

Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtras Discovered at Dunhuang: The Scriptorium at Thang kar and Related Aspects. A Preliminary Investigation

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Among the Buddhist texts written in the Tibetan language discovered at Dunhuang are a number of *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtras* copied in a roll-type format, whose provenance is obscure. In studying the editorial remarks added at the end of each *sūtra* and learning how to interpret them, valuable information concerning the provenance of some of them could be gained.

This paper is divided into the following parts. It starts with a short section giving an overview of all types of *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtras* (henceforth referred to as SP) in the Tibetan language discovered at Dunhuang, the research carried out on them so far and the nature of their end-colophon subscripts. This is followed by an investigation of the structure of the names of the scribes, their provenance and the transformation of these names from Chinese into Tibetan and vice versa, where applicable. The next section covers the production of the roll-type SP at Dunhuang (SP3/2) and the personnel involved, followed by a comparison of the SP copied at Thang kar of Rog thom (SP3/1Tk), including the approximate location of Thang kar. Finally, a time frame covering all SP discovered at Dunhuang is discussed, followed by a conclusion and remaining questions.

1. Introduction

1.1. Manuscript Overview

The manuscripts once contained in Cave 17 of the Mogao cave temples situated near Dunhuang, in present-day Gansu province in the northwest of the PR China, have found their way to libraries in Europe and China. Among them are a great number of copies of *Aparimitāyur-nāma sūtras* (henceforth referred to as AN) and SP in Tibetan. Most SP are incomplete. They were written in *pothī* format and roll format. Among the scriptures of SP in roll format in the collection of the Bibliothéque

nationale de France, Paris, which carry the shelfmark Pelliot Tibétain (henceforth referred to as PT)¹ 1494–2063, are only four complete rolls. Marcelle Lalou carried out an inventory by compiling a catalogue of all the SP in this collection. She looked at the roll type closely and saw that the rolls often were composed of sheets of different types of paper. The parts consisting of yellow paper she called 'old' (*ancien*) and the parts of greyish paper she referred to as restored (*refait*). Concerning the *pothī* format scriptures, she distinguished size and paper used.² Iwao refined this and distinguished *pothī* type 1 (25 x 75 cm) (henceforth called SP1) and type 2 (20 x 70 cm) (henceforth referred to as SP2).³ Dotson studied the editorial notes at the end of SP1 and SP2 and discovered that SP1 and SP2 can be distinguished on the basis of wording used in the editorial notes.⁴ As far as the roll type is concerned, henceforth referred to as SP3, a further distinction is suggested: SP3/1 was imported to Dunhuang and repaired there and SP3/2 was written at Dunhuang. The wording used in their editorial notes corresponds to SP1 and SP2 respectively. (See Table 4 at the end for a summary of the original research laid out in this paper on these four types: SP1, SP2, SP3/1 and SP3/2).

It has been suggested that all SP were produced from the 820s to 840s in the course of the *sūtra* copying project for the benefit of Emperor Ral pa can (Khri Gtsug lde brtsan).⁵

1.2. The Provenance of SP

The manuscripts written in Tibetan discovered at Dunhuang—apart from letters sent there or otherwise marked as coming from another place—can be generally considered as having been written there. Concerning SP2 and AN this has never been questioned. On the basis of scribal notes and, in the case of SP3, the extremely thin dyed paper that was used, Lalou stipulated that SP3/1 and SP1 must have been written in central Tibet. Iwao and Dotson refuted her arguments and came to the conclusion that they most probably were copied in north-eastern Tibet.⁶ The only note which could corroborate this is on the back of PT 1855, which was copied on 'old' paper: >|| *dar ma shes rab 'bum pa sde gcig bod yul nas dpe' bzhugs pa las reg bzid gyi nang mchog blang stel*

¹ See the list of abbreviations at the end of this paper for a reference to the shelfmarks and locations of the manuscripts consulted.

² Lalou 1961.

³ Iwao 2013.

⁴ Dotson 2013/2014.

⁵ Dotson 2013/2014.

⁶ Iwao 2013; Dotson 2013/2014.

[*d/’th*]amste// *dpe bde gams su blangs pa ’o* // “From the copies of the SP of Tibet the best manuscript was taken and having been selected, a copy was taken to Bde gams”. As it is not known how many editions of SP were written at Dunhuang, this may merely mean that the model text for them was originally brought from central Tibet to Bde gams.⁷ As far as the paper is concerned, it is certain that different kinds of paper were used. This is attested by analyses.⁸ Generally, two types of paper can be distinguished: rag paper of ramie and bark paper of the paper mulberry tree. This does not necessarily mean that the manuscripts written on paper of different types were produced in different areas. Firstly, in Dunhuang under Tibetan rule, paper was made by commoners⁹ and temple peasants.¹⁰ Secondly, religious texts in Chinese copied before Tibetan rule were written on paper containing fibres of paper mulberry.¹¹ Therefore, it is not surprising that the result of analyses proved that both types of paper were used at Dunhuang for SP.

Having said all this, the following two scribal notes at the end of two SP3 clearly show that one edition of SP3 was not copied at Dunhuang but at Thang kar: <// *rog thom thang kar du mo zom klu bzhre gyis bris te ’og zhus lagso* “ Mo zom Klu bzher wrote it at Thang kar of Rog thom and later edited it”¹² and < // *rog thom thang kar du mo sma nos kong gis briso* “ Mo sma Nos kong wrote it in Thang kar of Rog thom”.¹³ As there is a lot of information concerning the scribes and editors of scriptures copied at Dunhuang they will be traced first so that

⁷ Bde gams was an area on the actual A mdo / Qinghai plateau, which the Tibetans had occupied. Its extent is disputed. Since the Dunhuang area was administered by Bde councillors (*bde blon*), Richardson (1990) concluded that it belonged to Bde gams. Taenzer suggested, since the area was also known as So gams, Dunhuang was not included in Bde gams and Uebach 1990 localised it as a region covering present-day NE Qinghai and eastern Gansu, see Taenzer 2012: 36.

⁸ Helman-Ważny and van Schaik 2013: table I, 722–33. For the classification of SP3, Iwao is cited therein Helman-Ważny and van Schaik 2013: 716.

⁹ PT 1078—translated in Takeuchi 1995, text 13—refers to a paper maker of the Stong sar military unit.

¹⁰ Or. 8210/S. (henceforth referred to as S.) 542, text, sheets 13–26 published in Tang Gengou and Lu Longji 1990: vol. 2, 381 and Ikeda 1979: 523 is a list of temples including the temple peasants belonging to them. It also contains their tasks. In line 121 a paper maker of Lingtu temple is entered.

¹¹ Drège states that especially paper made of the bark of the mulberry tree was used for *sūtras* copied as private offerings. See Drège 1986: 404ff.

¹² The personal name Klu bzher is written Klu bzhre in the text. This habit of writing the last consonant of a syllable as a subjoined letter is often encountered in OT manuscripts: e.g. *dn̄ga* for *dang*, *lsa* for *las* etc. *Bzhre* for *bzher* is one of them.

¹³ The names of scribes and editors are hyphenated in this article because how they are read is integral to the analysis of their identities, as well as making it easier for the reader to parse them where the names are unusual from the perspective of later Tibetan onomastics (*ming mdzod*).

the ones not working there can be identified.

Therefore, this paper concentrates on the SP3 which were copied by inhabitants of Dunhuang on 'new' paper (SP3/2) and those copied at Thang kar of Rog thom on 'old' paper (SP3/1Tk) and repaired with sheets and patches of 'new' paper.

1.3. General Remarks Concerning Colophons/Subscripts of SP¹⁴

The subscripts are editorial notes documenting the stages of work to be carried out by a number of scribes and editors. It can be surmised that the scribes/editors mostly wrote their name themselves. There are certainly exceptions, however, in cases where there were joint scribes or editors: </ / *gu rib ke'u shang dang gnyi ba khyung stang gnyis gyis zhus* // "Edited by Gu-rib Ke'u-shang and Gnyi-ba Khyung-stang the two".¹⁵ In those cases, it is not evident who wrote the note. Thus, the names in editorial remarks are not signatures as such. They do not have the same significance as witness seals such as private seals or finger seals on contracts.¹⁶ As the person who did the work did not always 'sign' himself graphical analysis of the 'signature' does not necessarily help in identifying with certainty a person whose name is found on an end-colophon. Therefore, the question whether Khyung stang of PT 1844 or PT 1618 is the same as Gnyi ba Khyung stang of PT 1651 cannot be easily solved. Looking at the signatures, the form of the graph '*khyu*' suggests that Khyung stang and Gnyi ba Khyung stang may be two persons. Moreover, the former did not use the sign of the instrumental case, while the latter did.

The style of handwriting of the SP is always the so-called straight *sūtra* style. Only rarely does it show an individual touch (e.g. PT 1634 written by Mo sma Nos kong). The writing style of the end-colophons, however, shows variations between neat handwriting and careless cursive,¹⁷ between small and large size of the script.

¹⁴ Strictly speaking, the scribal notes are not colophons since colophons refer to inscriptions at the beginning of SP. However, this terminology has recently been used for scribal notes at the end of the manuscript. The terms end-colophon or subscript would be preferable.

¹⁵ PT 1656.

¹⁶ Takeuchi gives an overview of all types of signatures used for contracts of the Tibetan period in Dunhuang, Khotan and Miran, see Takeuchi 1995: 108.

¹⁷ van Schaik has published a number of articles classifying the script of Old Tibetan manuscripts and inscriptions, dividing the script into five groups, van Schaik 2012; van Schaik 2013; and van Schaik 2014. Yet his group 3: 'official headed style' and group 4: 'official headless style' are not that distinct. In other words, it is not always clear whether the script is still group 3 or already group 4. This can be seen on the signatures on the postscripts of the Tibetan period.

Occasionally writing exercises such as introductions to letters appear on the colophons. They are later additions and are not part of this research.

2. *The Structure of Names*

As explained above at least some of the old SP3 were originally written at Thang kar and then transferred to Dunhuang, where repairs were carried out. To understand this process better it is necessary to identify the persons involved by carrying out an investigation of the structure and provenance of the names of the scribes and editors.

Takeuchi has paved the way by surveying the structure of the names of the persons featuring on contracts concluded at Dunhuang, Miran and Khotan of the time. He divided the names according to their structure into types A–E. As his classification scheme is applicable here too it will be used and adjusted to the particular features of the scribal notes.¹⁸

Only four persons featuring in the SP manuscripts surveyed can be identified as belonging to the group of Tibetans, Zhang zhung or Sum pa (group A). The usual construction for a full Tibetan name is *thabs, rus, mkhan, mying*, (post, family/lineage, *mkhan*, given name). Abbreviations are possible.¹⁹ A member of Gnyi ba Khyung stang's family²⁰ is included in the Skar cung edict of the Tibetan emperor Khri Lde srong brtsan (799–815).²¹ Gnyi ba Khyung stang is designated as a *nang kor*.²² Therefore, he belongs to the 'inner circle'. The eight highest officials of Mkharr tsan *khrom* were appointed from among the *nang kor*.²³ A commissioner for the temple peasants and cattle and grain (*'bangs dang dkor stsang*) of the Yulin monastery was the *nang khor* Gshen Rma sbyin.²⁴ Thus Gnyi ba Khyung stang can be regarded as privileged. Gu rib Ke'u shang is of Zhang zhung descent and the clan of Cog ro Mjal gong belonged to one of the wife-giving clans for Tibetan emperors.²⁵ A member of the family of Rong spo Rton kong was *rtse rje* 'town

¹⁸ Takeuchi 1995: 129, table 12.

