Buddhism in Central Asia III

Impacts of Non-Buddhist Influences, Doctrines

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Contents

CHAPTER 9

Sino-Tibetan Scholasticism: A Case Study of the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* in Dunhuang

Meghan Howard Masang

Abstract

This article approaches the question of how śāstric knowledge was transmitted between linguistic communities through an exploration of the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* [Epitome of Interdependent Origination] and the Tibetan and Chinese commentarial materials associated with it found in Dunhuang (敦煌). I focus on three texts: (1) a Tibetan preface (P. T. 767) that was likely scribed by the famous Sino-Tibetan translator Wu Facheng (d. ca. 864, 吳法成, Tib. 'Go Chos grub), (2) a set of Tibetan annotations to the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* (P. T. 762 and P. T. 766), and (3) a Chinese commentary, the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* 因緣心釋論開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the (Auto-)Commentary to the Treatise on the Heart of Causation; hereafter *Epitome Notes*] (T. 2816.85), possibly authored by Facheng. I demonstrate that the Tibetan preface was intended to circulate with an 'annotated gloss commentary' (Tib. *mchan tig*), and I argue that sets of annotations such as P. T. 766 should be seen as full-fledged commentarial works. I further point to parallels of structure, content, and phrasing between the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface and annotations, suggestive of a rough synthesis of Chinese commentarial forms with Indo-Tibetan content. In closing, I emphasise the impact of Tibetan scholasticism on ninth-century Sinophone Dunhuang Buddhism, and I highlight the importance of textual formats (materiality) and scholastic practices of translation and oral instruction (the social context) to the history of śāstric texts and traditions.

1 The *Epitome of Interdependent Origination* in the Dunhuang Corpus[1]

The *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* [Epitome of Interdependent Origination; hereafter *Epitome*] is a short Sanskrit work traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna

1 I would like to thank Lewis Doney and the organisers of the *BuddhistRoad* Final Conference, July 12–14, 2021, for the invitation to present the initial research that grew into this piece.

(fl. ca. 150–250).[2] It consists of seven verses (Skt. *kārikā*) that circulate both independently and embedded in an auto-commentary known as the *vyākhyāna*. The text organises the twelve links of dependent arising (Skt. *dvādaśāṅga pratītyasamutpāda*) under three headings—afflictions (Skt. *kleśa*), karma, and suffering (Skt. *duḥkha*)—and interprets them within a Middle Way (Skt. *madhyamaka*) framework.[3] Sanskrit manuscripts of the verses and the auto-commentary have been found in the Gilgit region and Lhasa.[4] The work's

I would also like to thank Carmen Meinert, Henrik H. Sørensen, and the other conference participants for their generous feedback and for the rich intellectual stimulation provided by their respective contributions. This article has benefitted greatly from the encouragement and suggestions of Amanda Goodman, Jacob Dalton, Robert Sharf, and Trent Walker. Throughout this paper, I transcribe interlinear additions in double curly brackets {{ }}; white square brackets ⟦ ⟧ denote text cancelled in the manuscript; square brackets [ ] contain damaged or illegible text that I have reconstructed on the basis of related manuscripts or texts; text between double angle brackets ⟪ ⟫ is a tentative reading. Additionally, I use a + sign to transcribe non-standard ligatures in Tibetan manuscripts.

2 An English translation of the text, based on the Tibetan, may be found in L. Jamspal and Peter Della Santina, "The Heart of Interdependent Origination of Acarya Nagarjuna with Commentary by the Author, Translated into English from the Tibetan," *Buddhist Studies* 1 (1974): 17–32. The verses, also based on the Tibetan, are translated on their own in Adam Pearcey, trans., "The Heart of Dependent Origination," *Lotsawa House* (2008), last accessed May 28, 2021. https://www.lotsawahouse.org/indian-masters/nagarjuna/heart-dependent-origination. On Nāgārjuna's dates, I follow Shaoyong Ye, "Nāgārjuna," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume Two: Lives*, ed. Jonathan A. Silk et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 335–336.

3 See, for instance, the assessments of Jamspal and Della Santina, "Heart of Interdependent Origination," 18; Christian Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana: Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1982), 171; Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, "D'un manuscrit tibétain des *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* de Nāgārjuna," *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 3 (1987): 103; Dan Lusthaus, *Buddhist Phenomenology: A Philosophical Investigation of Yogācāra Buddhism and the* Ch'eng Wei-shih lun (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2002), 68.

4 The Gilgit manuscript is held by the National Archives in Delhi. It is no. 61a in the hand-list in Lokesh Chandra, "Unpublished Gilgit Fragment of the *Prātimokṣasūtra*," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 4 (1960): 1–13. An edition and facsimiles are presented in Vasudeo V. Gokhale and Mohan Govind Dhadphale, "Encore: The *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* of Nāgārjuna," in *Principal Vaman Sivaram Apte Commemoration Volume*, ed. Mohan Govind Dhadphale (Poona: Deccan Education Society, 1978): 65–68. See also Oskar von Hinüber, "The Gilgit Manuscripts: An Ancient Buddhist Library in Modern Research," in *From Birch Bark to Digital Data: Recent Advances in Buddhist Manuscript Research*, ed. Paul Harrison and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2014): 79–135. In 1949, Vasudeo V. Gokhale discovered the text in a 14th-century philosophical anthology held by Kündé Ling (Tib. Kun bde gling) monastery in Lhasa and published a transcription of it as "Der Sanskrit-Text von Nāgārjuna's *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā*," in *Studia Indologica: Festschrift für Willibald Kirfel zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres*, ed. Otto Spies (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn, 1955): 101–106.

authorship and complicated textual history have been the subject of some scholarly debate, which is beyond the scope of this paper.[5]

The *Epitome* survives in Tibetan and Chinese translations. Received canons include the Tibetan translation of the verses and auto-commentary in two volumes (Derge Tōhoku nos. 3836/4553 and 3837/4554).[6] The first instance of the auto-commentary in the Peking edition of the Tengyur (Derge Tōhoku no. 3837 = Peking 5237) includes a colophon crediting the translation to the illustrious early-ninth–century translators Dānaśīla (fl. 814), Śīlendrabodhi (fl. 814), and Yéshé Dé (mid-8th c.–early-9th c., Tib. Ye shes sde).[7] This is contradicted by the catalogue to the Derge edition of the Tengyur, which attributes the translation to the 11th-century Ānanda and Drakjor Shérab (Tib. Grags

5 The controversies have centred on whether the text may be rightfully attributed to Nāgārjuna, as well as whether the final two verses (in *anuṣṭubh* meter) belong to the original text (otherwise in *āryā*). For a summary of the text's complex stemma and an argument against Nāgārjuna's authorship, see Carmen Dragonetti, "The *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* and the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna* of Śuddhamati," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 22 (1978): 87–93. Further discussion and a counterargument may be found in Scherrer-Schaub, "D'un manuscrit tibétain."

