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The Remains of the Dharma

Editing, Rejecting, and Replacing the Buddha's Words in Officially Commissioned *Sūtra*s from Dunhuang, 820s to 840s

Brandon Dotson

From the 820s to the 840s thousands of copies of the *Aparimitāyur-nāma mahāyānasūtra* in both Tibetan and Chinese, and hundreds of copies of the Tibetan *Śatasahasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra* and the Chinese *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* were commissioned in Dunhuang.[1] The purpose for doing so is alluded to in administrative documents, and in impromptu prayers and jottings in the *sūtra*s themselves. The *sūtra*s were a gift for the Tibetan emperor, meant to generate wisdom and merit so that the emperor, and all beings, might attain enlightenment by seeing, hearing, and worshipping them. As such, we may approach the copying and commissioning of these *sūtra*s as a ritual act in the context of the Buddhist cult of the book. In doing so, we gain some insight into the ritual and karmic economy in the late Tibetan Empire, and the place of the king in relation to the ritual act.

Additionally, editorial notes and scribes' jottings on discarded leaves bear witness to the manner in which these *sūtra*s were produced and allow us a glimpse at the lives of the scribes and editors involved. Aided by Marcelle Lalou's exemplary catalogue of *Śatasahasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (hereafter, SP) folia and fragments kept in the Pelliot Collection, and by digital images of

the manuscripts themselves, I attend to such features in order to reconstruct the editorial processes behind the production of these *sūtra*s. This is augmented by archival research in which I surveyed folia and fragments from the same documents held at the British Library, and further documented their physical features. Revisiting administrative and legal documents relevant to the project, and marshalling additional evidence that includes marginal jottings on discarded leaves, I also gather material for a social history of the *sūtra*-copying project that is relevant to its date(s) and location(s).

Introduction

The study of the great body of *sūtra*s commissioned from the 820s to the 840s encapsulates many of the problems facing Dunhuang studies in general. This corpus of *sūtra*s is large and unwieldy, *sūtra*s are written in Chinese and Tibetan, and the provenance of certain of the *sūtra*s is uncertain. The first of these points makes it very difficult to gain a purchase on the works as a whole, since this entails sifting through thousands of folia and thousands of scrolls housed in Paris, London, Dunhuang, Lanzhou, St. Petersburg, Kyoto, Beijing, Taipei, and elsewhere. The second point requires linguistic competence in both Chinese and Tibetan, and the third point requires expertise in codicology such that one can accurately identify and document the differences between manuscripts produced in Dunhuang/Shazhou, and those brought from elsewhere (e.g., central or eastern Tibet).

Fortunately, a century of Dunhuang studies has brought us closer to these aspirations, and we are aided by recent technological developments. The digitization of manuscripts and their free accessibility online is a revolution in the field, and one that accelerates our progress tremendously. Unfortunately, it is an incomplete revolution, as not all of the Tibetan manuscripts in Paris and London are available in digital form, and collections elsewhere have been slow to digitize.[2] The growing corpus of searchable electronic transliterations at Old Tibetan Documents Online also provides an essential

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2   See the website of the International Dunhuang Project; http://idp.bl.uk.

tool for lexicographical, linguistic, and orthographical research.[3] It is largely as a result of these developments in the digital humanities that we feel able to offer something resembling an overview of these manuscripts. Even so, the present study must necessarily narrow its scope, and will focus almost exclusively on *pothī*-format SP.

This study builds upon the work of several scholars, and is most deeply indebted to the research of Marcelle Lalou. In 1950 Lalou published the second volume of her catalogue of the Pelliot tibétain collection in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. This included several documents relevant to the *sūtra* copies commissioned for the Tibetan emperor.[4] In the eleven years that intervened before the publication of the third volume, Lalou penned two articles on the SP fragments that she was in the process of cataloguing. The first, published in 1954, concerned the *pothī*-format SP leaves eventually catalogued between shelfmarks PT 1299 and PT 1493. Within this group Lalou delineated two types, and suggested that "type 1" (shelfmarks PT 1299–1321; here, "SP1") were sent from central Tibet, and "type 2" (shelfmarks PT 1322–1493; here, "SP2") were written in Gansu (Lalou 1954: 258). Lalou observed that SP1 leaves were of grayish, poor quality paper measuring 25 x 75 cm, and bearing idiosyncratically punched string holes. They usually have 15 inked guidelines per folio side, and the ends of chapters (*le'u*; Skt.: *parivarta*) are often punctuated with drawings of a lotus. By contrast, noted Lalou, SP2 leaves were of smooth, cream-colored paper measuring 20 x 70 cm, and with precisely punched string holes are adorned with faint, perfect circles. There are 12–13 inked guidelines per folio side, and drawings are rare (Lalou 1954: 257–258).

In a second short article, published in 1957, Lalou turned to the roll-format SP (shelfmarks PT 1494–2063; here, "SP3"). The *sūtra* was written on columns perpendicular to the scroll, and on poor-quality paper. This paper had to be patched with another type of paper, also used for replacing faulty panels. Lalou concluded that the originals had been sent from central Tibet and that the

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[3] See http://otdo.aa.tufs.ac.jp/. The transliterations have been published in Imaeda, et al. 2007 and Iwao, Hill, and Takeuchi 2009.

[4] See in particular PT 999 to PT 1025; Lalou 1950: 34–40.

patches and replacement panels were applied by editors and/or restorers in a different location, e.g. Dunhuang (Lalou 1957: 150). Looking to notes and jottings on the versos, Lalou concluded that SP3 might be among the oldest Tibetan Dunhuang manuscripts, and be the production of a chancellery at Bsam yas Monastery that included figures such as Vairocana and Ye shes sde, whose names adorn their colophons (Lalou 1957: 151–152).

In 1961 the third volume of Lalou's catalogue included detailed documentation of the editorial notes, jottings, and patches on SP1, SP2, and SP3. A few notes discussed the "internal pagination" found in editorial notes in the margins of some leaves. Lalou's documentation far exceeded that of a normal catalogue, and truly laid the groundwork for future studies such as the one that we pursue here.[5] Lalou concluded her researches on the subject in 1964 with a third short article that relates the contents of the Dunhuang SP to the versions found in the Kanjur (Lalou 1964).

During this period, other scholars were also taking notice of this group of *sūtra*s and of administrative documents relevant to their dating.[6] In 1951 F. W. Thomas edited and translated a number of documents relevant to the administrative side of the *sūtra*-copying project (e.g. Thomas 1951: 80–84). Ten years later, Akira Fujieda published a long article that surveyed several texts relevant to this project, and proposed to date its inception to 826 (Fujieda 1961).

In 1985 Nishioka Soshū revisited some of these documents, and offered a translation of ITJ 1359, which concerns the punishment of scribes for losing or wasting paper issued to them for copying *sūtra*s (Nishioka 1985). Tsuguhito Takeuchi made a brief translation and study of the same text in 1994 (Takeuchi 1994: 857–858, n. 8). In the following year, Takeuchi published annotated translations of loan and sale contracts that included the names of many *sūtra* scribes (Takeuchi 1995). One contract concerned the repayment of paper loaned by a scribe involved in the *sūtra*-copying project,

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[5]   See, by contrast, de la Vallée-Poussin's entries on SP2 and SP3 held in the British Library (de la Vallée-Poussin 1962: shelfmarks 104–109).

[6]   This partial survey focuses on scholarship on SP; for a more comprehensive bibliographic survey, see Ma 2011: 883–887.

as we shall see below. A more recent work by Takeuchi also focuses on the social and cultural history of Dunhuang's scribes. It is a study of the jottings found on *glegs tshas*, the large paper *sūtra* wrappers that served as a scribe's writing board, and also as a notepad for jottings and ledgers (Takeuchi 2013). This is part of a trend that has seen scholars paying increased attention to scribal practices in Dunhuang and to the official commissioning of *sūtra*s. In addition to Takeuchi, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub has contributed a series of articles that build on the work of Lalou and others to consider chancellery practice on the one hand, and the codicology of early Tibetan documents on the other.[7]

Over the past decade the pace of research into the *sūtra*s commissioned for the Tibetan emperor has increased. Several articles published in Chinese and Tibetan have presented manuscript finds in southern Tibet of what appear to be SP2 folia.[8] In 2009, Zhang Yanqing published an article on editorial notes and jottings in SP2 folia conserved in Gansu (Zhang 2009). In 2011 Ma De published an exemplary catalogue of Tibetan documents held in Gansu that includes thousands of SP2 folia and takes note of incipits, explicits, colophons, foliation, and editorial notes (Ma 2011). In 2012 Gertraud Taenzer used the *sūtra* colophons to examine the ethnicities of Dunhuang's inhabitants (Taenzer 2012: 110–154). In the same year Kazushi Iwao published an article on the *sūtra*-copying project in which he gave a general overview of the *sūtra*s, their formats, and manners of production (Iwao 2012). In the following year, Iwao published an article focused on SP3, which he suggested were produced somewhere in eastern Tibet, and not in central Tibet or Dunhuang (Iwao 2013). This drew on the findings of Agnieszka Helman-Ważny and Sam van Schaik, who made a codicological study that included microscopic analysis of samples taken from SP2 and SP3. The latter were made from fibers found neither in Dunhuang papers nor in those from central Tibet, and the results thus disproved Lalou's contention that SP3 were produced in a chancellery at Bsam yas or 'On cang rdo (Helman-Ważny and van

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[7]   Scherrer-Schaub 1992, 1999.

[8]   See the brief summary, and the scholarship cited in Iwao 2013: 112.

Schaik 2013: 721–738). Also in 2013 Marta Matko and Sam van Schaik published an online catalogue of the colophons of the SP and *Aparimitāyurnāma mahāyānasūtra* (hereafter, "Ap") kept in the British Library (Matko and van Schaik 2013). Most recently, myself, Lewis Doney, and Dongzhi Duojie (Dorje Thondup) also made a study of all of the Tibetan Ap kept in the British Library.[9]

Dates of the Sūtras

Before going into the details of each group of *sūtra*s, it will be helpful to review some official documents concerning their commissioning and production. These have been translated and studied by Thomas, Fujieda, Nishioka, Takeuchi, and Iwao, so there is no need to make new translations. Reviewing this material, however, and supplementing it further, we can confirm Fujieda's hypothesis that the horse year relevant to the beginning of the *sūtra*-copying project was 826.

Working our way backwards in time, and beginning with a dated document, PT 999 is an official letter pertaining to a festival held in Dunhuang in 844. It concerns the use of hundreds of scrolls of Chinese and Tibetan Ap written "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*). This establishes one baseline by showing that the copies were written under this king. Another document, ITJ 1254, contains further details in the form of six requests concerning the commissioning of *sūtra*s. The document itself is not dated, but it refers to the writing of Tibetan SP and Chinese *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* (MP) during a horse year. The relevant horse years that fall during the reign of Khri Gtsug lde brtsan (815–841) are 826 and 838. From the second request it is clear that eight copies of the Tibetan SP and three copies of the Chinese MP were to be copied in this year. Other requests mention Chinese Ap. The requests give one a sense of process and of the passage of time. The first is fragmentary, but the second concerns the delivery of one of the copies of the Tibetan SP to Guazhou. No receipt was given,

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9   See Dotson, Doney, and Dongzhi forthcoming; and Dotson forthcoming a.

and the request is for either a proper receipt or for the *sūtra*s to be returned to Shazhou. The third request is for payment of unpaid provisions for the scribes of the Tibetan SP and Chinese MP so that the commission may be completed. This also concerns provisions given to the 80 scribes and 20 editors working on the Chinese MP. The fourth request refers to the commissioning of Chinese Ap, but the text is damaged and so its import is unclear. The fifth request pertains to the blame for damages sustained to the *sūtra*s (which *sūtra*s were damaged is not stated, but it probably concerns Tibetan SP and Chinese MP), which the petitioners claim are due to insects, wear and tear, and improper handling over a period of "over ten years" (*lo bcu lhag tsam*). The sixth and final request concerns the delivery of two sets these *sūtra*s by a messenger, and the absence of a receipt. The matter seems to have been outstanding for a period of four years. From this it is not at all clear that the eight SP and three MP copies to be written in the horse year and sent to Guazhou were actually completed according to plan.

An earlier document, dating to either 828 or 840, concerns the accounting of paper for the sponsored *sūtra*s copied in the horse year (826 or 838) and the sheep year (827 or 839). It is a record that tallies the amount of paper given out to scribes in the horse and sheep years against the number of completed panels that they handed in for each of those two years. The shortfall, where it is not classified as miswritten panels or leaves discarded by the editors, panels or leaves discarded due to physical imperfections (*gron*), or paper *sūtra* wrappers used as writing boards (*glegs tshas*), is recorded as a punishable offence. Scribes who cannot come up with the shortfall by the monkey year (828 or 840) following the horse and sheep years are to be whipped ten times per sheet of missing paper. The document lists the names of scribes who are found in the colophons of SP2 and Ap, and it is an important source for both the editorial and accounting policies of the *sūtra*-copying project. This administrative document is also important for its use of the full title of the *sūtra*-copying scribes: "men of letters who write the SP, the gift for the son of gods" (*lha sras kyI sku yon dar ma shes rab 'bum pa / brI pa'I yI ge* [*pa*] *rnams*; ITJ 1359a, 1–2; Takeuchi 1994: 857, n. 8). In colophons, we find this abbreviated with "giver"

or "gift person" (*sku yon pa*; Db. t. 0344; Ma 2011: 193) and with the more humble term "scribe" (*yig mkhan*; Dd. t. 01; Ma 2011: 855). Unfortunately, none of these sources tells us who ultimately commissioned these *sūtra*s on the emperor's behalf. We can only assume, by analogy with similar large gifts of *sūtra*s to Chinese royals, that it was a high-ranking member of the Tibetan colonial administration, probably based either in Guazhou or in the larger administrative unit of Bde blon gams.

Already from ITJ 1359 we can see that the SP and MP were not all copied in the horse year, but rather that the project continued into the sheep year. From some of the requests in ITJ 1254, it would appear that the project dragged on even longer. Documentary evidence from many of the colophons in SP3 state when they were written. These differ from drafts of letters and contracts, which can include dates that do not necessarily relate to the date of the *sūtra*'s writing. Dates mentioned in those SP3 colophons that date a *sūtra*'s writing are as follows:

ITJ 109.21: horse year (826 or 838) and sheep year (827 or 839)

PT 1532, 1875: tiger year (834 or 846)

PT 1596, PT 1629: monkey year (828 or 840)

PT 2080: rooster year (829 or 841)

Similar information is written on the back of panels that have been inserted when the original was found to be faulty. Their versos bear notes that record how and when this was done. In PT 1528, for example, one such panel reads, "this copy was written by Zhun zhun in the middle spring month of the hare year, and rewritten by Bun 'do" (*yos bu lo'i dphyid sla 'bring po la zhun zhun dphe 'di bris / bun 'do yang bris*; Lalou 1961: 78). This year should be 835 or 847. Given that these *sūtra*s were a gift for Emperor Khri Gtsug lde brtsan, who died in 841, one tends to prefer the earlier dates to the later ones. These dates range from 826 up to 835, a circumstance that fits fairly well with the timeline of the *sūtra*s being commissioned in 826 but taking over a decade to complete.

A dated contract for a loan of paper is decisive for dating the horse year to 826. This document, PT 1078, has been translated and

studied by Takeuchi (1995: 180). A papermaker in Shazhou named
Shang He 'do took a loan of two hundred sheets of long-sheet paper
from Councillor Rgyal zigs in a dragon year. Shang He 'do paid
Rgyal zigs back later that year by taking a loan of two hundred
sheets from Bung Tse weng, a *sūtra* scribe who had received this
paper as part of the *sūtra*-copying project. Bung Tse 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. Failure to do so will result in confiscation of wealth and
property. In addition, Shang He 'do stands to be whipped according
to the laws governing the wasting of paper in the *sūtra*-copying
project.[10] Both the initial loan and the secondary loan took place in
the dragon year. In the case of the latter, Bung Tse weng possessed
this paper because of his role as a *sūtra* scribe in *sūtra*-copying
project. Therefore the dragon year in which he made the loan must
postdate the beginning of the *sūtra*-copying project, which looks
likely to have been the horse year (826 or 838). This would seem to
rule out 824, and leave us either 836 or 848. It would also helpfully
rule out 838 for the horse year in which the *sūtra*s were commis-
sioned. This all but confirms that the horse year is 826. The loan is
to be repaid three years after the dragon year in the sheep year, and
this is the year in which the contract is drafted. It is highly unlikely
that this was drafted in the sheep year 851, three years after the end
of Tibetan occupation. Therefore 836 and 839 are much more likely
dates for the initial loan and for the agreed date of its final repay-
ment. On the other hand, the repayment of the loan in the sheep
year 827 would fit perfectly with the accounting in ITJ 1359, which
concerns the amount that scribes owed in both 826 and 827, and
details punishment for failure to come up with the shortfall. The
text is quite clear, however, that Bung Tse weng lent paper that was
for the *sūtra*-copying project, so unless this is a lie, and the loan
was from his personal stock, the implication is that the project, and
its accounting, was still operative in 839. This agrees fairly well
with the range of dates noted in the colophons listed above, and the
"more than ten years" of damage to completed *sūtra*s mentioned

10   For a full translation and commentary, see Takeuchi 1995: 180–181.

in ITJ 1254. The "*sūtra*s to be copied in the horse year," therefore would seem to refer by metonymy to a process that began in the horse year 826, and which limped its way past the next horse year 838, probably to be extinguished with the death of its intended recipient, Khri Gtsug lde brtsan, in 841.

