang zhus // dam ^ing sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: *dhāraṇī* inserted in margin; mdo to mdo sde; in title: ma ha na ya to ma ha ya na.
- ITJ 310.791: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa las mngon bar dga'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs s+ho //; (red <) de'u ^ing zhus // dam ^ing (interline <) ya+ng (> interline) zhus de'u ^ing sum zhus // (> red) /shes rab bris /. Corrections: few, usual.
- ITJ 310.798: de thams chad // mchom ldan 'das gsung ba la mngon du dga'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'I mdo rdzogs so //; (purple <) 'gi tig bris // (> purple) (red <) phug 'gi zhus // dpal mchog yang zhus // pab dzang sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: mdo sde; kyi to so on adversative; a4: dpal to dpa' by crossing out right half of letter.
- ITJ 310.809: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's kyi gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o <go> // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; \$:/ ldong nyas brIs //. Corrections: *dhāraṇī* inserted on col. c, going up the column gutter.
- ITJ 310.819: de thams chad bcom ldand 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; /dze'u hIng tsIn bris // phab weng zhus / leng pe'u yang zhus / shIn cig sum zhus //. Corrections: few; mdo sde.
- ITJ 310.824: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; (red <) leng pe'u zhus / sgron ma yang zhus ci keng suM zhus / (> red) bam lha legs bris. Corrections: very minor.
- ITJ 310.825: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsung sa pa las mngon bar dga' go tshe dpag du myed pa'zhes bya ba 'I theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; (red <) leng pe'u zhus sgron ma yang (> red) [next line] phan phan brIsso (red <) zhus ci keng suM zhus // (> red). Corrections: few, usual.
- ITJ 310.829: de thams chad // bcom ldan 'da's gyi gsungs ba la mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpAg du my<i>ed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //; jin legs kong 'gis bris //. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.839: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gis gsungs pa la mngon par dga go tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa ced po'I mdo rdzogs so //; sheg dam 'gI gyis bris // dam ^ing zhus // (red <) de'u ^ing yang zhus / dam ^ing suM zhus // (> red). Corrections: mdo sde; in title: ched mdo to ched pho'I mdo'.

- ITJ 310.849: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bye ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; (fine/faded ink <) dpal mchog yang zhus / pab dzang sum zhus / (> fine/faded ink) [next line] wang rma snang gIs bris so / (fine/faded ink <) phug 'gi zhus (> fine/faded ink). Corrections: some horizontal strikethroughs.
- ITJ 310.867: 2: de dag thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po <m>I mdo rdzogs so /; 'e wam khyI brug gis bris/. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.883: 2: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o / mdo rdzogs; khang 'go 'gos bris /. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.897: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; wang rma snang gi bris/. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.914: 2: de dag thams shad / bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // \$:/ tshe dphag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa cen po'i mdo rdzogs so+' // . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.923: de / thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po mdo rdzogs so /; snya lha gzigs gyis bris/. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.933: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gsung pa mngon bar dga' go //; cang legs bzang gyi bris // . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.961: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa las mgon bar dga' 'o // \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhe bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs //; yI 'do bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.967: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's kyis / gsungs pa la mngon par dga'o <go> // tshe dpag du myed pa zhe<s> bya<s> ba theg pa cen po'i <b?da>mdo rdzogs /; je'u hva 'do gyis bris // phug 'gi zhus // [xxx]gi? gyis yang zhus // pab dzang gyis sum zhus // . Corrections: see final line, zhes byas corrected to zhe bya dga' go' corrected to dga'o (final 'a of o' not deleted, but its deletion probably implied).
- ITJ 310.971: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // tshe dpag du myed <pa'I> zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogsso / /; phab cI zhus / phab dzang yang zhus / dpal mchog suM zhus // mchims lha rton bris. Corrections: b1: tshe'ang corrected to tshe yang.
- ITJ 310.981: dethamsshad bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / / tshe dphag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; se thong pa / phab cI zhus / phab (interline <) dzang (> interline) ya+ng zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus // . Corrections: none.

- ITJ 310.991: de thams shad bchom ldan 'das gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa ched po 'i mdo rdzogs so; se thong pa / phab dzang zhus / phab ci yang zhus / dpal mchog suM zhus /. Corrections: b12: §7 omitted and added going over panel break (1 and 2), up right side of page, over the top of col. b (upside down) and down the left hand side of col. b.
- ITJ 310.1001: de thams shad // bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // \$ // tse dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa ched po'i mdo rdzogso / /; phab cI zhus / phab dzang yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus // se thong pa. Corrections: a7: de na corrected to de nas.
- ITJ 310.1011: te thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon par dga'o // \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa ched po'i mdo rdzogs so //; phab ci zhus / phab dzang (second hand <) lho lha gzigs kyis bris (> second hand) yang zhus / dpal mchog suM zhus /. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1021: de tham+s chad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go [corrected to dga'o] // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; leng ho be'u tshven bris // (red <) de'u ^i+ng zhus // dam ^ing yang zhus // (> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1022: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so+' //; leng pe'u bris / cI shan zhus / (red <) dpal mchog yang zhus / phug 'gi sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: the usual, in black.
- ITJ 310.1031: de thams cad // bcom ldan 'das kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' / go // \$ / . / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs s'o //; bam thong thong bris / (red <) < \$ / : / shes rab zhus // > (next line:) \$ / : / shes rab zhus / dzeng the'I yang zhus / (over the top of another part of the colophon as was rubbed out above) jI ^in sum zhus (> red). Corrections: f11: rgyal po chen po bzhi'i corrected to rgya mtsho chen po bzhi'i.
- ITJ 310.1035: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba them pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; / (red <) he jing dang zhus // pug 'gi bar zhu (> red) stag slebs brIs (red <) he jing sum zhus / (> red). Corrections: mdo sde, and some filling in lacunae; 'dI tha'i tshal to 'dzI ta'i tshal.
- ITJ 310.1044: de thams can bcom ldan 'das gyIs / gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go /// \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs s'o //; mgar klu mthong gi brIs so / ^OM. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1045: de thams chad/ bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa<'I> zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so / ^a mI ta bur na mo ^a mi ta bur //; dpal kyI sgron ma brIs//jI keng zhus/

- (red <) sgron ma yang zhus leng pe'u suM zhuste lhag chad bcos nas gtan phab bo// (> red). Corrections: mdos rgyas to mdo sangs rgyas.
- ITJ 310.1046: de dag thams chad/ bcom ldan 'da's gyi gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o/ / tshe dpag du myed pa' zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so//; shIn dar gIs brIs/ / (red <) sgron ma zhus/ / ben cer yang zhus leng pe'u suM zhus// (> red). Corrections: few.
- ITJ 310.1057: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go / / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so / /; cang weng yir bris / /. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1082: de thams shad / / bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / / \$ / / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs s+ho / /; gu rIb lha lung brtsan gyIs bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1083: de thams chad / bcom l<t>dan 'das kyis / gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / / che d<g>pag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so / /; chos grub bris/ (red <) ci keng zhus/ dam 'gI yang zhus ci keng suM zhus te/ gtan (> red). Corrections: a16: btud pa corrected to btu pa; c16: 'gyur ro corrected to 'gyur to.
- ITJ 310.1085: de/ thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs/ gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs so//; dpal mchog gIs brIs/ / de'u ^ing kyis zhus// (red <) dam ^Ing yang zhus/ / de'u ^Ing sum zhus// (> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1094: de thams cad <ch> bcoM ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o / / \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs s'o / /; chos grub bris / (red <) ci keng gIs zhus / dam 'gI yang zhus ci keng suM zhus / (> red). Corrections: b4: 'cug corrected to bcug; and scribe self-corrects in explicit.
- ITJ 310.1103: de thams chad / bcom ldand 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; (red <) dpal mchog zhus / / <'>phug 'gI yang zhus / phab dzang sum zhus / / (> red) gtsug bzang gis bris / . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1113: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pal (=pa la) / mngon bar dga' 'o / / \$ / : / tshe d<ng>pag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //; gI tig bris (red <) phab ci zhus / phab dzang yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus / (> red). Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1116: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs/ gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bye ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs so/ /; dpal mchog gIs brIs/ / (red <) \$:/ dge slong dam tseng gIs zhus/ / shin dar yang zhus/ ji keng suM zhus (> red). Corrections: Many. Among them are e13: de

- bud med to de bud myed; f13: nus gyI to nus so; mdo to mdo sde. Editor scribes this copy, and it appears that all three editors corrected it.
- ITJ 310.1117: de thams chad // bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; cang zhun zhun kyIs bris // (pink <) zhus so / dar ma gtan la bab te / rdo rje'i grar zhu / (> pink) (orange <) li phab weng gyI dar ma gtugs pa'I dpe' / / (> orange). Corrections: several gang zhig to gang zhig gi; mdo to mdo sde.
- ITJ 310.1122: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyI gsungs <s>pa la mngon bar dga'o / / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs / /; cang tsI dam bris/. Corrections: c6 has been rubbed out and written over. Paper is thin at this point.
- ITJ 310.1132: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mgon (sic) <r>bar dga' 'o // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg p<o>a chen po 'i mo (sic) rdzogs so //; stag slebs bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1142: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go //; ser thong thong bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1152: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o // \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs / /; cang snang legs bris // . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 310.1199: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dphag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; snyal lha gzigs bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1488: de dag thams cad bcom ldan 'da' sa kyis gsung sa pa mngon bar dga 'o / \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed <pa> zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; dvan h<in>eng dar gyi bris so // phab ci zhus / phab dzang yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus / . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1591: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so+' /:/ ^a myI ta phur /:/ na mo ^a myi ta phur /:/; bam kim kang bris so /:/ (two lines below:) bam kim kang gyis bris sa. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1600: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs / gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes by<e>a ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs so //; dpal mchog gIs brIs // (red <) de['u] ^ing zhus / dam ^ing yang zhus de'u ^Ing sum zhus // (> red). Corrections: few.
- ITJ 1608: de thams cad // b<c>com l<t?>dan 'das gyI gsung ba la / mngon bar dga'o // \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa cen po'i mdo rdzogs so //; / ci king bris / phab dzang zhus / phab ci yang zhus / dpal mchog sum zhus / . Corrections: few.

- ITJ 1609: de thams cad // bcom ldan 'das gyI gsung[xxx] la / mngon bar gda'o (sic) \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba' theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //; ban (interline <) de (> interline) cI king bris // leng pe'u zhus. Corrections: few.
- ITJ 1618: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o / tshe dpag du myed pa <I mdo> zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //; lha lod bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1628: 2: de thams chad / bchom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //; mal gzIgs kong gyis brIs // . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1638: 1: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga'o / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'I mdo rdzogs /; khang btsan bzher gyis bris / . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1648: 1: de thams cad // bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so //; cang shIb tig bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1658: de thams can bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa mngon bar dga'o / \$ /; tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so + ' /; cang jung jung bris / . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1667: de dag thams cad // bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon par dga go // \$ / : / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'I mdo rdzogs so //; jIn lha bzher gyis bris // . Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1677: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / tshe dphag tshe dphag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i ma rdzogs /; snyal lha gzigs kyis bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1687: de thams bcom ldan 'das gyI gsungs pa las mngon bar dga go /; unsigned. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1697: 1: de thams cad bcom ldan 'das gyi gsung+s pa la mngon bar dga' 'o / tshe dpag du myed pa 'i mdo rdzogs + ' //; 1: deng <de'u de'u bris> // ^ing tsi bris. Corrections: none.
- ITJ 1707: de dag thams cad // bcom ltan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga go // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'I mdo rdzogs so //; cang lyang 'gI brIs. Corrections: none.