6 *rTen cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i snying po'i tshig le'ur byas pa* and *rTen cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i snying po'i rnam par bshad pa*. A collation of six Tibetan canonical versions, with reference to the Chinese of T. 1654.32 and Gokhale's (with Dhadphale) Sanskrit editions, is presented in Yūichi Kajiyama 梶山雄一, "Zōbon Innen shinron shaku 蔵梵因縁心論釋 [The Collated Tibetan Text of Nāgārjuna's Pratīyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna (*sic*)]," *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō* 日本佛教學會年報 [Journal of the Nippon Buddhist Research Association] 46 (1981): 1–15.

7 In general, attributions to Yeshé Dé, the most prolific translator of Tibetan canonical works, must be treated with circumspection, as Nils Simonsson demonstrated long ago. See Nils Simonsson, "Indo-tibetische Studien: Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie" (PhD diss., University of Uppsala, 1957), 211–212. The question of translator attributions in Chinese canons has received critical attention of late. See, for instance, Jan Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Han* 東漢 *and Three Kingdoms* 三國 *Periods* (Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2008). Meanwhile, Dan Martin has suggested that many of the names in canonical colophons to imperial-period translations date to the very late eighth or very early ninth centuries, whereas the names of translators working before that time rarely appear (personal communication). This work is unfortunately unpublished but was presented as "The Nine Translators: An Investigation into the Historical Transformation of a List," at the 13th International Association for Tibetan Studies Seminar, the Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the National University of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, July 21–27, 2013. A critical assessment of received Tibetan translation colophons remains a desideratum. Dānaśīla's and Śīlendrabodhi's life dates are unknown. Both are mentioned in the opening of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, as is Yéshé Dé, indicating that they were active in Tibet in the year 814.

'byor shes rab).[8] Nevertheless, the existence of an earlier translation is supported by the fact that the text is mentioned in the *Lhenkarma* catalogue (Tib. *dKar chag lHan kar ma*),[9] as well as by the Dunhuang manuscript evidence discussed below.[10] Whether we accept the Peking Tengyur's attribution or not, the Tibetan translation was clearly circulating in Central Tibet and Dunhuang (敦煌) by the early-to-middle ninth century.

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8 Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen, *sDe dge'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag* (New Delhi: Trayang and Jamyang Samten, 1974), v. 2, 335. As I discuss in my dissertation, translator attributions from the Derge catalogs must be treated with similar caution. See Meghan Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads: The Career of Wu Facheng 吳法成 / Go Chödrup འགོ་ཆོས་གྲུབ་ Set in Context" (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2022), 212, n. 888, and 308–313.

9 Marcelle Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan," *Journal Asiatique* 241.3 (1953): text no. 596. Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die Lhan kar ma: Ein früher Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), nos. 596A and 596B. The *Lhenkarma* catalogue dates to either 812 or 824, and a version exists in the Derge canon: *Pho brang stod thang ldan dkar gyi chos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag* [Catalogue of all Translated Dharma texts at Palace Tötang Denkar] (Derge Tōhoku no. 4364). Our text also appears in the *Phangthangma* catalogue (Tib. *dKar chag 'Phang thang ka ma*) compiled no earlier than 842. See Georgios Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered: A Catalog from the Imperial Court of 'Phang Thang," *The Eastern Buddhist* 36.1–2 (2004): 46–105, nos. 548–549; rTa rdo, ed., *dKar chag 'phang thang ma / sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* [The Palace Pangtang Catalog and The Composition of Terms in Two Parts] (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003), nos. 39–40. For recent discussions of the dates of both imperial catalogues, see Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered," 48, 58; and Brandon Dotson, "'Emperor' Mu rug btsan and the *'Phang thang ma Catalogue*," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007): 3–4. For a different take on the imperial catalogues, see Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die Lhan kar ma*, xvi–xxvii, where she proposes 806 as a date for the *Phangthangma*.

10 Pelliot chinois and Pelliot tibétain manuscripts (hereafter P. and P. T., respectively) are held by the Bibliothèque nationale de France and were acquired by Paul Pelliot during his Central Asian expedition that visited Dunhuang from February 12 to June 7, 1908. Manuscript numbers bearing the prefixes IOL Tib J and Or.8210/S. belong to the British Library's Stein Collections, having been acquired by Sir Aurel Stein in Dunhuang on his second (1906–1908) and third (1913–1916) expeditions to Central Asia. IOL Tib J denotes Tibetan manuscripts from Dunhuang—the IOL indicating that they were held by the India Office Library before being transferred to the British Library—while Or.8210/S. (hereafter S.) identifies manuscripts that were originally deposited in the British Museum. The latter corpus is mostly Chinese but includes Tibetan texts as well. BD manuscripts and those designated by Chinese *qianziwen* (千字文) characters are held by the National Library of China in Beijing. On the history of that collection, see Xinjiang Rong, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, trans. by Imre Galambos (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 164–169.

In the Dunhuang corpus, the Tibetan *Epitome* verses are attested in at least two manuscripts, and the auto-commentary in close to a dozen.[11] The surviving manuscripts are all incomplete, but there is no extant example of a Tibetan manuscript that presents the verses and the auto-commentary sequentially.[12] In all cases, the translations match the received versions closely. Many of the auto-commentary manuscripts are annotated with interlinear glosses and comments.[13] We also find several previously unknown Tibetan texts connected to the *Epitome*. These include a preface and one or more sub-commentaries to the auto-commentary.[14]

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11 The Dunhuang archive contains a large number of fragments of scholastic texts that have not yet been identified, many of which relate to interdependent origination. It is thus likely that further instances of the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* will come to light. The *kārikā*s are found in P. T. 769, on which see Scherrer-Schaub, "D'un manuscrit tibétain." Additionally, the first text in the fragment P. T. 779 should also be identified as the *kārikā*s. The *vyākhyāna* is found in IOL Tib J 621.1, IOL Tib J 623, and IOL Tib J 624; and P. T. 114.1, P. T. 762–766, and P. T. 768. Although I have not been able to examine the original manuscripts, P. T. 765 should most likely be recognised as the first folio of IOL Tib J 621. Similarly, IOL Tib J 623 and P. T. 768 may represent the first and last folios, respectively, of another manuscript; however, this identification is more tentative. Although the hands and formats of both manuscripts are similar, IOL Tib J 623 rubricates citations of the *kārikā*s that are embedded in the *vyākhyāna*, while P. T. 768 does not. P. T. 767 is mistaken for a copy of the *vyākhyāna* by Ueyama Daishun 上山大俊, "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron no shosō: 'Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji' o megutte 敦煌における因縁論の諸相—『因縁心釈論開決記』をめぐって / Tun-huang Manuscripts on Causation Theory—On the Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji," *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 仏教学研究 / *Studies in Buddhism* 39–40 (1984): 74; and by Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die Lhan kar ma*, no. 596B. As discussed in section 2.1, it is actually a preface to the *vyākhyāna*.