These proposed dates find further support in a fragmentary document that includes the name Bung Tse weng and constitutes another important bit of evidence concerning the *sūtra*-copying project. PT 1024 refers to the copying of the *Śatasahasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra* either in the province of Bde gams or for this province. It opens, "the eleventh day of the first month of summer in the year of the pig: Bde gams, one copy of the *Śatasahasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra* was begun, and shall be written" (*phag gI lo'i dbyar sla ra ba tshes bcu gcig / bde gams dar ma shes rab 'bum pa sde gcig mgo btsugs te 'dri ba'*; Lalou 1950: 39). This pig year is 831, give or take twelve years. The fragment goes on to divvy up responsibilities for copying, and the first part of the first tome is to be copied by Bung Tse weng. Here the *sūtra* is referred to as a "Bde gams *sūtra*," and not as a *sūtra* that is a gift for the son of gods (*lha sras kyi sku yon dar ma*). Bde gams/ Bde khams was a large area in eastern Tibet, of which the Guazhou regional military government was a subordinate unit. Jottings on SP1, as we shall see below, refer to the SP1 being sent to Guazhou for the Guazhou regional military government. Other such jottings in SP1 make it clear that these *sūtra*s are among those copied as a gift for the emperor. Given this overlap, and given Bung Tse weng's appearance in the loan contract as a scribe in possession of paper for the "royal gift" (*sku yon*) *sūtra*s, it is likely that the "Bde gams SP" on which he worked is part of the same project of copying *sūtra*s as a gift for the Tibetan emperor. This would mean that the pig year mentioned in PT 1024 must be 831, five years after the horse year 826 in which SP and MP were commissioned and five years before the dragon year 836 in which he lent paper to Shang He 'do.

As we see from PT 999, the *sūtra*s continued to be used as objects of worship after the death of Khri Gtsug lde brtsan, and the administrative and religious networks that produced them were still in existence. The festival that the queen and her son 'Od srung sponsor appears to entail the giving of 615 *sūtra* copies to 2,700

households in Shazhou, along with a more general *dharmadāna*, probably featuring teachings by the Sangha on the meaning of the Ap. Its clauses also instruct the relevant officials, including the "paper official" (*rub ma pa*), on the process for replacing the *sūtra*s. This would have entailed making new copies, and it stands to reason that some of the Tibetan and Chinese Ap copies among our Dunhuang manuscript collections date from the reign of 'Od srung and his mother up to the end of Tibetan occupation in 848.

Both chronologically and geographically, therefore, the *sūtra*s relevant to the *sūtra*-copying project extend beyond Shazhou in 826–841.[11] SP2 and MP were produced in Shazhou's scriptoria and sent, among other places, to Guazhou. SP1 were sent to Guazhou from elsewhere – either central or eastern Tibet. The situation with SP3 copies is more complex: they seem to have been initially produced somewhere in eastern Tibet, and then they were repaired at another location, perhaps in Shazhou (Iwao 2013). On the later end of the temporal spectrum, there may be replacement Ap produced under 'Od srung in 844 or thereafter. On the earlier end, we should note that although ITJ 1254 refers to the order, issued in the horse year, to produce copies of the SP and MP, no source states explicitly that these were the first *sūtra*s in the corpus of *sūtra*s to be offered to the emperor. So while it is likely that this horse year marks the beginning of the *sūtra*-copying project in 826, we need not view this as a hard and fast *terminus post quem*. We can draw out the differences between these groups of manuscripts by examining each of them in greater detail. As a matter of practicality, we limit ourselves to *pothī*-format SP, that is, to SP1 and SP2, occasionally drawing on SP3 and MP as comparanda.

SP1

As noted above, Marcelle Lalou delineated two types of *pothī*-format SP. She believed that SP1 were sent from central Tibet, and that SP2 were produced in Gansu. In Agnieszka Helman-Ważny and Sam van Schaik's recent codicological study of a sample of Dunhuang manu-

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[11]   For a similar point, see Iwao 2013: 113–114.

scripts, they subjected SP2 and SP3 samples to microscopic analysis, along with many others. They found that the few Dunhuang manuscripts known to have come from central Tibet were made of paper that included *Edgeworthia* sp. fibers. Dunhuang papers, by contrast, do not contain such fibers, but are made up of ramie (*Boehmeria* sp.) and hemp (*Cannabis* sp.) fibers, often with the addition of jute (*Corchorus* sp.) and paper mulberry (*Broussonetia* sp.) Significantly, SP2 were made of typical rag paper from Dunhuang, and SP3 were made of woven paper consisting primarily of paper mulberry.[12] The latter represents a third type of paper produced neither in Dunhuang nor in central Tibet. Unfortunately, Helman-Ważny and van Schaik's sample did not include any SP1. Until such time as a sample from SP1 leaves held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France or elsewhere have been studied, we must content ourselves with observations on the codicology and page setting of these documents, along with studies of their colophons and marginalia.
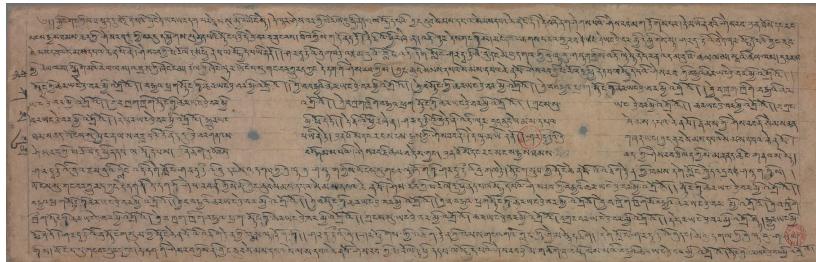
Fig. 1. SP1 folio, PT 1299; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Codicology and page setting of SP1:

- Format: *pothī*
- Recto/Verso: Tibetan on both sides.
- Dimensions: 25 x 75 cm.
- Thickness: two layers, glued together.
- Texture: smooth, soft.
- Type of paper (e.g., Rag, bark, woven, laid): laid.
- Laidlines per 3 cm: 20–22.

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[12]   Helman-Ważny and van Schaik 2013: 721–738.

- Chainlines (span of the intervals in cm): not observed.
- Yellow dye: none.
- Ink color: black.
- Lines per leaf: 15.
- Lines per 20 cm: 13–14.
- Leading (from head of one line to head of the next line): 15–17 mm.
- Syllables per 20 cm: variable.
- Margins: PT 1299: left: 20 mm; right: 15 mm; top: 15 mm; bottom: 18 mm. PT 1300: left: 20 mm; right: 20 mm; top: 18 mm; bottom: 20 mm. PT 1301: left: 20 mm; right: 18 mm; top: 12 mm; bottom: 15 mm.
- Guidelines? Inked or Drypoint? None.
- Seals, drawings: Ends of volumes (*bam po*; Skt: *anta*) marked by small circles, large lotus drawings.[13] Stylized circles, sometimes with red and black ink, around string holes. Left and right holes are 22–23 cm from respective margins, 12 cm from top and bottom. There are 30 cm between them. Diameter of holes: 8 mm; diameter of blank space around the holes: variable, and often greater horizontally than vertically, or vice-versa, but on average 55 mm.
- Foliation: In left margin of recto, perpendicular to text: folio number is given with letter-numerals indicating hundreds, followed by numerals, e.g., "*kha   bcu gsum*" in a leaf at PT 1300 indicates folio 113r. A different, parallel type of foliation using letter-numerals (e.g. *k+na*) appears just to the left of this foliation, but has been struck through.[14]

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[13] On the translation of *bam po* with "volume," see Scherrer-Schaub 1992: 218–220. In Dunhuang scriptoria *bam po* was used to refer to divisions within the text, and in the case of the small rolls of Ap, *bam po* referred to a single roll containing a single *sūtra* (Scherrer-Schaub 1992: 218, n. 72). On *bam po* in general as a unit of measurement, see van der Kuijp 2010. The larger division is *dum bu* (Skt: *kāṇḍaka*), translated here with "tome." On the Sanskrit equivalent of *dum bu*, see Scherrer-Schaub 1992: 219, n. 76.

[14] This type of foliation corresponds to "pagination type II" in Scherrer-Schaub 1999: 22. The struck-through numerals do not follow the simple sys-
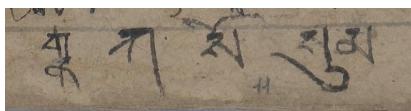
Fig. 2. Detail of parallel foliation. The first, *g+na*, is struck through, while *ka so sum* (33) is left to stand.

- Script (e.g., *dbu can* or *dbu med*): *dbu can*.

One significant observation concerning the page setting is that the leading is a fairly standard 15 mm. The use of 15 mm as a measurement for leading is standard across the *sūtra*s commissioned for the Tibetan emperor. (This is not to say that there isn't variation, but the variation is likely due to inexpert ruling that results in fluctuations between 13 and 17 mm leading.) As we shall see, it is also the standard measure for gutters between columns in SP3 and Ap.

The editorial process for SP1 is fairly simple. Colophons can include scribes, editors, and "main editors" (*zhu chen*), but the majority name only scribes. The leaves themselves are not heavily edited and include few insertions. Some of the colophons suggest that scribes self-edited. In PT 1301, 7v, for example, we read "Rgyu Yul zung wrote this, and later corrected it" (*rgyu yul zung gis bris the 'og zhus lags+ho*).[15] There is a similar colophon at PT 1307, 37v: "Ragshi Klu' gong wrote this, and corrected it" (*rag shi klu' gong gis bris the / zhus lags*; Lalou 1961: 9). At PT 1311, 38r, we find the similar, but more explicit "Mon Stag mthong wrote it, and afterwards did he edit it" (*mon stag mthong gis bris 'og zhus bgyis lagso*; Lalou 1961: 12). From the leaves themselves, where the few corrections that one finds are generally in the same hand, one can

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tem of "pagination type I," but reflect a more complex system, described below. On the method for transliteration employed here, e.g., for illicit stacks such as *kh+ma*, see Imaeda 2011. Transliteration otherwise follows the Old Tibetan Documents Online method, which differs from Extended Wylie principally in using the capital *I* for transcribing the reverse *gi gu*. To be consistent, capitalized vowels are not used for subscribed *'a*, and this is instead transcribed with the use of a plus sign ("+"), as in the case of other illegal stacks. OTDO transcribes the ornamental *yig mgo* or *dbu khyud* with "$," rather than using the various types available in Extended Wylie, most of which are too ornamental to describe the simplicity of this sign as it appears, e.g., in fig. 3 below; see http://otdo.aa-ken.jp/site/editorialPolicy.

[15]   See Lalou 1961: 6, where Rgyu is mistranscribed Rgya.

state that some are indeed self-edited by their scribes, whether informally or formally.

The vocabulary for referring to "editing afterward" (*'og zhus*) also obtains when the editor is a second person. In PT 1312, 11v, for instance, the colophon reads "written by Spro Spe stang. Edited afterwards by Rmva Sham pa" (*spro spe stang gyis bris / rmva sham pas 'og zhus /*; PT 1312, 11v; Lalou 1961: 13). In a few cases we also find the phrase *dang zhus* – usually meaning "re-edit" or "second edit" – for the editor's work (PT 1299, 46v). This differs from the editorial process for SP2, which are customarily edited by three or even four editors. Another point on which SP1 differs is the apparent absence of discards. Most extant SP2 leaves are discards, and many are marked as such by editorial notes in their margins, the tearing of a string hole down to the bottom margin, the partial cutting of the left margin, and/or the cutting or tearing of the leaf's left or right margin. SP3 are also heavily edited, and many are discards. These also bear marks showing that panels have been edited, replaced, or discarded. The only similar such editorial statements found in SP1 are "many additions and omissions," (*lhag chad mang*) found at a colophon at PT 1312, 7v, and "very many omissions" (*chad mang rabo*) in the colophon at PT 1312, 6v (Lalou 1961: 13). This circumstance supported Lalou's hypothesis that our extant SP1 leaves are part of example copies sent to Dunhuang to serve as a model text for SP2.

In four cases, all of which appear at the end of a volume (*bam po*), one finds mentions of "main editors" (*zhu chen*). At PT 1310, 8r it reads "Gsas zigs acted as main editor" (*gsas zigs gyis zhu chen bgyis las so*; Lalou 1961: 11), and at PT 1312, 5r it states that Stag ra acted as main editor. At PT 1301, 23r, no name is given, and it only states "acted as main editor" (*zhu chen bgyis*). The fourth such example is more intriguing. The colophon of PT 1311, 38v reads, "the Indian teachers Śākyaprabha and Surendrabodhi, and the translator monk Vairocana acted as main editors" (*rgya gar gyi mkhan po shag kya pra ba dang su 'dren tra bo de dang lo tsha pa ban de bo ro tsha nas zhu chen bgyis*; Lalou 1961: 12). Colophons such as this prompted Lalou to suppose that these *sūtra*s were written at a chancellery in Bsam yas Monastery (Lalou 1954: 260;

1957: 151–152). Unfortunately for this intriguing argument, there is a second colophon, immediately below and in another hand, which states, "'Jam dpal acted as main editor. Mon Stag mthong wrote it and afterwards edited it" (*$/ 'jaM dpal gyis zhu chen bgyis// $/ / mon stag mthong gIs brIs 'og zhus bgyIs lags so+'*; Lalou 1961: 12).
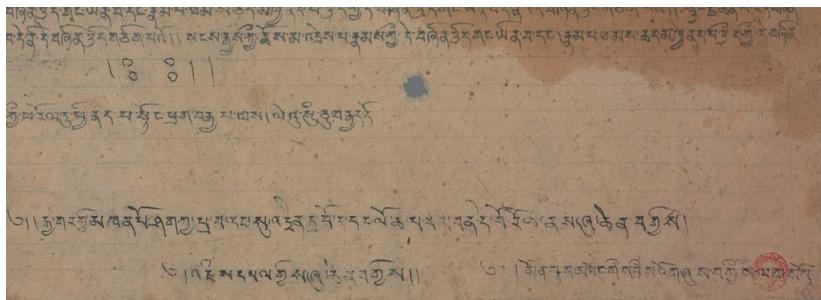
Fig. 3. Copied colophon at PT 1311, 5v; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

From this it is apparent that the colophon of the model text has been copied, perhaps due to the prestige of the same figures who drew Lalou's attention. The same is true of a colophon in PT 1312, 36v, which mentions the famous translator and scholar Ye shes sde. The first colophon reads "written by 'Greng ro Legs 'dus. Edited by Mdog Yul zung, Rgya mthong kong, the monk Ye shes sde, and the monk De bzhin gshegs" (*$/:/ 'greng ro legs 'dus gyI bris so+' // $/./ mdog yul zung dang rgya mthong kong dang ban de ye shes sde dang ban de de bzhIn gshegs kyIs zhus so+'//*). The second colophon, written below and in another hand, reads "written by 'Greng ro Dra ma skyes" (*$/./ 'greng ro dra ma skyes gyis briso*; Lalou 1961: 15).[16] There are further such examples of copied colophons in SP3. This is in no way to deny the importance of figures such as Vairocana and Ye shes sde, for indeed it is probably their early renown that accounts for the copying of the colophons in which they

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[16]   The name of this second, presumably later scribe is interesting both for the fact that he comes from the same clan as the original scribe whose colophon he apparently copied, and for his given name, Dra ma skyes, which means "born on a military campaign." This name itself constitutes evidence of the movement of people and families together with troops during campaigns.

are mentioned. The practice of copying colophons leads to confusion not only among modern scholars, but also among transmission lineages, and later editors such as Bu ston took a firm stand against this practice (Schaeffer 2009: 25). In the above case, however, it is a valuable paper trail that shows that SP1 – wherever they were produced – were based on central Tibetan exemplars initially edited by Vairocana and others.