Explicits from editors' exemplars

- PT 3520: de thams chad / bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go / \$ // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba th<i>eg pa chen pho'i mdo rdzogs so /

- /; dpal kyI sgron ma brIs/ (red <) leng pe'u zhus/ ben ceng yang zhus leng pe'u zhus (> red). Corrections: few.
- PT 3735: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's/ / kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar <g>dga' go/ / \$/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen/ / pho'I mdo rdzogs s+ho/ /; sgrong ma brIs/ / (red <) leng pe'u zhus/ / dpal kyI sgron ma <zhu> yang zhus/ leng pe'u suM zhus/ / (> red). Corrections: several 'ang in grong khyer du 'ang 'jug pa.
- PT 3793: de thams chad bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go/ / \$/ / tshe dpag du myed pa<I> zhes bya ba theg pa chen pho mdo rdzogs so/ / ^a mI ta bur/ na mo ^a mI ta bur/ /; dpal kyI sgron ma brIs/ / ci keng zhus/ (red <) ben ceng yang zhus <[x]>pha+b tIng suM zhus (> red). Corrections: few.
- PT 3812: de tham+s chad/ bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o/ / tshe dpag du myed pa'I zhes bya ba then pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so/ / ^a mI ta bur/ na mo ^a mI ta bur/ /; dpal kyI sgron ma brIs/ / (red <) leng pe'u zhus/ sgron ma yang zhus leng pe'u suM zhus (> red). Corrections: none.
- PT 3555: de thams chad / / bcom ldan 'das gyI gsungs ba la / mngon bar dga' 'o/ / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa cen po'i mdo rdzogs so/ /; cI king bris leng pe'u zhus. Corrections: none.
- PT 3577: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'das gyi gsungs ba la / mngon bar <g>dga' 'o/ / \$// tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa cen po 'i mdo rdzogs so/ /; / cI king bris/ / phab cI zhus/ phab dzang yang zhus/ dpal mchog sum zhus/. Corrections: gang gi tshe to gang zhig gi tshe.
- PT 3606: de thams cad// bcom ldan 'das <g>gyIs gsungs ba la mngon bar dga' 'o/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so/ /; cI king bri s+ho/ / phab cI zhus/ phab dzang yang zhus/ dpal mchog sum zhus//. Corrections: one inserted na mo.
- PT 3726: de thams cad/ / bcom ldan 'das gyI gsungs ba la/ / mngon bar dga' 'o/ / \$/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so/ /; cI king brIs/ phab dzang zhus/ phab cI yang zhus/ dpal mchog sum zhus/ /. Corrections: gang gi tshe to gang zhig gi tshe.
- PT 3951: 'khor thams cad / bcom ldan 'das gyI gsung ba la/ mngon bar dga' 'o/ / \$/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa cen po'i mdo rdzogs so/ /; / cI king bris/ phab cI zhus/ phab dzang yang zhus/ dpal mchog sum zhus. Corrections: gang gi tshe to gang zhig gi tshe; a9: de bzhIn to de na de bzhIn.
- PT 3760: de dag thams cad// bcom ldan 'da's kyl gsungs pa la mngon bar <g>dga' 'o/ / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa' zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs s+ho/ /; shIn dar gyis bris/ (red <) leng pe'u zhus/ pab ting yang zhus leng

- pe'u suM zhus (> red). Corrections: few, but notably in the incipit it adds zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i to tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo.
- PT 3782: de dag thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's gyi gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o/ / tshe dpag du myed pa <i mdo>zhes bya ba theg pa ched po'i mdo rdzogsO / /; shin dar bris/ (red <) dpal kyI sgron ma zhus/ leng pe'u ya+ng zhus ben ceng suM zhus/ / (> red). Corrections: a few, and inserts e+e over a pa in de bzhin gshegs pa rnam par in order to make pa'i.
- PT 3790: de dag thams cad // bcom ldan 'da's gyI gsungs pha la mngon bar dga' 'o/ / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa' zhes bye (interline <) ba' (> interline) I <bzhug> theg pa chen pho'I mdo rdzogs s+ho / 00/; shIn dar gIs brIs s+ho/ / (red <) cI keng zhus / dam 'gI yang zhus / dam 'gi suM zhustso/ (> red). Corrections: one, at d1: mtshams myed pa lha to mtshams myed pa lnga.
- PT 3601: de thams cad / bcom ldan 'da's kyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go/ / \$/ / <th> tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs s+ho/ /; dge slong shes rab bris/ / (second colophon, above, in another hand:) cang zhIg hing dpe/ legs so/. Corrections: none.
- PT 3842: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs po la mngon bar dga' go/ / \$:/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so/ /; dge slong shes rab bris/ / cI shan zhus/ (red <) dpal mchog yang zhus / phug 'gi sum zhus/ / (> red). Corrections: gang gi tshe to gang zhig gi tshe.
- PT 3865: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's kyIs gsungs pa pa mngon bar dga' go/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs so/ /; dpal mchog gIs brIs/ / (faint ink, editor's hand<) dpal mchog yang zhus/ / pab dzang sum zhus/ phug 'gi zhus/ /. Corrections: adds yang dag between sangs rgyas and 'phags in verse.
- PT 3921: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyIs/ gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bye ba theg pa chen po'I mdo rdzogs so/ /; dpal mchog gIs brIs/ / dang zhu dang bar zhu sum zhu. Corrections: adds ya to ra dzA interline in *dhāraṇī*.
- PT 3739: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyi gsungs pa la mngon par dga go/ / \$/ / tse dpag du myed pa'I zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so/ /; phab dzang bris/ phab cI zhus/ phab dzang yang zhus/ dpal mchog sum zhus/. Corrections: mdo to mdo sde; sha kya to shag kya; gang la zhig to gang la la zhig; adds na mo to *dhāraṇī*.
- 3740: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la // mngon bar dga' 'o // tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bye ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs s+ho / /; ^an phab dzang gyis brIs so / (red <) dam 'gi gi zhus / cI keng yang zhus dam 'gi sum zhus (> red). Corrections: several: mdo to mdo sde; myI 'gyur te to myI 'gyur to; gang 'ga'I gleng gyi byi ma to glung gyi bye ma.

PT 3648 (defective scribal copy of editor's exemplar): de tha ced bcom ldan 'd<e>as gyi gsung pa la mngon bar dga' 'o' / / tshe dpag du myi pa zhes bye ba theg pa chen pa'I mdo rdzog so/ /; dam 'ge bres/ /. Corrections: few.

PT 3792: de thams chad bcom ldan 'das gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o' / \$:/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo rdzogs so/ /; bad de dam ^ing bris/ \$/// shes (interline, red <) rab (> interline, red) zhus/ (red <) pub 'gi gyis yang zhus dpal mchog gyis sum zhus/ / (> red). Corrections: few: adds na mo to *dhāraṇī*.

PT 3721: de thams cad bcom ldan 'da's gyis gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' go/ tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs so / /; \$:/ / dge slong ban 'de leng ce'u gyI bris/ / \$// ban de cang chos btan gyI zhus/ / shin dar suM zhus/. Corrections: gang la la zhig gi tshe to gang la la zhig tshe.

PT 4010 (fragment: final panel only¹³): de thams cad / / bcom ldan 'das gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o' / / \$:/ / tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa ched po'i mdo rdzogs so+' / /; leng pe'u bris/ / phug 'gi zhus/ (red <) dpag mchog yang zhus/ / cI shan sum zhus so/ / (> red). Corrections: g4: seng ge stobs rtogs to seng ge tsul khrIms stobs rtogs.

5.5 Transliteration of a sample copy of the Tibetan B1 version, PT 3901

This is the edited B1 copy that we used for placing corrections we observed in other copies. We preserve its errors and misspellings without comment. It is in fact a woefully defective copy, since it is missing the second occurrence of §18, with no insertion by an editor. We have inserted this paragraph ourselves, for the sake of completeness, from PT 3721, a B1 editor's exemplar. (For reference, this paragraph appears on ll. c1 to c4 in PT 3721). We number the eight columns *a* through *h*. We have also added paragraph numbers (e.g. “§1”) according to Konow's parsing of the sutra, detailed above in Chapter Two.

In two places the scribe begins a syllable at the end of one line and finishes it at the start of the next. In these cases we've used the ampersand (&), e.g. “*gra&*” at the end of line e8 and “*&gs*” at the start of line e9 for *grags*.

a1: \$:/ rgya gar skad du ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yur na ma ma ha ya na su tra /
a2:

¹³ This panel was re-used to wrap rolls: its back reads, “packet number fifty-nine” (*di wushi jiu zhi* 第五十九秩); see above, Fig. 59.

- a3: bod skad du tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba' / theg pa chen po 'I mdo // sangs rgyas dang byang cub sem+s
- a4: dpa' thams chad la phyag 'tshal lo // {S1} 'di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na / bcom ldan
- a5: 'da's (interline, red <) m (> interline, red) nyan du yod pa na / 'dza' ta'I tshal mgon myed / zas sbyin kun dga+' 'I ra ba na / dge slong gi
- a6: dge du chen po / dge slong brgya' phrag phyed dang bcu gsum dang / byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa'
- a7: chen po rab du mang ba dang // thabs gcig du bzhugs so / {S2} de na bcom ldan 'da's kyIs / 'jam dpal
- a8: gzho nurd 'gyurd pa la bka' stald pa' // 'jam dpal steng gi phyogs na // 'jin rten kyi ~~mkh~~
- a9: khams yon tan dpag du myed pa' / stsogs pa zhes bya ba / zhig yod de / de na de bzhin gshegs pa
- a10: dgra bcom ba yang dag par rdzogs pa'I sangs rgyas tshe dang / ye shes dpag du myed pa' / shin du rnam
- a11: par gdon myI za ba'I rgyal po zhes bya ba bzhugs 'tsho skyong ste / sems chan rnam la 'tshos kyang
- a12: ston to // {S3} 'jam dpal gzho nur 'gyur pa nyon cig // 'dzam bu gling 'd'i sems chan rnam nI
- a13: tshe thung ba tshe brgya' she dag ste // de dag las kyang phal cher dus ma yin ba 'chi bar brjod do //
- a14: 'jam dpal sems chan gang de dag de bzhin gshegs pa tshe dpag du myed pa' de'i yon tan dang
- a15: bstags pa ~~æ~~ yongs su brjod pa zhes bya ba'I 'chos kyi rnam 'grangs 'dri gam 'drir 'jug ga+m
- a16: 'chang gam glog gam / men tog dang bdug pa dang / spos dang / 'phreng¹⁴ ba dang / bye ma rnam kyis
- a17: mchod par 'gyur ba / de dag nI tshe yongs su zad pa las // tshe yang lo brgya' thub par 'gyur ro /
- a18: 'jam dpal sems chan kyang de dag de bzhin gshegs pa / tshe dpag du myed pa / shin du rnam par /
- b1: don myi za (interline, red <) ba (> interline, red) 'I rgyal po // de'I (interline, red <) mtshan (> interline, red) 'dzin par 'gyur ba de / deg¹⁵ gI tshe yang 'phel par 'gyur
- b2: ro // {S4} 'jam dpal de lta bas na // rigs kyi bu 'am rigs kyi bu mos tshe ring bar 'dod
- b3: pas // de bzhins gshegs pa tshe dpag du myed pa de 'i mtshan brgya' rtsa brgyad nyan
- b4: tam 'dri 'am 'drir bcug na // de dag gi yon tan dang legs pa ni 'di dag go //
- b5: {S5} na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI myi ta ^a yu gnya' su bi ni shci ti ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta ya^om sarva
- b6: sang ska ra pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva hA // {S6} 'jam dpal sngags kyI
- b7: tshig 'di dag gang la la zhig 'dri 'am 'drir 'jug gam / glegs bam bris ste /
- b8: khyim na 'chang ba de / tshe zad pa las kyang lo brgya' thub par 'gyur te / de nas shi phos
- b9: nas / de bzhin gshegs pa / tshe dpag du myed pa'I sangs rgyas kyl zhing / 'jig rten kham+s

14 e inserted in red.

15 e inserted in red.