12 The two Sanskrit manuscripts that have come to light indicate that the text commonly circulated with the *kārikā*s followed directly by the *vyākhyāna* (in which they are embedded). This format is shared by Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang (S. 2462, S. 4235, P. 2045) and mirrored in the presentation of the texts in the Tibetan canons (Derge Tōhoku no. 3836/4553 and 3837/4554) and historical catalogues (*Lhenkarma*, *Phangthangma*, and Bu ston, on which see fn. 9 above and Nishioka Soshū 西岡祖秀, "*Putōn bukkyōshi* mokurokubu sakuin II『プトゥン仏教史』目録部索引II / Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu-ston's 'History of Buddhism' II," *Tōkyō daigaku bungakubu Bunka kōryū kenkyū shisetsu kenkyū kiyō* 東京大学文学部·文化交流研究施設研究紀要 / *Annual Report of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange, The University of Tōkyō* 5 (March, Shōwa 57 [1981]): 43–94, nos. 571–572). Ueyama reaches a similar conclusion regarding the text's original format on the basis of his study of the Chinese manuscripts and the Peking Tengyur colophon. See Ueyama, "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron," 73, 75.

13 IOL Tib J 623, and P. T. 762, P. T. 763, P. T. 766, and P. T. 768.

14 The preface may be found in P. T. 767. The *Tencing 'brel par 'byung ba'i snying po bshad pa'i 'brjed byang* [Aide-Memoire Explaining the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya*] follows the *vyākhyāna* in IOL Tib J 621.2 and appears independently in IOL Tib J 622. The same sub-commentary appears with significant variants in P. T. 778. For a detailed study of this text, see Saitō

Since all the Tibetan *Epitome* manuscripts are unsigned, the dating depends on an assessment of their codicological, palaeographic, and orthographic features. While a firm determination awaits examination of the original manuscripts, we can tentatively say that most share ninth-century features. For instance, the intersyllabic punctuation marks (Tib. *tsheg*) frequently drift downwards to align with the 'bodies' or midlines of the letters (rather than with the 'heads' or tops of the letters, as is standard for Tibetan writing of most periods; see fig. 9.1).[15] Several of the manuscripts appear on large-format paper that could have been acquired in connection with the ninth-century *sūtra*-copying projects.[16] The orthography of the annotated manuscripts is consistent with an early date, as is their use of scripts. The annotations to P. T. 766, for example, are written in *uchen* (Tib. *dbu can*, 'headed') script, which would be exceptional for Tibetan manuscripts of later periods.

Palaeographic evidence also connects at least one Tibetan *Epitome* manuscript to the Sino-Tibetan translator Wu Facheng (d. ca. 864, 吳法成), also known as Go Chödrup (Tib. 'Go Chos grub).[17] As I discuss in section 2.1,

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Akira 斉藤明, "Innen shinron shaku bibōroku 因縁心論釋備忘錄 [The Aide-Memoire to the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya*]," in *Tonkō kogo bunken* 敦煌胡語文献 [Dunhuang Documents in Non-Chinese Languages], ed. Yamaguchi Zuihō 山口瑞鳳 (Tokyo: Daitō Shuppansha, 1985), 323–335; and Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 202–203.

15 I am indebted to Jacob Dalton's observations regarding the importance of midline *tsheg*s for dating manuscripts (personal correspondence). He calls them the most reliable marker of a ninth-century date and discusses the question of dating further in chapter two of *Conjuring the Buddha: Ritual Manuals in Early Tantric Buddhism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2023), 245–246, n. 2.

16 IOL Tib J 621 (8 × 48 cm), IOL Tib J 623 (7.4 × 50.4 cm), P. T. 765 (8 × 47.6 cm), and P. T. 768 (7.6 × 51 cm) all measure close to a third of the paper size known as 'two-thirds of a long sheet' (Tib. *yug rings kyi sum nyis*, 48–49.5 × 27 cm). Could a 'two-thirds' roll panel have been cut into three *pothī* folios? Brandon Dotson and Agnieszka Helman-Ważny discuss the paper sizes for official *sūtra* copies and the dating implications for reuse of such paper, *Codicology, Paleography, and Orthography of Early Tibetan Documents: Methods and a Case Study* (Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2016), 45–47, 130–135.

17 The identification of individual scribal hands is one of the most promising frontiers in the study of Dunhuang manuscripts. There are significant challenges to this work, especially when dealing with learned hands that aim at uniformity, but for Tibetan manuscripts that are rarely signed and almost never dated, palaeography offers one of the only ways forward. This technique has been pioneered by Sam van Schaik and Jacob Dalton. See Jacob Dalton, Tom Davis, and Sam van Schaik, "Beyond Anonymity: Paleographic Analyses of the Dunhuang Manuscripts," *Journal of the International Association for Tibetan Studies* 3 (2007): 1–23; and Sam van Schaik, "The Origin of the Headless Script (*dbu med*) in Tibet," in *Medieval Tibeto-Burman Languages IV*, ed. Nathan W. Hill (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 411–446; Sam van Schaik, "Dating Early Tibetan Manuscripts: A Paleographical Method," in *Scribes, Texts, and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, ed. Brandon Dotson,

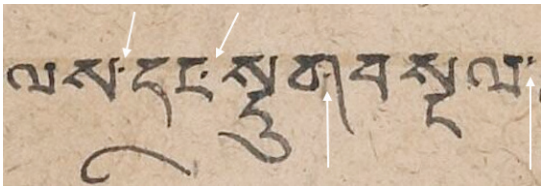

FIGURE 9.1 Detail of four Tibetan syllables (*las dang sdug bsngal*) separated by intersyllabic *tsheg* punctuation. The mark after the fourth syllable (*bsngal*) appears on the guide line next to the letter heads. The mark after the first syllable (*las*) is slightly lowered; that after the second syllable (*dang*) aligns with the body of the *nga*; and the mark for the third syllable (*sdug*) appears within the letter *ga*. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 764, FOL. 1V3, BNF

the untitled preface in P. T. 767 is scribed in a hand connected to Facheng's circle—possibly belonging to the translator himself.[18] Additionally, it closely resembles other prefaces in a set of manuscripts tied to Facheng and his translation work.[19] Thus the *Epitome* appears to have been the subject of exegeti-

Kazushi Iwao, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013), 119–135; Sam van Schaik, "Towards a Tibetan Palaeography: Developing a Typology of Writing Styles in Early Tibet," in *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, ed. Jörg Quenzer, Dmitry Bondarev, and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 299–337. The most comprehensive approach can be found in Dotson and Helman-Ważny's recent case study, *Codicology, Paleography, and Orthography*.