Jottings, or anything beyond a simple colophon giving the name of a scribe and an editor, are few. At the end of volume (*bam po*) 25 of the first tome (*dum bu*) we find a short praise to Śākyamuni. On the verso we read "the first tome of the SP, sent to Guazhou" (*shes rab gyI pha rol du phyIn pa / dum bu dang po kva cur gshegs so /*; PT 1300, 68r; Lalou 1961: 6). The colophon of PT 1312, 31v similarly reads "offered for the support of Guazhou" (*kva cu'i rkyen du phul*; Lalou 1961: 14). This echoes the terminology used to describe the sponsored *sūtra*s in ITJ 1254, where they are called "*sūtra*s supporting the military government of Guazhou" (*kva cu'I khrom rkyen gyI dar ma*; ITJ 1254, l. 2).[17] A short phrase in the colophon of PT 1312, 5r, "dedicated as a gift" (*yon du bsngos te*), refers to the *sūtra*-copying project as well. On a more comical note, the colophon of PT 1302, 39v reads "written by Lda bra Ldong rkus," and a second hand adds, "who is neither talented nor skilled" (*lda bra ldong rkus bris te/ myi gstsal la / myi mkhas so*; Lalou 1961: 7).

The two systems of foliation found on the foliated leaves of SP1 may also relate to their having been produced in one place and sent to another. As noted above, one set of numbers follows a standard system that combines letter-numerals (e.g. *kha*) with written numerals (e.g., *nyer lnga*), and the other set follows a different system of foliation. Only the folia in shelfmarks PT 1299 to PT 1308 bear foliation. These shelfmarks include 673 leaves, and the numbering proceeds from 1 to 927, albeit with many leaves missing and some without foliation. As a result, one can clearly see from the first leaf onward, where "*ka*" corresponds to "*gcig*," that the numbers of the

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[17] Alternatively, one could understand this to refer to *sūtra*s that were offered by Guazhou to the emperor, in which cases the *sūtra*s would be "supports" (*rkyen*) for the emperor and for the realm as a whole.

struck-through foliation are equivalent to those that have been left to stand. Sifting through hundreds of leaves and recording their foliation, one can fill in the gaps by following the internal logic of the numbering system. To summarize, the foliation is as follows:[18]

- 1–30 = *ka–^a*.
- 31–210 = proceeds through first five rows of the alphabet, combining each row's four letters with the subscribed letters *na*, *ma*, and *nga*, the subscripts *va*, *ya*, *ra*, *la*, and superscripts *ra* and *sa*. Thus 31–35 are, for example, *k+na*, *kh+na*, *g+na*, *ng+na*, and *k+ma*.
- 211–280 = proceeds letter-by-letter for the final ten letters of the alphabet, *zha* to *^a*, no longer using the superscripts *ra* and *sa*. Thus 211–217 are *zh+na*, *zh+ma*, *zh+nga*, *zhva*, *zhya*, *zhra*, and *zhla*.
- 281–460 = proceeds letter-by-letter through thirty consonants, combining them with the inherent vowel, each of four vowels, and the *anusvāra*. Thus 281–286 are *ka*, *ki*, *ku*, *ke*, *ko*, and *kaM*.
- 461–493 = *ka gcig* to *ka so gsum*. That is, "[460 +] written numeral."
- 494–550 = unknown. Only two folia from these pages survive, 498 and 500, and these are numbered *nga dgu* (59) and *ro gcig*, (61) respectively. It is unclear how the numbering, in the course of four missing folia from *ka so gsum* at 493, jumped ahead by twenty-six.
- 551–927 = "[540 + {hundreds} +] written numeral." The written numerals go from one to one hundred, after which they start over at one. Thus "*so dgu*" can be 579, 679, 779, or 889. This, along with the system's corruption – or change in logic – around the number 500, likely accounts for why this system of foliation was rejected.

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[18]   For a more detailed presentation, see Zhang and He 2014 and Dotson forthcoming b.
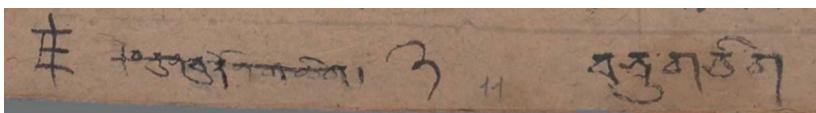
Fig. 4. Foliation, PT 1306, folio 711; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

One possible explanation for the rejected foliation is that the struck-through foliation may reflect the conventions of one chancellery or scriptorium, and a second scriptorium to which these *sūtra*s were submitted may have preferred a different method of foliation. As such, the rejected foliation may reflect a provisional or experimental early method of Tibetan foliation.

The other relevant point that one can add to the study of SP1 concerns the names of the scribes. Lalou noted that while the scribes of SP2 are nearly all Chinese, those of SP1 are mainly Tibetan. This is true, up to a point. The majority of the names in the colophons of SP1 are Tibetan, but some are not easily recognizable as either Chinese or Tibetan. Here are the names of 65 scribes and editors found in the 23 shelfmarks of SP1 held in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, grouped according to their roles:

- Scribes: 'Bal Stag rma; 'Ber Se rton; 'Bro Leg leg; 'Greng ro Dra ma skyes; 'Gran dar Sman byin; 'O ma lde Rma legs; 'Phan po rton; Btsan bzher; Chab shi Lha bu; Cog kru Yang legs; Cog ro Klu gsas; Dru gu Ba tu ka'i lags; G.yu gong; Ge lda Tshes kong; Gnyi ba Khung stang; Kha ba skyes; Khug Legs snang; Lang Ldong rtsan; Lcis Sho bzo; Lda bra Ldong rku; Lda cog Klu bzher; Lda chog Zhe mye; Legs kong; Legs lod; Lho brag Gnyi'i bu skyes pa; Mar Lha legs; Meg na' Spe chung; Mnyan Nya skyes; Mon Stag mthong; Mthan Dred phrug; Mye sku Khri rma; Mye sto 'Phan po rton; Ra ka Che nge spe; Rag shi Klu' gong; Reb kong Se se; Rgya Mthong kong; Rgyu Yul zung; Rlag Bzo rdeng; Rlang Klu ging; Rlang Yang zigs; Rmva Sham pa; Rngegs Lha gzigs; Sar phang Legs rma; Ser yu Khrom zigs; Sha myi Gsas zigs; Smar kam Btsan ta; Spro Spe stang; Thum chu Yi cho spe; Wang Rdo rje shes rabs; Wen Ku ku; and Ya ri Khri spo.

- Editors: 'O ma lde G.yu brtsan; Cil bu Tang khabs; Mdog Yul zung; Rmva Sham pa; Tre Legs bzher; and Tshar long Khong rtsan.
- Main editors (*zhu chen*): 'Jams dpal; Gsas zigs; and Stag ra.
- Names in copied colophons: 'Greng ro Legs 'dus; Bo ro tsha na/ Vairocana; De bzhin gshegs; Śākyaprabha; Surendrabodhi; and Ye shes sde.

Only one person, Rmva Sham pa, is found as scribe in the colophon of one leaf and editor in another. The scribes and editors are largely Tibetan, but the group is multi-ethnic. The most well known Tibetan clan names in the group are the 'Bal, 'Bro, 'Greng ro, 'O ma lde, Cog ro, Gnyi ba, Rlang, and Rngegs. Some names specify a person's geographical or ethnic origins: Dru gu Ba tu ka'i lags is a Turk, Lho brag Gnyi'i bu skyes pa is from southern Tibet, Mon Stag mthong is from even further south, and Reb kong Se se is from eastern Tibet. The names Wang Rdo rje shes rabs and Wen Ku ku may be Chinese, but this is not certain. The provenance of other foreign-sounding clan names such as Ge lda, Lda bra, and Meg na' remain to be determined.[19] As a whole, the group is far more multi-ethnic than the predominantly Chinese scribes and editors of SP2 and Ap.

It is probably possible to assign ethnicities to some of these names, and of course this is valuable information concerning the social history and demographics of the Tibetan Empire. In delineating the relationships between the *sūtra*s copied under the auspices of the commission as a whole, however, the main point here is that there is almost no overlap between these scribes and editors and those found in the colophons of SP2, SP3, or Ap. Considering possible overlaps, the name 'Jam dpal, found as a main editor in PT 1311, 5v, is also found as an editor in numerous SP2; Btsan bzher is found as a scribe in PT 1306, 100v, and also in a few colophons of SP2 and SP3; Legs kong is a scribe in PT 1302, 9v, PT 1303, 55v, and PT 1307, 54v, and also as a scribe of SP3 and Ap; and Stag ra is

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19 For further details on the ethnicity of the *sūtra* scribes as a whole, see Taenzer 2012: 138–154.

a scribe in PT 1312, 5r and in several Ap. But none of these are firm identifications, since they are all fairly common personal names, and do not include clan names; it would be the equivalent of finding two "Michael-s" on disparate colophons and stating that they were the same person. Only one overlap is significant: Tshar long Khong rtsan, the scribe of PT 1312, 21v, is very likely the same person as Tshar lon Kong rtsan, named in the colophon of the SP3 fragment ITJ 1523. The absence of any overlaps – the few examples of personal names given above notwithstanding scrutiny – with SP2 and Ap, along with the ethnic make-up of the scribes, would seem to confirm that SP1 did not come from Shazhou scriptoria. The one overlap with SP3 is meager evidence on which to base any grand conclusions. It may indicate a common geographical origin for SP1 and SP3, perhaps with the former's scribes working a decade before the latter's. Alternatively, it may attest to the mobility of a man named Tshar long Khong rtsan.

Microscopic analysis of paper fibers, taken together with the evidence just presented, should help to determine whether SP1 were sent from central Tibet as Lalou supposed, or from eastern Tibet. From the colophons mentioning their being sent to Guazhou, however, it would appear that SP1 were, like SP2, produced in a chancellery in order to be sent to Guazhou. In other words, SP1 were not sent to Shazhou to serve as exemplars for SP2, as Lalou supposed, but were parallel productions by a separate chancellery involved in the same *sūtra*-copying project. This does not rule out the possibility, however, that SP1 were used by editors in Guazhou as an exemplar from which to edit the SP2 submitted to them by the scriptoria of Shazhou. We shall document this process below with recourse to SP2 colophons and jottings.

SP2

SP2 are firmly rooted in the chancelleries of Dunhuang. Their colophons include the names of many of the same scribes found in those of the Tibetan Ap. Their many discarded leaves bear notes in the margins that state the names of their scribes and editors as well. These names overlap heavily with the names of the scribes

listed in ITJ 1359 for their shortfalls of paper in 826 and 827. From
this it is clear that SP2 are precisely the *sūtra*s commissioned in
the horse year 826. SP2 differ from SP1 in terms of their propor-
tions and page setting, and they were subjected to an entirely dif-
ferent and far more rigorous editorial process. This accounts for
the main differences in the character of SP2 as opposed to SP1.
Many are fragmentary, and some have been intentionally disfig-
ured by editors to show that they are rejected as faulty copies. This
makes them a richer source of information about scribal and edi-
torial practices, and also makes them more susceptible to candid
jottings or scrawls. Their colophons typically include the names of
the scribe and of up to four editors. A most interesting feature of
these discarded leaves, and one that drew Lalou's attention, is the
running tally of discards kept in the margins, which allowed the
project's managers to count the number of such leaves discarded
due to scribal errors. We shall examine these in greater detail after
reviewing the physical features of SP2.

The appearance of SP2 differs from SP1. Beyond the physical
dimensions and number of lines noted by Lalou (20 x 70 cm; 12
lines per sheet), we can add that the margins were greater, gener-
ally measuring 20 and 25 mm at top and bottom, respectively, and
40 mm right and left. This is less efficient in terms of the amount
of text that one can fit on each leaf, but it sets the text off more ef-
fectively, and the result is an impressive and beautiful object. This
impression is further reinforced by the cleanly punctured string
holes marked off with faint, perfectly drawn circles. A full physical
description of SP2 is as follows:
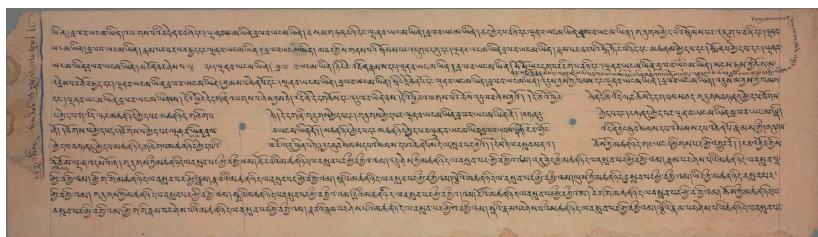
Fig. 5. SP2 folio, PT 1343; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Codicology and page setting of SP2:

- Format: *pothī*
- Recto/Verso: Tibetan on both sides.
- Dimensions: 20 x 73 cm.
- Thickness: two layers, glued together.
- Type of paper (e.g., Rag, bark, woven, laid): laid.
- Laidlines per 3 cm: 12.
- Chainlines (span of the intervals in cm): none observed.
- Yellow dye: none.
- Ink color: black.
- Lines per leaf: 12–13.
- Lines per 15 cm: 11.
- Leading (from head of one line to head of the next line): 15 mm.
- Syllables per 20 cm: variable.
- Margins: PT 1336: left: 40 mm; right: 35 mm; top: 20 mm; bottom: 28 mm. PT 1343: left: 40 mm; right: 40 mm; top: 20 mm; bottom: 25 mm. PT 1351: left: 45 mm; right: 40 mm; top: 20 mm; bottom: 25 mm.
- Guidelines? Inked or Drypoint? Inked.
- Seals, drawings, ornamentation: Perfect circles around *pothī* holes in faint ink. Left and right holes are 21 cm from respective margins, 10 cm from top and bottom. There are 30 cm between them. Diameter of holes: 5 mm; diameter of circles: 45 mm.
- Foliation: in left margin of recto, perpendicular to text: hundreds are numbered alphabetically, e.g. *ka kha ga nga*, followed by written numerals, e.g. *nyer lnga* for 25. There is some variation to this practice, such that one also finds hundreds in written numerals.
- Script (e.g., *dbu can* or *dbu med*): *dbu can* for the *sūtra*; *dbu med* for editorial notes in the margins.

One interesting feature that comes of making an overview of these leaves is the use of two different scripts for distinct purposes. The *sūtra* itself is written in *dbu can*, and generally conforms to what Sam van Schaik defined as "*sūtra* style," albeit with some outliers.[20]

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[20] See van Schaik 2013.

The editorial notes in the bottom margin and left margin, which
mark a leaf as a discard and make a running tally of the number of
such discards, are rendered in a slack, cursive script, often in larger
letters, which I refer to as "editorial hand."[21]
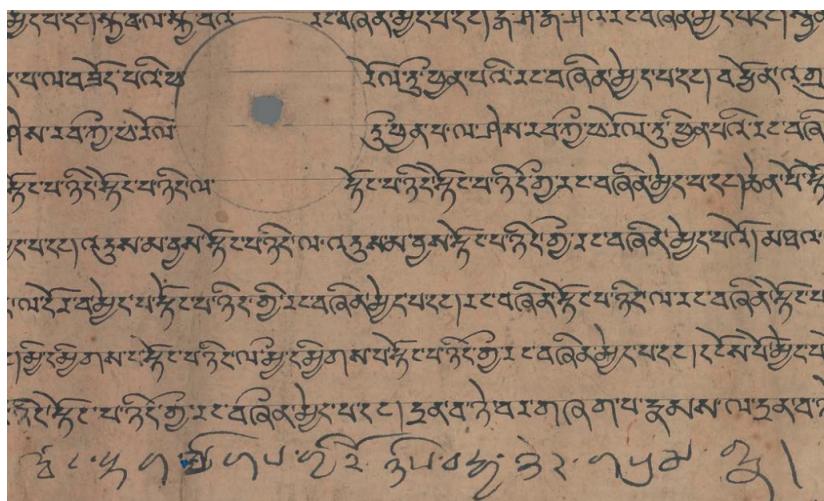
Fig. 6. Editorial note in bottom margin of PT 1329, 223r; copyright Bibliothèque
nationale de France.

SP2 possess colophons of various types, which appear at the end of
bam po. In many cases, such as in eight leaves in PT 1396 and in
fourteen leaves in PT 1405, the colophon only names the scribe.[22]
Less commonly, only an editor will be named, as in one of the
leaves of PT 1374. In the same shelfmark we find evidence of self-
editing by scribes. In five colophons we find the sentence "written
by Dge mchog. Edited" (*dge mchog gis bris/ / zhus*; Lalou 1961: 38).
There are also two instances of unequivocal self-editing: "written
by Wang Yig tshe. Edited by Yig tshe" (*wang yig tshes bris / yig
tshes zhus*; Lalou 1961: 38). Such colophons are infrequent, and
it is more often the case that we find one scribe and one editor.[23]

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[21]   This style is mentioned briefly in van Schaik 2012: 432.