- b10: yon tan dpag du myed pa+r¹⁶ stsogs pa skye bar 'gyur ro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa ri
 b11: myi ta ^a yu gnya' na su bi ni shci ta ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa ri shud
 b12: dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sva ha' // {§7} yang de 'I tshe sangs rgyas bye ba phrag
 b13: dgu bcu rtsa dgus // dgongs pa gcIg dang / dbyangs kyi tshe / dpag du myed pa'I mdo
 b14: 'di gsungs so // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa ri mi ta ^a yu gnya' na subI ni shci ta
 b15: ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa ri shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa ri
 b16: ba re sva ha' // {§12} yang de'i tshe sangs rgyas bye ba phrag bzhi bcu rtsa lngas / dgongs pa gcIg
 b17: dang dbyangs gcig gyis / tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di gsungs so //
 b18: na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa ri mi ta ^a yu gnya' na su bi ni shci ta ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta tha ya ^om
 c1: sa rva sang ska ra pa ri shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pha ri ba re sva ha' // {§13} yang de 'i tshe sangs rgyas
 c2: bye ba phrag sum bcu rtsa drug gis / dgongs pa gcig dang / dbyangs gcig gis / tshe dpag du myed
 c3: pa'I mdo 'di gsungs so // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa ri mi ta ^a yu gnya' na su bi ni shci ta ra dzA ya
 c4: ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa ri shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sva ha' // {§14} yang de 'I
 c5: sangs rgyas bye ba phrag nyi shu rtsa lngas / dgongs pa gcig dang / dbyangs gcig gis tshe dpag du myed
 c6: pa'I mdo 'di gsungs so // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa ri mi ta a yu gnya' na su bi ni shci ta ra dzA ya
 c7: ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa ri shud ta / dhar ma te / ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sva ha' // {§15} yang de 'I
 c8: tshe sangs rgyas bye brag gang 'ga'I slang gi bye ma snyed gyis dgongs pa gcig dang / dbyangs /
 c9: gcIg gyis / tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di gsungs so // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa ri mi ta
 c10: ^a yu gnya' na su bi ni shci ta ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa ri shud dha dhar
 c11: ma te ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sva ha' // {§18} gang la la zhig gi tshe dpag du myed pa'i mdo 'di 'drir
 c12: bcug na // des chos kyi phung po stong phrag brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi 'dris bcug par 'gyur ro // na mo
 c13: ba ga ba te ^a pa ri mi ta ^a yu gnya' na su bi ni shci ta ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra
 c14: pa ri shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya ba ri ba re sva ha' // {§17} gang zhig tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'drir
 c15: bcug na // de sems can dmyal ba dang / byol song (interline <) gi (> interline) skye gnas dang / gshin rje 'i 'jig rten du nam yang

16 Red interline r.

- c16: skye bas myi 'gyur de // nam du 'ang myi khom bar skye bar myi 'gyur the / gang dang gang du skye ba tham+s
- c17: chad du skye ba dran bar 'gyur ro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya' na su bi ni shci ta /
- c18: ra dzA ya / ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha' /
- [[{S18} (supplied from PT 3721, preserving line breaks)
- c1: gang la la zhIg <gl> tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'drir bcug na // des chos kyi phung po
- c2: stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhI 'drIr bcug par 'gyur ro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu
- c3: gnya' na su bi ni sh+ci ta / ra dza ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rba sang ska ra pa rI shud da / dar ma te ma ha na ya
- c4: pa rI ba re sva hA /]
- d1: {S20} gang gi tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'drir bcug na / de'I mtsams myed pa lnga /
- d2: yongs su byang bar 'gyur ro // na mo bA ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya' na su bi ni shcI ta /
- d3: ra dzA ya ra tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa re ba re sva hA
- d4: {S21} gang gi tshe dpag du myed pa 'I mdo 'di 'drir bcug na // de 'I sdi gi phung po rib rab
- d5: tsam yang yongs su byang bar 'gyur ro / na mo ba ga ba te pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya'
- d6: na su bi ni shcI ta / ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha
- d7: na ya pa rI ba re sva hA // {S22} gang zhig gi tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'drir bcug na /
- d8: de la bdud kyi ris kyi lha dang / gnod sbyin dang / srin po glags bltas kyang glags
- d9: rnyed par myi 'gyur ro / na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya' na su bi ni shcI ta
- d10: ra dzA ya / ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra // pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa rI
- d11: ba re sva hA // {S23} gang zhig tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'drir bcug na // de'i tshi ba'i dus
- d12: kyi / tshe sangs rgyas bye ba phrag dgu bcu rtsa dgu mrngon du ston par mdzad¹⁷ de / sangs rgyas
- d13: stong gis de la phyag rkyong bar 'gyur ro / sangs rgyas gyI zhIng nas / sang rgyas kyi zhing du
- d14: 'gro bar mjad par 'gyur ro / 'di la the tsom dang / song nyi dang / yId gnyis ma za shIg
- d15: na mo bA ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / g^a yu gnya' na su bi ni shci ta / ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta ya
- d16: ^om sa rva sang ska ra / pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te / ma ha na ya pa ri ba re sva ha' / {S24} gang zhig
- d17: gi tshe dpag du myed pa'i mdo 'di 'drir btsug na / rgyal po chen po bzhi de'i ~~pa'i~~ phya bzhin
- d18: 'brang zhIng bsrung ba dang / bskyab pa dang sbid pa khyed par 'gyur ro / na mo bA gabate
- e1: ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya na / su bi ni shci ta / ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta ya / ^om sa rva sang ska ra

17 Editor has added missing *dza btags* to scribe's *mjad*.

- e2: ~~ma ha~~ pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa rI ba ri sva ha' // {§25} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'i
- e3: m'do 'drir bcug na / de de bzhIn gshegs pa 'od (interline <) d (> interline) pag du myId pa'i sang rgyas kyi zhing 'jig
- e4: rten kyi khams bde ba can du skye bar 'gyur ro / ^om bA ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu
- e5: gnya na / su bi ni shci ta / ra dZA ya ta thA ga ta ya / ^om sa rva sang ska ra / pa rI shud dha /
- e6: dhar ma te / ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha' / {§26} sa phyog su dkon mchog mdo sde 'di 'drir
- e7: bar 'gyur ba'i sa phyogs de yang mchod rten du 'gyur te / phyag 'tshal bar 'gyur ro
- e8: gal te byol song gI skye gna' su song bya dang / rI dags gang dag gi rna lam du sgra gra&
- e9: &gs par 'gyur ba de de dag thams chad bla na / myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang
- e10: cub du mngon bar rdzogs par 'tshang rgya bar 'gyur ro / na ma bA ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta
- e11: ^a yu gnya na su bi ni shci ta / ra dZA ya ta thA ga ta ya / ^om sa rva sang ska ra / pa rI shud
- e12: dha / dhar ma te / ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha' / {§27} gang zhig tshe dpag du myed pa'i mdo sde
- e13: 'di 'dri bar bcug na / de bud myed kyi dngos posr nam du yang myi 'gyur ro / na mo bA ga ba te
- e14: ^a pa ri mi ta / ^a yu gnya na / su bi ni shci ta / ra dZA ya (interline <) ta (> interline) tha ga ta ya / ^om sa rva sang ska ra /
- e15: pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te / ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha' / {§28} gang la la zhig chos kyi rnam
- e16: grangs 'dI'i phyir / ka sha ni 'ga' zhIg sbyIn ba byein¹⁸ na / des stong gsum gyI stong chen
- e17: po'i 'jig rten gyi khams rin po chen sna bdun kyis y~~ong~~¹⁹ su bkang ste / sbyin ba
- e18: byein²⁰ bar 'gyur ro // na mo bA ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya na su bi ni
- f1: shcI ta / ra dZA ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya pa rI ba re
- f2: sva hA // {§29} gang la la zhig chos kyi rnam grangs de la mchod pa byed par 'gyur ba de / dam pa'I chos /
- f3: mthag dag bcub par mchod par 'gyur ro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bi
- f4: nI shci ta ra dZA ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra / pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya ba rI ba re sva ha' /
- f5: {§30} de ltas te / de gzhin gshegs pa rnam par gzigs dang / gtsug thod~~r~~²¹ dang / thams cad skyo sba dang
- f6: log par dad stsel dang / gser thub dang 'od srungs dang / sheg kya thub pa la sa/ stsogs
- f7: pa la rin chen sna bdun kyis / mchod pa rnams kyis mchod par byas pa'I gsood nams kyi
- f8: phung po de 'i tshad ni bgrangs bar ~~myi~~ nus kyi / tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo de 'i bsod
- f9: nams kyi phung po'I tshad ni bgrang ba myis so // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya'

18 Red ink crosses out e, writes i.

19 Red ink crosses out u, writes o.

20 Red ink crosses out e, writes i.

21 Red ink crosses out d, writes r.

- f10: na su bI ni shcI ta ra dzA ya ta tha ga ta ya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha na ya
- f11: pa rI ba re sva hA // {§32} 'dI lta ste rgya mtsho chen po bzhI'i chus yongs su gang ba'I thIgs pa re re
- f12: nas bgrang bar nus gyI tshe dpag du myed pa'i mdo 'di bsod nams gyI phung po'i tshad ni
- f13: bgrang bar myI nus kyI / na mo bA ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na / su bI ni shci ta / ra dzA ya
- f14: tatha ga ta ya / ^Om sa rva sang ska ra / pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te / ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha'
- f15: {§33} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'i mdo 'di 'drir bcug gam mchod pa byed par 'gyur ba des
- f16: phyogs bcu'I sangs rgyas kyI zhIng thams chad du de bzhin gshegs pa thams chad la phyag
- f17: byas pa dang / mchod pa byas pa yIn no // na mo bA ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya na su
- f18: bI ni shci ta' / ra dzA ya ta thA ga ta ya / ^om sa rba sang ska ra / pa rI shud dha / dhar ma te ma ha
- g1: na ya pa rI ba re sva ha' // {§34} sbyIn ba'I stobs kyIs sangs rgyas yang dag 'phags
- g2: myI 'i seng ges sbyIn ba'I stobs rtog ste / snying rje grong khyer du 'ang 'jug pa na / sbyIn ba'i
- g3: stobs kyI sgra ni grags par 'gyurd / {§35} btsul khrIms stobs kyIs sangs rgyas yang dag '&
- g4: &phags / myI'i seng ges tshul khrIms stobs rtogs te / snyIng rje grong khyer du 'ang 'jug pa na
- g5: tshul khrIms stobs kyI sgra ni grags par 'gyurd / {§36} bzod pa'i stobs kyis / sangs rgyas yang
- g6: dag 'phags / myI 'i seng ges bzod pa stobs rtog ste / snying rje grong khyer du yang 'jug pa na /
- g7: bzod pa'I stobs kyI sgra ni grags par 'gyurd / {§37} btson 'grus stobs kyI sangs rgyas yang
- g8: dag 'phags / myI'i seng ge brtson 'grus stobs rtomngs te / snyIng rje grong khyer du yang
- g9: 'jug pa na / brtson 'grus kyI sgra ni grags par 'gyur / {§38} bsam gtan stobs kyI sangs
- g10: rgyas (interline <) yang (> interline) dag 'phags / myI'i seng ges bsam gtan stobs rtomn sa te / snying rje grong kyer du 'ang
- g11: 'jug pa na / bsam gtan stobs kyI sgra ni grags par 'gyurd / {§39} shes rab stobs gyI sangs
- g12: rgyas yang dag 'phags / myI'i seng ges shes rab stobs rtogs te / snying rje grong khyer du 'ang
- g13: 'jug pa na / shes rab stobs kyI sgra ni grags par 'gyurd / na mo bA ga ba te / ^a pa ri mi ta /
- g14: ^a yu gnya na / su bI ni shci ta / ra dzA ya ta thA ga ta ya / ^om sa rba sang ska ra / pa rI shud dha /
- g15: dhar ma te / ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha' // {§40} bcom ldan 'da's dgyes shIng de skad
- g16: ces bka' stsald to // 'jam dpald gzho nus gyur pa dang / lha dang / myI dang /
- g17: lha ma yin dang drl za bcas pa'i 'jIlg rten gyI 'khor / de thams chad bcom ldan /
- g18: 'da's gyIs gsungs par la b̄mngon bar dgaæ' 'o /
- h1: tshe dpag du myed pa'I zhes bya ba theg pa' chen po'i mdo
- h2: rdzogs so //
- h3:
- h4:
- h5:
- h6:
- h7: phan phan bri so / (red <) dpal kyI sgron mas zhus / jI keng yang zhus / leng pe'u
- h8: suM zhus / (> red)

Appendix One: Transliterations of Sample Copies of the Tibetan A1 and C5 Versions of the *Sutra of Limitless Life*

This appendix provides transliterations of an A1 copy, ITJ 310.1209, and a rare C5 copy, ITJ 310.645. The former is arguably redundant, since, apart from its *dhāraṇī*, it is largely identical with the B1 copy transliterated in Chapter Five, save for the fact that the latter skipped an entire paragraph of the sutra. It is nevertheless useful to have these two transliterations of version one to observe their variations and errors. The C5 copy, by contrast, is valuable as a rare textual witness to what is arguably the most complete and least defective Tibetan version of this sutra, and which was hitherto apparently forgotten. While we do not provide a critical edition, we have compared it with one of the two other complete C5 copies that we identified in the Stein Collection, ITJ 310.651.