18 Ueyama first proposed in 1967/1968 that Facheng's Tibetan and Chinese hands are both represented among the Dunhuang manuscripts. Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, "Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi shamon Hōjō no kenkyū 大蕃国大徳三蔵法師沙門法成の研究 [Research on Facheng, Bhadanta of Great Tibet, Trepiṭaka Dharma Master, and Śramaṇa]," *Tōhō gakuhō Kyōtō* 東方学報京都 / *Journal of Oriental Studies* (*Kyoto*) 38 (1967): 133–198; and 39 (1968): 119–222. This tantalising possibility is finally receiving the attention it deserves in parallel studies by Channa Li and myself. I believe the rigor of a cutting-edge palaeographic approach will be borne out by the complementary results of our independent studies. My discussion here is based on my own findings in the appendix to my dissertation. There, I build a typology of Facheng's Tibetan hand on the basis of the group of manuscripts first signalled by Ueyama. I then return to the archive in search of unsigned works in that hand. See Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 305–345. For Li's work, see Channa Li, "Towards a Typology of Chödrup's (Tib. Chos Grub, Chin. Facheng 法成) Cursive Handwriting: A Palaeographical Perspective," *BuddhistRoad Paper* 1.2 (2021).

19 One of the important findings of my palaeographical analysis is the identification of a set of prefaces (Tib. *mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa*) that have so far gone unnoticed in the

cal analysis by Facheng, and we can likely credit members of his circle with a number of the Tibetan *Epitome* manuscripts.

There are two Chinese translations of the *Epitome*. The *Shier yinyuan lun* 十二因緣論 [Treatise on the Twelve Factors of Causation] (T. 1651.32) was translated by Bodhiruci (fl. 6th c., Chin. Putiliuzhi 菩提流支) sometime between 508 and 537 and is attributed to one Bodhisattva Jingyi (Chin. Jingyi pusa 淨意菩薩, Skt. *Śuddhamati), a name that may or may not refer to Nāgārjuna.[20] The second Chinese translation, corresponding very closely to the Tibetan, is the *Yinyuan xin lun* 因緣心論 [Treatise on the Heart of Causation] (T. 1654.32), which names Nāgārjuna (Chin. Longmeng pusa 龍猛菩薩) as its author. Known only from Dunhuang, the verses and auto-commentary of the second translation are attested in at least nine manuscripts, including at least four manuscripts in which the commentary follows directly after the verses.[21] Several of

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Dunhuang corpus, on which see section 2.1 below. Although it is untitled, the preface to the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* contained in P. T. 767 shares many features of the group.

20 The dates of Bodhiruci's work are taken from Dragonetti, "The *Kārikā* and *Vyākhyāna* of Śuddhamati," 88, n. 2. On the name *Śuddhamati, first proposed by Bunyiu Nanjio in his catalogue of the Chinese canon, *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka: The Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), see Dragonetti, "The *Kārikā* and *Vyākhyāna* of Śuddhamati," and Carmen Dragonetti, "Some Notes on the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā* and the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛadayavyākhyāna* Attributed to Nāgārjuna," *Buddhist Studies* 6 (1979): 70–73. Lindtner points out that Nāgārjuna is referred to by Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla as Blo gros bzang po (*Sumati), and thus, especially given Bodhiruci's loose translation style, Jingyi could refer to Nāgārjuna. See Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana*, 170.

21 *Yinyuan xin lun song* 因緣心論頌 [Verses of the Treatise on the Heart of Causation] and *Yinyuan xin lun shi* 因緣心論釋 [(Auto-)Commentary to the Treatise on the Heart of Causation], respectively. T. 1654.32 is edited based on S. 1358 and S. 2462. The verses and auto-commentary are found sequentially in S. 1358, S. 2462, S. 4235, and P. 2045.6. Note that the title of P. 2045.6 is given as *Yuanqi xin lun bing shi* 緣起心論并釋 [Treatise on the Heart of Conditioned Arising with (Auto-)Commentary]. The verses appear alone in BD 3355 (*yu* 雨 55). The auto-commentary is found alone in S. 1513, but since the manuscript's head is missing, we cannot confirm that the commentary was not originally preceded by the verses. Ueyama reports that BD 4083 (*li* 麗 83) and BD 6239 (*hai* 海 39) are copies of the auto-commentary, while the National Library of China catalogue identifies them as the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji*'s sub-commentary (see below). Ueyama also reports that BD 6217 (*hai* 海 17) consists only of the auto-commentary and BD 7468 (*guan* 官 68) only of the verses, but the National Library of China catalogue lists both manuscripts as the verses and auto-commentary in sequence. See Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū* 敦煌佛教の研究 [Studies in Dunhuang Buddhism] (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1990), 204; and *Guojia tushuguan cang Dunhuang yishu* 國家圖書館藏敦煌遺書 [Dunhuang Manuscripts Held in the National Library of China], comp. Zhongguo guojia tushuguan 中國國家圖書館 [National Library of China], ed. Ren Jiyu 任繼愈 (Beijing: Beijing

these manuscripts bear reading marks in red ink.[22] Unfortunately, none of the manuscripts lists a translator. Nevertheless, Vasudev Gokhale has argued on the basis of textual analysis that T. 1654.32 was likely translated from Tibetan.[23] Similarly, Daishun Ueyama believes it was translated in Dunhuang or nearby and that all extant manuscripts date to the Tibetan period (late 750s/early 760s–848).[24] Taken together, the assessments of Gokhale and Ueyama raise the possibility that the text was translated by Facheng, the most prominent Sino-Tibetan translator of the period.

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tushuguan chubanshe, 2005), s.v. I have unfortunately been unable to examine images of the manuscripts held in Beijing.

22 See, for instance, S. 1358 and S. 1513.

23 Vasudev Gokhale, "Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra des Ullaṅgha, kritisch behandelt und aus dem Chinesischen ins Deutsche übertragen" (PhD diss., University of Bonn, 1930), 4, n. 1. Gokhale's argument hinges on the order of the similes listed in *kārikā* 5.