[22]   Further examples are found in several leaves of PT 1377, 1420, and 1452.

[23]   Colophons with a single scribe and a single editor include the leaves of
PT 1332, 1336, 1343, 1352, 1353, 1365, and 1374.

More commonly, we find multiple editors, and here the picture becomes more complex. The most numerous colophons are those with three editors. At PT 1353, 3r, for example, we read, "written by Wang Weng je'u. Edited by Seng ge sgra, re-edited by 'Jam dpal, third-edited by Zhi mchog" (*wang weng je'u bris/ seng ge sgra zhus/ 'jam dpal yang zhus/ zhi mchog sum zhus*; Lalou 1961: 33).[24] Less numerous, but more common than those with a single editor, are those colophons with four editors. One such example is PT 1350, 1v: "written by Ser Thong thong. Edited by Bun shus, re-edited by Dam 'gi, third-edited by Ling ce'u, fourth-edited by the monk Chos mchog" (*ser thong thong bris/ bun zhus zhus/ / dam 'gi yang zhus/ ling ce'u sum zhus/ ban de chos mchog bzhi zhus*; Lalou 1961: 32).[25]

In SP2 there are occasionally second colophons. These differ from the copied colophons of SP1 in that while they are in both cases additional colophons in a separate hand, those in SP1 name both scribes and editors. The naming of a scribe there suggests that the first colophon was copied. In SP2, by contrast, only editors are named in the second colophon, so the second colophon's editors probably represent a further stage in a single editorial process. Where these second colophons appear, it is always after a colophon that names a scribe and three editors. The second colophon includes between one and four new editors. In PT 1322, 216v, for example, the first colophon reads, "written by Cang Hing tse. Edited by Phab dzang, re-edited by Leng ce'u, and third-edited by Dam tshong" (*cang hing tse bris/ phab dzang gIs zhus/ leng ce'u yang zhus/ dam tshong sum zhus //*). Immediately below, a second colophon states, "edited by Lha 'od, re-edited by Dpal gyi gzhon nu, and completely finalized" (*lha 'od gyis zhus/ / dpal gyi*

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[24]   Colophons with a scribe and three editors include the leaves of PT 1322–1324, 1329, 1333, 1340, 1353, 1354, 1358, 1366, 1368, 1372, 1385–1387, 1390, 1398, 1403, 1404, 1407, 1413, 1414, 1418, 1419, 1421, 1423–1426, 1429, 1432, 1434, 1437–1442, 1444, 1446, 1452, 1454, and 1482.

[25]   Colophons with a scribe and four editors include the leaves of PT 1340, 1350, 1375, 1380–1383, 1388, 1392–1394, 1399–1401, 1406, 1408, 1409, 1412, 1415, 1420, 1422, and 1452.

gzhon nus yang zhusthe/ / gthan la rab du babo/; Lalou 1961: 17).[26]
The same groups of editors appear in these second colophons, and
they do not overlap with editors in the other colophons. In only
one instance do members of this group appear outside of a sec-
ond colophon, and this occurs in a colophon in PT 1440. Here we
sometimes also find a slightly different vocabulary from that in the
standard colophons: instead of *zhus*, *yang zhus*, and *sum zhus*, as
seen above, we find *zhus*, *yang zhus*, and *yang lan sum zhus*. This
sort of minor difference – between "third-edit" and "edited a third
time" – is also found in some of the second colophons. In PT 1440,
502v, for example, we read "Khrom kong did it one time" (*khrom
kong lan chig brgyabs*; Lalou 1961: 57; cf. GL. t. 0036; Ma 2011:
54–55). There is a similar phrase in a second colophon at GL. t.
0276: "Stag legs did it one time" (*stag legs lan chig brgyab*; Ma
2011: 93).[27] In the second colophons we find a few "third edit"-s
(*sum zhus*) (e.g., at PT 1429, 322r), but they also use "re-edited"
(*yang zhus*) to refer to third and fourth editors (see, e.g. PT 1404,
183v).

The differing names, along with the small differences in ter-
minology, indicate that the second colophons were separated from
the first colophons by time and/or space. The statement in the first
of these given above, where the second colophon states that it is
finalized (*gtan la bab*), suggests that this was the final hurdle in
the editorial process. Given what we know about the process by
which these sutras were commissioned, one would assume that the
first colophons were added in Shazhou, and that the editors who re-
ceived the sutras in Guazhou added the second colophons. Jottings
from SP2 folia from Gansu, too numerous to include here, confirm
this, and attest to a healthy rivalry between the scribes and editors
of Shazhou and those of Guazhou.

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[26] Similar double colophons appear in leaves of PT 1322, 1324, 1372, 1403,
1404, 1424, 1429, 1438, 1440, 1452, and possibly PT 1329. In addition, there
are over fifty such "second colophons" documented on SP2 leaves in Ma's
catalogue.

[27] The actions of the others in the colophon are all "editing" (*zhus*), so in this
context *brgyab* may refer to the same.

In contrast to SP1, there are very few mentions in SP2 of "main editors" (*zhu chen*). One of the only appearances of this term occurs, for example, in a damaged editorial note in the margin of PT 1329, 105r.

The colophons also contain jottings. These range from writing exercises and scribbles to outbursts of profanity and devotion. They are fascinating for the window they offer into the social and cultural history of these scribes, who also drew up contracts and letters, and whose interests ranged from Indian epic to Mahāyoga tantra.

The most common jottings are writing exercises, usually consisting of draft openings to letters, e.g., "letter to the sacred presence of the great uncle, asking if he is well or unwell" (*zhang zhang chen po 'phrul kyi zha snga nas/ thugs bde 'aM myi bde mchid yi*; PT 1329, 46r; Lalou 1961: 16).[28] We also find occasional references to administrative decisions and legal cases. PT 1343, 5v, for example, refers to legal officials (*zhang lon zhal ce pa*), legal disputes (*mchid shags*), and to another official (*nang sos ring lugs*; Lalou 1961: 29). PT 1374, 375v contains jottings that refer to land units (*zhing dor*) and their borders. One of the lengthiest letter drafts is written upside-down on the verso of Db.t 331, an SP2 leaf kept in the Dunhuang Museum. It refers to a message sent to the general of the Guazhou regional military government. This is sent from the central Tibetan court at Phang dang, dated on the 16th day of the last month of autumn in the year of the snake (Ma 2011: plate 7). This could be the year 837, though earlier dates are also possible.

Tensions over lawsuits or over petty theft between scribes occasionally spilled onto the margins of discarded folia. On PT 1451v, in thick, partly blotted and only partly legible letters, someone is apparently accused of stealing a stick of ink, and told to go fuck his mother (…*snag tsag yug gcig* [*xyen*] *te zhing ma rgyo bar bgyis*). There are similarly foul-mouthed jottings on PT 1466v and PT 1479.[29] The latter has a humorous, Buddhist inflection, and

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[28] Similar letter drafts are found at PT 1331, 521v; PT 1333, 16r and 17r; PT 1338, 167r and 380r; PT 1344, 5v; PT 1348, 1r; PT 1366, 4r; PT 1374, 375r; PT 1385, 66r; PT 1453, 1r, 3r, and 5r; PT 1458r; and PT 1466v.

[29] The same Oedipal insult, adding to this the death of the offender's father,

the offending word has been scribbled over: "not [practicing] non-rejection, Ling ho Wen men ~~fucked~~ his mother" (*dor ba ma myed pa ste la ling ho wen men ma la ~~rgyos~~*; Lalou 1961: 67).

Other jottings have a more "literary" character. PT 1382, 196 contains jottings around the margins of both recto and verso. In the top margin of the recto is a passage from the *Rāmāyaṇa*: "he asked the Brahmin Ratna, and Ratna told him, 'As for your father, his name was Yakśakore'" (*bram tshe ra ta na la drris pa dang/ ra ta na khod gyi pha nI yag sha krol re/ zhes byeas ste/ /*; Lalou 1961: 40).[30] An upside-down jotting in the bottom margin includes some lines of song: *kye ri bo spu mtho gnyen gyi rtse/ ri cen shel …* Most intriguingly, another upside-down note in the right margin enjoins one to study: "taking as a model *The Thirty Letters*, *The Treatise That Teaches All Who Would Learn Letters*, memorize it and recite it!" (*yig slobs kun la stan pa'i mdo/ yi ge sum cu dpe zhag pa/ brtsongs la grus*).[31] This is remarkable for the fact that it seems to refer to a treatise with a title very near that of the famous *Lung ston pa rtsa ba sum cu pa* attributed to Thonmi Sambhoṭa. If the jotting dates to the time of the *sūtra*-copying project, then the injunction bears witness to a book of grammar that was probably used, among other things, to train Chinese scribes in Tibetan language.[32] That the acquisition of literacy was not far removed from some of these scribes is evident from the presence of abecedaries on some discarded folia. Another common exercise was to write a person's name by dividing it into its constituent parts of clan name (*rus*), sobriquet (*mkhan*), and personal name (*mying*).[33] We see this at PT 1415, 121r, which also includes the start of an abecedary: "clan: Thag par; sobriquet: Gnyen sum; name: Gtsug 'dus. Clan:

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appears on scribal "writing boards" (*glegs tshas*) ITJ 1030 and ITJ 1035 (Takeuchi 2013: 103). See also Zhang 2009.

[30] For the parallel passage in the Old Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*, see de Jong 1989: 6, 89–90.

[31] I take *brtsongs* to be the causative of *'tshang*, "to press into" (Hill 2010: 237).

[32] For further discussion, see Dotson forthcoming a.

[33] On similar jottings, and on the structure of early Tibetan names, see Richardson 1998 [1967]: 17–21.

'Bal; sobriquet: Khrom bzher; name: Mu tsung" (*rus ni thag par/ mkhan ni gnyen sum/ / mying ni gtsug 'dus/ / rus ni 'bal/ mkhan ni khrim bzher / mying ni mu tsung*; Lalou 1961: 49). On the verso of PT 1382, 196 a long jotting with proverbs from the *Great Testimony of the Sum pa* (*Sum pa ma shags ched po*) begins upside-down in the bottom margin and curves all the way around to the top.[34] The *Great Testimony of the Sum pa* is also referred to in a jotting in the bottom margin of PT 1399, 51r.

Some jottings are devotional. Adjacent to the jotting from the *Great Testimony of the Sum pa* in the bottom margin of PT 1399, 51r, another jotting states, "to the west of here, the world of Sukhāvatī" (*'di ni nub kyi phyogs rol na bde ba cen kyi 'jIg rt*[*en*]; Lalou 1961: 44). One also finds mantras, including Avalokiteśvara's at PT 1453, 1r. Some such jottings are tantra-related, as in the case of those on PT 1456v, which seem to relate to the generation of Samantabhadri's mandala (Lalou 1961: 63). This is in a very different hand than the preceding *sūtra*, however, and may have been added much later.[35] PT 1485v contains a note in the left margin stating "it is a discard" (*ro yi+nno*; Lalou 1961: 68). The folio side contains two lines of *sūtra*, followed by a blank line, and then a seven-line prayer to Parṇaśabarī and Mahābala. This ends, "in the region of Shazhou, we pray that you please grant your blessing and your protection to Khang Dpal legs and those within his household, and pacify such illnesses as those affecting men and those affecting livestock" (*sha cu yul phyogs gyi / khang dpal legs gyi ʾkhor d khyim gyi nang 'khor dang bcas / myi nad dang phyugs nad la stsogspa zhi cir mdzad cing / bsrung ba dang bskyab par gyin kyis brlabs par gsol*; Lalou 1961: 68).

A jotting on PT 1425, 294v, on the otherwise blank verso at the end of a volume, contains a prayer that appears to relate to the work of *sūtra*-copying:

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[34] On the *Great Testimony of the Sum pa*, see Thomas 1957: 103–112.

[35] Its contents, such as the line *'thod 'phreng 'bar ba'i dkyil 'khor na*, overlap somewhat with an invocation to the seven wrathful goddesses (Saptamātṛkā) found on ITJ 727, which is the verso of a Chinese MP; see Dalton and van Schaik 2006: 302.

By the merit of reciting this holy dharma, may the spiritual teachers, the *dharmarāja*, the councillors, the patrons, my parents, relations, and friends – and however many endless beings there may be – enjoy release from whatever faults they have committed, and may they be endowed with *bodhicitta* and be born there in that excellent field.

dam chos 'dI brjod bsod nams kyis/ / dge bshes chos rgyal blon po dang/ yon bdag pha ma gnyen bzhes dang/ / mtha' yas sems can ci snyad pa'/ / ci nyes pa'I skyon rnams kun bral te / / byang chub sems dang ldan bzhin du/ / zhing mchog der nI skye bar 'gyur/ / (Lalou 1961: 53)

This prayer is particularly interesting for the fact that it gives the spiritual teachers (*dge gshes*) precedence over the king. This matter was very much up for negotiation during this period, in a way that it had not been previously.

These prayers and insults, side-by-side, defy any sweeping conclusions about whether the work of these scribes and editors was devotional ritual activity on the one hand or grudging servitude on the other. This helpfully explodes any simplistic spiritual-versus-secular dichotomy. The jottings also give us some idea of the range of these scribes' activities beyond the *sūtra*-copying project.

For the purposes of dating, jottings must be treated with caution. Draft letters containing dates might not be as easily placed within the 826–841 date range as those that state when a *sūtra* was written or when a panel was replaced. The content, too, may or may not reflect something that a scribe was hired to write, and a jotting may have been added at a later time. For this reason one should attend to the paleography of the jottings, and whether or not they are in an editorial hand. The contents of some of these draft letters and jottings are often of potential interest for placing the *sūtra*-copying project in space and time. One such jotting, in what appears to be an editorial hand following the end of PT 1457, mentions only a date: the fourth day of the last autumn month of the dragon year (Lalou 1961: 63). The only dragon year that falls during the *sūtra*-copying project is 836. A dated letter opening is written in a characteristic slack editorial cursive at PT 1340, 560v: "beginning of the first spring month of the year of the rat: Snying tsoms [district]" (*byI ba lo 'i dpyid sla ra ba'i ngo las/ snying tsoms gya*; Lalou 1961: 28).

The only rat year falling with the range of the *sūtra*-copying project is 832, and Snying tshoms is one of the three thousand-districts of Shazhou. Shazhou also features in a dated draft letter opening that is not in an editorial hand: "summer of the year of the ox. A seal of dispatch having been affixed, from Shazhou…" (*gla gi lo'I dbyar/ / bkye'I phyag rgya phogste/ sha cu [sha nas]*; PT 1366, 4r; Lalou 1961: 36). Were this ox year to fall within the range of the *sūtra*-copying project, it would be 833. Other draft letters mention Guazhou. One at PT 1348r contains both a date and a location: "summer of the bird year, when Councillor Mang po brtsan and Councillor Mdo sgra and others convened the council of the regional military government of Guazhou at Tshe che ga[x]…" (*bya gag lo'i dbyar/ / blon mang po brtsan dang / blon mdo sgra lastsogs phas/ kva cu khrom gyi 'dun sa/ tshe che ga[ ] tshogs kyang mtsha cheng tshe che*; Lalou 1961: 31). If this falls within the range of the project, the bird year should be 829. The same year is mentioned in a draft contract for the loan of four loads of wheat in a jotting in PT 1351. The assembly of Guazhou is referred to again in an undated jotting at PT 1374, 375v, which mentions Councillor Stag sum rje convening the council at the Guazhou stronghold (Lalou 1961: 38). Shazhou and Guazhou are not the only locations mentioned in the jottings. One in the right margin of PT 1452, 27v refers to the transportation of goods in the spring of a snake year, when the Phog ya regional military government convened at Sug cu (*sbrul gyi lo 'I dpyid pho ya 'i khrom ched po sug cu 'dun pa'i tshe*; cf. Lalou 1961: 61). This is not in an editorial hand, and the date need not fall within the range of the project; were it so, however, the snake year would be 837. Lastly, a draft letter found at PT 1333, 17r, at the end of a *bam po*, reads, "a letter by a secret scrivener of Bde gams, Reb kong 'Dron la tor" (*bde gams gsang gI yI ge pa/ reb kong 'dron la tor gyI mchId gsol ba*; Lalou 1961: 23). This would seem to testify to the official activities of some scribes beyond the copying of *sūtra*s.