¹⁹ Richardson 1967.

²⁰ He is listed among the officials of the exterior: *snam phyi'i pa*.

²¹ The edict was written to commemorate the erection of Skar cung chapel in the vicinity of Lhasa. This edict has come down to us in Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba, *ja* 128–30; translated in Tucci 1950.

²² PT 1760.

²³ PT 1089 ll. 36–37. The officials were, along with others, the head of a horn (*ru dpon*), the head of a unit of 10000 (*khri dpon*), the town prefect with brass insignia of rank (*rtse rje ra gan pa*) and the great head of the fields (*zhing pon chen po*).

²⁴ PT 997.

²⁵ See Dotson 2004 for research on this system.

prefect' of Dunhuang.²⁶ The latter two worked at Dunhuang while the former two signed on 'old' SP3.

Some of the following families may be of Tibetan origin, but proof of this is lacking so far:

Therefore, the names Ser yu / Ser yo Khrom zigs, Mo sma / Mos ma Nos kong, Meg le Ldong 'dus and 'Gong bom Yul byin will be ascribed to type D: ethnic or other clan name with Tibetan or Tibetanised given name. This type of name often occurs in various spellings, as no standardised form existed yet, and thus the clan or family name was spelled according to its sound (this also applies to Tibetanised given names). Surprisingly, apparently the bearers themselves used different spellings of their own clan or family name.

Ser yu Khrom zigs features on three copies of SP. On PT 1312, f. 28 (SP1) he is named, together with Sho bzo,²⁷ as joint writer (*sho bzo dang ser yu khrom zigs bris sho*); thus Sho bzo could have written the line as well. On PT 1634 and PT 1642 (both SP3) Ser yu Khrom zigs signs as one of the editors and in the latter manuscript even as the main editor. There his family is spelled Ser yo while in the former manuscript Ser yu is used. Mos ma / Mo sma Nos kong only acted as scribe. He signed on five copies in SP3 format, on three as Mo sma and on two as Mos ma. It may be a question of time, that is, that after a period of time the form which looked more Tibetan—Mo sma—was taken on.

No other family members of Ser yu Khrom zigs and Mo sma Nos kong feature in Old Tibetan manuscripts discovered so far.

Meg le Ldong 'dus also wrote his family name as Myeg long or Myed le.²⁸ Other members of this family used Myeg le, Meg la or Meg lde. With the family name of 'Gong bom Yul byin this is different. During Tibetan rule, two persons used the form 'Gong bom, another person used 'Go 'bom. In a manuscript written during Guiyijun 歸義軍 "Return-to-Allegiance Army" rule (851–1036?), which followed the period of Tibetan domination of Dunhuang, two eminent religious teachers—one of central Tibet the other of Hezhou—bear 'Go 'bom as their family name.²⁹ Since one was an eminent religious teacher in central Tibet, the family may be of Tibetan origin, but proof of this is lacking.

Mo zom Klu bzher also belongs to group D. He has a Tibetan given

²⁶ PT 1089, ll. 52–67: *rtse rje* were appointed from among the Tibetans, according to this manuscript.

²⁷ He signs as Lcis Sho bzo on PT 1312, f. 1 and PT 1306, f. 48b.

²⁸ The latter two forms can be cited according to catalogue entry only, Matko and van Schaik 2013.

²⁹ IOL Tib J 689 is discussed in Uebach 1990. It lists the teachers of four *dharma* colleges. Uebach identifies a number of personages listed there by using later sources. The list of central Tibet goes back to the reign of Emperor Khri Srong lde brtsan (c. 756–c. 800).

name. There are no variations of his family name. He acted as editor as well as scribe. Another member of this family—Mo zom 'Dron kong—features as scribe of a copy of an SP3.³⁰

Both Mo zom Klu bzher and Mo sma Nos kong signed as scribes in Thang kar of Rog thom. The following persons are three scribes of SP1 who also copied SP3/1: Ya ri Khri spo, Tshab shi Lha bu and Tshar long Khong rtsan. They have no connection to the persons discussed above, in other words their names do not occur on any scriptures those people wrote or edited. Yet another member of the Ya ri and Tshab shi family respectively can be found on SP3. Ya ri Btsan legs edited an 'old' SP3/1. Tshab shi Klu brtsan signed as scribe along with others on PT 1959, an 'old' SP3/1. For both names the spelling does not vary but the families are otherwise not known.

Members of the Tshar long family occur on a number (11) of manuscripts. Tshar long Lha 'brug brtsan seems to have been the owner of an estate in the vicinity of Shazhou, where he had to deliver his tax or contributions.³¹ Two members of the Tshar long family worked in the scriptorium of *dge slong* Shang-ben at Dunhuang. Two can be found on *glegs tshas*,³² and the names of another two appear on scriptures, although the context is obscure. Two were scribes of PT 1615, an SP3. One signed on the old part, while the other signed on new Shazhou paper. Tshar long Brtan kong wrote PT 1610, an old SP3, which then came to Dunhuang where it was restored. The restored part is lost. Intriguingly, a unit (*sde*) of a thousand named Tshar long gi sde existed as well. It is not included in any lists supplied by the later sources.³³ It is only mentioned on two Dunhuang fragments.³⁴ The evidence suggests that Tshar long was a local, non-Chinese, non-Tibetan family/clan of the north-eastern part of the occupied areas who also constituted a unit (*sde*). Its members were devoted to Buddhism, but no monastics have been found among them so far.

³⁰ IOL Tib J 109.14.

³¹ IOL Tib J 897, translated in Thomas 1951: 16. It is an unusual document. It bears two identical seal marks of the private seal of Tshar long Lha 'brug brtsan. Private estates are otherwise not documented for the region of Dunhuang of the time. The sum owed was 30 loads (*khal*). If the usual amount of tax and tributes are referred to, his peasants comprised ca. five families.

³² *Glegs tshas* were writing boards of Chinese scribes measuring 27 x 79 cm. Takeuchi 2013.

³³ Lists of the units of a thousand—and the horn (*ru*) they belonged to—of the imperial period of central Tibet, Zhang zhung and Sum pa are included in the section of Tibetan law and state by Dpa' bo Gtsug lag phreng ba, Mkhas pa Lde'u, Lde'u Jo sras and Ne'u Pandita. The names of these units vary in each source. They are listed in tables by Uebach 1987: 21ff. and Dotson 2006: 154ff.; the latter also included the names of the *yul sde* and administrative districts *yul dpon tshan/ yul sde* (144ff.).

³⁴ PT 1224 and PT 113 respectively.

Another type of name structure, which can be found on SP2 and SP3, is built out of a Chinese family name with a Chinese given name and/or a Tibetan given name (type B1 and B2). As in group D above, there are at times variations in the spelling of the names. Chen Nuzi 陳奴子, who bears a Chinese given name, is known from the list of scribes going back to 808 CE.³⁵ He copied an SP2 which he signed as Jin Mdo tse. At that time the transcription of his Chinese name into Tibetan seems not to have been standardised yet. He restored an SP3/1 as Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse,³⁶ using the standard transcription for *nuzi* 奴子 'Do tse. It appears that he received the name Lha bzang during his time as a scribe. When furnishing an exchange sheet for an SP3/2, he features as Jin Lha bzang.

PT 1641 shows that Wang also received the name Stag brtan during his career.³⁷ He is only found with this name and his Chinese given name is not known.

In both cases the Tibetan name could be regarded as a *mkhan*. The question is whether or not the Tibetan given name of a Chinese person should be classified as a *mkhan* in all cases. Especially as the trade of lower class men is prefixed to the term *mkhan*, for example *sa mkhan* (guide *mkhan*).³⁸ There are only two Chinese persons on the list of the year 808 who already bear a Tibetan given name/*mkhan*, while in the list of scribes on PT 1648 seven out of 17 bear a Tibetan given name. Here the construction of a full Tibetan name: *thabs, rus, mkhan, mying*, (post, family/lineage, *mkhan*, given name) is not applicable. However, both *rus + mkhan* and *rus + mying* combinations are possible.³⁹ When concluding contracts, the seller/borrower and guarantor often stem from the same family. There the father often has a Chinese given name and the son a Tibetan or Tibetan-Chinese mixed given name. Takeuchi concluded that this is due to the fact of prolonged Tibetan dominion.⁴⁰ In these cases, the Tibetan personal name cannot be regarded as a

³⁵ S. 5824; see next chapter for an extract of the list and its dating.

³⁶ PT 1576: </jin lha bzang 'do tse lan cig bris lagsso "Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse wrote it once".

³⁷ PT 1641. It is part of an SP3 with neither end nor beginning. It consists of 23 'old' columns and is repaired on the back with patches of yellowish lined paper. On the back of the first sheet, it carries the following inscription: *wang gi ni stag brtan zhig* "Concerning Wang, he is Stag brtan now!" Below, 25 scribes are referred to, followed by: </kye sha cu'i ni dar ma pal/ "These are the (scribes) of the *dharma* of Shazhou!"

³⁸ IOL Tib N 2270: *rus ni shu mye sa mkhan ni brgyal bzigs mying ni nya slebs*: "family/clan Shu mye, guide-*mkhan* Brgyal bzigs, personal name Nya slebs", transliterated in Thomas 1951: 370.

³⁹ Richardson 1967: 12 gives examples of name structures in Old Tibetan manuscripts and inscriptions.

⁴⁰ Takeuchi 1995: 131.

mkhan.

It appears that the name order was not adhered to in every case, as is illustrated by the fact that Kong 孔 Lve long Bzang skyes signed as an editor of SP3/1Tk.⁴¹ In this case a Chinese name takes the position of the *mkhan*—*mkhan* are unknown among Chinese. Only occasionally a scribe signs with his Tibetan and Chinese given name. On contracts concluded in Chinese script the Chinese given name is always used, although the participants may have had a Tibetan personal name as well. Therefore, it is more likely that a kind of Tibetanisation took place and it was up to the scribes to take on a Tibetan personal name /*mkhan* or not. Alternatively, is it possible that Chinese people just took on / received Tibetan given names as well and thus had two personal names.⁴² All but Kong Lve lung Bzang skyes lived at Dunhuang.

Another group are the monastics. Their names consist of their position in Tibetan and their ordination name (type C). Generally, one would suggest that Chinese people bear Chinese ordination names and Tibetans Tibetan ordination names. In case of the Chinese clergy members, their family is indicated at times. Thus, Changbian 常弁 alias *dge slong* Shang ben could belong to the Chang 常 family. But as he always signs as Shang ben and never as Ben, Shang ben is with certainty his ordination name. In Or.8210/S. (henceforth referred to as S.) 5824, the list dated 808,⁴³ it is indicated that all Tibetan members of the scriptorium before the rat year were monastics (*seng* 僧). Thus, Chula 觸臘 alias *ban de* Dpal gyi ngang tshul, Mozhilie 摩志獵⁴⁴ alias *dge slong* Mchog rab and Sunan 蘇南 alias *ban de* Bsod nams, who are named in the list written in the rat year, were most probably Tibetan monks.