1 Transliteration of A1 version, pressmark ITJ 310.1209

This is an unedited copy, originally from mixed bundle 86.XIII. As discussed in Chapter One, it was somehow mislaid and separated from its bundle, and was never bound. There is some light editing – probably self-correction – also in black ink, and deletions by strikethrough and by rubbing out. We preserve its errors and misspellings without comment. We number the seven columns *a* through *g*. We have also added paragraph numbers (e.g. “§1”) according to Konow’s parsing of the sutra, described above in Chapter Two.

- a1: \$:/ rgya gar skad du ^a pa rI mi ta/ ^a yur na ma ha ya na su tra//
a2: bod skad du tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo// sangs rgyas dang /
byang cub sems dpa' thams chad
a3: la phyag 'tshal lo/ / {§1} 'dI skad bdagIs thos pa dus gcig na / bcom ldan 'da's mnyan du yod
pa na / 'dzI ta 'I gyI tshal
a4: mgon myed za sbyIn kun dga' 'I ra ba na' / dge slong gi dge bdun chen po/ dge slong brgya'
phrag phyed dang / bcu gsum
a5: dang / byang cub sems dpa' chen po rab du mang ba dang / thabs gcig du bzhuqs so:/ {§2}
de nas bcom ldan 'da's
a6: 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd ba la bka' stsald pa' / 'jam dpal steng gI phyogs na / 'jig rten gyl
kham
a7: yon tan dpag du myed pa la stsogs pa zhes bya ba zhig yod de // de nas de bzhin gshegs pa
dgra bcom ba ya+ng

- a8: dag par rdzogs pa'I sangs rgyas tshe dang / ye shes dpag du myed pa shin du rnam par gdon myi za ba 'I rgyal po zhes
- a9: bya ba bzhugs'tsho skyong ste/ sems can rnams la chos kyang ston to/ / {S3} 'jam dpal gzho nur gyur ba nyon
- a10: cIg/ 'dzam bu gIIng 'dI 'i sems can rnams nI tshe thung ba tshe lo brgya' pa she stagste/ de dag las kyang phal cher
- a11: dus ma yin bar 'chI bar brjod do/ / 'jam dpal sems can gang de dag/ / de bzhin gshegs pa tshe dpag du
- a12: myed pa de'i yon tan dang / bstasgs pa yongs su brjod pa zhes bya ba'I chos gyI rnam grangs 'dI 'drIr 'am
- a13: 'drIr 'jug gam/ / 'chang ngam/ glog gam/ men tog dang / bdug ba dang / spos dang / 'phrIng ba dang / phye ma rnam
- a14: gyls mchod pa byed par 'gyur (interline <) ba (> interline) de dag nI tshe yong su zad pa las tshe yang lo brgya' thub par 'gyur ro / / 'jam dpal
- a15: sems can kyang de dag/ de bzhin gshegs pa tshe dpag du myed pa shin du rnam par gdon myI za ba'i rgyal po de 'i mtshan
- a16: 'dzIn bar 'gyur ba de daggI tshe yang 'phel par 'gyur ro/ / {S4} 'jam dpal de lta pas na / rigskyI bu 'am/ rIgskyIbumo
- a17: tshe ring bar 'dod pas/ de bzhin gshegs pa tshe dpag du myed pa' de'i mtshan brgya' rtsa brgyad nyan daM 'drIr 'am
- b1: 'drIr bcog na / de dagI yon tan dang / legs pa nI 'di daggio/ / {S5} tad tya tha/ na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya
- b2: na / su bI ni sh+ci ta/ ra dz+'a ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad thya tha ^om sa rba gsang ska ra / pa rI shud d+ha / da rma te/ ga ga na sa mu dga' te/
- b3: sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te / ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {S6} 'jam dpal sngags kyI tshig 'dI dag gang la la zhig 'drIæ 'am
- b4: 'drIr 'jug gam/ glegs bam la brIste/ khyIm na 'chang ba de / tshe zad pa las tshe yang lo brgya' thub par 'gyurd te/
- b5: de nas shI 'phos nas/ de bzhIn gshegs pa tshe dpag du myed pa'I sangs rgyas gyI zhing / 'jIg rten gyI khams
- b6: yon tan dpag du myed pa la stsogs pa skye bar 'gyur ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni
- b7: sh+cI ta / ra dza ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra / pa rI shud d+ha / d+ha ra ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te/ sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/
- b8: ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {S7} yang de'i tshe sangs rgyas bya ba phrag dgu bcu (interline <) rtsa (> interline) dgus dgongs pa gclg dang / dbyangs gclg
- b9: gi+s tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI gsungs so/ na mo ba ga ba te/ ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga
- b10: ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra / pa rI shud d+ha / d+har ma te / ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' /
- b11: {S12} yang de'i tshe sangs rgyas bye ba phrag bzhI bcu rtsa lngas dgongs pa gclg dang / dbyangs gclg gi+s tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI
- b12: gsungs so/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+cita / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba
- b13: sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha/ d+har ma te / ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te / ma ha na ya / pa rI ba re sva ha+'/: / {S13} yang de'i tshe

- b14: sangs rgyas bye ba phrag sum bcu rtsa drug gIs dgongs pa gcIg dang / dbyangs gcIg gis tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di
- b15: gsungs so/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sarba
- b16: sangs ska ra / pa rI shud d+ha / d+har ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {\$14} yang de'I tshe
- b17: sangs rgyas bye ba phrag nyl shu rtsa lngas dgongs pa gcIg dang / dbyangs gcig gis tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI gsungso/
- c1: na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha /
- c2: d+har ma te/ ga ga na sa mu dga' te/ sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {\$15} yang de'i tshe sangs rgyas bye ba phrag gang 'ga'I
- c3: klung gI bye ma snyed gyls dgongs pa gcIg dang / dbyangs gcIg gis tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI gsungs so/ / na mo ba ga ba te/
- c4: ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha/ d+har ma te ga
- c5: ga na sa mu dga' te/ sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te / ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {\$18} yang la la zhIg ga tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI 'drIr
- c6: bcug na / des chos (interline <) gyI (> interline) phung po stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhI 'drIr bcug par 'gyur ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te/ ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu
- c7: gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta/ ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha / d+har ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te/
- c8: sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te / ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {\$17} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'drir bcug na / de sems can /
- c9: dmyal ba dang byol song gI skye gnas gshIn rje'I 'jig rten du nam du yang skye bar myI 'gyur te/ nam du yang myI khom bar
- c10: skye bar myI 'gyur to/ / gang dang gang du skye ba thams chad du skye ba dran bar 'gyur ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te/ ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu
- c11: gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya / ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha / d+har ma te ga ga na sa mu
- c12: dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {\$18} gang la la zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI 'drIr bcug na
- c13: de'I chos gyI phung po stong po stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhI 'drIr bcug par 'gyur ro / / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu
- c14: gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha / dar ma ta ga ga na samudga' te/
- c15: sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {\$20} gang gI tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI bcug na / de'I mtshams myed pa lnga yod
- c16: su byang bar 'gyur ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta/ ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang
- c17: skar / pa rI shud d+ha / d+har ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te / ma ha na ya / pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {\$21} gang gI tshe dpag du myed
- d1: pa'I mdo 'dI 'drIr bcug na / de'i sdeigI phung po ri rab tsam ya+ng yong su byang bar 'gyuro/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta/
- d2: ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra / pa rI shud d+ha / dar ma te ga ga na sa mu

- d3: dga' te / sva ba+' ba+' byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {S22} gang zhig gI tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI 'drIr bcug na /
- d4: de la bñud gyI ris gyI lha dang / gnod sbyin dang / srin po glags bltas kyang / glags rnyed par 'gyur ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te/
- d5: ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra / pa rI shud d+ha / d+har
- d6: ma te / ga ga na sa mu dga' te/ sva b+ha b+ha byI shud d+he / ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' // {S23} gang zhIg gI tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo
- d7: 'dI 'drIr bcug na / de'I 'chI ba'I dus kyi tshe sangs rgyas bye ba phrag dgu bcu rtsa dgu mngon du ston bar mdzad de
- d8: sangs rgyas stong gI de la phyag rkyong bar 'gyur ro/ sangs rgyas gyI zhing nas/ sang rgyas gyI zhing du 'gro bar mdzad
- d9: bar 'gyurd te/ 'dI la the tsom dang / sum nyI dang / yId gnyis ma za shIg// na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya+'
- d10: na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra / pa rI shud d+ha / dar ma ta ga ga na sa mu dga'
- d11: te/ sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {S24} gang g zhig gi tshe dpag du myeng pa'I mdo 'dI 'drIr bcug na / rgyal po
- d12: chen po bzhi de'i phyi bzhin 'brang zhIng bsrung ba dang / bskyeb pa dang / sbed pa byed par 'gyur ro/ na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi
- d13: ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dz+'a ya / ta tha ga ta ya/ ~~sa~~ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra / pa rI shud d+ha / d+har ma te ga ga na
- d14: sa mu dga' te/ sva b+ha ba+' byI shud te / ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {S25} gang zhig gI tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI 'drIr
- d15: bcug na / de de bzhIn gshegs pa 'od dpag du myed pa'I sangs rgyas gyI zhing / 'jIg rten gyI khams bde ba can du skye
- d16: bar 'gyur ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang
- d17: ska ra/ pa rI shud d+ha/ dar ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha' / {S26} sa phyogs su dkon
- e1: mchog mdo sde/ 'dI 'drIr bar 'gyur ba'I sa phyogs de yang mchod rten du 'gyurd te/ phyag 'tshal bar 'gyur ro/ gal te byol
- e2: song gi skye gnas su song dang / rI dag gang dagI rna lam du sgra grag par 'gyur ba/ de dag thams cad bla na myed par yang dag par
- e3: rdzogs pa'I byang cub du mngon bar rdzogs par 'tshang rgya bar 'gyur ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni
- e4: sh+cI ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha / d+har ma te ga ga na sa mœu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te / ma ha na
- e5: ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {S27} gang zhIg gI tshe dpag du myed pa'I mde 'dI 'drIr bcug na / de bud myed gyI dngos por nam du yang myI 'gyur
- e6: ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI ma ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang skar / pa rI shud
- e7: d+ha/ d+har ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te / ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' // {S28} ga la la zhig chos gyI rnam grangs
- e8: 'dI 'i phyir dkar sha pa nI dga' zhig sbyIn ba byIn na // des stong gsum gyI stong chen po'i 'jIg rten gyI khams rIn po