24 Ueyama, "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron," 73, 74. Ueyama notes that all the extant manuscripts share features of the Tibetan period, which he dates elsewhere variously as 781– or 782–848. See, for instance, Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 25. The catalogue of the National Library of China lists BD 4083 (*li* 麗 83), BD 6217 (*hai* 海 17), and BD 6239 (*hai* 海 39) as eighth–ninth century (*Guojia tushuguan*, s.v.). John Jorgensen dates P. 2045 to the Tibetan period, though without any discussion of his appraisal: John Jorgensen, "The Platform Sūtra and the Corpus of Shenhui: Recent Critical Text Editions and Studies," *Revue bibliographique de sinologie* 20 (2002): 404. Ueyama believes that P. 2045, which contains a passage from Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary must postdate that text's composition, circa 833. See Ueyama Daishun 上山大峻, "Tonkō ni okeru zen no shosō 敦煌における禪の諸層 / Many Aspects of the Dun-huang Ch'an Documents," *Ryūkoku daigaku ronshū* 龍谷大学論集 / *The Journal of Ryukoku University* 421 (1982): 96. However, the colophon to P. 2328 indicates that Facheng's commentary may have been composed as early as 813. See also the discussion in Wu Chi-yu 吳其昱, "Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi Hōjō denkō 大蕃国大徳三藏法師法成伝考 [Considering the Life of Facheng, Bhadanta of Great Tibet and Trepiṭaka Dharma Master]," trans. Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 and Higuchi Masaru 樋口勝, in *Tonkō to Chūgoku Bukkyō* 敦煌と中国仏教 [Dunhuang and Chinese Buddhism], ed. Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 and Fukui Fumimasa 福井文雅 (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1984), 383–414. For further discussion of P. 2045, see fn. 67. Regarding the dates of the Tibetan period, I follow Bianca Horlemann, "A Re-evaluation of the Tibetan Conquest of Eighth-century Shazhou/Dunhuang" in *Tibet, Past and Present: Tibetan Studies 1, Proceedings of the International Association of Buddhist Studies 2000*, ed. Henk Blezer (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 49–66. While it remains unclear precisely when the walled city of Dunhuang (and the entire prefecture of Shazhou 沙州) fell to the Tibetans, Horlemann argues persuasively against the earlier propositions of 781 and 786, demonstrating that the Tibetans had cut off all of Hexi (河西) from the Tang by 764 and that Dunhuang itself was under Tibetan rule at least by 777. Even if we posit that Dunhuang managed to resist the Tibetans longer than other parts of Hexi, it must have been besieged and thus effectively under Tibetan control starting sometime in the window identified by Horlemann.

The Dunhuang archive also contains at least four manuscripts of an otherwise unknown commentary on the *Epitome* (T. 1654.32) entitled *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* 因緣心釋論開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the (Auto-)Commentary to the *Treatise on the Heart of Causation*; hereafter *Epitome Notes*] (T. 2816.85).[25] While all known copies of the *Epitome Notes* are unsigned, Ueyama has argued that the text should most likely be attributed to Facheng based on its distinctive title, format, and citations.[26] Ueyama points to, for instance, the *Dasheng sifa jing lun guangshi kaijue ji* 大乘四法經論廣釋開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the *Extensive Gloss to the Commentary on the Great Vehicle Caturdharmikasūtra*] (T. 2785.85), compiled by Facheng, which has a similar title and structure.[27] Parallels of structure and terminology and a shared group of proof texts are seen in Facheng's *Dasheng daoyu jing suiting shu* 大乘稻芋經隨聽疏 [Commentary Compiled in the Course of Listening to the *Great Vehicle Śālistambasūtra*] (T. 2782.85).[28]

To summarise, among the Dunhuang manuscripts, we find ample attestation of the *Epitome* in both Tibetan and Chinese, including otherwise unknown commentarial materials in both languages. The manuscript remains in both languages indicate that the *Epitome* attracted particular interest in

25 S. 269, S. 541, P. 2211, and P. 2538V. Unfortunately, the editors of the Taishō chose S. 269, which is missing the last portion of the commentary, as the basis for their edition (T. 2816.85). On possible copies held by the National Library of China, see fn. 21.

26 For Ueyama's discussion of this commentary, see Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 203–209, as well as Ueyama, "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron," which is a lengthy exploration of the full historical and doctrinal context in which the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* was produced. His full argument regarding the possibility of Facheng's authorship can be found in Ueyama, "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron," 59–60.

27 See Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 186–195. The *Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the Extensive Gloss to the Commentary on the Great Vehicle Caturdharmikasūtra* consists of a five-part introductory section followed by a gloss on *Jñānadatta's (d.u., Chin. Zhiwei 智威) sub-commentary (Skt. *ṭīkā*) to Vasbandhu's commentary (Skt. *vyākhyā*) on the *Caturdharmikasūtra*. As will be discussed below, the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* similarly opens with a four-part introduction followed by a gloss on Nāgārjuna's auto-commentary.

28 See Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 209–215. Another example is the *Liumen tuoluoni jing lun bing guangshi kaijueji* 六門陀羅經論并廣釋開決記 [Notes that Lay Open and Resolve the Meaning of the *Commentary and Extensive Gloss on the Ṣaṇmukhīdhāraṇīsūtra*], which, although not signed by Facheng, bears hallmarks of his work. Incidentally, the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* auto-commentary is followed by the *Ṣaṇmukhīdhāraṇīsūtra* and Vasubandhu's commentary on it in S. 1513. Regarding this latter text, see Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 195–203.

ninth-century Dunhuang (or the wider Hexi (河西) region).[29] Moreover, while the evidence is admittedly circumstantial, the text appears to have received significant attention from Facheng who composed commentarial materials on it in both languages and possibly produced the Chinese translation. It would further appear that a sizeable number of the surviving manuscripts connected with the *Epitome*—in both Tibetan and Chinese—were produced by Facheng and his circle of disciples in the course of his scholastic engagements with the text.

In other words, it looks quite likely that a specific group was studying the *Epitome* in both languages at more or less the same time and in the same place (that is, either in Shazhou or Ganzhou). Even if we cannot tie manuscripts to specific individuals, the contemporaneous engagement with the *Epitome* by Sino- and Tibetophone Buddhists makes the Dunhuang commentarial materials to the *Epitome* a promising corpus for a case-study of doctrinal exchange and transmission in ninth-century Dunhuang and the surrounding region. To that end, this paper will focus on three items: (1) the Tibetan preface in 'the Chödrup hand' (P. T. 767), (2) two sets of Tibetan annotations to the auto-commentary (P. T. 762 and P. T. 766), and (3) the *Epitome Notes*, possibly authored by Facheng (T. 2816.85).