However, *ban de* Cang Chos brtan, who also signs as Chos brtan on AN, is with certainty a Chinese monk of the Zhang 張 family who bears a Tibetan ordination name.⁴⁵ Therefore, unless his origin is known it is not possible to say whether a monk with a Tibetan ordination name is Chinese, Tibetan or of another ethnic provenance.

It is difficult to trace the scribes and editors who only signed with their given name. Firstly, names such as Khrom zigs or Klu bzher are very common so there may have been more than one person bearing

⁴¹ PT 1634 (see Table 3).

⁴² Both alternatives are attested in Chinese culture. Firstly, it was not unusual for a Chinese to take on a new personal name during his career. Secondly, ethnic minorities could bear two personal names, one in their language and a Chinese, see Bauer 1959: 56ff.

⁴³ See Table 1 below.

⁴⁴ For the conversion the Archaic form of pronunciation was used: *zhi*: K 962e: ʧeg / tsi; *lie*: K 637e: liap / liäp.

⁴⁵ His full name can be found on PT 3721, Cang Chos brtan on PT 3563 and Chos brtan on PT 3622.

these names in the scriptoria. Secondly, when a person's family is not known, it is not possible to know his ethnic background.

Chinese given names are easy to recognise. Therefore, on first sight one may think that Brang Kun bears a mixed Tibetan/Chinese given name. Yet, since he signs as Brang Kun kun on PT 1619, it is clear that this is not the case. He is in fact Bolang Junjun 勃郎君君⁴⁶ of the list of scribes of the year 808. He can be identified as Chinese due to his Chinese given name, even though his family is not known. He also copied SP2. In most cases, he signs as Brang Kun. Only the occurrence mentioned above provides evidence that Brang must be his Tibetan given name, while Kun kun his is Chinese given name. (A Chinese family Bolang is not known and very unlikely to have existed). When a Chinese given name consists of two identical characters, such as Junjun 君君, Kun kun in Tibetan transliteration, at times the second character is left out altogether or substituted with *zi* 子—*tse* in Tibetan. Following this tradition, he also signed as Brang Kun tse.⁴⁷ Forms like these may underlie the structure of other Tibetan-Chinese mixed given names as well (type B 3).

Kheng tse, from the list of scribes on PT 1648 and editor of the restored part of PT 1613, cannot be identified with certainty. A certain Kheng kheng copied SP2. He may be Dang Kheng kheng who is known as recipient of paper.⁴⁸ 'Gu 吳 Brtan khong, who rewrote parts of PT 1629, may be identical with 'Gu Khong brtan.⁴⁹

It is difficult to solve the structure of the name of Chang Run 常閏 (Shang Zhun in Tibetan transliteration),⁵⁰ as Chang is a Chinese family and can equally be part of a given name. He appears as Bde Shang Shun on a copied letter, as the petitioner. Thus, Bde could be his Tibetan given name and he would be called Bde Shang shun. As there are a few errors in the copied lines, Bde might be a misspelling of *ban de* and he would thus actually be named *ban de* Shang zhun or Shang Zhun, with Shang as the family name.

⁴⁶ The transcription into Chinese characters of his given name, Kun kun, is Junjun according to Takeuchi 1995: 269. For converting the Tibetan given name Brang into Chinese characters, the compiler of the list used the *fanqie* 反切 system, in other words the first character for the initial and the other for the sound.

⁴⁷ IOL Tib J 1530.

⁴⁸ Dang Kheng kheng is on the list of scribes who had received paper (IOL Tib J 1359), Dang Keng keng copied SP2 and Keng tse edited SP3/1. All these may be the same person.

⁴⁹ 'Gu Khong brtan signs as scribe in PT 3957, H23 and H24; 'Gu Brtan kong is scribe on PT 3937; all scriptures are AN and cited according to catalogue entry (Huang Wenhuan 1982 and Nishioka 1984) therefore the hand-writing could not be compared.

⁵⁰ *Run*: K1251o: *ńzjuēn*, in Tibetan translit.: *zhun*.

Others, like Wang Lang tse (Wang Lanzi 王郎子) and 'Gyo (Jiao 蕉)?⁵¹ So zhe, often use their given name only.

Yang brtan Khrom kong and Rag ram Speb rtsan only occur once. While the former name clearly uses the construction *mkhan+mying*,⁵² it is not clear whether Rag-ram is a clan/ family (*rus*) or *mkhan*.

Characteristically, most editors and some scribes who worked at Dunhuang only used their ordination name or personal name. At Thang kar, editors as well as scribes almost always signed with their full name.

3. The Scribes and Editors of Dunhuang and the Production of SP3/2

3.1. Lists of Scribes and Editors of SP

Three manuscripts contain lists of the personnel of the scriptoria at Dunhuang. Only S. 5824 can be dated exactly.⁵³

Dating of S. 5824

The introduction of the manuscript reads:

(1) The joint request of the scriptorium for vegetables for the Tibetan and Chinese *panguan* etc.⁵⁴

(2) Earlier on, before the rat year, there were five Tibetan monks facing 25 scribes.

(3) The five monks were jointly authorized by square seal to receive 17 loads of vegetables supplied by the (population of the) Xingren unit of a thousand in one year.

(4) The 25 scribes were authorized by square seal to receive 85 loads of vegetables supplied by the (population of the) Simian unit of a thousand in one year.

(5) Recently a decision has been made so that each person who is supplied is to be regarded, the names of these persons are as follows:
[...]

⁵¹ The 'Gyo family has so far not been identified. Jiao 蕉 is my suggestion. Jiao: K 1148: tsiog, tsjäu. A member of this family belonged to the Panyuan 潘元 nunnery in 788 (S. 2729, line 52). The 蕉 family is otherwise not known.

⁵² Richardson 1967: 12 states that this is an attested combination.

⁵³ Published in facsimile and transcription in Tang Gengou and Lu Longji 1990: vol. 2, 412; in Fujieda 1961: 279; and Taenzler 2012: 314 with a commentary and translation.

⁵⁴ Until the year 800 *panguan* 判官 was a post in the administration of the clergy of Dunhuang, Chikusa 1961: 179f. Later on, the term seems to have been used along with others as a designation for copyists of scriptures.

It is a well-known fact that the Tibetans, after taking over Dunhuang, abolished the Chinese administrative units (*xiang* 鄉) and introduced their own. They divided the population into units of a thousand (*stong sde*). To start, there were two units, a military and a civil unit. Years later, they were divided. To date the manuscript, clues about the dates of the division of the units will be combined with the career of the scribes listed therein.

The civil unit known as Simian unit 絲綿部落 in Chinese and Dar pa in Tibetan ("Silk unit" is the translation of its name) was divided into three during a horse year. From then on, there were the Simian, Shang 上 and Xia 下 units.⁵⁵ This horse year is 814.⁵⁶ Thus, the rat year mentioned in S. 5824 must be some year prior to 814. The military unit known as Xingren 行人 in Chinese and Rgod gyi sde in Tibetan was divided into two in the summer of a rat year. 796 and 808 are the possible years in which this administrative measure could have taken place.⁵⁷ For the scribes' supply, only the Simian unit is named not the other two civil units. 808 is the most plausible year since Shang-ben was already ordained and he still was active during the *sūtra* copying project commencing in the 820s. All in all, out of the 36 persons listed 17 were still active later on and can be found on PT 1648v and/or as scribes or editors of SP.⁵⁸ Moreover, a few scribes already bear Tibetan given names.

The relevant names of S. 5824 are entered in the first column of Table 1 below.

In the second column, scribes listed in PT 1648v who also appear as editors or scribes on extant manuscripts are entered. This applies to 13 out of 17 names. As it is a patch it may be incomplete (especially as, according to PT 1641, there were 25 scribes at the time Wang received his Tibetan name). It was glued to the back of an SP3/1 to strengthen it and is not datable.

IOL Tib J 1359 is a list of scribes of SP2 belonging to one of the three military units.⁵⁹ Thus, it was written at a much later date than S. 5842,

⁵⁵ This is evident from S. 3287v, which is a household register written in Chinese. It is published in Tang Gengou and Lu Longji 1990: vol. 2, 377. The Shang and Xia units (literally upper and lower unit) do not feature in any manuscripts written in Tibetan. Therefore, there is no known Tibetan equivalent.

⁵⁶ Taenzer 2012: 57.

⁵⁷ PT 1089.

⁵⁸ There may be more, as four names that were transcribed from Tibetan into Chinese could not be identified, in other words could not be retransferred into Tibetan. Furthermore, a few Chinese scribes received Tibetan given names, like Wang Stag brtan and Im Klu legs, therefore they could be identical to Wang Rongnu and Yin Xianding of the list in S. 5824.

⁵⁹ It consists of four pages. The first page contains an instruction of how to deal with scribes who do not complete their work, pages two to four list the names of scribes,

when three military units already existed. It was written during the copying project of SP2, at the end of a sheep year (827 or 839)⁶⁰ or at the beginning of the following monkey year. It contains 92 scribes' names. Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse is the only scribe included therein who also features on the other two manuscripts. The list is not included here but it will be used as a reference for scribes who worked on copying SP2.

The third column provides the names of the editors/scribes in the form in which they signed their names on SP.

The fourth column shows, which type of SP were copied/edited and on how many SP a scribe's/editor's name is recorded, for example Wang Cvan cvan (column 3), SP3/2(1) (column 4): Wang Cvan cvan signed one exemplar of SP3/2 as scribe. In this table entries of SP 3/2 are written in bold, as these manuscripts are discussed in the following chapter. SP3 in cursive denote manuscripts from the India Office Library (IOL), which have not been digitised, thus their format is not evident.

Table 1 – Editors and Scribes of SP

S. 5824 (808 CE)	PT 1648		SP
		Editors	
Changbian 常弁		<i>dge slong</i> Shang ben	SP2(3), SP3/2 (6)
Chula 觸臘		<i>ban de</i> Dpal gyi ngang tshul	SP2 (3), SP3/1 (11+1?), SP3/2? (2), SP3 (3)
Panluoxiji 判羅悉雞		'Phan la skyes	SP3/2 (5+1)
Sunan 蘇南		<i>ban de</i> Bsod nams	zhu chen po
Mozhilie 摩志獵		<i>ban de</i> Mchog rab	SP2(1), SP3/2 (2)
	Kheng tse	Kheng/Keng tse	SP3/1 (1)
Feng Zairong 馮宰榮		Bung Dze 'veng	SP2 (1)

the unit they belonged to, the paper owed and the ink received. Takeuchi 1992 gives a translation of the text and a table of the scribes' names.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the dates see section 5. below.