- e9: ce sna bdun gyIs yongsu bkang ste/ sbyIn ba byIn bar 'gyur ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta/
- e10: ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang ska ra / pa rI shud d+ha / dar ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha
- e11: na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {§29} gang la la zhIg chos gyI rnam grangs 'dI la mchod pa byed par 'gyur ba/ des dam pa'I chos mtha' dag
- e12: chub par mchod par 'gyur ro/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta/ ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa
- e13: rba sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha/ d+har ma te / ga ga na sa mu bdga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {§30} 'dI lta ste de bzhIn gshegs
- e14: pa rnam par gzIgs dang / gtsug tor dang / thams chad skyob dang / logs par dad stse lnga dang / gser thub dang / 'od srungs dang /
- e15: shag kya thub pa la stsogs pI rin cen sna bdun gyIs mchod pa rnam gyIs mchod par byas pa'I bsod nams gyI phung po'i
- e16: tshad nI bgrang bar nus kyI/ tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'I bsod nams kyI phung po'i tshad nI bgrang bar myI nus so/ /
- e17: na mo ba ga ba te/ ^a pa rI mi ta/ ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta / ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha/
- f1: d+har ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {§32} 'dI lta ste rgyam tsho chen po bzhi de' chus
- f2: yong su gang ba'I thegs pa re re nas/ bgrang bar nus kyI/ tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'i bsod nams gyI phung po 'i tshad
- f3: nI bgrang bar myI nus so/ / na mo ba ga ba te/ ^a pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta/ ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ tad tya tha
- f4: ^om sa rba sang skar / pa rI shud d+ha / d+har ma te ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te / ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' /
- f5: {§33} gang zhIg gI tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di 'drir bcug ~~na~~ gam/ mchod pa byed par 'gyur ba des phyogs bcu 'I
- f6: sangs rgyas gyI zhing / thams cad du de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad la phyag byas pa dang / mchod pa byas pa yIn
- f7: no/ / na mo ba ga ba te / ^a ~~na~~ pa rI mi ta / ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta/ ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta ya/ ta(interline <) d (> interline) thya tha ^om sa rba sang skar
- f8: pa rI shud d+ha / d+har ma te / ga ga na sa mu dga' te / sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+' / {§34} sbyIn ba'I stobs
- f9: gyI sangs rgyas yang dag 'phags/ myI'i seng ges sbyIn ba'I stobs rtog ste/ / snyIng rje grong khyer du yang 'jug
- f10: ba na / sbyIn ba'I stobs gyI sgra nI grags par 'gyur ro // {§35} tsul khrims stobs gyI sangs rgyas yang dag 'phag+s
- f11: myI'i seng ges tsul khrImS stobs rtog ste/ snyIng rje grong khyer du 'jug pa na / tsul khrImS stobs gyI ~~g~~ sgra
- f12: nI grags par 'gyur // {§36} bzod pa'i stobs gyI sangs rgyas yang dag 'phags/ myI'i seng 'ges bzod ba'I stobs/

f13: rtog ste/ snyIng rje grong khyer du 'ang 'jug pa na / bzod pa'I stobs gyI sgra nI grags 'gyur
 // {\$37} brtson 'grubs¹ stobs
 f14: gyI sangs rgyas yang dag phags/ myI'i seng 'ges brtson 'grubs stobs rtog ste~~æ~~/ snying rje
 grong khyer du yang
 f15: 'jug pa na / brtson 'grubs stobs gyI sgra nI grags par 'gyur// {\$38} bsam gtan stobs gyI sangs
 rgyas yang dag
 f16: 'phags/ myI'i seng ges bsam gtan stobs rtog ste/ snyIng rje grong khyer du yang 'jug pa na
 / bsam gtan
 f17: stobs gyI sgra nI grags par 'gyurd // {\$39} shes rab stobs gyI sangs rgyas yang dag 'phags/
 myI'i seng ges
 g1: shes rab stobs rtog st~~æ~~/ snying rje grong khyer du yang 'jug pa na / shes rab stobs gyI sgra
 nI grags par 'gyur
 g2: na mo ba ga ba te / ^a pa rI mi ta/ ^a yu gnya' na / su bI ni sh+ci ta/ ra dza+' ya/ ta tha ga ta
 ya/ tad tya tha ^om sa rba sang
 g3: skar / pa rI shud d+ha/ dar ma te / ga ga na sa mu dga' te/ sva b+ha b+ha byI shud te/ ma ha
 na ya/ pa rI ba re sva ha+'//
 g4: {\$40} bcom ldan 'da's gyI dgyes shing de skad ces bka' stsald to/ 'jam dpal gzho nur gyurd
 pa dang /
 g5: lha dang / myI dang / lha ma yin dang // drI zar bcas pa'I 'jig rten gyI 'khor de thams cad /
 bcom ldan
 g6: 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la mngon bar dga' 'o// tshe dpag du myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen
 po 'I mdo 'dI rdzogs so//
 g10: yang kog cung brIs//

2 Transliteration of C5 version, pressmark ITJ 310.645

This is an unedited copy from mixed bundle 78.VII. It is one of three C5 copies in this bundle, all of which have the name *Se thong pa* in the scribal colophon. We compare this with the C5 copy at ITJ 310.651, and note differences in the footnotes. The latter is somewhat defective: it skips §14, has a false start at §27, and has a jumbled verse.

There is some light editing – probably self-correction – also in black ink, and deletions by rubbing out. We preserve its errors and misspellings without comment. We number the five columns *a* through *e*. We have also added paragraph numbers (e.g. “§1”) according to Konow’s parsing of the sutra, discussed above in Chapter Two.

a1: \$:/ rgya gar skad du ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yur na ma ma ha ya na su tra // bod skad du² tshe
 dpag myed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'I mdo // sangs rgyas

1 Consistent misspelling of *brtson 'grus*.

2 ITJ 310.651 inserts *'pags pa*.

a2: dang byang cub sems dpa' thams chad la phyag 'tsal lo³ // {\$1} 'dI skad bdagis thos pa dus gcig na / bcom ldan 'da's mnyan du yod pa na'
a3: rgyal bu rgyal byed gyl tshal⁴ zas sbyin kun dga' ra ba na / dge slong stong nyis brgya' lnga bcu'I dge slong gyI dge 'dun chen po dang byang cub sems dpa'
a4: sems dpa' chen po rab du mang po dang thabs gcig du bzhugs ste / {\$2} de nas bcom ldan 'da's gyis / 'jam dpal gzho nurd gyurd pa la bka' stsal
a5: pa' // 'jam dpal steng gyI phyogs na 'jIg rten gyi khams yon tan dpag du myed pa stsogs pa zhes bya ba yod de / de na⁵ de bzhIn gshegs pa dgra
a6: bcom ba yang dag par rdzogs pa'I sangs rgyas tshe dang ye shes dpag du myed par / shin du rnam par gdon myi za ba'I gzi brjid gyI rgyal po zhes bya ba bzhugs ste
a7: 'tso' 'o gzhes so / sems chan rnam la chos gyang ston to // {\$3} 'jam dpal gzho nurd 'gyurd pa nyon cig 'dzam bu'I gling gyI myi 'dI rnam ni
a8: tshe thung ba lo brgya⁶ she dag⁷ las kyang phal cher nI dus ma yin bar 'chI ba zhes ston to // 'jam dpal sems can gang dag de dag de
a9: bzhin⁸ gshegs pa tshe dpag du myed pa de'i yon tan gyI bsnogs⁹ pa yongs su brjod pa zhes bya ba'i 'chos kyi rnam grangs / yi ger 'drI'aM yi ger
a10: 'drir 'jug gaM mying yang nyan taM 'chang ba 'aM klog pa nas klegs baM la brIs ste khyim na 'chang ba'am¹⁰ men¹¹ tog dang bdug pa dang spos dang preng ba dang phye ma
a11: rnam gyis mchod pa'I bar du byed pa de dag nI tshe yongsu zad pa las tshe yang lo brgya thub par 'gyur ro // 'jam dpal sems chan¹² dag de bzhin
a12: gshegs pa tshe dang ye shes dpag du myed pa shIn du rnam par gdon myi za ba'I gzi brjId¹³ rgyal po'I mtsan brgya rtsa brgyad nyan par 'gyur ba de dagI
a13: tshe yang 'pel bar 'gyur ro // sems chan gang dag tshe zad de mtsan nyan taM 'chang ba de dag gyang tshe 'pel bar 'gyuro // {\$4} 'jam dpal de lta bas
a14: na rigs gyI bu'am rigs gyI bu mo tshe ring bar don du gnyer 'dod pas // de bzhins gshegs pa tshe dpag du myed pa de'i mtsan brgya' rtsa brgyad nyan taM yi ger
a15: 'drI'aM 'drir bcug pa de¹⁴ dagI yon tan gyI phan yon ni 'di dag du 'gyuro // {\$5} na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya
a16: ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu+¹ ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha /

3 ITJ 310.651: *btsalo*.

4 ITJ 310.651 inserts *mgon myed*.

5 ITJ 310.651: *nas*.

6 ITJ 310.651: *brgya pa*.

7 ITJ 310.651 inserts *ste de dag*.

8 ITJ 310.651: *gang dag de bzhin*.

9 ITJ 310.651: *bsngags*.

10 ITJ 310.651: *'changaM*.

11 ITJ 310.651: *me*.

12 ITJ 310.651 inserts *gang*.

13 ITJ 310.651 inserts *gyi*.

14 ITJ 310.651 omits from a14 *de'i mtsan* up to here.

a17: {§6} 'jam dpal de bzhin gshegs pa'I mtsan brgya rtsa brgyad pho 'dI dag gang¹⁵ la la zhi g
 yI ger 'drI'aM yI ger 'drir 'jugaM glegs baM la brIste 'chang ngaM
 a18: klog ba de tshe zad pa las gyang tshe lo brgya' <[xxx]>¹⁶ thub par 'gyuro / 'di nas shi 'phos
 nas gyang <[xxx]>¹⁷ (interline <) de (> interline) bzhIn gshegs pa tshe dpag du myed pa'I sangs
 rgyas kyI zhing
 a19: 'jig rten gyI kham+s yon tan dpag du myed par stsogs par skye bar 'gyuro // na mo ba ga
 ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya
 b1: ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI
 shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re svaha /
 b2: {§7} yang de'I tshe sangs rgyas bye ba prag dgu bcu rtsa dgus dgongs pa gclg dang gsung
 gclgis tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI gsungs so //
 b3: na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta
 ya ^a ha rI ha te saM myag sam bu+' ta ya tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da
 b4: da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {§8}
 yang de'I tshe sangs rgyas bye ba phrag brgyad bcu rtsa bzhis dgongs pa gcig dang
 b5: gsung gclgis tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI gsungso // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a
 yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te
 b6: sam myag sam bu+' ta ya tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na
 sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {§9} yang de'I tshe sangs rgyas
 b7: bye ba prag bdun cu rtsa bdun gyis : dgongs pa gcig dang gsung gclgis tshe dpag du myed
 pa'I mdo 'dI gsungso // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a
 b8: yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya : ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu+'
 ta ya / tad tya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud de da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba
 b9: bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {§10} yang de'I tshe sangs rgyas bye ba prag
 drug cu rtsa lngas dgongs pa gclg dang gsung gcigIs / tshe dpag du myed
 b10: pa'I mdo 'dI gsungso // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci tha te
 dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag saM b+hu ta ya / tad tya tha ^om
 b11: sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud de da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma
 ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {§11} yang de'I tshe sangs rgyas bye ba prag lnga bcu rtsa lngas
 b12: dgongs pa gclg dang gsung / gcig gIs / tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI gsungso // na mo ba
 ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya
 b13: ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu ta ya tad tya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud
 da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI
 b14: ba re sva ha // {§12} yang de'I tshe sangs rgyas bye ba phrag bzhi bcu rtsa lngas dgongs
 pa gclg dang gsung gclgis tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di gsungso /
 b15: na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta
 ya ^a rI ha te sam myag saM b+hu ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI
 b16: shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva
 ha // {§13} yang de'I tshe sangs rgyas bye ba <[xxx]>¹⁸ phrag sum cu rtsa drugis