Buddha's Body, Scribe's Remains

We gain an even more detailed understanding of the editorial process from the editorial notes written in the margins of discarded leaves. Marcelle Lalou briefly described the editorial process both in an

article and in her catalogue of these manuscripts. She noted that the editorial notes appear on the bottom margin and in the left margin. The left margin is often partially cut (see fig. 5). This, she observed, allowed it to protrude from the tome so that other scribes and editors could easily find the rejected folia and replace them (Lalou 1954: 258–259). As for the terminology, and the editorial notes' references to discarded folia as *ro*, Lalou equated *ro* with the Sanskrit *kāya*, and took it to be a type of internal pagination subordinate to the tome (*dum bu*) number and folio number (Lalou 1954: 259). This "internal pagination" was, for Lalou, "l'indication de leur rang dans un ensemble (*ro*) à recopier" (Lalou 1961: 19). While this is certainly accurate, Lalou's translation of *ro* with *kāya* requires revision. Building upon her research and her truly exemplary catalogue, I advance a different hypothesis concerning *ro*, which, functionally speaking, means "discarded leaf," but literally means "remains." This accords with recent research by Zhang Yanqing and by Ma De, each of whom understand *ro* as "discards" or "scraps" (Zhang 2009; Ma 2011). I shall discuss the meaning of the term and the grammar governing its use after a detailed review of the editorial notes in which it appears, and what they reveal about the editorial process.

The editorial notes in the margins are not all of the same character, and were not written by the same editors at the same time. Moreover, mentions of discards (*ro*) do not appear in every leaf or even in every shelfmark. The SP2 in Lalou's catalogue run from PT 1322 to PT 1493. Of these, PT 1329–1347, 1385, 1416, 1451, 1453, 1455, 1458, 1480, and 1485 contain editorial notes in the margins concerning discards. In the British Library, there are none in the 150-odd folia in the ITJ 105 shelfmark, but editorial notes are found in SP2 folia in ITJ 104.29, ITJ 104.38, ITJ 104.68, ITJ 106.2, and ITJ 107.1, folia 71, 87, 88, 112, 113, 115, 138, 197, and 211. There are hundreds of editorial notes in the many SP2 folia catalogued by Ma De, some of which are highlighted in Zhang Yanqing's study of discarded SP2 folia (Ma 2011; Zhang 2009). Not all of these notes follow the same method, but most follow coherent norms. Those editorial notes in the bottom margin are customarily a tally of discards (*ro*). This gives the folio number, the name of the scribe who wrote the faulty leaf, and a letter-numeral
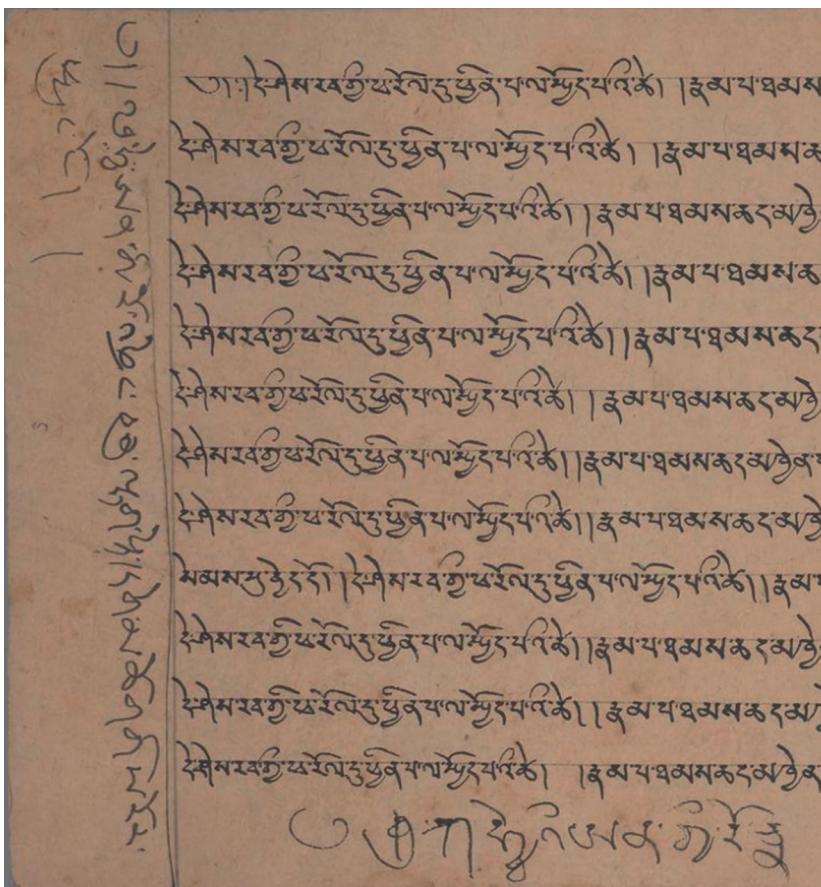
Fig. 7. Editorial notes in the left and bottom margins of a "normative" type, PT 1332, 5r; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

that functions as a tally of discards. The editorial notes in the partially cut left margin are in the same cursive style as those in the bottom margin. These record the name of the editor who marked the folio to be removed as a discard (*ro phyung* or *ror phyung*), and sometimes give the reasons for doing so. They usually also include the name of the guilty scribe. A third set of editorial notes comes later in the process. These concern the exchange (*brjes*) of faulty leaves with newly written replacement leaves. As we shall see in examining these editorial notes, there are some exceptions to this

typology, but the distinction between notes in the bottom margin and those in the left margin generally holds up, as does that between these notes and those concerning replacement.

The words "so and so's discard (*ro*)" in the bottom margins of discarded leaves are usually preceded by the tome or folio number and followed by the discard number, with the latter indicated by stacked letters of the type used in the foliation of SP1, e.g. *c+na* (see fig. 7). Where we have one discarded leaf after another in a single shelfmark we can occasionally see how the running tally works. In PT 1329, for example, folia 335, 336, and 345 bear the marginal notes "Cyang Legs 'dus' discard, [number] *ch+na*, Cyang Legs 'dus' discard, [number] *j+na*, and Cyang Legs 'dus' discard, [number] *ny+na*, respectively" (Lalou 1961: 19). The first two leaves are sequential, but the next is nine leaves further on, according to the foliation in the left margin. As *ro*, however, they are numbered sequentially *ch+na*, *j+na*, *ny+na*. This, along with the large tome number (e.g. *ka*, or *kha*) adjacent to such notes, suggests that these numbers reflect a running tally of how many sheets had to be discarded as *ro* within the tome. Not every scriptorium in Shazhou used the same numbering system, however. In addition, some tallies, such as that in PT 1329, count discards for each individual scribe, whereas the discards in other shelfmarks, e.g. PT 1336 and PT 1337 reflect a collective tally (Dotson forthcoming b). The sequential discards in PT 1332 neatly demonstrate a collective tally of discards within the tome, rather than a count of each scribe's discarded leaves. Here five leaves without any foliation bear the following editorial notes in the bottom margin:

"[Tome] 1. Le'u Le'u's discard, [number] *k+na*. Edited" (*ka le'u ke'u ro k+na/ zhus*);

"[Tome] 1. Wang Shun thong's discard, [number] *kh+na*. Edited and re-edited" (*ka wang shun thong kyi ro kh+na/ zhus pa yang zhus*);

"[Tome] 1. Shang Thag thag's discard, [number] *g+na*. Edited" (*ka shang thag thagi ro g+na/ zhus*);

"[Tome] 1. ^an 'go's discard, [number] *ng+na*. Edited …" (*ka ^an 'go'i ro ng+na/ zhus bzang re ꮐ sga*);

"[Tome] 1. Hye'i ^an's discard, [number] *c+na*. Edited" (*ka hye'i ^an gyi ro c+na/ zhus*; Lalou 1961: 21–22).

The tallies in other shelfmarks employ complex letter-numerals, some of which are even written backwards. Each scriptorium seems to have followed its own numbering system. This, along with the diverging practices in the tallies, e.g. individual in PT 1329 versus collective in others, makes it extremely difficult to decipher the meaning of these numerals. The administrative document ITJ 1359 makes it clear that such discards were not counted against a scribe, so the tally in this case would likely have been submitted to the paper official (*rub ma pa*), and then forwarded to councillors who would approve a levee of paper to replace these discards. Any individual tally regarding how many folia a given scribe ruined may have pertained only to internal disciplinary procedures in the scriptorium. We shall see below a few cases where scribes appear to have been dismissed for their incompetence.

While the large majority of shelfmarks use the bottom margin for the tally of discards, some are found in the right or left margins. This is the case, for example, for several folia in shelfmarks PT 1333, PT 1334, PT 1344, and ITJ 107.1, folia 112, 113, 115, 139, and 197. We also find some such notes in the top margin, often upside-down, as in two folia of PT 1345. As we shall see, the editorial notes that are typical of the partially cut left margin are also sometimes found in other margins.

The "left-margin editorial notes" demonstrate the roles of scribe and editor with regard to *ro*. The most laconic of the left-margin editorial notes simply states "marked for removal as a discard" (*ror phyungo*; PT 1337, 7r; PT 1339, 202r; PT 1342r; PT 1480), or even simply "discard" (*ro*; PT 1340, 29v). In a few cases, we find these types of editorial notes in the bottom margin (e.g., PT 1339, 300r; PT 1340, 342v) and even in the right margin (e.g. PT 1344, 3r; PT 1455r). A typical left-margin editorial note follows the following structure: "[scribe's name]'s *ro*. Marked for removal as a discard by [editor's name]" (*xxx gyi ro / xxx gyis ror phyung ngo*). While these notes most often use the past stem of the verb *'byin* ("to remove"), which is *phyung*, they often use the future *dbyung* or *'byung*. As with other editorial notes, the grammar is as slack as the handwriting. It is obvious from context, however, that the verb, whatever its tense, refers not to the editor's physical removal of the

leaf, but to his marking it for removal by another team of scribes and editors. To convey this, I translate *phyung*, *dbyung*, and *'byung* with "marked for removal," rather than the literal "removed." In PT 1337, 5r, for example, we find the following editorial note in the left margin: "Song Yang brtan's discard. Marked for removal during re-edit by Phab dzang" (*song yang brtan kyI ro dang zhus pa phab dzang gI dbyungo*; Lalou 1961: 25). Phab dzang is a prolific editor not only of SP2, but also of Tibetan Ap. The equation of the scribe with the person to whom the *ro* pertains, and the editor with the person who removes it, is even clearer in the fourth folio of PT 1343. The editorial note on the bottom margin of the recto reads, "[tome] four. Keng Lha lung brtsan's discard, [number] *ngra*" (*nga keng lha lung brtsan gi ro ngra*). The verso has an editorial note in the left margin, but this is torn such that only the final third of it remains. It states, "…it, and Ngang tshul marked it for removal" ([]*d de ngang tshul gyis phyungo*). The colophon on the verso contains these same names – Keng Lha lung brtsan and Dpal gyi ngang tshul – as scribe and editor, respectively (Lalou 1961: 29). That the editor is responsible for removing the faulty leaves is also clear from PT 1340, 243v. The editorial note in the bottom margin reads, "Legs 'dus edited it and marked it for removal" (*legs 'dus gi zhus te 'byung ngo*; Lalou 1961: 27). It is clear from this and other folia that the discard (*ro*) is, grammatically, the scribe's, and that it is the editor who removes it.

Sometimes it is not the first editor, but a subsequent editor who marks a folio for removal. This is the case in PT 1336, 6r, where the note in the left margin states "Dzin dar['s] discard. Marked for removal by upon re-edit. Two" (*dzin dar ro dang zhus pa phyung ngo/ kha*; Lalou 1961: 24).[36] Removal by a subsequent editor probably accounts for the contrasting editorial notes in the bottom margin of PT 1339, 160r. A note in the middle of the bottom margin reads, "it has been edited, and there is not a single addition or omission" (*zhus lagste chad lhag gchig kyang ma mchiste*). This forms a contrast with the fact that the left margin is cut, two large x's are drawn

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[36] Similar cases of rejection by a second editor are found in PT 1337, 5r and 7r; PT 1343, 1v; and PT 1344, 3r.

over the text, and there is a huge insertion after line 8 that runs up
the right margin and curls into the top margin. Moreover, another
note, presumably later, but on the left side of the bottom margin,
reads "Ldong tse['s] discard" (*ldong tshe ro*; Lalou 1961: 27). These
were likely added by a second editor who was more industrious
than the first.
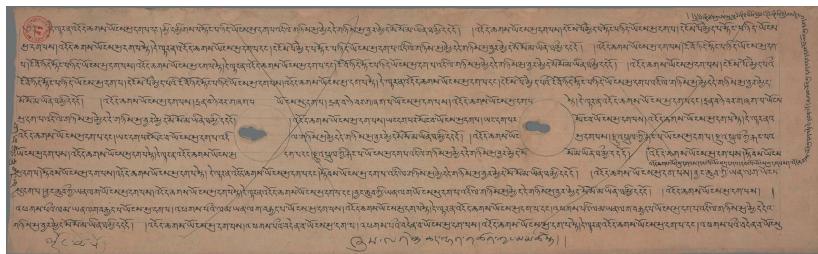
Fig. 8. Folio marked for removal, PT 1339, 160r. Note the large x's across the text,
interlinear insertion curling up the right margin, contrasting editorial notes in
the bottom margin, torn left margin, and rewritten folio number in left margin.
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On the top margin of PT 1451r we find an upside-down note that
comments on the editorial process. It states, "Hing 'do wrote one
volume of ^in ^In's *sūtra*. Later, Hing 'do marked it for removal
as a discard" (*hing 'do nI ^in ^in gyi dar ma bam po gcig nI bris
lags so hing 'do nI slad ro du chung[37] zhi mchis*; Lalou 1961: 60).
This is not an editorial note, but a somewhat comical observation
on the vagaries of the *sūtra*-copying project. Scribes often found
themselves in one another's debt, and as a result they wrote *sūtra*
folia that were credited as another scribe's work.[38] Here a certain
Hing 'do performs this duty for ^In ^in, but then, in his capacity as
editor, rejects his own work. The writer is either poking fun at ^In
^in, or at the project itself for facilitating such a situation. A few
other jottings attest to tensions between scribes and their editors.
An editorial note in the right margin of the torn folio ITJ 107.1, f.
113r states, in huge letters, "^i do's discard, [number] *ny+sha*" (*^i
'do ro / ny+sha*). In smaller letters, above this, someone has protest-

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[37] Phonetic misspelling of *phyung*.

[38] See Dotson, Doney, and Dongzhi forthcoming.

ed this decision: "though faultless, it was marked for removal" (*ma nyes par phyung ba* /). In another torn sheet, ITJ 107.1, f. 71v, an upside-down note in the top margin seems to record an editor venting his frustration: "you, boy! Do not destroy the *Prajñāpāramitā*!" (*bu khyod gyis shes rab gyI pha rol du phyIn pa* [*xx*]*o maṣ shIg* / /). Another exasperated note appears in the margin of ITJ 107.1, f. 100r. This bears huge orange letters superimposed on the text, probably written with a brush. The same ink effectively highlights the thick black letters in an editorial note in the right margin: "the third. ^An Sam sam has not written a single volume of what he was to write. Not edited" (*gsum pa gchig/ ^an sam sam bri* [*pa*?] *bam po gchig kyang ma bris / ma zhus*).

Six folia in the shelfmark PT 1344 are among those that do not follow the "normative" typology of editorial notes, where the tally of discards is placed in the bottom margin and the name of the editor who flagged it up is placed in the left margin. By contrast, we find "bottom-margin-type" editorial notes in the left margin at PT 1344, 1r, and in the right margin at PT 1344, 2r, and a "left-margin-type" editorial note in the right margin of PT 1344, 3r.

In some cases these marginal notes include reasons for rejection, and contain further information about the editorial process. On the verso of the last folio of PT 1333, a note in large *dbu can* writing states, "this is Khang Phan kvan Dzin dar's discard. It was marked for removal because the letters were bad" (*khang phan kvan dzIn dar gyI ro lags ste/ yI ge ngan pa'i phyir phyung ngo//*; Lalou 1961: 23). In another case, PT 1336, 6r, an editorial note states, "bad discard marked for removal" (*ro ngan byung*; Lalou 1961: 24).[39] An editorial note in the left margin of PT 1416, 152r states, "Pho yong Ldong sto's discard. In addition to writing backwards with regard to the paper, there were also missing lines. Discard marked for removal" (*pho yong ldong sto'i ro shog shog log par bri ba'i steng du/ 'phreng chad gyang byung ste/ ro dbyung ngo*; Lalou 1961: 49).

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[39] Another apparent "bad discard," at PT 1340, 225r – "Cang Tsin dar's bad discard" (*cang tsin dar 'i ro ngan*; Lalou 1961: 27) – is probably an error for *ro ng+na*, where *ng+na* is the number. The next discarded folio in the shelfmark is numbered *ch+na*.