		Scribes	
Suo Wennu 索文 奴	Sag Bun 'do	Sag Bun 'do	SP3/1 (4)
Song Zaiji 宋再集	Song Dze dzib	Song Dze dzib	SP2 (1)
Song Liuliu 宋六 六	Lug lug	Song Lug lug	SP2 (1+1?)
Bolang Junjun 勃 郎君君		Brang Kun kun Brang Kun	SP3/1 (1) SP2(1), SP3/1 (5)
Wang Langzi 王郎 子	Wang Lang tse	Wang Lang tse	SP3/1 (1), SP3 (2)
Chen Nuzi 陳奴子	Jin Lha bzang	Jin Mdo tse Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse Jin Lha bzang	SP2 (1) SP3/1 (1) SP3/2 (1)
	Bung Stag snya	Bung Stag snya	SP2 (1)
	Im Klu legs	Im Klu legs	SP2 (1), SP3(1)
Kang Jinjian 康進 健?	Khang Mang zigs	Khang Mang zigs	
	Sag 'Phan legs	Sag 'Phan legs	SP3/1 (1)
	Wang Yu meng	Wang Yu meng	SP2 (1)
	Legs rton	Legs rton	SP3.1(4)
Chang Run 常閏		Shang Zhun/Shun	SP3/2 (1)
	Zhun-zhun	Zhun zhun	SP3/1 (1)
Suo Guanyi 索廣 弈		Sag Kvang yig Kvang yig	SP3/1 (1) SP2 (1)
Wang Zhuan 王專		Wang Cvan cvan	SP3/2 (1)
Zhang Rongnu 張 榮		Cang Weng 'do	SP2 (1)
Zhang Xingzi 張興 子		Cang Hing tse	SP2 (1)

Commentary to Table 1:

The following scribes are mentioned in both lists but not on manuscripts: Tian Yongyong 田用用 = Yong yong, Yin Qixing 尹齊興 = Yun Dze'i hing.

Im 'Bye le'u appears on PT 1648 and as a witness to two contracts,⁶¹ but not on scriptures. Zhun-zhun may be identical with Shang Zhun.⁶²

3.2. The Process of Production of SP3/2

Seven ends of *bam po* of SP3, copied in SP3/2 format,⁶³ could be identified. Between 14 and 19 columns are extant of each *bam po*. They are in a good condition and are not strengthened with patches at the back. It appears that they were initially written by one scribe on paper prepared with inked lines. They were edited three to four times indicating the order of the reading (e.g.: PT 1550: *tshar long spa 'dus bris// dge slong shang ben yang zhus so// dge slong rdo rje mdzod sum zhus bzhi zhus*: "Tshar long Spa 'dus wrote it, *dge slong* Shang-ben second edited it, *dge slong* Rdo rje mdzod third edited it, fourth edited it"). They share this feature with some SP2 (e.g. PT 1353).⁶⁴ According to the extant manuscripts, at least one *dge slong*, and often a *ban de*,⁶⁵ conducted the proof-reading. In this process faulty pages must have been marked. Later these were rewritten by various scribes, at times indicating the year and season the work was carried out and the number of pages written, for example IOL Tib J 109.21:⁶⁶ > / / lug lo'i dbyar sla ra ba tshes nyi shu la / je'u brtan gong lan cig bris sthe / glegs bu brgyad gyis bkang ngo / / "On the 20th day of the first summer month of the sheep year Je'u Brtan kong wrote it once filling eight pages". > / / lugi lo'i dbyar sla tha chungts shes nyi shu dgu la / ling 'o zhun tshe lan cig bris te / glegs bu brgyad la bkong / "On the 29th day of the last summer month of the sheep year Ling 'o 令狐 Zhun tshe wrote it once filling eight pages". Writing processes are rarely noted with such precision. These notes were written on the recto of the fly leaf. Then it was proof-read again and in this production step the editors signed on the verso of the fly leaf, turning

⁶¹ PT 1166 and IOL Tib J 1274: Takeuchi 1995, text 12 and 11 respectively.

⁶² Ling 'o Zhun tshe rewrote SP3/2, Cang Zhun zhun and Sag Zhun zhun copied AN (PT 3649, 3971, IOL Tib J 310.131+310.5 and 310.175,176 respectively). But they do not belong to the group of senior scribes. It is impossible to say who signed as Zhun zhun.

⁶³ PT 1550, 1629, 1500, 1944, 1532, 1596 and IOL Tib J 109.21; see also Table 2.

⁶⁴ Dotson (2013/2014) identified this as a characteristic of the colophons of some SP2.

⁶⁵ The editors rarely signed mentioning their post in the clergy. Thus 'Gyo So zhe may have been ordained as well.

⁶⁶ Cited from de La Vallée-Poussin 1962: 42.

the page by 90°. Afterwards the fly leaf was cut to shape, in other words the edges were cut off—thus parts of the names of the editors were often lost. Then the stick was fastened. The scribes and editors did not always sign in the order that the work was carried out. This can be seen, for example, on Figure 1c below, where the signature of the third editor Rdo rje is below the signature of the fourth editor.

Below in Figures 1a–1c are the images of the editorial remarks of PT 1550. They are clearly structured.

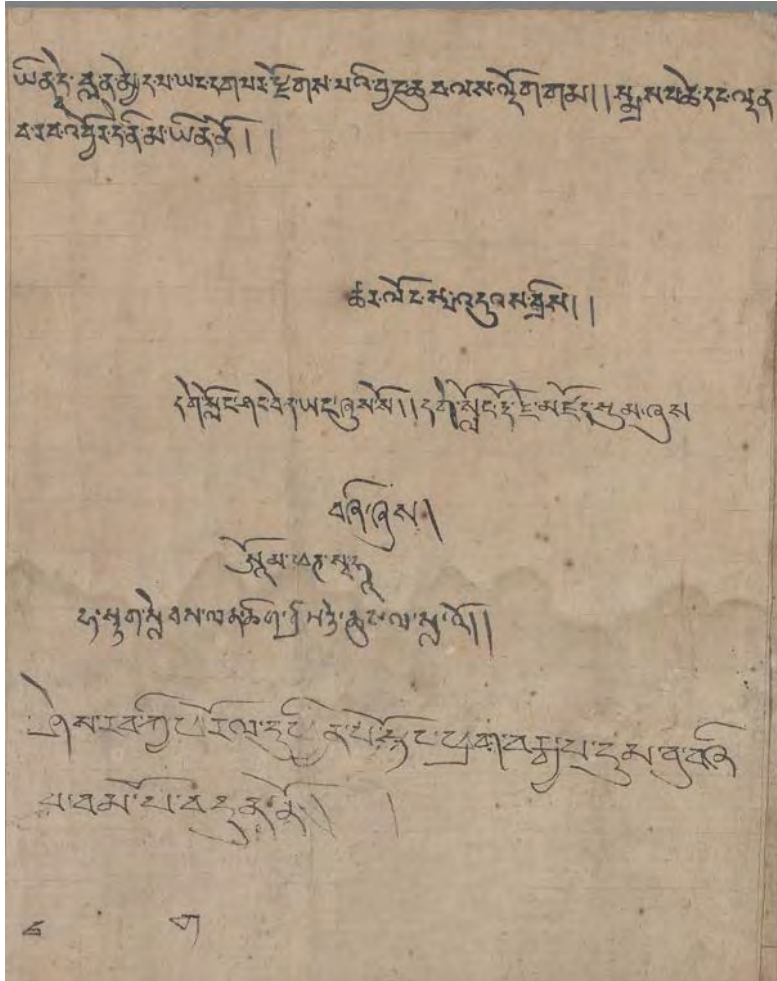


Fig. 1a – PT 1550, scribal notes at the end of the text; Copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

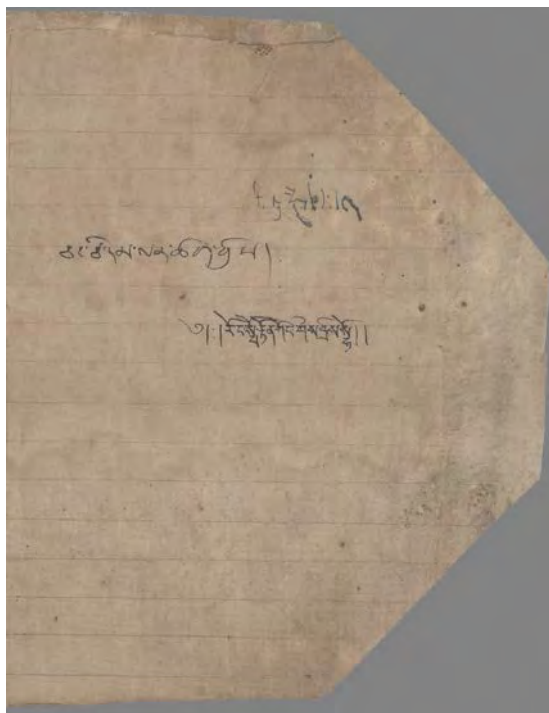


Fig. 1b –PT 1550, recto of fly leaf; Copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

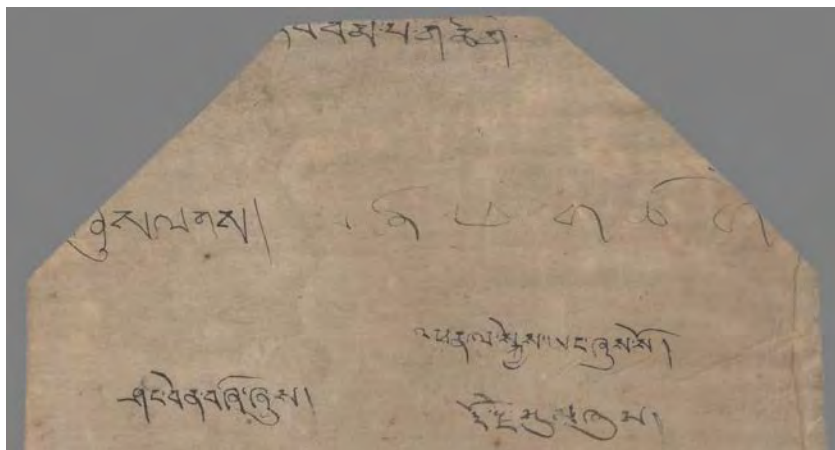


Fig. 1c PT 1550 – verso of fly leaf; Copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

Fig.1a: end of text:

tshar long spa'dus bris//
dge slong shang ben yang zhus so // dge slong rdo rje mdzod sum zhus
bzhi zhus/
ha stag slebs lan chig bris te chung la sla'o//
 below follows: fourth *dum bu, bam po* 7 of SP

Fig.1b: Fly leaf:

cang tsi dam lan chig bris/
 <./: rong spo rton kong bris s.ho//

Fig.1c: verso of fly leaf:

zhus lags/
'phan la skyes yang zhus so/
shang ben bzhi zhus/
rdo rje sum zhus/

Commentary to PT 1550:

Tshar long Spa 'dus is the copyist of the original. Ha Stag slebs, Cang Tsi dam and Rongs po Rton kong were engaged in rewriting.

The original was apparently edited four times, although the first editor is not named. The four editors of the rewritten sheets signed on the back of the fly leaf. The name of the first editor is not extant. The signature of the fourth editor is inserted above the signature of the third.