29 We know from colophon evidence, collected comprehensively by Ueyama but first signalled by Paul Pelliot in 1908, that Facheng spent portions of his career in Dunhuang and Ganzhou (甘州). Though all the manuscripts discussed in this article were discovered in Dunhuang (Mogao Cave 17), their links to Facheng open the possibility that they were originally scribed in Ganzhou. This is particularly the case for the Chinese manuscripts and the three Tibetan manuscripts on which I focus below, P. T. 762, P. T. 766, and P. T. 767. We should also not rule out the possibility that Tibetan *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* manuscripts were brought to Dunhuang from Central Tibet or the region of the Blue Lake (Tib. mTsho sngon po, Mong. Köke nayur, Chin. Qinghai hu 青海湖, in western literature often referred to as Lake Kokonor). For more on the links between the Dunhuang corpus and scriptoria in the Blue Lake region, see fn. 98. It has not been possible to assess the provenance of each manuscript touched on in this article. I merely draw the reader's attention to possible origins beyond Dunhuang, and I thank Carmen Meinert for stressing the importance of this possibility. For chronologies of Facheng's career, see Ueyama, "Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi shamon Hōjō," 151–155; Wu Chi-yu, "Daibankoku daitoku sanzō hōshi Hōjō"; and Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 210–213, and 215–216. Paul Pelliot's initial recognition of Facheng's time in Ganzhou can be found in his letter to Émile Senart, published as "Une bibliothèque médiévale retrouvé au Kan-sou," *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* 8.3–4 (1908): 513.

2 Tibetan Commentarial Materials

2.1 *The Tibetan Preface* (*P. T. 767*)

P. T. 767 is a two-folio *pothī* (Tib. *dpe cha*) manuscript that contains an untitled Tibetan preface to the *Epitome* (fig. 9.2). As I have demonstrated elsewhere, P. T. 767 is scribed in a hand that I term 'the Chödrup hand' (i.e., Facheng's Tibetan hand).[30] We cannot definitively prove that this hand is Facheng's, but the corpus of manuscripts on which it appears is closely linked to Facheng. If it is not his own hand, it must belong to a member of his inner circle.

Furthermore, P. T. 767 closely resembles a set of prefaces tied to Facheng and his translation work.[31] As I discuss elsewhere, my analysis of the Chödrup hand has allowed me to recognise a set of manuscripts scribed in the hand that have so far drawn little attention from scholars. The coherence of the list thus yielded argues for the potential rigor of a palaeographic approach. Generally between one and two folios in length, these little texts are styled 'prefatory aide-memoires' (Tib. *mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa*). All follow a similar structure, identifying the reason that the scripture or treatise in question was taught, locating it within a Buddhist doxographical framework, and identifying major divisions in the text's outline. All draw on a constellation of shared imagery and expressions—to the extent that they read as variations on a template.[32] It is, moreover, possible to identify the text being introduced by each preface, and in all cases it is a text closely related to Facheng's Tibetan translations.[33] Additionally, two of the prefaces reference 'annotated gloss

30 I discuss the Chödrup hand in Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 305–345. See also Li, "Towards a Typology."

31 P. T. 617/IOL Tib J 300, IOL Tib J 301, IOL Tib J 589, and P. T. 771. I would like to thank Channa Li for generously sharing her photographs of P. T. 771, which were the only images of this manuscript available to me. I present a detailed study of these manuscripts, including a discussion of how I came to identify them as a set in Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 192–199.

32 In Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 192–199, especially 193 and 198–199, I show that this template was a Tibetan translation of the preface (Chin. *xu* 序) to the **Mahāvibhāṣa* (T. 1545.27, 2a12–b22), made on the basis of the Chinese translation by Xuanzang (600/602–664, 玄奘). I argue that, of the surviving prefaces, IOL Tib J 301 is closest to what the original template must have looked like.

33 P. T. 617 and IOL Tib J 300 together comprise a single manuscript containing an untitled preface to the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*. As detailed in Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 196–199, IOL Tib J 301 contains what appears to be an earlier draft of the same preface. Facheng translated Wŏnch'ŭk's (613–696, 圓測) commentary on this *sūtra* into Tibetan (Derge Tōhoku no. 4016). IOL Tib J 589 introduces Āryadeva's *Akṣaraśataka* (*bsTan bcos yi ge brgya pa bshad pa'i mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa* [Prefatory

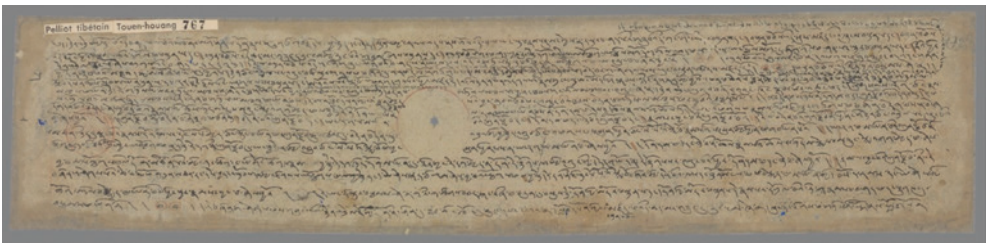

FIGURE 9.2A The Tibetan preface to the *Epitome*, 9.5 × 44 cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 767, FOL. 1R, BNF

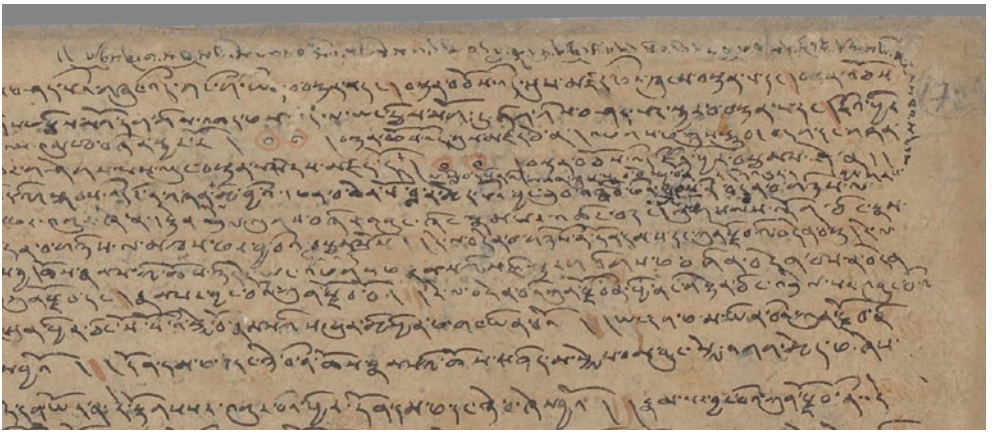

FIGURE 9.2B Detail of 'the Chödrup hand' on the Tibetan preface. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 767, FOL. 1R1–12, BNF

commentaries' (Tib. *mchan tig*, from Sanskrit *ṭīkā* for a gloss-style commentary), signalling that they were intended to circulate with annotated manuscripts of the text in question.[34]

Aide-Memoire Explaining the *Akṣaraśataka* Treatise]), and P. T. 771 introduces *Ullaṅgha's **Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra* (*bsTan bcos rten 'brel sum cu pa bshad pa'i mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa* [Prefatory Aide-Memoire Explaining the **Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra*]). Colophons to IOL Tib J 588 indicate that Facheng translated both of these texts into Tibetan from Chinese. For further details on Facheng's involvement with these texts, see the respective sections of Ueyama, *Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 117–119, 149–150, 150–151; and Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 190–199, esp. 191–192, 198–199, and 211–212.