15 ITJ 310.651 omits *gang*.

16 One syllable rubbed out and written over with *thub*.

17 Some syllables rubbed out and written over with *bzhIn gshegs pa*.

18 One syllable rubbed out and written over with *phra* of *phrag*.

- b17: dgongs pa gClg dang gsung gcig gIs tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI gsungso // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci
- b18: ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag saM bu+' ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mu ga te sba ba ba bI shud de
- b19: ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$14}¹⁹ yang de'I tshe sangs rgyas bye ba prag nyI shu rtsa lngas dgongs pa gClg dang gsung gClgis tshe dpag du myed pa'I
- c1: mdo 'dI gsungso // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag saM bu ta ya / tad tya ta
- c2: ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$15} yang de'I tshe sangs rgyas bye ba prag
- c3: gang ga (interline <) klung (> interline) bcu'I bye ma²⁰ snyed gyls dgongs pa gClg dang gsung gchig gIs tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI gsungso // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na
- c4: su bi nI sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu+' ta ya tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de
- c5: ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$16} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI yi ger 'drir 'jug pa tshe zad pa las tshe lo bryga' thub par 'gyur te tshe yang rnam pa+r
- c6: 'pel bar 'gyuro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu+' ta ya tad tya tha ^om
- c7: sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$17} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI yi ger
- c8: 'drir 'jug pa de sems chan dmyal ba dang dud 'gro'I skye gnas dang gshin rje'I 'jig rten du nam du yang skye bar myi 'gyur / nam du yang myI khom
- c9: bar skye bar myi 'gyur te²¹ gang dang gang du skye ba'I skye ba thams chad du skye ba dran bar 'gyuro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI
- c10: ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu ta ya / tad tya ta ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mu ga te sba ba ba
- c11: bI shud de ma ha na ya : pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$18} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI yi ger 'drir 'jug pa des chos gyI phung po brygad khri bzhI
- c12: stong'drir bcug par gyur ro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu ta ya
- c13: tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$19} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I
- c14: mdo 'dI yi ger 'drIr 'jug pa des chos gyi rgyal po mchod rten brygad khri bzhI stong byed du bcug cIng rten btsugs par 'gyuro // na mo ba ga ba te
- c15: ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma
- c16: de ga ga na sa mu ga te sba ba ba : bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$20} gang zhig tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di yi ger 'drIr 'jug pa de'I

19 ITJ 310.651 skips §14 and its *dhāraṇī*, corresponding to b19 to c2.

20 ITJ 310.651: *ba*.

21 ITJ 310.651 omits *te*.

c17: mtshams myed pa lnga'I las²² yongsu byang bar 'gyuro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta
 ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsha ya ta tha ga ta ya
 c18: ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da
 rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha //
 c19: {S21} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI yi ger 'drIr 'jug pa de 'I sdig pa²³ rib²⁴ rab
 tsam yang yongs su byang bar 'gyuro // na mo ba te ^a pa rI mi ta
 d1: ^a yu gnyana su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag saM bu
 ta ya / tad tya ta ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga
 d2: sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {S22} gang zhig tshe
 dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI yi ger 'drIr 'jug pa de la bdud dang
 d3: bdud gyI ris gyI lha dang gnod sbyin dang srin po dang dum²⁵ ma yin bar 'ci bas glags rnyed
 par myI 'gyuro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya
 d4: na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag sam bu ta ya tad
 tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga sa mu ga te sba ba ba bI shud de
 d5: ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {S23} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI 'drir 'jug
 pa de 'chi ba'i dus gyI tshe : sangs rgyas bye ba prag dgu bcu
 d6: rtsa dgu mngon sum ston pa mdzad par 'gyur / sangs rgyas stong de la pyag rkyong bar
 'gyur / sangs rgyas kyI zhing nas sang rgyas gyi
 d7: zhing du 'gro bar mdzad par 'gyur te / 'dI la som nyis dang yid gyIs ma za shig // na mo ba
 ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta
 d8: te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te saM myag saM bu ta ya / tad tya ta ^om sa rva
 sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya
 d9: pa rI ba re sva ha / {S24} gang zhIg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI yi ger 'drIr 'jug pa de'I
 pyid²⁶ bzhin rgyal po chen po bzhi 'brang zhIng bsrung ba dang bskyab
 d10: pa dang sbed pa [b]yed par : 'gyuro / na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI
 ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta : tha ga ta : ya : ^a rI ha te sam myag saM
 d11: bu ta ya tad tya ta ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te
 sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {S25} gang zhIg tshe dpag du
 d12: myed pa'I mdo 'dI yi ger 'drir 'jug pa de / de bzhIn gshegs pa 'od dpag du myed gyi sangs
 rgyas gyI zhing 'jig rten gyi khams bde ba can
 d13: du skye bar 'gyuro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te
 dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te saM myag saM bu ta ya tad tya tha ^om sa
 d14: rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba [b]I shud de ma
 ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {S26}²⁷ sa pyog gang na mdo'dI yi ger 'dri 'aM yi ger

22 ITJ 310.651 inserts *rnams*.

23 ITJ 310.651: *pa'i phung po*.

24 ITJ 310.651: *ri*.

25 ITJ 310.651: *dus*.

26 ITJ 310.651: *pyi*.

27 Here, at the bottom of col. d in ITJ 310.651, the scribe appears to make a false start on S27: "*gang zhig tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'di yi ger*." This goes to the end of the bottom right margin, and is not struck through. It does not continue on the next column.

d15: 'drIr 'jug pa'I sa pyogs de yang mchod rten dang 'dra bar 'gyuro / pyag bya²⁸ bar 'os par yang 'gyuro // dud 'gro'I skye gnasu song ba bya dang
d16: ri dags gang dagI rna lam du grag pa de dag thams chad gyang bla na myed pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'I byang chub du mngon bar rdzogs
d17: par sangs rgyas par 'gyuro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te sam myag saM bu+'
d18: ta ya tad tya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$27} gang zhlg tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo
d19: 'dI yi ger 'drir 'jug pa de de bud myed gyI dngos por nam du yang myi 'gyur ro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya'
d19 interline [no line marked]: ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te saM myag sam bu+' ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI
e1: ba re sva ha // {\$28} gang zhlg chos gyI rnam grangs 'dI'i phyir kar sha pa ne gcIg sbyin ba byIn na des stong²⁹ gsum gyI stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyI khaMs rin po che sna bdun
e2: gyis yongsu bkang ste³⁰ / sbyin ba byin bar³¹ 'gyur ro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te saM myag saM bu ta ya tad tya tha ^om
e3: sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$29} gang dag chos smra ba de la mchod pa byed pa de dagIs daM pa'i chos mtha' dag
e4: bcub par mchod par 'gyuro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te saM myag saM bu ta ya tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra
e5: pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {\$30} 'dI lta ste³² de gzhin gshegs pa rnam par gzigs dang gtsug pud can dang thams chad skyob³³
e6: dang log par dad sel dang gser thub dang 'od srungs³⁴ dang shag kya thub pa la rin po che sna bdun gyIs mchod par byas pa'I³⁵ phung po'I tshad³⁶ nI bgrang bar nus gyI tshe dpag
e7: du myed pa'I bsod naMs gyI³⁷ tshad nI bgrang bar myI nuso // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te saM myag saM bu+' ta ya tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra

28 ITJ 310.651: *gya*.

29 ITJ 310.651 inserts a second *stong*.

30 ITJ 310.651 omits *yongsu bkang ste*.

31 ITJ 310.651: sbyin bar instead of sbyin ba byin bar.

32 ITJ 310.651 inserts *dper na*.

33 ITJ 310.651 inserts *pa*.

34 ITJ 310.651: *srung*.

35 ITJ 310.651 inserts *bsod nams kyi*.

36 ITJ 310.651 omits: *I tshad*.

37 ITJ 310.651 inserts: *pung po'I tshad*.

e8: pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {S31} 'dI lta ste dper na rI'i rgyal po rI rab dang ma nyaM ba'I rin po che phung por byaste sbyin ba byIn ba'I³⁸ bsod naMs

e9: gyI phung po'I tshad³⁹ ni bgrang bar nus gyI tshe dpag du myed pa'I bsod naMs gyI⁴⁰ tshad ni bgrang bar⁴¹ myI nuso // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha

e10: te saM myag saM bu ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {S32} 'dI lta ste dper na rgya mtsho chen po chus yongs su gang ba'I⁴² thigs

e10.5 interline: pa nI re re nas bgrang bar nus gyI tshe dpag du⁴³ myed pa'i⁴⁴ bsod nams gyI⁴⁵ tshad nI bgrang bar myi nuso // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya

e11: ^a rI ha te sam myag saM bu ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa ri shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mu ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {S33} gang dag tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo 'dI yi ger 'drir

e11.5 interline: 'jug gaM gus par byaste mcod pa byed pa de dag pyogs bcu'I sangs rgyas gyI zhing thaMs chad gyI de bzhin gshegs pa⁴⁶ pyag byas pa dang mchod pa byas par 'gyuro // na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi ta ^a yu

e12: gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta ya ^a rI ha te saM myag saM bu ta ya tad tya ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba bI shud de ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva ha // {S34} snying rje ldan ba grong

e12.5 interline: khyer 'jug pa na sbyin ba'I stobs gyIs sangs rgyas yang dag 'pags / sbyIn ba'i stobs gyIs myi'I seng 'ge rnams / lhag pa nyid ces sbyIn ba'I stobs sgra grag // {S35} snying rje ldan ba grong khyer 'jug

e13: pa na tsul khrImS stobs gyis sangs rgyas yang dag 'pags / tshul khrims stobs gyIs myI'I seng 'ge rnams / lhag pa nyId ces tshul khrims stobs sgra grag / {S36} snying rje ldan ba grong khyer

e13.5 interline: 'jug pa na bzod pa'I stobs gyis sangs rgyas yang dag 'pags / bzod pa'I stobs gyis myI'i seng 'ge rnams / lhag pa nyId ces bzod pa'I stobs sgra grag / {S37} snying rje ldan ba grong khyer

e14: 'jug pa na brtson 'grus stobs gyIs sangs rgyas yang dag 'phags // brtson 'grus stobs gyIs myI'I seng 'ge rnams / lhag pa nyId ces brtson : 'grus stobs sgra grag / {S38} snying rje ldan ba grong khyer

38 ITJ 310.651: *ba de'i*.

39 ITJ 310.651 inserts *de*.

40 ITJ 310.651 inserts: *pung po'i*.

41 ITJ 310.651: *du*.

42 ITJ 310.651: *ba bzhI'i*.

43 ITJ 310.651 omits *du*.

44 ITJ 310.651: *gyi*.

45 ITJ 310.651 omits *pung po*.

46 ITJ 310.651 inserts *thams shad la*.

e14.5 interline: 'jug pa na bsam gtan stobs gyis sangs rgyas yang dag 'pags / bsam gtan stobs gyis myl'i seng ge rnams / lhag pa nyId ces bsam gthan stobs sgra grag // {§39} snyIng rje ldan ba grong khyer

e15: 'jug pa shes rab stobs gyIs sangs rgyas yang dag 'pags / shes rab stobs gyis myl'i seng ge rnams / lhag pa nyId ces shes rab stobs sgra grag /⁴⁷ na mo ba ga ba te ^a pa rI mi

e15.5 interline: ta ^a yu gnya na su bI ni sh+ci ta te dzo ra tsa ya ta tha ga ta : ya ^a rI ha te saM myag sam bu ta ya / tad tya tha ^om sa rva sang ska ra pa rI shud da da rma de ga ga na sa mud ga te sba ba ba'

e16: byi shud d+he ma ha na ya pa rI ba re sva h'a //

e17: {§40} \$. // bcom ldan 'da's gyIs de skad ches bka' stsald pa dang / thams chad dang ldan ba'I 'khor : de dang lha dang

e18: myi dang lha ma yIn dang dri zar bcas pa'I 'jig rten / bcom ldan 'da's gyIs gsungs pa la yI rang ste mngon bar bstod

e19: to' // tshe dpag du myed pa'I mdo rdzogs so //

e 19.5 interline: se thong pa

47 ITJ 310.651 has jumbled the verses, probably due to eye skip. The errors are too numerous to record.

Appendix Two: Concordance of Tibetan *Limitless Life* Copies by Pressmarks

The following concordance proceeds in order of the pressmarks that the British Library has assigned to these *Ap* copies and fragments. Our augmented catalogue is ordered instead by site numbers, and it has attempted to rectify some of confusion that was inevitably brought on by the sheer mass of these rolls and the varying states of the bundles in which they were kept.

We have annotated this concordance with observations about La Vallée Pousin's catalogue where it differs from what we have found. Particularly with regard to numbers of rolls, we place his tally in parentheses next to ours when these differ. Where he listed only the site number but not the number of copies in the case of bundles of several copies, we note this with "no #." His tally is quoted in full in Chapter One. There are six site numbers in his tally that we did not observe, or which apply to other manuscripts, namely XIX.003, Ch.0071, 73.XV.frag. 10b, 76.XI.3, 77.XVI (ITJ 1136), and Fragment 28 (fr. 0060). Where we have been able to infer a site number this is given in brackets, preceded by the existing "quasi-site number" which is given in bold, as in our documentation above.