Examining this folio, we find an insertion of more than half a line at the bottom of the recto, and the verso is written upside-down. That is to say, the scribe flipped the folio from recto to verso horizontally instead of vertically, such that the text of the verso appears upside-down when one turns the page vertically, as is customary when reading a *pothī*-format document.[40] This shelfmark, like PT 1341, consists of two leaves, where one was the intended replacement for the other. Comically, the scribe tasked with replacing the leaf has committed the same error, and written the verso upside-down again. This seems to be a common error, and we find folia of this type at ITJ 107.1, ff. 130, 169, and 208.

Some editorial notes seem to dwell on scribal ineptitude. In PT 1458v the editorial note in the left margin says, "Li Tsheng che's discard. Kim kang's son – five hundred additions and omissions in a single line" (*li tsheng che 'i rʉo kim kang 'i bu ni 'phreng cig chad lcag*[41] *lnga brgya'*; Lalou 1961: 63). This is obviously an exaggeration. The concern with lines, and the use of the term line as a way to measure text is also current in the work of these same scribes and editors on the Chinese MP. There, as we shall see below, panels could be rejected for having excess or missing columns.[42]

In some cases, it appears that scribes were removed from their duties because of excessive mistakes. A note in the left margin of PT 1329, 46r states, "Leng ho Pe'u tshon's discard, and also the chapter. Removed at re-edit from Monk Leng ce'u's group" (*leng ho pe'u tshon gyi ro le'u yang mchiste/ dang zhus pa ban de leng ce'u 'i grar phyungo*).[43] Leng ce'u is found as an editor of numerous SP2 folia and Tibetan Ap copies. This note seems to mean that Leng ho Pe'u tshon, himself the head (*tshan*) of a unit in Stong sar thousand-district (see ITJ 1359b, 20), was removed from his duties as a scribe, or was cast out of a particular scriptorium or scribal-and-editorial

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[40]   I am grateful to Emanuela Garatti for documenting this on my behalf at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

[41]   As it stands, the note says, "missing one line – five hundred lashes." Here I suspect a writing error introduced the "lashes" (*lcag*) for "additions" (*lhag*).

[42]   See, e.g. S. 749; Giles 1957: no. 559.

[43]   Lalou mistranscribes the end *leng ce'u 'brir pyung ngo* (Lalou 1961: 19).

team (*gra*). A similar note in the left margin of PT 1337, 4v states, "Shi Le'u le'u's discard. Ten lines completely missing. Removed from Keng Spyan spyan's group" (*shi le'u le'u'I ro 'phreng bcu gzhis chade/ keng spyan spyan gyi grar phyungo*).[44] It is clear from the wooden slips ITN 2208 and PT 1009 that scribes and editors worked in groups called *gra*: both are tallies concerning the amount of paper used in completed rolls of Ap.[45] The former pertains to Stag Su tam and Bran ce'u's "group" (*gra*) and latter pertains to Lha bo's "group" (*gra*). An editorial note in a Tibetan Ap copy, ITJ 310.1117, refers to Rdo rje's "group," to which edited *sūtra*s were sent (Dotson, Doney, and Dongzhi forthcoming). "Group," here referring to scribes and editors in a single workshop, may therefore be translated with "scriptorium."

Apart from their editorial notes and jottings, SP2 leaves often bear physical marks relevant to the editorial process. Lalou remarked on the matter of cuts in the leaves, specifically those from the string hole to the margin. Zhang Yanqing also correctly identified these cuts as being relevant to the editorial process (Zhang 2009). Many SP2 leaves bear this mark, but it is only ever one string hole, and not both, that is cut.
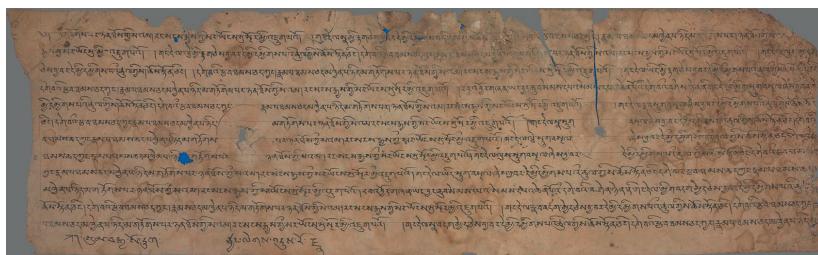
Fig. 9. Intentional cut from right string hole to top margin; cut or torn left margin, head of editorial note barely visible, PT 1329, 336r; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The cuts are deliberate, and have been performed with a sharp knife; the leaves were not torn free of the cord. This suggests a

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[44] Lalou mistranscribes the end *chade / 'di … grar phyung ngo* (Lalou 1961: 25).

[45] See Lalou 1950: 37 and Scherrer-Schaub 1992: 219, where *gra* is mistranscribed as *gur*. See also Dotson, Doney, and Dongzhi forthcoming.

situation similar to Lalou's supposition about the partially cut left margins being designed to hang out of the tome in order to show which folia needed replacing. The leaves with cuts from the string hole to the top or bottom margin could stick out of the edges of the tome, further advertising which folia needed replacing. Those responsible for this work would proceed through the tome, replacing each faulty folio as they went along. To do so, and to insert a newly written, correct folio, they would have to untie the strings to thread them through the new folia. If the discarded folia were removed at the same time, this would explain why we find no folia with cuts from both string holes to the margins.

The many leaves missing a left margin, such as those included in the shelfmark PT 1329, also testify to the editorial process, and to a 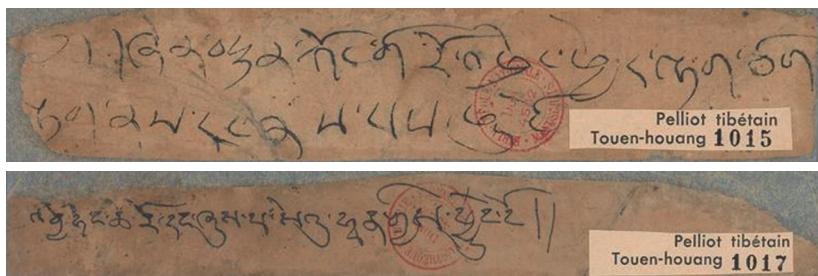practice whereby the revisers tore the partially cut margin upon completing their replacement work and discarding the old leaf. PT 1008, 1011, 1015, and 1017 are all left-margin notes that have been detached completely.

Figs. 10a, 10b. Detached left-margin editorial notes, PT 1015 and PT 1017; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

These torn-off left-margin editorial notes are of precisely the same type as we find partly attached. PT 1017, for example, reads, "''Bye hing tshe['s] discard. Marked for removal upon re-edit by Se'u Hvan" (*'bye hing tshe ro dang zhus pa se'u hvan gyis phyiung ngo //*; Lalou 1950: 38).[46] PT 1015, similarly, reads, "Zhen Brtan kong's

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[46] Scherrer-Schaub ventured a translation of this note that closely follows Lalou's remarks on *ro*: "'[r]etiré par Se'u hvan [pour] correction (?) avec l'ensemble de 'Bye Hing tshe" (Scherrer-Schaub 1992: 219, n. 78).

discard. There being an excess of a leftover half-line, it was marked
for removal upon re-edit" (*zhen brtan kong gi ro 'phreng phyed
lhag cig lhag nas dang zhus pas phyungo*; Lalou 1950: 38). We find
an editorial note concerning a discard by the same scribe at PT
1346, 400r, in what is probably the same hand: "Zhen brtan kong's
discard, to be replaced" (*zhen brtan kong gi ro brje lagso*; Lalou
1961: 30). This leaf is torn, and what remains is only the middle,
so one cannot be absolutely certain that PT 1015 was originally
the left margin of PT 1346, 400. Such a judgment is possible, how-
ever, in the case of another torn editorial note, PT 1011, and a torn
leaf missing its left margin, PT 1329, 55. The latter's left margin
is partially torn, and at the bottom of the recto we find "[tome] 1,"
and after a space, "fifty-five" (*ka   nga lnga*). In the middle of the
bottom margin an editorial note reads "Wang shun thong's discard,
[number] *k+na*" (*wang shun thong ~~go~~ ro k+na/*; Lalou 1961: 19).
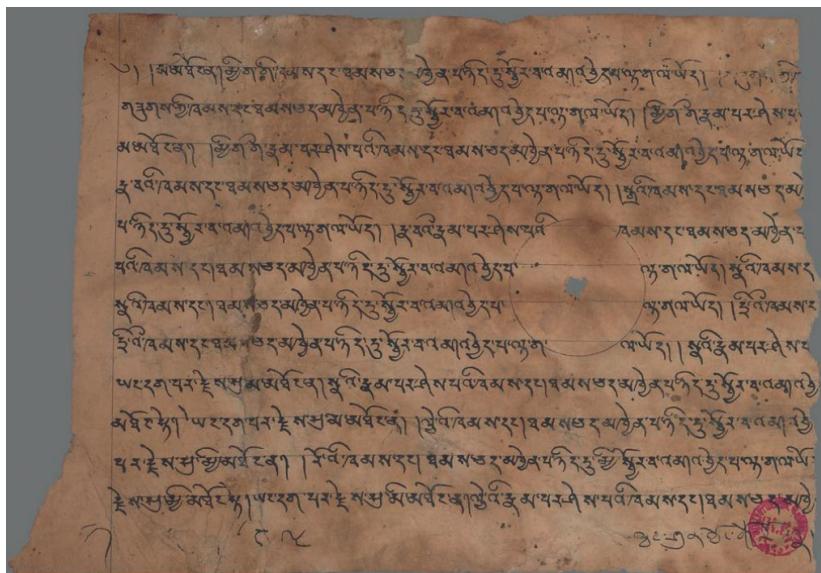
Fig. 11. PT 1329, 55r; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The recto of PT 1011 reads "Wang Shun thong's discard. Discard
marked for removal upon re-edit" (*wang shun thong gi ro / / bar
zhus pa ro phyungo//*; Lalou 1950: 37).
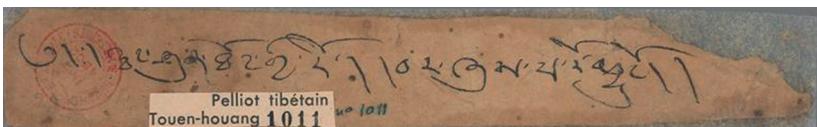
Fig. 12. PT 1011r; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The shape and content fit perfectly, but it is the corresponding ver-sos that prove beyond any doubt that PT 1011 was torn or cut from the left margin of PT 1329, 55. The word "edited" (*zhus*) was writ-ten in large letters in the left margin, and this word was bisected by the tear such that the top half of the word is visible on PT 1329, 55v, and the bottom half is on PT 1011v.
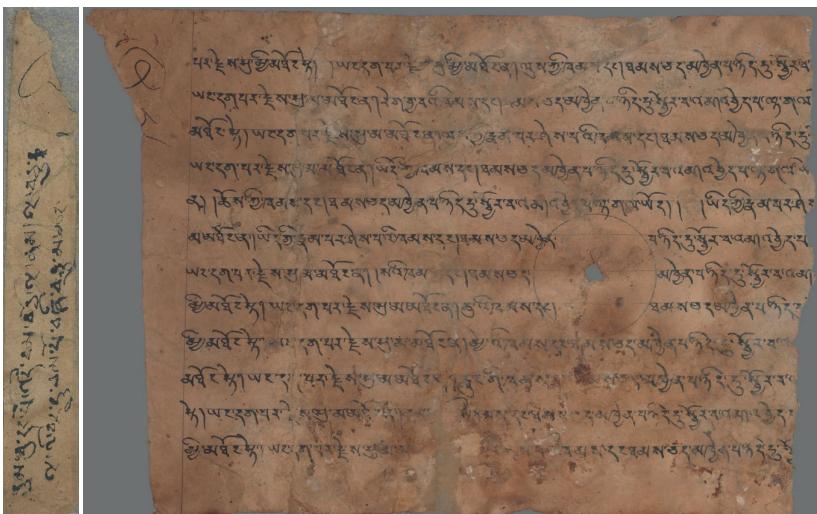
Figs. 13a, 13b. Detached left-margin editorial notes, PT 1011v and PT 1329, 55v; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Beyond piecing together fragments, this discovery offers further insight into the editorial process after a leaf had been marked as a discard. Those responsible for replacing discards with new, clean folia often tore off the left margin, but did not necessarily discard this. Unlike PT 1015 and 1017, whose versos are blank, PT 1011v contains a note made by this second editorial team. This states, "in this the first tome, the forty volumes from volume fifteen to volume fifty-five are incomplete" (*dum bu dang po 'dI bam bco lnga nas/*

lnga bcu ~~ta~~ lnga'i bar du bam po bzhi bcu ma tshang). Other torn
left margins or scraps of paper similarly serve as memos for the
editors who oversaw the removal and replacement of those folia
that the first editorial team marked for removal. Lalou referred to
these as "compte de *bam-po*," and we find them at PT 1004, 1005,
1010, 1012, 1013, 1014, and 1020.[47] The latter shelfmark is specif-
ically concerned with the holdings of Le to si Temple, probably
corresponding to Lingtu (靈圖) Temple, and appears to be a tally
particular to a scriptorium based there.

Another note offers valuable insight into the fate of the discard-
ed folia. This scrap, apparently written on the torn left margin of
another folio, has been pasted onto the left margin of PT 1385, 73r.
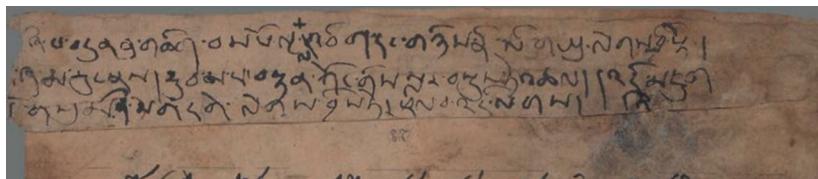
Fig. 14. Note pasted onto left margin of PT 1385, 73r; copyright Bibliothèque
nationale de France.

The note mentions the paper-official (*rub ma pa*) Brtan kong, who
appears in the legal document ITJ 1359a as an officer responsible
for managing shortfalls in paper. The left side of the note is miss-
ing, but the extant text is as follows: "… fourth, seventy-one, vol-
ume five – Li G.yu legs wrote one or two … unsuitable for editing,
and the paper official Brtan kong gathered them back and gave [re-
placement paper?]. At the end of this … Sag Dge legs wrote three.
This is what is added" ([ ]*zhi pa bdun cu gchig bam po lnga la
gcig dang gnyis ni li g.yu legs briste* / [ ] *zhu ma rung nas/ rub ma
pa brtan kong gis slar bsdus te 'tshal/ / 'di'i mjug* [ ] *gsum nI sag
dge legs bris te/ phul ba 'di lags/*). Fragmentary though it may be,
the scrap clearly indicates that the paper official collected unsuit-
able folia. This implies an accounting system by which scriptoria
could receive fresh, replacement sheets of paper for those that they

[47] There are similar audits of editorial progress in Chinese MP discards.
See, for example, S. 396v; Boltz 1992: 181.

discarded due to scribal errors. In this case, the discarded leaves themselves were collected by the scribes and handed in to the paper official Brtan kong, presumably to serve as proof for the scriptorium's claim to replacement sheets. Not only is this one of the very few pieces of documentary evidence concerning the fate of discarded SP2 folia between the time that they were rejected and the time that they were deposited in Cave 17, it also has implications for the re-use of discarded folia. If the sheets were only replaced after the discards were physically given to the paper official, then no scribe or editor would repurpose or abscond with these prior to handing them in. It follows that SP2 folia could only be repurposed after they had been submitted to the paper official. It is not necessarily the case, therefore, that paper could only be re-used after the completion of the *sūtra*-copying project. This may also be true of discarded MP panels, but this remains to be determined.

Some of the editorial notes are very specific in their instructions. Db. t. 0396, for example, states, "from [folia] 534 to 536, one folio side and one half a lines are missing. One must compare it with the exemplar and [re]write it" (*lnga brgya so bzhI dang so drugi bar na glegs bu ngo gchig dang phreng phyed chad pa/ dpe' gtugste bri 'tshal*; Zhang 2009). This note is particularly valuable for its mention of an exemplar (*dpe*) from which the fresh copy was to be made. An editorial note at Db. t. 0979 states, "between [the word] body and [the word] mind, chapter 12, on *'gres*, is missing" (*gzugs nas yid gyi bar du 'gres le'u bcu gnyis chad*; Ma 2011: 299). Similarly specific instructions are found, intriguingly, on a wooden slip, PT 1013, which is of almost the same dimensions as a left-margin editorial note (22.5 x 3.5 cm). This is interesting for the use of wood as a medium of writing in Shazhou, since Old Tibetan wooden slips are generally thought to hail either from Mīrān or from Mazār Tāgh.[48] However, PT 1013 is not unique in the *sūtra*-commissioning project; as noted above, PT 1009 and ITN 2208 are tallies of paper used in producing Ap copies, and these are also written on wooden slips. The scribe named in PT 1013, Song Gung legs, is found in colophons to SP2 (PT 1334, 10r) and Tibetan

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48   On Tibetan wooden slips, see Takeuchi 2004.