34 IOL Tib J 589 and P. T. 771. In Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 190–193, I explore the significance of these references to annotated commentaries in light of annotated manuscripts of the *Akṣaraśataka* and **Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra* in the Dunhuang corpus. We know very little about the origins of this genre. The name references the Sanskrit

Although it does not call itself a 'prefatory aide-memoire', P. T. 767—which is untitled—shares several features with this group. The distinctive scribal hand and manuscript format immediately suggest a link with the set. As we will see in a moment, the text in P. T. 767 is presented in a six-part structure (table 9.1) that is considerably more elaborate than that of the other prefaces and departs from their template. This structure nevertheless encompasses the three main topics found in the other prefaces.

The Tibetan preface in P. T. 767 references an annotated gloss commentary. Specifically, it twice tells us that the various divisions of the *Epitome* treatise will be identified in the annotations to the text.[35] In one case, it refers simply to annotations (Tib. *mchan*), and in the other instance uses the term 'annotated gloss commentary' (Tib. *mchan tig*). Like the other prefaces in the Chödrup hand, P. T. 767 was apparently intended to accompany an annotated text.

2.2 *The Tibetan Annotations* (*P. T. 762 and P. T. 766*)

In Dunhuang, there are at least five Tibetan manuscripts with annotations to the *Epitome*.[36] In all cases the auto-commentary is written in *uchen* script.[37]

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commentarial genre *ṭīkā*, but comments in smaller script also have a long history in Chinese exegesis. On annotated Sanskrit manuscripts, see Camillo Alessio Formigatti, "Sanskrit Annotated Manuscripts from Northern India and Nepal" (PhD diss., University of Hamburg, 2015). See also Bidur Bhattarai, *Dividing Texts: Conventions of Visual Text-Organisation in Nepalese and North Indian Manuscripts* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020). Also note my comments on the *mchan tig* format in section 5 and the discussion of the *ṭīkā* genre in Jonardon Ganeri, "Sanskrit Philosophical Commentary," *Journal of the Indian Council of Philosophical Research* 27 (2010): 190, 202, n. 12.

35 P. T. 767, fols. 2r4, 2r11.

36 IOL Tib J 623, and P. T. 762, P. T. 763, P. T. 766, and P. T. 768. As mentioned above, IOL Tib J 623 and P. T. 768 may belong to the same manuscript, though a determination awaits examination of the physical manuscripts. With the exception of P. T. 762 (on which, see below), these manuscripts are in *pothī* format. In IOL Tib J 623, P. T. 763, and P. T. 766, lines from the verses are written in red to set them off from the text of the auto-commentary in which they are embedded. In addition, some of the annotations to P. T. 766 are also rubricated.

37 According to the typology first proposed by van Schaik in "Origin of the Headless Script" and van Schaik, "Towards a Tibetan Palaeography," 309–312, our manuscripts belong to the 'sūtra style'. There is some variation in the scripts: P. T. 763 shares some features of the 'square style' (ibid., 306–309); P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 incorporate various cursive features. While the annotations to some of the manuscripts are clearly cursive, those in P. T. 762 are perhaps better described as the headless official style, while those in P. T. 766 are a mixture of headed and headless official styles. For a description of the so-called official styles, see van Schaik, "Towards a Tibetan Palaeography," 312–314.

The annotations are written directly below the word or phrase on which they comment,[38] though we find certain variations in their visual organisation.[39]

Upon examining the content of the glosses, it becomes clear that these five manuscripts represent two or three distinct sets of annotations. The annotations to IOL Tib J 623 and P. T. 763 share significant overlaps. P. T. 768 may also belong to this set, but this cannot be confirmed.[40] Meanwhile, the annotations to P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 match so closely that they may be considered the same text. I reflect on the significance of the existence of multiple sets of annotations in section 5. For the moment, I want to focus on the set represented by P. T. 762 and P. T. 766.

Both P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 are significantly damaged (figs. 9.3 and 9.4). Furthermore, P. T. 762—a relatively rare 'roll-type' manuscript—is unfinished.[41]

38 In some manuscripts, the root text has clearly been spaced in anticipation of the annotations for a given section. For example, there is a large space left after P. T. 763, fol. 11, and a single *uchen* letter *pa* appears in between lines 1 and 2 of the root text. The scribe apparently began to write line 2 (which begins with a *pa*) with the same spacing as the other lines but then thought better of it and moved line 2 down to accommodate the relatively lengthy introductory annotations. Although P. T. 114.1 is not annotated, the large and irregular spacing between the lines of text suggests that it was prepared in anticipation of annotations. The boxes surrounding the annotations to P. T. 766 are frequently too big or too small for their contents, indicating that they too were prepared in advance. See the detailed discussion of this manuscript below.

39 The annotations to IOL Tib J 623, P. T. 763, and P. T. 768 are relatively sparse and neatly written. They generally extend from the start of the line on which they comment until they reach the margin or the starting point of another set of annotations, at which point they begin a new line directly below and flush with the first. In cases where two sets of annotations fall close together, we often find them separated by vertical lines or squiggles. For instance, the annotations to 'time and' (Tib. *dus dang*) and 'essence' (Tib. *ngo bo nyid dang*) towards the end of P. T. 763, fol. 11, have been separated by extending the vertical *shad* punctuation mark between the lines of the root text. IOL Tib J 623 and P. T. 768 both use a vertical squiggle in between sets of annotations (see fig. 9.5b.) By contrast, the annotations to P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 are considerably denser (see figs. 9.3b and 9.4c.) In both cases, these annotations are organised by boxes and bubbles delineated with a combination of red and black ink in both smooth and squiggly lines. The scribe of P. T. 766 also employs the vertical squiggle found on other manuscripts, which appears on its own and as part of a box. Additionally, the scribes of both P. T. 766 and P. T. 762 (like that of the preface in P. T. 767, fig. 9.2b) show a penchant for wrapping text into the margins.