Two of the scribes of the originals, Wang Cvan cvan 王專 and Shang Zhun 常閏 (PT 1532 and PT 1596 respectively), already belonged to a scriptorium in Dunhuang in 808.⁶⁷ If Stag snang is in fact the Cang Stag snang mentioned in PT 1491 and/or the copyist of SP2 of the same name, he was a local as well. This should be proof that the *sūtras* of SP3/2 format were originally copied at Dunhuang.

As no date for the copying of the originals is indicated, it is not possible to determine how much time elapsed between the copying, editing and the exchange of faulty sheets with the rewritten sheets. *Dge slong* Shang ben, who edited most of SP3/2, oversaw the original manuscripts as well as the restored sheets. The same can be said of *ban de* Mchog rab and 'Phan la skyes. All three were members of the scriptorium in 808. *Dge slong* Rdo rje mdzod,⁶⁸ who also edited SP2, and 'Gyo

⁶⁷ S. 5824, see above.

⁶⁸ It is not evident whether he is identical with the editor who signed as Rdo rje in PT 1550, 569, 643, 2030, 2080; in PT 2125 as: *ban 'de* Rdo rje; in PT 1622 as *sha cu'i ban de gnas brtan*. It is possible, as in PT 1550 he signs as third editor: *dge slong rdo rje mdzod sum zhus* and verso *rdo rje sum zhus*.

So zhe, who along with others witnessed a contract concluded at Dunhuang, edited originals as well as rewritten sheets.

Numerous scribes were involved in rewriting and some can be traced, but not always with certainty. The only scribe of the Tibetan, Zhang zhong or Sum pa ethnic group is Rong spo Rton kong.⁶⁹ Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse, who rewrote pages of SP3/1,⁷⁰ Ha Stag slebs and Cang Hig hig were members of one of the military units of Shazhou. They received paper for copying and the names of all three are found as copyists on SP2. Cang Tsi dam, Do Lha spyin, Ling ho Zhun tshe, Cang Jung jung and probably 'Gu Brtan khong and Shang Shi'u copied AN.⁷¹ Im Lha legs signed as a witness to a contract. Wang Gyu rton signed the same contract.⁷² Legs rtsan and Legs rma cannot be attributed, as their personal name is very common and their family name is not provided.

Most interesting is the career of Je'u Brtan kong. Not only is he named as a witness to a hire contract,⁷³ engaged in rewriting pages of SP3/2 and copying AN, but he had also been appointed *rub ma pa* for the collection of completed scriptures on paper given out to scribes from the three military units to copy SP in a horse and sheep year.⁷⁴ *Rub ma pa* were apparently in charge of keeping the records of incoming and outgoing scriptures.⁷⁵ It may be assumed that after his promotion, he signed as Brtan kong / gong.⁷⁶

The others—apart from Chog ro Mjal gong who was of Tibetan / Sum pa origin and Tshar long whose ethnic identity is not known—must have belonged to one of the civil units. Even professionals such as *dge slong* Shang ben, *ban de* Shang zhun and Wang Cvan were still

⁶⁹ He also can be found as the owner of a *glegs tshas*, writing boards issued to scribes (PT 1156). See Takeuchi 2013 for a study. A member of his family occupied the post of a *rtse rje* of Shazhou (PT 1089).

⁷⁰ He may be Jin 'Do tshe who is a '*phongs* connected to *ban de* Wang Dze sheng in PT 2218, a manuscript describing the formation for a military parade of the Rgod sar unit of Dunhuang. See Uray 1961 for a discussion of the manuscript. It must belong to an earlier era than the era of the *sūtra* copying project as almost no participants bear Tibetan given names (one from altogether five *ban de* and no commoners). Although Jin 陳 as well as 'Do-tse 奴子 are very common names, as a person bearing this name belonged to the Rgod sar unit in IOL Tib J 1359 as well as in PT 2218, they should be one and the same person.

⁷¹ A 'Gu Brtan kong signed on PT 3937 and a Jeg Shang she'u copied PT 3957.

⁷² PT 1297, pièce 4, Takeuchi 1995, text 39, dated 834±.

⁷³ PT 1098, Takeuchi 1995, text 36, not dated. It is an original contract; all other participants impressed their seals but not Je'u.

⁷⁴ IOL Tib J 1359, page 1, translated by, among others, Takeuchi 1994, note 8.

⁷⁵ According to PT 999, two *rub ma pa* were responsible for keeping the documents of outgoing AN stored in the Longxing monastery.

⁷⁶ Although Brtan kong is a very common name, it is probably him who rewrote parts of PT 1532, since he is the only one who used the variation Brtan gong as on IOL Tib J 109.21.

designated to one of the units of a thousand—be it military or civil—of Dunhuang.⁷⁷

The extant SP3/2 were apparently made to be kept, as can be seen from PT 1944, whose end is still intact and supplied with stick.⁷⁸ This still leaves the question of why only seven odd ends of SP3/2 are extant. Was the edition ever completed? That this was at least intended can be deduced from the fact that most of them indicate the number of the *dum bu* and *bam po* copied on the colophon at the end of each *bam po*.⁷⁹ The last *bam po*, of which the end is extant, is the seventh *bam po* of the fourth *dum bu*. As the SP is divided into four *dum bu* consisting of 75 *bam po* each, one can surmise that it once comprised a whole edition. Since the *Pañcaviṃśati-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, which is the second part of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra*—the SP being the first part—was copied in the same format it is possible that the complete canon of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* was copied then.⁸⁰

These arguments should suffice to prove that SP3/2 were originally copied and edited at Dunhuang, had faulty pages rewritten and edited there, and were fitted with sticks.

Summing up the characteristics of SP3/2:

They were copied on paper prepared with inked lines, scribal notes have the same wording as on SP2, they were copied, edited and had faulty pages rewritten at Dunhuang.

There are a few other SP3 in the Pelliot collection which were copied on 'new' paper with inked lines, but they share neither the structure of the scribal notes nor the editors. Thus, there may have been another group of scribes/editors, which followed the practice of SP3/1.

In Table 2 below, the scribes' and editors' names of the researched manuscripts of SP3/2 are entered. Between 14 to 19 columns of each text are extant. The manuscripts from the Pelliot collection are cited according to the digitised image, the manuscript from the British Library is cited from de La Vallée-Poussin's catalogue.⁸¹

⁷⁷ This is evident from PT 2218 where all *ban de* are designated to the Rgod sar military unit of a thousand.

⁷⁸ According to PT 1128, it appears that the SP2, which were made for export, were not fitted with string and wrapping at Dunhuang since these items were sent separately.

⁷⁹ See the first line of the following table (Table 2) in which, below the shelfmark, the number of the *dum bu* and *bam po* is indicated, where available. The last *dum bu*, i.e. the fourth is listed as well.

⁸⁰ When the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā sūtra* is referred to one thinks of the collection of *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras* copied in Chinese. As this was copied at Dunhuang as well it is near at hand that a similar collection was intended, especially since PT 1486 is a fragment of the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra* (part 3 of the collection), according to Lalou (1961). It was copied on paper prepared with inked lines just as SP3/2.

⁸¹ de La Vallée-Poussin 1962: 42.

<i>ban de?</i> Shang zhun	常閏						X			IOL Tib J 848
Stag snang				X						SP2
Im Rma bzher	陰								X	PT 1639 =SP3/2
Wang Cvan cvan	王專					X				

Table 2b

Shelfmark	S. 5824	PT 1550	PT 1629	PT 1500	PT 1944	PT 1532	PT 1596	ITJ 109.21	PT 2080	
Year of rewriting										
Editors of corrections			ape			tiger	ape	horse	bird	
Cang Lha la rton	張					Xx			X	SP2 2x
<i>ban de</i> Dpal gyi go ca				X			(X)			SP3/1n, SP3/2
Che'u cheng					X					
Im Tsheng 'do	陰								X	SP3/1, contract
Zhim Mang zhan	任						X			
Rgod chung				x		X				
[Wang Stag brtan]			X							

Table 2c

Shelfmark	S. 5824	PT 1550	PT 1629	PT 1500	PT 1944	PT 1532	PT 1596	ITJ 109.21	PT 2080	
Year of rewriting			ape			tiger	ape	horse		
Scribes of corrections										
Ha Stag slebs		X		X	X	X				SP2 2x
Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse (Mdo tse)	陳奴子		X							SP2, SP3/1 AN
Cang Tsi dam	張	X								AN
Rong spo Rton kong		X								

[Tshar long Spa go(s)]			X						
Wang Dge brtan	王		X	X			X		
blon Dge legs			X						
'Gu Brtan khong	吳		X						
Li'u Klu rton	劉		X						
Legs rma(s)				X	X				
Im Lha legs	陰				X		X		PT 1297
Cang Hig hig	張				X				SP2
Shan shi'u					X				AN
Je'u Brtan kong	趙		X		X	X?		X	
Yi'u Brtan kong	要							X	X
Btshan legs					X				
Wang Gyu rton	王							X	PT 1297
Ling-'o Zhun tshe	令狐							X	
S(M?)eng Hva'i								X	
Cang Stag bzang	張						X		
Cang Jung jung	張					X			AN
Do Lha sbyin	杜					X			AN
'Be Stag rma	俾					X			SP2
Seng ge						X			SP2, SP3
Shing tse							X		
Stag brtan				X					SP2
Legs rtsan					X			X?	SP2 ed.

4. The Scriptorium in Thang kar of Rog thom and its Relation to SP1

4.1. The Scriptorium in Thang kar

The provenance of two of the SP3/1Tk is Thang kar of Rog thom. The following editorial notes provide evidence for this claim: </ / *rog thom thang kar du mos ma nos kong briso* (PT 1649) and </ / *rog thom thang kar du mo zom klu bzhre gyis bris te 'og zhuz lagso* (PT 1612). With certainty, both scribes therefore lived in Thang kar of Rog thom and the other scriptures they copied and edited stem from there. All in all, five ends of scriptures (between 2.5 and 22 columns) copied by Mo sma Nos kong are extant. There is evidence that at least two of them had pages rewritten and inserted at Dunhuang. Mo zom Klu bzher acted as

copyist on two (IOL Tib J 1755 and PT 1642), as joint editor on four (PT 1634, PT 1632, IOL Tib J 1537 and IOL Tib J 109.8) and, on one manuscript, only his family name is extant due to damage to the paper (PT 1656). As the manuscript was revised by the same editor as PT 1629, written at Thang kar, and the script of the graph 'zom' aligns with his other signatures, this manuscript is included. Four scribal notes bear evidence that pages had been restored at Dunhuang and exchanged sheets are extant on PT 1656.

The following Table (Table 3) provides an overview of a selection of manuscripts.

Commentary to the Table:

In the first line, the shelfmark of IOL Tib J 109.8 and IOL Tib J 109.13 is abbreviated to 109.8 and 109.13 respectively.

The second last column contains the number of SP1/SP2, the last column the number of SP3/1 and SP3/2 the person worked on; Pelliot tibétain, and entries of the IOL catalogue,⁸² are included: for example 1+1 means one SP of the Pelliot Tibétain collection and one of the IOL collection.