We have also in many cases added additional information about the surrounding manuscripts and objects in a given bundle. The sigla specify the different types of bundles, attending in particular to site numbers, and the divergent uses of serial site numbers with numbers or letters between the British Museum on the one hand and the British Library on the other. We do not meticulously document each overlapping site number between the two collections, but rather note a few among the many cases of this.

Sigla for Bundles:

M = Mixed bundle of both single- and- multiple-sutra rolls of Tibetan *Ap* copies.

S = Bundle of single-sutra-rolls of Tibetan *Ap* copies.

X^a = Bundle includes Tibetan non-*Ap* materials with no sub-site numbers

X^b = Bundle includes Tibetan non-*Ap* materials with sub-site numbers

X^c = Bundle includes Tibetan non-*Ap* materials with and without sub-site numbers

Y^a = Bundle includes Chinese non-*Ap* materials with no sub-site numbers

Y^b = Bundle includes Chinese non-*Ap* materials with sub-site numbers

Y^c = Bundle includes Chinese non-*Ap* materials with and without sub-site numbers

Z^a = Bundle includes Chinese and Tibetan non-*Ap* materials with no sub-site numbers

Z^b = Bundle includes Chinese and Tibetan non-*Ap* materials with sub-site numbers

Z^c = Bundle includes Chinese and Tibetan non-*Ap* materials where only the latter lack with sub-site numbers

Z^d = Bundle includes Chinese and Tibetan non-*Ap* materials where the former use sub-site numbers and the latter are marked with and without sub-site numbers

Z^e = Bundle includes Chinese and Tibetan non-*Ap* materials, both with and without sub-site numbers

Table 5: Concordance of *Ap* pressmarks and site nos, with numbers of booklets, rolls, and copies.

Press-mark(s)	Site No.	Vol. and Folio No.	Bundle Type	No. of Booklets (F = fragment)	No. of <i>Ap</i> Rolls	No. of <i>Ap</i> Copies
308	CCC.2	31.4-6	X ^b	3 leaves	n/a: <i>pothī</i>	0.2
309	73.VI.7	16.4-12	X ^b	9 leaves	n/a: <i>pothī</i>	0.7
310.1	Fragment 39.a	128: scroll box	n/a	n/a	1	1
310.2	81.V.1 ¹	80.1	Z ^b	1	1	1
310.3	79.VIII.5	88.1	Z ^b	F	0.33	0.33
310.4	79.XIII.1	88.2	Z ^b	1	1	1
310.5	79.XVI.6	88.3	Z ^{d2}	1	1	1
310.6	80.VIII.1	89.4	Z ^b	1	0.83	0.83
310.7	80.IX.B1	89.7	Z ^d	1	0.66	0.66
310.8-9	81.VIII	89.8-9	Z ^c	2	2	2
310.10	82.II.6	89.10	Z ^{b3}	1	0.66	0.66
310.11	83.V.1	89.12	Z ^{b4}	1	1	1
310.12	83.VI.2	89.13	Z ^{b5}	1	1	1
310.13	85.IV.2	89.14	Z ^{d6}	1	1	1
310.14	85.IX.1	89.15	Z ^d	1	1	1
310.15-60	86.I	90.1-46	S ⁷	46 ⁸	45 (46)	45

1 Another manuscript, S.2658, shares the site number 81.V.1.

2 This bundle also contained the two-sutra roll of Chinese *Ap*, S.3844, and the Chinese *Ap* fragment S.3842.

3 Tibetan and Chinese sub-site numbers partly overlap. This bundle also contained three Chinese *Ap* single-sutra rolls and one fragment: S.5300, S.5314, S.5297, and S.5319.

4 Tibetan and Chinese sub-site numbers partly overlap.

5 Tibetan and Chinese sub-site numbers partly overlap.

6 Site numbers overlap. Also, ITJ 845 is marked “85.IV.”

7 This bundle also contained two Chinese *Ap* rolls, S.492 and S.503.

8 One roll, ITJ 310.59, is a Tibetan copy of the *Heart Sutra*.

Press-mark(s)	Site No.	Vol. and Folio No.	Bundle Type	No. of Booklets (F = fragment)	No. of <i>Ap</i> Rolls	No. of <i>Ap</i> Copies
310.61-88	86.III	91.1-28	S	28	28	28
310.89-135	86.VI ⁹	92.1-47	S	47	47 (46)	47
310.136-89	86.VII	93.1-54	M	54	30 (31)	87
310.190-244	86.IX	94.1-55	M	55	35 (12) ¹⁰	88
310.245-99	86.X	95.1-55	S	55	55 (56) ¹¹	55
310.300-28	86.XIII	96.1-29	M ¹²	29	24 (25)	42
310.329-76	86.XIV	97.1-48	S	48	48	48
310.377-414	86.XV	98.1-38	S ¹³	38	38	39
310.415-18	87.XIIIa, b, d, f ¹⁴	98.39-42	Z ^d	4	4	4
310.419	CXLVII.2	99.1	X ^b	F	0.33	0.33
310.420	XLIII.002 (Fragment 29)	99.2	Y ¹⁵	F	0.33	0.33
310.421	Fragment 33	99.7	?	F	0.33	0.33

9 This corresponds to La Vallée Poussin's 86.VIa, which he listed as having forty-six rolls. He also listed 86.VI, without specifying the number of rolls. That site number is likely the last roll in this bundle, ITJ 310.145, which accounts for the discrepancy between our tally and La Vallée Poussin's.

10 This is the largest discrepancy between La Vallée Poussin's record of rolls in a site number (12) and what we observed (35). A.F. Thompson's inventory also records twelve rolls. A note on the top of Vol. 94 states it has thirty-four rolls. The rolls are numbered one to thirty-five, and proceed in order.

11 The first of these are roll numbers one and two. The third then restarts at roll one. On the very first roll, "80.X" is crossed out for "86.X," and a further note mentions the duplicate roll numbers. Evidently, these first two were understood by La Vallée Poussin as 86.X, whereas the fifty-four – actually fifty-three – other rolls he understood as "86.Xa."

12 There are two Chinese non-*Ap* manuscripts with this site number. One wonders whether they were originally kept in this bundle with the Tibetan *Ap* rolls, or whether they found their way in later, either when Cave Seventeen was disturbed, or when its contents were assigned site numbers in London.

13 This bundle includes one anomalous roll of two *Ap* copies. In addition to these thirty-eight *Ap* rolls, there is apparently one other Tibetan manuscript from this bundle, ITJ 198, which is one folio of the *'Phags pa ting nge 'dzin mchog dam pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*.

14 These edited, single-sutra rolls have roll numbers eleven through fourteen, suggesting that they were part of a larger bundle that was disturbed.

15 This bundle contained Sanskrit texts and a print of Amitābha.

Press-mark(s)	Site No.	Vol. and Folio No.	Bundle Type	No. of Booklets (F = fragment)	No. of <i>Ap</i> Rolls	No. of <i>Ap</i> Copies
310.422	Fragment 41 [87.XIII]	99.12	Z ^d	1	1	1
310.423	53 [I.1.b]	99.22	Z ^b	1	1	1
310.424-27	Fr. 53 [87.XIII]	99.23-26	Z ^d	4	4	3.5
310.428	Fragment 59	99.32	?	1	1	1
310.429	Fragment 84	99.33	?	1	1 (2)	1
310.430	74.V	100.1	Y ^b	1	1	1
310.431	75.IX.5	100.3	Z ^b	F	0.25	0.25
310.432	77.VII.1	100.4	Y ^{b16}	1	1	1
310.433-79	78.I	101.1-47	M	47	24 (23) ¹⁷	74
310.480-522	78.II	102.1-42	M	42	26 (no #) ¹⁸	66
310.523-73	78.III	103.1-51	S	51	51	51
310.574-611	78.IV	104.1-38	S	38	38	38
310.612-83	78.VII	106.1-72	M	72	60 (no #) ¹⁹	89
310.684-737	78.VIII	107.1-54	S	54	54	54
310.738-800	78.IX	108.1-63	S	63	63 (no #) ²⁰	63
310.801-50	78.X	109.1-50	S	50	50	50
310.851-915	78.XI	110.1-65	M	65	40 (no #) ²¹	104
310.916-66	78.XII	111.1-51	M	51	29 (30)	79
310.967	73.XIII.12 ²²	112.1	Y ^b	F	0.33	0.33
310.968	73.XV.2	112.2	X ^b	1	1	1
310.969	73.XV.8	112.3	X ^b	1	1	1

16 This bundle also contained two Chinese *Ap* rolls: the single-sutra roll S.2950, and the two-sutra roll S.3281. It also contains the fragment S.3349.

17 A.F. Thompson's inventory records twenty-four rolls.

18 A.F. Thompson's inventory records twenty-six rolls.

19 A.F. Thompson's inventory records sixty rolls.

20 A.F. Thompson's inventory records sixty-three rolls.

21 A.F. Thompson's inventory records forty rolls.

22 The British Library and International Dunhuang Programme website have mis-recorded this site number as 73.XII.12.

Press-mark(s)	Site No.	Vol. and Folio No.	Bundle Type	No. of Booklets (F = fragment)	No. of <i>Ap</i> Rolls	No. of <i>Ap</i> Copies
310.970-1033	73.XVI.1-64	113.1-64	S	64	64 (no #) ²³	64
310.1034	I.1[.e]	115-1	Z ^b ²⁴	1	1 (5)	1
310.1035	XXXIII.003	115.2	X ²⁵	1	1	1
310.1036	XL.004	115.3	X ²⁶	1	1	1
310.1037-38	Fragment 38 [87.XIII] ²⁷	115.4-5	?	2	2 (3)	2
310.1039-40	Fragments 39b-c [87.XIII] ²⁸	115.6-7	?	2	2	2
310.1041	73.VI.1 ²⁹	116.1	X ^b	1	1 (5)	1
310.1042-44	73.VII.1-3?	116.2-4	X ^b	3	3	3
310.1045-82	73.IX.1-19	117.1-38	M	38	19	67
310.1083-1120	73.X.1-38	118.1-38	S	38	38 (no #) ³⁰	38
310.1121-99	73.XI.1-28	119.1-79	M	79	29 (28) ³¹	79

23 A.F. Thompson's inventory records sixty-four rolls.

24 This and the next two items come from Stein's "miscellaneous bundles," which included paintings and a variety of manuscripts and objects. This one contains Khotanese and Sanskrit manuscripts. Note that the site number Ch.i.1 suggests that the first object that Stein documented was a Tibetan *Ap*. By his stated method, described above in Chapter One, the absence of any zeros before the "1" means that he added this number on site, and that this was one of the first bundles he examined. Thomas listed five rolls with this site number. This roll is numbered thirteen, so the other four that Thomas indicated were probably ITJ 1611, 310.423, 1607, and 1605, which are also unedited A1 copies, and whose roll numbers go from nine to twelve.

25 Within this miscellaneous bundle is a painting of Sukhāvati kept at the British Museum, accession number 1919,0101,0.70.

26 This bundle contained paintings, along with Tibetan, Chinese, and Khotanese manuscripts. Its sub-site numbers are either numbers (e.g. Ch.XL.002) or letters (e.g. Ch.XL.b).

27 The British Library's catalogue and the International Dunhuang Programme website record the site numbers as Fragments 39b and c, respectively, as of 15 July 2024.

28 The British Library's catalogue and the International Dunhuang Programme website record the site numbers as Fragments 39e and d, respectively, as of 15 July 2024.