Ap (ITJ 310.709). This leaves absolutely no doubt that wooden slips were used in the context of the *sūtra*-copying project in Shazhou.
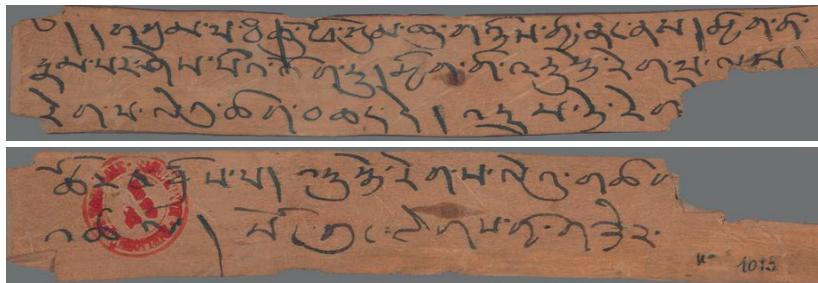
Figs. 15a, 15b. Instructions for the replacement scribe on the wooden slip PT 1013, recto and verso; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The text of the wooden slip reads as follows:

> In volume thirty-two of [tome] three, after "eye consciousness," the chapter [including the [phrase] "it is contact, having been drawn to the eye and created contact" has been cut. "Having been drawn in, sensation comes from contact" has been written, so the chapter on drawing in and contact must be [replaced]. Song Gung legs's task.

> *$/ / gsum pa baM chu pho sum chu gnyis gyi nang nas/ myig gi rnam par shes pa 'I 'og du/ myig gi 'duste reg pa las/ reg pa le'u chig bchad de/ 'dus te reg [pa las] tshor ba bris pa/ 'duste reg pa le'u gchig [xx] 'tshal/ song gung legs gyi gnyer* (Lalou 1950: 38)

This sort of note would have aided the replacement team in copying new folia to replace those marked for discard. The new folio would be copied from the discarded folio, since it had to reproduce it word for word. Naturally, making an exemplary copy from a text that had been discarded due to errors is a difficult job. The scribes responsible had to attend closely to the edits on the faulty sheet, and adjust the spacing of their writing accordingly if they had to integrate a large interlinear insertion added by the editor to account for missing text in the faulty leaf. This may account for the oddly spaced writing we find on some leaves, and one can assume that some of these would-be replacement leaves were discarded as a result, just as the replacement for PT 1416 was discarded for following its "model" so closely as to write the verso upside-down.
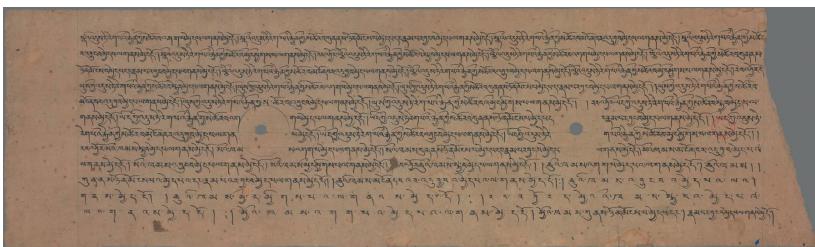
Fig. 16. Increased spacing towards the end of a leaf, PT 1343, 32v; copyright Bibliothèque nationale de France.

As the wooden slip PT 1013 shows us, the verb *gnyer*, "to manage, to take care of, to undertake," can be used to refer to the work of writing a replacement leaf. The process is also referred to in an editorial note in the bottom margin of PT 1344, 2r: "Weng 'do's task. Leng ho Pe'u dzon's discard" (*weng 'do'i gnyer/ leng ho pe'u dzon ro*; Lalou 1961: 29). More commonly, this secondary editorial process uses the term "exchanged" or "replaced" (*brjes*). When the new leaf was completed and found to be acceptable, the discarded leaf was marked with a note to say that it had been "replaced." These editorial notes, typically in a different hand and in the bottom margin adjacent to the running tally of discards, provide information about this process of revising tomes by re-placing rejected folia. In general they are not so numerous as the running tallies of discards. Often they state that "a discard has been exchanged" (*ro brjes lags*; PT 1329, 541r; PT 1336, 2r); other times they simply say, "exchanged" (*brjes lags*; PT 1331, 343r; PT 1338, 185r; ITJ 104.29). Occasionally they add that a discard has been "exchanged and edited" (*brjes lags zhus*; PT 1334, 74r; PT 1346, 400r). More detailed notes give us the name of the scribe whose discard was replaced (e.g., PT 1336, 10v; PT 1346, 400r). This is largely redundant, since these notes usually appear next to the running tally of discards that already names the scribe.[49] Some

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[49]   In PT 1336, 10v we find a colophon that states that it was written by Sag Hig tse and edited by Dge mchog. An editorial note in large cursive letters in the bottom margin states, "[tome] two. Sag Hig tse's discard, [number] *rna*" (*kha sag hig tshe'i ro/ rna*). Adjacent, a smaller note states, "Sag Hig tse's discard to be exchanged" (*sag hig tshe 'i ro brje lags*; Lalou 1961: 25).

notes additionally indicate who replaced the folio. The bottom
margin of PT 1337, 1r includes a running tally of discards and a
note concerning replacement. The first states, "[tome] three. Leng
ho Sheng tse's discard, [number] *k+ma*" (*ga ~kha~ leng ho sheng
tse'I ro k+maM*). The second, adjacent and in smaller, less cursive
letters, reads "this discard was replaced by Kvag Gi'u zhi" (*ro 'di
ni kvag gi'u zhi brjes lags so+'*; Lalou 1961: 25). When the errors
in a discard were so egregious that they confused the replacement
team, they had to make use of the original exemplar from which
the scribe worked, as we see in an editorial note at Db. t. 839: "use
the exemplar for replacing the discard" (*ro brje ba'i dpe 'tshal*; Ma
2011: 274). The lengthiest and most informative of the editorial
notes on replacing panels appears on PT 1343, 3r. The first edi-
torial note reads, "[tome] four. Leng ho Khrom stang's discard,
[number] *gra*." After a long space, there is the word "edited." A
different hand, writing in the space left in the middle, writes, "this
discard has been exchanged, edited, and finalized. It was done me-
ticulously, and there are no additions or omissions. He'u ge [did
it]" (*nga leng ho khrom stang gi ro gra / / ro 'di brjes lags[t]e zhus
s[t]e/ gtan la ~th~phab go/ zhim du bya s[t]e/ chad l[h]ag ma mchis[t]e
/ he'u ge/ / zhus*; Lalou 1961: 29).
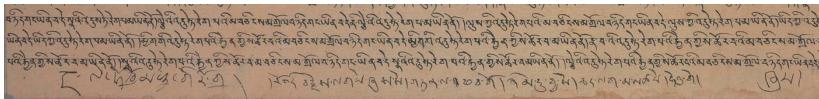
Fig. 17. Editorial notes in the bottom margin of PT 1343, 3r; copyright Biblio-
thèque nationale de France.

One can only hope that He'u ge's handiwork on the replaced fo-
lio was better than this semi-literate scrawl, but we have observed
many times that colophons and editorial notes take a cavalier ap-
proach to grammar. Still, this is an extremely valuable note, and it
clarifies the editorial process in which a second team of editors and
scribes replaced faulty folia in order to finalize a tome.

The notes on discarded leaves that state that they have been re-
placed function as a record of the editorial process. That we find
these on only a comparatively small proportion of the leaves sug-
gests that it was not a standard practice, but one that was followed

by a few of the many teams of scribes and editors in the Shazhou scriptoria engaged in the *sūtra*-copying project. It left no question, however, that a discarded leaf had been replaced, and it provided evidence of who wrote the faulty leaf, and, sometimes, who replaced it. Such notes would not be tolerated on the resulting clean copy. This editorial process might account for references to an "old discard" (*ro rnying*), a "discard from a previous time" (*tshe snga ma'I ro lagso*), and a "newly removed discard" (*sar 'phyung*) in editorial notes in the margins of PT 1385, 2r, PT 1453, 3r, and PT 1336, 9r, respectively (Lalou 1961: 41, 62, and 24). These might be folia that were missed by the second group of editors and their team of folio-replacers, only to be noticed at a later time. They might also be taken as further evidence for a long, multi-stage editorial process.

A few editorial notes make it clear that the final stop of this process was in Guazhou, where another editorial team checked the *sūtra*s. One discarded folio, Db. t. 1862, is among the scores of leaves containing a second colophon. The first reads, "Khang Legs rtsan wrote it; Bun shu edited it; Bzang skyong re-edited it; and Phab dzang third-edited it." Next to this is a comment: "that's a lie – they didn't correct it!" This is followed by a second colophon: "the editing of the Sha-cu-pa-s did not correct this tome, so both the monk Zla 'od and De'u cing edited it and finalized it" (*dum bu 'di sha cu pas zhu ba ma dag nas/ ban 'de zla 'od dang/ de'u cing gnyis gyis zhus te gtan pa phab bo/*; Ma 2011: 432). A further colophonic note, recorded in Huang's 1982 catalogue, strongly suggests that the authors of such second colophons were based in Guazhou. It reads, "four lines of this are not found in the Guazhou exemplar. These are taken to be additions, and since it differs, it is set aside" (*'di nas phreng bzhi po ga cu pa'i dpe las ma byung ste lhag pa myi 'dra nas bzhag*; Huang 1982: 97). This reinforces the impression that Guazhou, as the destination for these *sūtra*s, was also the final authority in terms of their editing.

Having surveyed the editorial process in some detail as it pertains to rejecting, removing, and replacing folia, we can return to the problem of the precise meaning of the term *ro*. In translating the many editorial notes in which it appears, I have translated *ro* with "discard," and *ro(r) phyung* with "marked for removal (as)"

a discard." Chinese and Tibetan scholars have arrived at similar conclusions. In his study of discarded SP2 folia, Zhang Yanqing consistently translates *ro* with "discarded leaf" (*fei ye* 废页), and *phyung* with "to take out" (*chou chu* 抽出; Zhang 2009). Ma De records many editorial notes in his catalogue, some of which include the phrases *ro* and *ror dbyung*. Like Zhang, Ma translates the former with "discarded leaf" (*fei ye* 废页). He translates the latter with "remove a discarded leaf" (*fei ye jian chu* 废页检出); GL. t. 0344; Ma 2011: 102), albeit with occasional equivocation about the verb *dbyung* when it appears in the past stem *phyung* or variant/phonological spelling *byung*.

As mentioned above, Marcelle Lalou believed that *ro* translated the Sanskrit *kāya*, and took it to refer to the "corpus" of discarded folia that must be recopied (Lalou 1954: 259). Sanskrit *kāya* can also be translated with *sku*, as in *sku gsum* for *trikāya*. Tibetan *ro* is a polyvalent word whose principal meanings are "flavor" and "remains," as in "corpse." The Sanskrit equivalent of *ro*, in its principal meaning of flavor, is *rasa*, and has more to do with literary theory than with manuscript culture. I am aware of no attestation of the use of Sanskrit *śāva* "corpse" with reference to manuscripts or editing. It is clear from the many examples given above that *ro* is a noun. In the running tallies in the lower margins, a *ro* pertains to a scribe. In the editorial notes in the left margins, the faulty folio is a "*ro* marked for removal" or "marked for removal as a *ro*" (either *ro phyung* or *ror phyung*). This justifies its contextual translation with "discard." While Lalou's understanding of *ro* as the "ensemble à recopier" also captures the contextual meaning, the grammar of *ror phyung*, and particularly of *ro phyung*, suggests that the literal meaning of *ro* is something other than "body." In the expression *ro(r) phyung*, we assume that *ro* is the object of the verb "remove." The verb *phyung/'byin/dbyung* is usually understood to have an ergative-absolutive syntax (Hill 2010: 207). This is the syntax that we find with *phyung* in the hunting laws, where the verb appears repeatedly in clauses concerning the rescue of someone who has fallen under a yak.[50] Often we also find it with the ablative *nas*: "pulled

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[50]   For the hunting laws see Richardson 1998 [1990].

out from under a yak" (*g.yag gi 'og nas phyung*; PT 1071, r373), and we also find one example of the terminative in the same position (*g.yag gi 'og du phyung*; PT 1071, r348), where the meaning is obviously identical. This would seem to be exceptional, but a passage in a ritual text ITJ 734 further suggests that there may be an ablative use of the terminative with the verb *'byin/phyung/dbyung*. Here the phrase "they hear it in one ear and it comes out the other" employs the terminative: *rna ba ya gcig du thos na/ rna ba ya cig du phyung ste*; ITJ 734r15–16. Our translation of *keng spyan spyan gyi grar phyungo* with "removed from Keng Spyan spyan's group" at PT 1337, 4v, above, also assumes that this is a special case where the terminative has an ablative function in combination with *phyung*. The grammar of *ror phyung* thus leaves us two plausible options: it means "[he] marked [the leaf] for removal from the Body," or "he marked [the leaf] for removal as remains." The first option follows Lalou's suggestion that *ro* translates *kāya*, but note that this "body" cannot refer to the corpus of discarded folia, as Lalou thought, but must refer to the "Body" of the *sūtra*; the grammar of *phyung* does not allow removal *to* the *ro*. One is reminded of the dictum that the word of the Buddha, whether in the form of a full *sūtra*, a fragment, or a purpose-built metonymy such as the formula *ye dharmā hetu*, constitutes the entirety of the Dharma, and the body of the Buddha. In this case it is the editors who remove imperfection in order to produce a clean copy of the *sūtra* that could constitute the body of the Buddha. This gives an interesting sort of agency – akin to that of an image-maker – to the scribes and editors who fashion this body and remove imperfections in order to compose the larger body as a whole. The second option, "marked for removal as remains," begs the question, "remains of what?" Here one can look to compounds such as *sa ro* and *rdo ro* "remains of rock and earth = refuse, rubble," *me ro* "remains of fire = ashes," and *ja ro* "used tea leaves" (Jäschke 1998 [1881]: 535–536). These are the by-products of building work, of fire building, and of tea steeping. Given the alternation of *ror phyung* with the absolutive *ro phyung*, this option, which reads the terminative adverbially, is the more likely one, and we can conclude that *ro*, as in the above compounds, are the by-products of *sūtra* copying. Were one to make the meaning explicit, one could say that *ro* here implies [*dar ma*] *ro*, that

is, "[*sūtra*] refuse" or "[*sūtra*] remains." Happily, our supposition is confirmed by an editorial note preserved in Ma De's catalogue entry for Db. t. 682: "[Tome] one. Song gung legs' *sūtra* discard, marked for removal" (*ka $/:/ song gung legs gyi dar ma ror phyung ngo*; Ma 2011: 248).

While leftovers may not be as interesting as bodies or corpses, the term still raises some interesting questions pertinent to the nature of Cave 17 and to the relevance of text burial to Buddhism. The "[*sūtra*] remains" – discarded leaves of would-be *Buddhavacana* – were eventually deposited in Cave 17 in Dunhuang. It is interesting here to recall that Cave 17, the three-cubic-meter chamber from which these *sūtra* fragments were drawn, was, among other things, a reliquary chamber.[51] The depositing here of thousands of "remains" – keeping in mind that *ro* is also the word for corpse – suggests that the idea of text-burial or of a "Buddhist Genizah" is not inappropriate to a Buddhist context, and that it has at least some relevance to Cave 17 in Dunhuang.[52]

A Comparandum in the Chinese Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra *(MP)*

Given that the scribes and editors who produced SP2 also produced Chinese MP, we can also look to the editorial notes on these *sūtra*s for parallels to Tibetan *ro*. Richard Schneider made a study of many of the discarded panels of Chinese MP, along with the discarded panels of other Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts. These, like SP3, are in roll-format, with blank versos. The process for replacing a panel requires that one detach it from the panels to its left and right and, as in the case of a leaf, rewrite the faulty passage on a new panel. Once discarded, the blank versos of these MP panels were often reused, and two of them were employed in the construction of the scroll on which the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* was written.[53] What

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[51] On Cave 17 as a reliquary chamber for Hongbian, see Imaeda 2008. Cf. Huntington 1986.

[52] On the "Buddhist genizah" in a Gandhāran context, see Salomon 1999: 81–84 and Salomon 2009.