Entries within the table:

The persons featuring on the manuscript are generally marked X.

Additional entries are:

w: scribe, X: main editor, (X): it is not certain whether the person is identical with the one featuring in the other manuscripts, x1: received scroll, x2: his copy, x3: only name, x4: only family name

+ Sum pa Legsngang and Khrom zigs edited the restored part of 1996.

The pairs of X underlined indicate joint editors.

Table 3 – Editors and Scribes of SP3/1Tk

Shelfmark of SP	PT 1649	PT 1642	PT 1656	PT 1760	PT 1645	PT 1775	109.8	109.13	PT 1634	SP 1/2	SP3 1/2
Number of columns	2.5 old	4 old	3n/21o	17 old	4 old	22 old		1p	5 old		
<i>Scribes in Thang kar</i>											
Mo sma Nos kong	X				X	X		X	X		5
Meg le Ldong 'dus							X				2

⁸² Matko and van Schaik 2013.

Editors in Thang kar											
Ser yu Khrom zigs		X						X	w/	3	
Khu Khri gzigs							<u>X</u>			1	
Mo zom Klu bzher		X+w	x4				<u>X</u>	<u>X</u>		6	
Khong Lve lung								<u>X</u>		1	
Gnyi ba Khyung stang			<u>X</u>	w					w/	4+6	
Gu rib Ke'u shang			<u>X</u>							3+2	
'Gong bom Yul byin	X		X							9	
Gtom Legs bzher		<u>X</u>								1	
Skya tsa Khyi bal		<u>X</u>								1	
Skya tsa Khyi skugs							<u>X</u>			2	
Ru Klu rma							<u>X</u>			1	
Stag zigs kyi be ne kyi gol							X			1	
Chab nos Lha snang								X		1	
Rag ram Spe rtsan	X									1	
Scribes in Dunhuang											
Brang Kun		X					x1		/1	5	
Im Tsheng 'do				x2						1/1	
Im Klu legs				x3					/1	1	
Editors in Dunhuang											
Khrom z(r)igs		X	X		(<u>X</u>)		X			19	
(Sum-pa) Legsnang +			X							/6	
Editors in ?											
Reb kong Gtsug la tor								X		10	
Sla 'go						<u>X</u>				1	

Scribes in ?											
Yang brtan Khrom kong		X									1
Rma bzangs			X								1
To rol Ye ram						X					1

4.2. The Process of Production of SP3/1Tk

SP3/1Tk were originally copied by one scribe and most of them were edited three times. Otherwise, the process of production differs in many respects from SP3/2 copied at Dunhuang. Firstly, sometimes the scribes edited their own work. Secondly, five cases of joint editorship are documented (where the X is underlined in the table), although the pairs are not consistent, for example Mo zom Klu bzher edited with Khu Khri zigs as well as with Khong Lve lung Bzang skyes. It can be assumed that one reviser read out the model text and the other checked the manuscript (this is also assumed to be the case in other SP3/1). At times somebody signed as the main editor (*zhu chen*).⁸³ The editors are numerous and most of their names cannot be found on any other Dunhuang manuscripts. Only four of them were more intensively occupied with editing or copying. There is no indication that they were monks but, since members of the family of 'Gong bom Yul byin were eminent teachers,⁸⁴ this possibility should not be excluded. Reb kong Gtsug la tor's family originated in Reb kong (modern-day Tongren). He was very active (10 signatures). One of his relatives was a special scribe (*gsang gi yi ge pa*)⁸⁵ of Bde gams.⁸⁶ Ser yu Khrom zigs and Gnyi ba Khyung stang not only copied and/or edited SP3/1 but also copied SP1.⁸⁷ There is no evidence that any pages of SP3/1Tk were rewritten and re-edited at Thang kar.

At some point, the scriptures were transferred to Dunhuang where they were repaired. That is, pages were replaced and the back strengthened where necessary, mostly with clippings of pieces of SP.

⁸³ Dotson 2013/2014: *zhu chen bgyis*: "acted as main editor". Lalou (1961) translated the phrase with: "la grande correction a été faite" (p6 entry to PT 1303). At times one finds: *zhu chen lags* or *zhu chen* only. Whatever way the phrase is translated it means that the person concerned did the final revision of the text.

⁸⁴ IOL Tib J 689 discussed in Uebach 1990.

⁸⁵ *Gsang gi yi ge pa*: It is not evident what post is referred to. In PT 1089 among the officials of Mkar tsan *khrom a gsang gi pho nya a gsang gi rub ma pa* as well as *gsang gi yi ge pa* of various grades (high, middle and low) are listed (ll. 38–42). The translation: 'secret scribe' does not make sense. *Gsang* here seems to refer to a special group of officials.

⁸⁶ PT 1333, copy of the introduction of a letter.

⁸⁷ On Gnyi ba Khyung stang, see the chapter on the structure of names.

This was regarded as an act of piety, as evidenced by the inscription on the back of PT 1658,⁸⁸ which reads: *dpe rnying 'di dag hlan*⁸⁹ *ba'i yon mang ngo* "The offering of uniting (patching) these old manuscripts is manifold". The rewritten pages are easily recognized, as they were copied on paper that had been prepared with inked lines, as stated above.

Who received the SP3/1Tk at Dunhuang is documented on a number of subscripts, such as: *brang kun nos pa'*, "Brang Kun received (it)" (IOL Tib J 109.8); *brang kun lan cig nos te bris/* "Brang Kun having received it once, wrote it" (PT 1642). From the latter note it is also clear that he not only received the SP3/1 but also rewrote pages. Only four columns of this scripture are extant and the rewritten pages were lost. Brang Kun⁹⁰ was already a member of the scriptorium at Dunhuang in 808. At times it is only evident that pages were rewritten due to the expression 'so and so wrote it once' (IOL Tib J 1755,⁹¹ and IOL Tib J 1537). In case of the former manuscript, it is clear that this took place at Dunhuang as Im Klu legs is included in the list of scribes of Dunhuang (PT 1648). As far as can be discerned from the extant manuscripts, these rewritten pages were for the most part edited only once. The scribal notes of PT 1634 show no evidence that pages were exchanged. However, this does not necessarily mean that this had not been done, as at times scribal notes referring to this process were written on the back of the exchanged sheets themselves, as in PT 1656 where the editors signed there.⁹²

Unlike in the case of SP3/2, where pages were rewritten because the originals were faulty, the pages of SP3/1 were instead rewritten due to paper damage.

As the scribal notes of PT 1642 show all features of an SP3/1 subscript, it is depicted with a transliteration and commentary below.

The numerals in () parentheses show the order in which the notes were made.

(5) *brang kun lan cig nos te bris/*

Brang Kun having received it once, wrote it,

(6) *yang brtan khrom kong lan cig brgyabs*

Yang brtan Khrom kong did it one time

⁸⁸ The remnants of this scripture consist of 34 columns consisting of following sheets: one new, six old, three new, eight old of very yellow colour, one new, ten old, fly leaf pale new lined paper.

⁸⁹ *Hlan* should be regarded as a scribal error for *lhan*.

⁹⁰ Concerning the structure of his name, see section 2 above.

⁹¹ This manuscript is not included in the table. Mo zom Klu bzher wrote the original.

⁹² Therefore, it is clear that Khrom zigs and Legsnang were editors of Dunhuang.

(3) <|| *gtom legs bzhre dang skya tsa khyi bal gyis zhus so* ||
Gtom Legs bzher and Skya tsa Khyi bal edited it.

(7) *khrom-zigs gyis zhus /*
Khrom zigs edited it,

(2) <|| *mo zom klu bzhre gyis so/*

By Mo zom Klu bzher.

(4) *ser yo khrom zigs gyis zhu
chen*

by Ser yo Khrom zigs,
main editor

(?) </ *zhu chen lags so /*
main edited;

(/: / *sha cu sar?(smar?) gog ru? nye? -i -i gya? +14)? possibly unrelated*

(1) <|| *rog thom thang kar du mo zom klu bzhre gyis bris te 'og zhus lagso*
In Thang kar in / of Rog thom Mo zom Klu bzher wrote it and later corrected it.

Commentary:

Mo zom Klu bzer wrote the original and signed at the bottom of the page (1). Above, he indicated that he had done the corrections (2). Then the manuscript was edited a second time (3). Ser yo Khrom zigs carried out the final revision (4).

At Dunhuang, Bran Kun, a senior scribe, received the manuscript and rewrote pages (5). He placed his note at the top, as was customary at Dunhuang. Whether Yang brtan rewrote pages or edited them is not evident (6). Khrom zigs revised the rewritten pages (7). Possibly he also carried out the final revision (?). It is apparent that the scribes and editors at Dunhuang placed their notes from top to bottom in the remaining spaces.

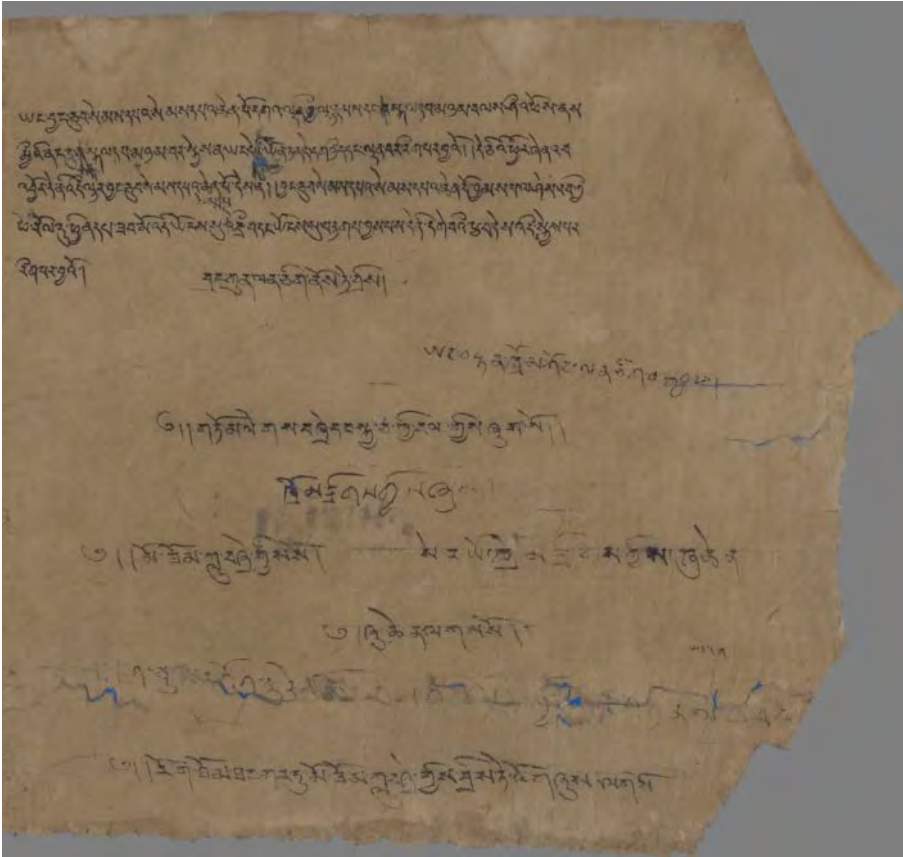


Fig. 2 – PT 1642, end. Copyright Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

4.3. The Connection of SP3/1Tk with SP1

As already noted above, two editors of SP3/1Tk also copied scriptures in SP1 format. Three others, whose connection to Thang kar is not evident, worked on SP3/1 and SP1 as well. Tshar long Khong rtsan edited PT 1312, f. 21 (SP1) and acted as editor or copyist on J 1523 (SP3/1).⁹³ Tshab shi Lha bu wrote PT 1301, f. 42b an SP1 and PT 1590 (SP3/1). He is the sole scribe named in the latter text.⁹⁴ That is, nobody

⁹³ It is a fragment (31.5 x 45 cm) and parts of the right side of the paper are not extant. Cog-ro Thor la khong and Skya tsa x (his personal name is not extant) also worked on this scripture. Lcor Zla brtan and Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse wrote panels, which had been exchanged.