29 La Vallée Poussin had "73. VI. 1a" and recorded five copies here.

30 A.F. Thompson's inventory records thirty-eight rolls.

31 There are two rolls numbered "15" in this volume. The second is "15+" and has no site number. La Vallée Poussin's catalogue counts twenty-eight rolls, so this one numbered "15+" probably belonged

Press-mark(s)	Site No.	Vol. and Folio No.	Bundle Type	No. of Booklets (F = fragment)	No. of <i>Ap</i> Rolls	No. of <i>Ap</i> Copies
ITJ 310.1200	83.IX.10	53.44	Z ^{e32}	F	0.2	0.2
310.1201-03	80.II	54.44	Z ^d	F	0.33 x3	0.33 x3
ITJ 310.1204	87.XIII ³³	54.44	Z ^d	F	0.17 (9)	0.17
310.1205	75.IV.1	56.40	X ³⁴	F	0.25	0.25
310.1206	79.XIV.3	56.50	X ³⁵	F	0.17	0.17
310.1207	85.IX.6	70.44	Z ^d	Not <i>Ap</i>		
310.1208	[86.XIII]		M	n/a	1	1
310.1209	[86.XIII]		M	n/a	1	1
310.1210	[86.XIII]		M	n/a	1	1
478	XV	15.2	n/a ³⁶	1 leaf	n/a: <i>pothī</i>	0.1
514	79.XVI.9	54.43	X (as above)	F	0.1	0.1
930	84.XIV.5	54.49	Z ^{d37}	F	0.1	0.1
1497	85.IX.2	80.13	Z ^d	1	0.8 (0)	0.8
1499	85.IX.4	80.15	Z ^d	F	0.33 (0)	0.33
1500	85.IX.5	80.16	Z ^d	F	0.33 (0)	0.33
1501	[85.IX.3] ³⁸	80.17	Z ^d	F	0.33 (0)	0.33

to a separate bundle. On a red and white sticker mounted on brown paper one finds, in pen, “Ch.73.XI No. 310.” Between these two lines, in pencil: “28.” Next to them, in blue pen: “+73XV.” Below, on brown mounting paper, in black pen: “+73.XIII, 73.XV.”

32 Site numbers overlap.

33 A “d” is added after this number, in pencil (see Fig. 22), not matching the rest of the site number. La Vallée Poussin’s catalogue states that there are nine rolls with this site number.

34 There are Tibetan items with the site number 75.IV, and Chinese items with sub-site numbers, e.g. “75.IV.3.” S.1779, in fact, is numbered 75.IV.1, but one notes that below this “75.VI.1” has been struck through.

35 There are Tibetan and Chinese items in this bundle. The latter bear sub-site numbers. Only some of the Tibetan items have sub-site numbers. A Chinese item, S.3824, has apparently been assigned the same site number, “79.XIV.3,” as ITJ 310.1206.

36 This is the only manuscript we have identified with the site number XV.

37 Site numbers overlap.

38 ITJ 1499 and 1501 appear to be fragments of the same copy, which justifies our assigning a site number here; for details see Chapter Four.

Press-mark(s)	Site No.	Vol. and Folio No.	Bundle Type	No. of Booklets (F = fragment)	No. of Ap Rolls	No. of Ap Copies
1588	80.II.1 ³⁹	89.1	Z ^d	1	1	1
1589	80.IV ⁴⁰	89.2	Z ^{d41}	F	0.33	0.33
1590	80.V	89.3	Z ^b	1	1	1
1591	80.VIII.1 ⁴²	89.5	Z ^b	1	1	1
1592	80.VIII.2	89.6	Z ^b	1	0.66 (0)	0.66
1593	82.XVI.4	89.11	Z ^{d43}	1	0.33 (0)	0.33
1594	10	99.3	?	1	0.66 (0)	0.66
1595	13	99.4	?	1	0.66 (0)	0.66
1596	14	99.5	?	1	0.33 (0)	0.33
1597	23	99.6	?	1	0.66 (0)	0.66
1598	34	99.8	?	1	0.8 (0)	0.8
1599	35 [87.XIII]	99.9	Z ^d	1	1 (0)	1
1600	36 [87.XIII]	99.10	Z ^d	1	1 (0)	1
1602	44	99.13	?	1	0.5 (0)	0.5
1603	45	99.14	?	1	1 (0)	1
1604	46	99.15	?	1	1 (0)	1
1605	47 [I.1.d]	99.16	Z ^b	1	1 (0)	1
1606	48	99.17	?	1	1 (0)	1
1607	49 [I.1.c]	99.18	Z ^b	1	1 (0)	1
1608	50 [87.XIII]	99.19	Z ^d	1	1 (0)	1
1609	51 [87.XIII]	99.20	Z ^d	1	1 (0)	1
1610	52	99.21	?	1	1 (0)	1
1611	54 [I.1.a]	99.27	Z ^b	1	1 (0)	1
1612	55	99.28	?	1	1 (0)	1

³⁹ This likely corresponds to La Vallée Poussin's "80. II. B1."

⁴⁰ This likely corresponds to La Vallée Poussin's "80. IV. 1."

⁴¹ The sub-site numbers on the Tibetan manuscripts use letters rather than numbers.

⁴² Same site number as ITJ 310.6.

⁴³ The other Tibetan texts, as well as the two Sogdian texts on versos of Chinese texts, appear to lack sub-site numbers.

Press-mark(s)	Site No.	Vol. and Folio No.	Bundle Type	No. of Booklets (F = fragment)	No. of Ap Rolls	No. of Ap Copies
1613	56	99.29	?	1	1 (0)	1
1614	57	99.30	?	1	0.8 (0)	0.8
1615	58	99.31	?	1	0.66 (0)	0.66
1617	78.VI	105.1	M	1	1 (0)	1
1618-46	78.V	105.2-30	M	29	24 (0) ⁴⁴	52
1647-65	[78.VI]	105.31-49	M	19	18 (0) ⁴⁵	30
1666-1714	73.XVII.1-29	114.1-51	M	51	29 (0) ⁴⁶	84

⁴⁴ A.F. Thompson's inventory records "17 + 24" rolls. We tentatively propose that twenty-four rolls belong to 78.V, and that seventeen belong to 78.VI, with 78.VI.1 making it eighteen.

⁴⁵ A.F. Thompson's inventory records one roll, "78.VI.1."

⁴⁶ A.F. Thompson's inventory records twenty-nine rolls.

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- Fig. 34:** Tax document PT 1128, with details about supplies for copying sutras; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 35:** Amount of paper owed by Dunhuang scribes, with interlinear annotations, ITJ 1359(B); image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.
- Fig. 36:** Editors’ notes in the margins of a discarded *SP2* folio, PT 1332; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 37:** The characters *dui* “replace” written in brush over a rejected panel of Chinese *MP*, S.461; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.
- Fig. 38:** The characters *dui* “replace” written in the top margin of a rejected *Ap* fragment, S.2355; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.
- Fig. 39:** The first panel of an edited Chinese *Ap* copy, S.4088; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.
- Fig. 40:** Four-panel, eight-column layout, PT 3901; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 41:** Three-and-a-half-panel, seven-column layout (column a missing), PT 3905; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 42:** Three-panel, six-column layout, PT 3906; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 43:** Two-and-three-quarter-panel, five-column layout (column e is 150 percent wider than the rest), PT 3793; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Figs 44a–b:** ITN 2208, recto and verso; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.
- Figs 45a–b:** PT 1009, recto and verso; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Figs 46–47:** Rubbed-out names in colophons of PT 3564 and 3582; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 48:** End of a hire contract, PT 1098 – showing the personal seals of the witnesses, some of whom were sutra scribes; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 49:** Colophon of what is probably an exemplar sutra copy, PT 3601; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 50:** Some typical corrections in Tibetan *Ap* copies, PT 3790; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 51:** Insertion between lines one and two of a Tibetan *Ap* copy, PT 3920; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 52:** A panel of a Tibetan *Ap*, PT 4082, showing ink spill; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

- Fig. 53:** A torn fragment of a Tibetan *Ap*, PT 4026, presumably discarded due to cramped writing and deviation from the inked guidelines; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 54:** Final panel of a Tibetan *Ap*, ITJ 310.645, showing cramped writing on the final column; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.
- Fig. 55:** Editorial note in the lower margin of ITJ 310.382, marking it for discard; photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.
- Fig. 56:** The verso of a torn fragment of a Tibetan *Ap* copy, PT 4017, featuring jottings and a draft Tibetan letter; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Figs 57–58:** A drawing on the verso of a partial Tibetan *Ap* copy, PT 4012, and punctuation-like designs on the verso of a Tibetan *Ap* fragment, PT 4078; images captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Fig. 59:** Verso of a torn Tibetan *Ap* panel, PT 4010 – the text “packet number fifty-nine” indicates that this was used as a wrapper for bundles of sutras; image captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
- Figs 60–61:** *Ex-libris* on S.115v and S.2611v – the former also includes Jiang’s numbering, its “translation” into Arabic numbers, and Jiang’s title in red; image captured by the authors from <http://idp.bl.uk/>, courtesy of the British Library.
- Figs 62–65:** *Ex-libris* on PT 3954v, PT 3632r, PT 3819v, and ITJ 310.1187; images captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, and photographed by Brandon Dotson, courtesy of the British Library.
- Figs 66–68:** Possible Tibetan *ex-libris*, PT 3512v, PT 3818v, and PT 3669v (note also the “modern *ex-libris*” in pencil on PT 3818); images captured by the authors from <https://gallica.bnf.fr>, courtesy of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Abbreviations

Ap	<i>Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyāna-sūtra</i> ; the <i>Sutra of Limitless Life</i> .
BD	Prefaces a number to form pressmarks of Dunhuang manuscripts kept at the National Library of China, Beijing.
Db. t.	Prefaces a number to form pressmarks of Dunhuang manuscripts kept at the Dunhuang Museum, Dunhuang.
Dkh. Tib.	Prefaces a number to form pressmarks of Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts kept at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg.
IOL Khot	India Office Library Khotanese; prefaces a number to form pressmarks of Khotanese material from Central Asia kept at the British Library in London.
IOL Khot S	India Office Library Khotanese Scroll; prefaces a number to form pressmarks of Khotanese scroll-format manuscripts kept in the Stein Collection of the British Library in London.
ITJ	India Office Library Tibetan J, or IOL Tib J; prefaces a number to form pressmarks of Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang kept at the British Library in London.
ITN	India Office Library Tibetan N, or IOL Tib N; prefaces a number to form pressmarks of Tibetan wooden slips kept at the British Library in London.
MP	<i>Daboreboluomido jing</i> 大般若波羅蜜多經 (* <i>Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i>); the <i>Great Perfection of Wisdom Sutra</i> .
MS Or.	Oriental Manuscript; prefaces a number to form pressmarks of oriental (in this case Indic) manuscripts kept at the Cambridge University Library.
Or.	Oriental Collection; mostly comprising Central Asian manuscripts and fragments, preserved at the British Library in London.
P.	Pelliot chinois; prefaces a number to form pressmarks of Chinese manuscripts from the Pelliot Collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
PT	Pelliot tibétain; prefaces a number to form pressmarks of Tibetan manuscripts from the Pelliot collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France, according to the catalogue La Vallée Poussin 1962.
S.	Stein Collection; prefaces a number to form pressmarks of manuscripts in the Stein Collection of the British Library. Prefixed with “Or.8210/” which is omitted here for brevity.
SP	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra</i> ; 100,000-line <i>Perfection of Wisdom Sutra</i> .
SP1	Tibetan <i>pothī</i> -format SP copy found at Dunhuang comprising folia measuring 75 × 25 cm with negligible margins and fifteen lines of writing per side.
SP2	Tibetan <i>pothī</i> -format SP copy found at Dunhuang comprising folia measuring 73 × 20 cm with margins and thirteen lines of writing per side.
SP3	Tibetan roll-format SP copy found at Dunhuang.
T.	Taishō; prefaces a number to indicate a text’s location in the Taishō <i>Tripitaka</i> , according to the catalogue Takakusu Junjirō et. al. (1924–1935).
Toh.	Derge Tōhoku no.; prefaces a number to indicate a text’s location in the Derge (Sde dge) Tibetan canon, according to the catalogue Ui Hakuju et al. 1934.

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Within this index, the headings are arranged in a word-by-word order. The primary aim is to assist the reader in finding names and terms of interest, rather than creating an exhaustive concordance. This is also why names and terms that appear too frequently (e.g. ‘Stein’, ‘pressmark’, ‘roll’), and would therefore be impractical as index headings, are omitted.

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