[53] See Vetch 1979 and Schneider 1996: 142, n. 3. See also van Schaik and Galambos 2012: 31–32, where it is noted that the majority of Tibetan docu-
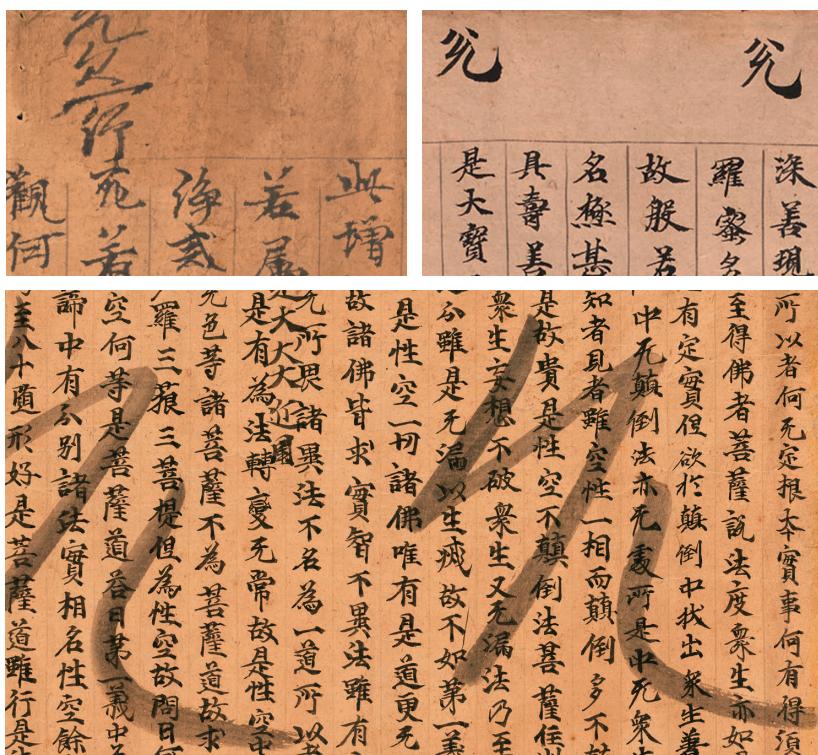
Figs. 18a–c. Editorial notes in top margin of discarded MP panels: "replace: one column missing" (兑欠一行), S. 877, and "replace," S. 449; and across an entire panel, S. 461; copyright British Library.

is most interesting in this context is Schneider's study of the editorial notes that parallel those found in SP2 folia. The most obvious is the word 兑 *dui*, "exchange," often written in large print in the top margin, or even super-imposed on the text of a faulty panel.[54] Schneider reviews earlier opinions on this term by Fujieda, who proposed that it was a contraction of 閲 *yue* "examine, revise," or 脱 *tuo* "remove," and Zuo Jingqun, who read it as 免 *mian*, mean-

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ments written on the versos of Chinese documents date to the tenth century, with the exception of the *Old Tibetan Annals*, the *Old Tibetan Chronicle*, and a few other documents.

54   I am indebted to Kazushi Iwao for first bringing this practice to my attention, in a conference paper subsequently published as Iwao 2014.

ing "to discard" (Schneider 1996: 145–146).[55] While graphically plausible, Schneider rejects the latter suggestion on the grounds that *mian* generally means "evade," and is otherwise unattested in the context Zuo Jingqun suggests. Schneider instead advocates reading the character as *dui*, and taking it at face value as "exchange" (Schneider 1996: 145–146).[56] Schneider further affirms that it signals that a panel on which it is found is discarded, and in practice translates it with "échanger," "écarter," and "annuler." As with *ro*, the contexts in which we find the term illuminate its meaning.

In margins of discarded MP panels one finds phrases such as "replace this panel" (址兌紙; S. 4776), and "this panel is to be replaced" (址紙兌了; S. 5286; Schneider 1996: 148). In other cases, one finds the character on its own, either in the top margin, or superimposed over an entire panel in weak ink and brush.[57]

Some editorial notes give further details. One in the top margin of S. 877 reads "replace: one column missing" (兌欠一行; S. 877 Schneider 1996: 148). In S. 933 a note over a repeated column reads, "one column copied twice," (重書一行), and an editorial note reads, "Jiutongzi replaced one panel" (就通子兌一張; Giles 1957: no. 299). An editorial note in the top margin of S. 5187 also associates a person with the replacement of the panel: it reads, "Fahui replaced it" (法會兌; Giles 1957: no. 748). Among other more detailed editorial notes, we find on the verso of S. 3425 "*sūtra*s in fourth bundle replaced" (第四襆兌經; Giles 1957: no. 701). A note repeated three times at S. 5290 reads, "it is replaced and removed" (兌此除; Giles 1957: no. 750).

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[55]   Schneider notes that in his catalogue of Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts in the British Library, Lionel Giles also translated *dui* with "examined."

[56]   Schneider bolsters his objection to Fujieda's interpretation with recourse to a note found in the margin of S. 4664: "remove one column. Replace the panel" (脫一行兌一紙; Schneider 1996: 144). Here, as Schneider points out, we have both *tuo* and *dui* together, which supports Schneider's reading of the latter at face value rather than as a contraction of the former.

[57]   This is true, for example, of S. 44, S. 308, S. 902, S. 955, S. 1331, S. 1452, S. 1793, S. 2401, S. 2948, S. 2996, S. 3018, S. 3095, S. 3157, S. 3158, S. 3207, S. 3312, S. 3435, S. 3479, S. 3830, S. 4497, S. 4575, and S. 4755.

From these editorial notes it is clear that the MP editors were following slightly different protocols than those in place concerning the marking of faulty SP2 leaves for removal, and those concerning the replacement of these discards. In the first place, while *dui* is sometimes written on a discarded, isolated panel, it is more often found in longer rolls, where the offending panel has not been removed and replaced. Where someone is named in connection with the act of "replacing" the panel, therefore, it is rather the case that he has marked it for replacement. This is essentially the same as what is done in the left-margin editorial note of an SP2 folio when an editor marks it "to be removed as a discard" (*ror phyung / dbyung*). Both *dui* and *ror phyung* represent an intermediate point in the editorial process, and both types of notes also occasionally give reasons for marking the offending writing.

The use of *dui* in MP editorial notes finds its more literal parallel in the few SP2 editorial notes that state that a panel is "to be replaced" (*brje lags*). Indeed Ma De translates the many occurrences of *brjes* or *brje lags* with the term *dui* or with *dui huan* 兑換 "exchange" (e.g., Ma 2011: 216). It is not equivalent to the final stage, however, when the offending writing has been replaced, and the word "replaced" (*brjes*) is written on the discarded panel. So, while *dui* might literally translate *brje*, the term *dui* is used in a manner that is a close corollary to *ro* and *ro*(*r*) *phyung*, which can, similarly, include editor's names and reasons for rejection.

Editorial notes in MP and in Chinese Dunhuang *sūtra*s are less helpful if one insists on finding a literal equivalent of Tibetan *ro*. A fairly close equivalent is *sheng* 剩, whose meaning is "residue, surplus, left-over, remainder." In S. 4716, we find a short editorial note that simply states "remove/cut the surplus" or "surplus removed/cut" 剩割, written because of repeated characters (Schneider 1996: 150). On the face of it, the phrase is the equivalent of *ro*(*r*) *phyung* in SP2. Looking at other examples, however, it is clear that this isn't the case. In the middle of S. 749 are three blank columns, in the center of which an editorial note reads, "three columns left over on this sheet: future inquirers, take note" (其紙三剩後尋者知; Giles 1957: no. 559). From this we can clearly see that *sheng* is not the equivalent of *ro*, but of Tibetan *lhag* – additions or excesses that

require removal. The note also appears to refer to the next stage
in the editorial process, and perhaps to the work of something not
unlike that of the "replacement teams" of SP2.

Schneider did not make use of Lalou's work, and so did not draw
the connection with either *ro* or *brje*, used in a similar context by
the same contingent of scribes. It is interesting, too, that Schneider
observes that *dui* was hardly ever used in this manner prior to
Tibetan occupation, that it appears almost exclusively in Dunhuang
manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries, and that it is largely
unknown elsewhere in China (Schneider 1996: 141–143). Were this
not so, one might assume – coming at it from the Tibetological side
– that the Chinese scribes who copied Chinese and Tibetan *sūtra*s
employed their own editorial traditions, and that the terminology
used in SP2 editorial notes translates Chinese editorial terms. But
if it is the case that the term *dui* is, barring a few exceptions, only
found in Dunhuang in the ninth and tenth centuries, then the reverse
may be true. In this case Chinese have, as is common practice, for
example, in the Chinese adaptation of Indian Buddhist concepts,
"translated" very selectively the Tibetan editorial terms *ro* and *ro(r)*
phyung. Using *dui*, they conveyed the same meaning as that of *ro*
and *ro(r) phyung* without having to resort to *sheng* or to an even
more negative character such as *shi* 尸 "corpse." The Chinese use of
dui instead of *ro* and *ro(r) phyung* also nicely justifies the attempts
of Fujieda and Zuo to gloss *dui* with *tuo* "to remove," and *mian*, "to
discard," while simultaneously validating Schneider's translation of
dui not only with "échanger," but also with "écarter" and "annuler."

Conclusions

Although the *sūtra*s commissioned for the Tibetan emperor are
the most numerous of all the documents in Dunhuang, they are
also among the most overlooked. Most scholars prefer to investi-
gate administrative and economic documents, ritual texts, histor-
ical narratives, and Buddhist *sūtra*s and treatises that hold more
interest in terms of their contents and their place within the histo-
ry of Buddhism. While this is understandable, we should not lose
sight of the fact that these *sūtra*s, datable to the 820s to 840s, are

our single most important resource for studying the paleography, codicology, and orthography of early Tibetan writing. In addition, they contain precious information about editorial and scribal practices, and about the social and cultural history of the people who produced them. These same scribes and editors – and those who trained them – are responsible for many of the letters, contracts and other Tibetan Dunhuang documents dating to the period of the Tibetan occupation of Dunhuang (c. 786–848).

The decade of Marcelle Lalou's research into the Tibetan Dunhuang SP, from 1954 to 1964, and culminating in her magisterial 1961 catalogue, represents the previous high water mark in the study of these *sūtra*s. Lalou's work, along with the digitization of these manuscripts, lays the foundation for the insights offered in the present study. It is also indebted to more recent work on the topic by Tsuguhito Takeuchi, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, Kazushi Iwao, Zhang Yanqing, and Ma De. To reprise some of our findings, administrative documents and colophons – many previously unstudied – allow us to confirm that the key horse year in which copies of SP and MP were commissioned was 826. This is not necessarily the inception of the *sūtra*-copying project, nor did these *sūtra*s cease to be repaired and replaced after the death in 841 of Khri Gtsug lde brtsan, the king for whom they were commissioned. We know that Chinese and Tibetan Ap copies, for example, were replaced after their distribution in a festival in 844. These, like MP and SP2, were produced in scriptoria in Shazhou. The provenance of SP1 and SP3 is less certain. A detailed examination of SP1 folia overturned, however, Lalou's contention that these were sent to Shazhou as exemplars for SP2. Marginal notes mention their being sent to Guazhou, which was also the destination for SP2. SP1 and SP2 are therefore parallel, and not subordinate, productions of the same *sūtra*-copying project. Their scribes do not overlap, and their different layouts and different foliation systems further confirm that they come from separate areas. Lalou's claim that SP1 were produced in central Tibet, and perhaps at Bsam yas Monastery, was cast into doubt by the observation that the colophons mentioning Śākyaprabha, Surendrabodhi, Vairocana, and Ye shes sde are demonstrably copied colophons.

This does not prove anything about the *sūtra*s' provenance, however, and for this we shall await microscopic analysis of the fibers used to manufacture SP1 folia.

SP2 folia are comparatively richer because of the editorial notes in their margins, and their greater number of jottings. The names of scribes and editors in their colophons overlap with those found in the administrative document ITJ 1359, which tallies the number of sheets of paper that each scribe is accused of having lost or stolen. The scribes came from each of the three thousand-districts of Shazhou, and they performed their work in separate scriptoria, some of them based in Shazhou's many temples. These different scriptoria operated according to different editorial norms. In many cases we find teams of three editors, but in others there are four. We also see some self-editing by scribes, and some editing by a single editor. Unlike SP1, there is little mention of "main editors" (*zhu chen*). Similarly, not every scriptorium marked discards in the same way. Among the methods found are the tearing of a sheet, the cutting of the leaf from the string hole to the margin, and the marking of the text with a large x or the large word "edited" (*zhus*). Some scriptoria wrote a running tally of discards, referred to as "remains" (*ro*) in editorial notes in the margins of the leaves. These are usually found in the bottom margin, and different scriptoria used different numbering systems for this purpose, none of which has been deciphered. In most cases the tally counts the number of leaves that have had to be discarded during the writing of a tome (*dum bu*), but in at least one case the tally pertains to the number of discards written by each individual scribe in the scriptorium. The same editors who wrote the tallies also wrote editorial notes in the left margin, which they partly cut. These notes, like those in the bottom margin, often gave the name of scribe who miswrote the leaf, and sometimes also gave the name of the editor who marked it for removal, and, occasionally, his reasons for doing so. Here we also see notes concerning the dismissal of scribes for shoddy work.

During this editorial work the tome appears to have already been bound by two cords running through its string holes. By cutting from one string hole to the margin, and by partially detaching

the left margin on which they made their editorial notes, the editorial team would have left in their wake a large, ragged-looking tome. Another scribal and editorial team was tasked with going through this leaf-by-leaf and replacing the discarded leaves. The fact that these hung out the sides of the tome would have aided their navigation. Coming to such a leaf, the replacement team unfastened the binding strings, removed the leaf, and tasked a scribe with rewriting it. To do so, the scribe used the faulty leaf as a model, incorporating any corrections and interlinear additions that the first editor(s) had added. One of the most difficult aspects of this task was to emulate the spacing of the original, and many replacement leaves display idiosyncratic spacing where scribes had to either expand or cramp their writing towards the end of the leaf. In other cases, repetition of the original scribe's errors, such as writing the verso upside-down, caused the replacement to be rejected as well. Once the replacement leaf was completed, it was placed in the tome. The "replacement team" sometimes added an editorial note to the bottom margin to say that it had been replaced (*brjes*). Often they tore the partially cut left margin. Such resulting scraps could then be reused as notes concerning the number of replaced leaves, and so forth. From one such note we know that the rejected leaves were not simply discarded at this point, but were submitted to the paper official. This served as proof for requests for extra paper and for any new levies of paper. This note also informs us of the immediate fate of these discards, if not of how they made their way into Cave 17 in Dunhuang. The completed tomes were sent to Guazhou, where another team of editors performed a final check and finalized the *sūtra*s.

The scribes and editors who produced SP2 were predominantly Chinese. They also produced Chinese and Tibetan Ap, and Chinese MP. Looking to the editorial notes on the latter, we find practices fairly similar to those employed in rejecting and replacing faulty SP2 folia. Here it appears that the editors have adapted Tibetan terminology, using the term "exchange" (*dui*) rather than "marked for removal as a discard" (*ror phyung*). Assuming that this terminology is a Chinese-language adaptation of Tibetan editorial practices, it skilfully avoids a literal rendering of the term *ro*, which

means "[*sūtra*] remains," but which can also mean "corpse." This terminology for referring to discarded *sūtra* folia has some interesting implications for on-going discussions concerning the nature of Cave 17 and the relevance of text burial to Buddhism.

While the present study represents a significant advance in our understanding of the *sūtra*-copying project commissioned for the Tibetan king from the 820s to the 840s, it is not exhaustive. Examining the editorial teams and the names of scribes in the tallies of discards, for example, it should be possible to reconstruct the personnel of some of Shazhou's scriptoria. The thousands of *pothī* leaves in the Dunhuang Museum and the Lanzhou Library surely also contain many fascinating editorial notes and jottings that could flesh out the picture given here. Elsewhere I have made a collaborative study of Tibetan Ap, but much work remains to be done on other *sūtra*s involved in the commission, notably Chinese Ap and MP. The discarded panels of SP3 also hold many rewards for the tenacious researcher. Their patches and jottings in particular are a further testament to the social and cultural history of Shazhou's scribes and editors, and the breadth of their administrative, clerical, and devotional work.

General Abbreviations

Ap	*Aparimitāyurnāma mahāyānasūtra*
ITJ	India Office Library Tibetan J; Tibetan manuscript from Dunhuang kept in the British Library in London
ITN	India Office Library Tibetan N; Tibetan wooden slip kept in the British Library in London
MP	*Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*
PT	Pelliot tibétain; Tibetan texts in the Pelliot collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.
SP1	*Śatasahasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra*s in large *pothī* format, shelfmarks PT 1299–1321
SP2	*Śatasahasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra*s in large *pothī* format, shelfmarks PT 1322–1493
SP3	*Śatasahasrikaprajñāpāramitāsūtra*s in roll format, shelfmarks PT 1494–2063

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