⁹⁴ It is written vertically on the fly leaf; another inscription to the right of it is crossed out; 23 old columns repaired on the back with lined paper (once).

edited this scripture. Ya ri Khri spo features as copyist on PT 1299, f. 23b, an SP1. 76 sheets of the scripture are extant. It carries two paginations.⁹⁵ Ya ri Khri spo is the only copyist who signed on PT 1608. Two and a half 'old' columns are extant written on medium yellow unlined paper and showing no corrections. At a distance from the *sūtra* text, the following note is written: "'U tsang Phan legs edited it". >/:/ 'u tsang #g#phan legs zhus /⁹⁶ followed below at a distance, in paler ink: "written by Ya ri Khri spo </ / ya ri khri spos bris / /". The scripture is written in the same hand as PT 1299, f. 23.

This is a good example of what a subscript of an SP3/1 looked like before the scribes and editors who replaced columns and subsequently edited them, wrote their names in the subscript. Here the editor's signature is above the signature of the scribe as in the example depicted above. However, it is not certain whether 'U tsang 'Phan legs edited the scroll at the same place at which it was copied or at Dunhuang. He features as editor on a number of 'old' SP3/1. On some, his name can be seen on the repaired part on 'new' paper.⁹⁷ Therefore, he either moved to Dunhuang after revising this roll, or the manuscript was edited there, or somebody else copied his signature because it had been on the original. The signature of Ya ri Khri spo as a copyist on PT 1624 is deleted. Another person signed as scribe and editor below. As the manuscript is a fragment, it is impossible to explain why.

Thus, five scribes worked on SP3/1 and SP1 but only Ser yu Khrom zigs and Gnyi ba Khyung stang are connected to Thang kar of Rog thom. The former was directly, the latter indirectly connected, via 'Gong bom Yul byin, who also edited PT 1649 which was written at Thang kar.⁹⁸

It has always been suggested that all SP1 were copied in the same place. They share a format as well as the wording of the scribal notes. But a number of them have two paginations, while the others are not paginated at all. Moreover, two bear copied colophons. One of them features, along with others, Vairocana, the other features Ye shes sde as editor.⁹⁹ Thus, the model texts that SP1 were copied from must come

⁹⁵ One pagination is deleted and replaced with another system of page numbers. Dotson 2015 made a study of these two conventions.

⁹⁶ Letters entered between two # mean that these were deleted by the scribe.

⁹⁷ He features as editor of 15 texts of the Pelliot collection and two of the British Library collection and copied one SP3. The style of his signature on this text differs from the one on PT 1618, where it is in careless cursive. If all SP3 subscripts with his signature were studied carefully, it may be possible to retrace his career.

⁹⁸ It is likely that Mo zom Klu bzher is meant on the same manuscript. But as it is damaged, only Mo zom is extant. Thus, theoretically Mo zom 'Dron kong, the copyist of J 109.14, could be the person who wrote his name.

⁹⁹ PT 1311 and PT 1312 respectively. Dotson identified these scribal notes as copied colophons, Dotson 2013/2014: 20. Vairocana—a famous translator of Indian texts

from two distinct editions or indeed the originals may have been jointly edited by these personages. Neither manuscript is paginated.

4.4. *The Connection between Thang kar and Dunhuang*

A copy of the beginning of the answer of a petition in the form of an informal letter from Thang kar to Dunhuang (Shazhou) was written on the back of one of the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*:¹⁰⁰ *rog thom kyi tar kar nas/ bkye'i phyag rgya phogste/ sha cu'i rtse rje dang rgya sde gnyis kyi dpon sna la spring no// dir ngo phral bde shang shun gyis gsol na* “From Thar kar in Rog thom, the seal of dispatch having been impressed, message to the town prefect (*rtse rje*) of Shazhou and the dignitaries of the two Chinese units: After Bde Shang Shun has petitioned here now”.

The petitioner is Shang Shun, who is probably the scribe Chang Run of the list of scribes dated 808 (see Table 1). He copied PT 1596—an SP3/2—using the usual transliteration of his name into Tibetan Shang Zhun. The introductory lines above contain errors. The copyist wrote Thar kar instead of Thang kar and it is not clear whether Bde should be the Tibetan given name of Shang shun or an error for *ban de*. Shang Shun and Shang Zhun are probably the same person; *sha* and *zha* as well as *ra* and *nga* are easily confused, especially when written carelessly. Moreover, the copyist may not have been familiar with the toponym and name.

The structure of the letter shows that Shang Shun—a resident of Dunhuang—had written a request to some institution or authority in Thang kar and the lines above are the beginning of the answer to the authorities of Dunhuang.¹⁰¹ It is not possible to date the original of this letter. It was certainly written after the population of Dunhuang was divided into units (*sde*) in 790.

4.5. *Why is Thang kar in the Qinghai/Kokonor Region?*

Iwao has already suggested that the roll-type SP must have originated in a region where Chinese and Tibetan cultures merged, since the roll type was the Chinese way of compiling scriptures while the *pothi*

into Tibetan under Emperor Khri Srong lde brtsan—is mentioned on the colophon of Mdo 'grel X,2 as translator of the SP (Lalou 1957).

¹⁰⁰ IOL Tib J 848. Only one column of the *sūtra* is extant. It was copied on lined paper. It has not been catalogued yet.

¹⁰¹ Takeuchi 1990 offers a detailed overview of the classification and meaning of the introductory lines of contemporary letters.

format was used in Tibet.¹⁰² This area was the Qinghai/Kokonor region. This can be substantiated by a note on the back of an SP.¹⁰³ On the back of column 8, between line 5 and 6, it carries following note: *'di nas phreng bzhi po ga cu pa'i dpe las ma byung ste lhag pa myi dra nas bzhag*. "As the four lines below do not appear in the manuscript of the people from Hezhou,¹⁰⁴ and are additions which do not correspond, they are set aside". This shows that the model text for this *sūtra* came from Hezhou, situated near modern-day Linxia in south-western Gansu province.

PT 1165 bears another clue.¹⁰⁵ It is a fragment of an official document, which was glued to the back of the top left corner of a roll to strengthen it.¹⁰⁶ It mentions an assembly of dignitaries¹⁰⁷ of Dbyar mo thang (*khrom*)¹⁰⁸—the place in which it convened is lost due to paper damage—and another assembly at Lcag rtse. It appears to deal with a legal aspect concerning a Tibetan's pastures. After the case was settled, the scribe used the manuscript to strengthen the roll. This means that the roll was repaired in the vicinity of Lcag rtse. It was known as Shibaocheng 石堡城 by the Chinese and was situated south-east of Lake Qinghai.¹⁰⁹ If all imported scriptures came from one place, the roll was

¹⁰² Iwao 2013.

¹⁰³ The manuscript is kept in Hexi. It is only known through the catalogue entry of Huang Wenhua 1982: 96, no. 315: "Subscript to SP3 28.3 x 338 cm, 16 columns of varying size, 20 lines per column; it has been mounted, in other words repaired in many places with the same type of paper as the sutra. On the back, between columns two and three: 4th *dum bu* of SP".

¹⁰⁴ Dotson 2013/2014 took Ga cu as Guazhou which is certainly not the case.

¹⁰⁵ 21 x 11 cm. Published in transliteration, translation and commentary in Taenzer 2012: 82.

¹⁰⁶ Lalou 1961.

¹⁰⁷ Takeuchi 1995: 24ff. states that the locations of assemblies of the *khrom*, including the dignitaries convening them, were combined with the twelve-year-cycle and were used in contracts to specify the date. Before this entry, the place of the residence of the emperor is even stated. This manuscript is not the fragment of a contract but a fragment of a legal document. The text is transliterated, translated and commented on in Taenzer 2012: 82ff.

¹⁰⁸ *Khrom* were military governments established in the borderlands Uray 1980. "The region Dbyar mo thang, which frequently occurs not only in ancient records but also in the geographic literature and especially in the religious and heroic epic, was at all times thought to be found in the neighbourhood of lake Qinghai", Uray 1980: 313.

¹⁰⁹ In the *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 (chapter on the Tibetans, year 822 = Changqing 長慶 2) it is stated that the Tibetans called Shibaocheng (lit: "Stone-fort-city") Tiedaocheng 鐵刀城 that is "Iron-sword-city". It is stated in the *Old Tibetan Annals* (translated with commentary in Dotson 2009) that the stronghold Lcags rtse "Iron peak" was retaken in the winter(?) of the snake year (741–742). According to the *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, Shibaocheng was conquered by the Tibetans in the 12th month of Kaiyuan 開元 29 (early 742). These two points should be sufficient proof that Shibaocheng

repaired with certainty at Thang kar, which consequently was situated in the Qinghai/Kokonor region.

5. Time Frame of the *sūtra* Copying Project at Dunhuang

As a guideline for the time frame of the *sūtra* copying project at Dunhuang, Dotson used the entries of scribes who indicated the years they rewrote columns of SP3/2 and IOL Tib J 1359. The latter manuscript consists of two parts: an order to hand in the completed sheets of SP still owed by a monkey year and a list of the scribes' names belonging to one of the three military units of Shazhou who had received paper for this work in the preceding horse and sheep years. However, he did not differentiate between these two indicators.¹¹⁰

Since only three scribes of SP3/2 can be attributed to one of the military units, the paper distributed to members of the three military units for copying SP in a horse and sheep year cannot have been for copying SP3/2. It must have been distributed for copying SP2, which were in *pothī* format (20 x 70 cm). Cang Hig hig, Ha Stag slebs and Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse rewrote pages of SP3/2 as well as copying SP2.

Whether the process of copying SP2 referred to in IOL Tib J 1359 was continued in the following two years is unclear but it is possible, as the settlement was done every two years in the Tibetan accounting system.¹¹¹ Thus, the account of pages 2–4 of IOL Tib J 1359 may only have been an intermediate balance.

It cannot be said whether SP2 and SP3/2 were produced in the same era or not. They share the wording of the scribal notes and some of the personnel. *Dge slong* Shang ben edited SP3/2 and SP2. It suggests that SP3/2 predate the project of SP2: firstly, because the format—roll type—follows Chinese tradition, secondly because it is most certain that Je'u Brtan kong rewrote SP3/2 before he became *rub ma pa* for the preservation of SP2, and finally because 'Phan la skyes—one of the senior editors—did not proof-read SP2, Wang Cvan and Shang zhun two of the senior scribes did not copy SP2. However, Jin Lha bzang 'Do tse signed as Jin Mdo tse on an SP2 and received paper as Jin 'Do tse.¹¹² This would mean that the copying of SP2 preceded his work of rewriting parts of SP3/1,¹¹³ and SP3/2, where he is known as Jin Lha

is Lcag rtse. The chapter on Tibet of the *Xin Tangshu* and *Jiu Tangshu* are translated in Bushell 1880.

¹¹⁰ Dotson 2013/2014.

¹¹¹ Iwao 2011 shows this using the accounting system of the granary record in S. 1067+PT 1111.

¹¹² According to IOL Tib J 1359.

¹¹³ PT 1576.

bzang 'Do tse, or Jin Lha bzang, respectively. Thus SP3/2 were still being repaired while the SP2 project was already in progress.

The question of the year when the work on SP2 and SP3/2 began cannot be answered conclusively, but it must have been before the horse year mentioned in IOL Tib J 1359. Although it is not exactly clear when this manuscript was written—sometime during the sheep year or at the beginning of the monkey year—it seems to document the pages which still had not been completed by the scribes. That is, the paper had been distributed, pages had been copied and handed in, but the task had not been completed. This can be seen by the number of sheets still owed—some scribes had to complete only three pages, others 30. Another indication that the above-mentioned manuscript documents a situation in the middle of an ongoing project is that the scribes had not only received paper, but also ink. Some received ink in the horse year, some in the sheep year and some not at all. Thus, the latter must have already been given their ink in the snake year or before, meaning that copying SP as a donation of the emperor must have begun before the horse year.¹¹⁴

Is there a connection to the eight sets of SP copied in a horse year referred to in PT 1128? It is a manuscript concerning the settlement of accounts of the tribute of the people of Dunhuang. A problem arose, as the signatures of the *rtse rje* (town prefect), *gnas brtan* (elder, senior member of the clergy)¹¹⁵ and the scribes were not complete and thus the cost for the work on the SP could not be deducted from the tribute.¹¹⁶ On top of this, a debt of 48158 sheets of paper had accumulated over seven years on their tribute account. It was demanded in the following monkey year, just as the final call for completion of the SP referred to in IOL Tib J 1359 was the third day of the first autumn month of a monkey year. This could mean that the production of *sūtras* was intended to continue on a large scale. SP2 were copied before and after the horse year mentioned in IOL Tib J 1359.¹¹⁷ If the horse year,

¹¹⁴ Feng Zairong (alias Bung Dze weng) –a senior scribe– had 200 sheets of paper, designated as donation of scriptures, at his disposal in a dragon year (that is two years earlier), PT 1078: Takeuchi 1995, text 13.

¹¹⁵ It is not certain that the term *gnas brtan* denotes a post within the clergy as Imaeda, PT 999 suggests. Hongbian was at the end of Tibetan rule the *dujiaoshou* 都教授 of Dunhuang, which in Tibetan corresponds to *mkhan po chen po*. However, in PT 999 he is referred to as *gnas brtan ban de*. Here it should not be Sanskrit: *sthavira* as this denotes members of an early Hīnayāna school.

¹¹⁶ The second and third paragraph of IOL Tib J 1254—a collection of copies of letters of the clergy of Dunhuang addressed to the authorities—refer to SP having been commissioned in a horse year in which it is stated that the payment in kind for the scribes and editors had not been supplied yet, may refer to the same incident.

¹¹⁷ Dotson 2013/2014. gives more reasons for the horse year being 826. But he did not realise that the project must have started before that year.

mentioned in the latter manuscript and in PT 1128,¹¹⁸ refer to the same year, it should be the year 826, due to the huge amount of paper still planned to be used. In this case, the project may have started just after the Tibetan/Chinese peace treaty in the tiger year 822, perhaps to make up for the bad *karma* accumulated in wartime. If the horse year refers to the year 838, the account of IOL Tib J 1359 marks the end of the project of copying SP2. If so, the harsh punishments, which were threatened for non-completion of the work in the monkey year, were understandable.

As far as the dates provided for the rewriting of sheets in SP3/2, only the tiger year can be identified with certainty as 834. Additional evidence in favour of the earlier date of J 1359 is provided by the appointment of Je'u Brtan kong as *rub ma pa* and the suggestion that, afterwards, he only signed as Brtan kong/gong. In 834 he signed using his personal name only. Thus, all other manuscripts in which he signed with his full name must have been written before that. Then he rewrote pages of IOL Tib J 109.21 in 827 and PT 1629 in 828, when his promotion took place as well.

The manuscripts cited above (IOL Tib J 1359, PT 1128 and IOL Tib J 1254) all refer to the copying of SP2.

No matter how the manuscripts above are dated, one can be sure that a lot of resources and energy went into the work of copying SP and AN during the reign of Khri Gstug lde brtsan.

6. Summary and Conclusion

This Table highlights original research laid out in this paper.

Table 4

SP1	SP3/1
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – some were copied at Thang kar and brought to Dunhuang – five scribes worked on SP3/1 as well as on SP1 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – wording used in subscripts as in SP1 – SP3/1Tk were copied at Thang kar and brought to Dunhuang

¹¹⁸ Another problem is that the year of the death of Khri Gtsug lde brtsan is not undisputed. It is 838, according to some Chinese sources, and 841 in the Tibetan tradition. Following the former date, it would be unlikely that the horse year of PT 1128 or IOL Tib J 1359 is 838, as both documents must have been written at the end of the following sheep year or the beginning of the ape year (840) when Glang Dhar ma was already in power for two years.

SP2	SP3/2
– cost of production deducted from tribute contributions	– wording used in subscripts as in SP2 – written at Dunhuang on paper prepared with inked lines

This preliminary investigation focused on two roll-type SP, SP3/2 produced at Dunhuang and the roll-type SP3/1Tk produced at Thang kar and restored at Dunhuang, and its relation to SP1. Further research is necessary to find out whether the bulk of the SP3/1 also came from Thang kar. A detailed look at each roll is necessary in order to trace their provenance. The tables included in this paper could be helpful in comparing the scribal notes of editors and scribes appearing on them.

The question of why and when SP3/1 came to Dunhuang remains unanswered. As the restorers themselves referred to them as “old manuscripts”, one would suggest that they were old indeed. To our knowledge, no published research examines the stability of the types of paper used, and it is therefore difficult to tell how long it took for them to deteriorate. Moreover, nothing is known about storage conditions of SP in Thang kar or elsewhere. The Qinghai/Kokonor region is more humid than Dunhuang. The SP3/1 might have come with Reb kong Gtsug la tor, who signed as copyist on a number of SP3/1, but also signed on PT 1556 as the person who finalised it.¹¹⁹ This manuscript shows all of the features of SP3/1 repaired at Dunhuang, except one: the format shows inked lines like SP3/2. The editors and scribes of the repaired sheets lived at Dunhuang and are also known to have contributed to the restoration of other SP3/1. Moreover, it was repaired with sheets of SP2 paper.¹²⁰ The entry in the catalogue on IOL Tib J 1496 shows Reb kong Gtsug la tor’s name on the same manuscript as the names of a Chinese scribe and three Chinese editors of AN, who lived at Dunhuang.¹²¹ Unfortunately, this manuscript has not yet been digitised and its format is not yet described, and thus it cannot be ascertained that Reb kong Gtsug la tor really spent time at Dunhuang.

¹¹⁹ The signature shows one feature, which he often used: it looks like as if there was not enough ink in his pen.

¹²⁰ Iwao 2013 classified it as SP3 repaired at Dunhuang. Lalou classified it as “*refait*”, apparently due to the inked lines.

¹²¹ Matko and van Schaik 2013: 4; for example, PT 3585, an AN, was edited by Leng ce’u, who features along with others on many AN, and Shin dar. These two occur with Reb kong Gtsug la tor on IOL Tib J 1496. According to Lewis Doney (personal communication), it is an AN but the inscription “*reb kong la tor bris/ reb kong gtsug la tor kyi mchid ...*”, “Reb-kong La-tor wrote it; the ... of Reb kong Gtsug la tor”, should not be part of the end-colophon of the AN (see Dotson and Doney, forthcoming). Thus, it might be a writing exercise.

He may have moved back and forth and thus introduced the format with inked lines to other regions. If this is true, however, the term 'old' could be relative and also refer to a time span of only ten to twenty years.

It should be kept in mind that *sūtras* always had a sponsor.¹²² A number of manuscripts document the fact that the cost of SP2 was deducted from the tribute payments. As tribute was the 'income of the emperor', he therefore indirectly sponsored them.¹²³ Scribal notes on the back of SP1 indicate on the one hand that they were sent to Kva cu (Guazhou), and on the other that they were made for the support of Kva cu,¹²⁴ yet the sponsor is not known. Lalou was of the opinion that SP1 were sent to Gansu to serve as model texts.¹²⁵ Dotson refuted this by saying that their destination was Guazhou, just like the destination of SP2 who were sent there to be re-edited.¹²⁶ The fact is that SP1 were discovered at Dunhuang and thus may have reached it via Guazhou. SP3/1 have a similar problem: it is neither known who sponsored them nor whether they once comprised one or more editions. Even if repairs were carried out as an offering, someone must have had to pay for the paper and ink. Further research may find a solution.

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aparimitāyur-nāma sūtra</i>
IOL Tib J	India Office Library Tibetan J: Tibetan manuscript from Dunhuang kept in the British Library, London
IOL Tib N	India Office Library Tibetan N: Tibetan woodslip from Khotan or Miran kept in the British Library, London
H	Manuscript kept at Hexi, cited from Huang 1982
K	Entry cited from Karlgren 1957: modern pronunciation, K: number of Character group and variant in alphabetical order, Archaic form / Ancient Chinese form
PT	Pelliot Tibétain, Tibetan manuscript from Dunhuang in the Pelliot collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
S.	Or.8210/S. Chinese manuscript from Dunhuang in the

¹²² Examples of the sponsoring of mass production of Buddhist texts in the 16th century are documented in Dunhuang manuscripts, Drège 1991: 198.

¹²³ See Taenzer 2012: 225 for references to tribute (*dpya'*) payments in Old Tibetan manuscripts.

¹²⁴ PT 1300, 68r and PT 1312,31v: Dotson remarks about the latter note, which reads: *kva cu 'i rkyen du phul*, that it may also mean that these SP were offered to the emperor by Guazhou, Dotson 2013/2014: 21.

¹²⁵ Lalou 1954.

¹²⁶ Dotson 2013/2014: 52 and 63.

SP1	Stein collection kept at the British Library, London <i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in <i>pothī</i> format (75 x 25 cm)
SP2	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in <i>pothī</i> format (70 x 20 cm)
SP3/1	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in roll format,
SP3/1Tk	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in roll format, copied at Thang kar
SP3/2	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra</i> in roll format copied at Dunhuang

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