40 P. T. 768 is the final folio of the original manuscript, and the corresponding portion of the other manuscripts has been lost (or, as in the case of P. T. 762, never existed).

41 In P. T. 762, the auto-commentary text breaks off after citing the fourth (of seven) verses at the top of the roll's fifth panel. Moreover, annotations are only supplied for a portion of the first panel, petering out before the citation of the first verse. Only two folios survive of P. T. 766, corresponding to the first third of the received text. Although P. T. 766 shows no sign of having been left unfinished, there is no way confirm this. Note that the BnF has incorrectly flipped the recto and verso of P. T. 766's first folio. My citations of the

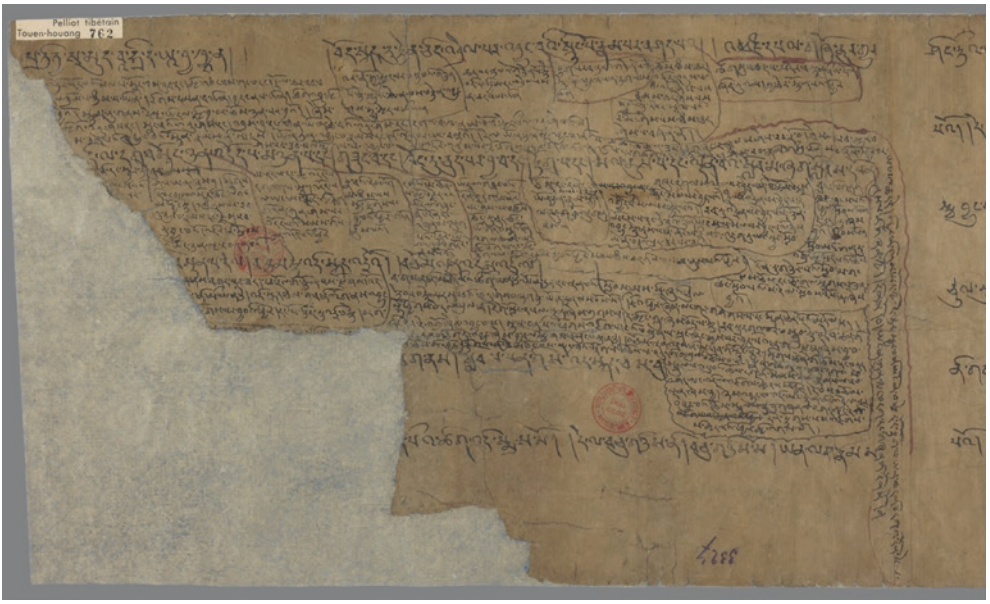

FIGURE 9.3A Tibetan annotations to the *Epitome*, 25.5 cm × 195 cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century P. T. 762, PANEL 1, BNF

Although such an assessment remains tentative, the two manuscripts appear to be the work of different scribes. The annotations to P. T. 766 are tiny but uniquely retain many features of *uchen* script, whereas the annotations to P. T. 762 are in an *umé* (Tib. *dbu med*, 'headless') script with some cursive features (figs. 9.3b, 9.4b, and 9.4c).[42] Scholars of Tibetan manuscripts have yet to assess the effects of writing size on scribal hands, nor has anyone attempted to trace a specific scribe's hand across different scripts. For these reasons, it is currently impossible to say much on palaeographic grounds about the relationship of the scribal hands on P. T. 762 and P. T. 766.

There are, however, orthographic indications that P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 are the work of separate scribes. In P. T. 766, for instance, the word *yang*, 'also', is regularly contracted with the letter *nga* written below the *ya* (fig. 9.4b), an uncommon practice not encountered in P. T. 762. The scribes of both manuscripts follow non-standard patterns of aspiration, yet each is idiosyncratic.

manuscript are to its original (corrected) foliation. Thus "fol. 1r" refers to what the BnF labels "1v" and vice versa.

42 The annotations to P. T. 762 could be characterised as an example of headless official style, although in terms of content they obviously depart from the group of manuscripts—administrative documents and correspondence—on which the description of the style is based in van Schaik, "Towards a Tibetan Palaeography," 312–314.

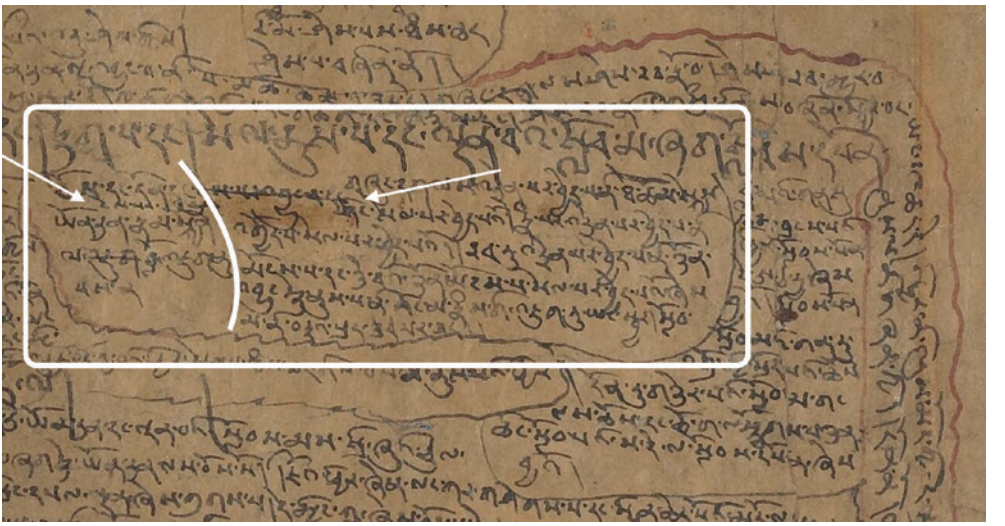

FIGURE 9.3B Detail of the scribal hand and annotation layout. Annotations to two successive phrases in the root text (*rtog pa dang* and *sel nus pa dang ldan ba'I slob ma zhIg*) enclosed in white box with the dividing line between them highlighted in white. The phrase *nges par 'byung ba dang* belongs to the first annotation, but after writing it in line with the first line of the annotation on the left, the scribe decided to restrict that annotation (to *rtog pa dang*) to a narrower box. He accordingly cancelled the words orphaned in the neighbouring annotation box (indicated by arrow on the right) and inserted them between the first two lines of the box to the left (arrow on the left). Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 762, PANEL 1, L. 2, BNF

For example, in P. T. 766 the word *thams cad*, meaning 'all', is written *thams shad*, while in P. T. 762 it alternates between *thams cad* and *thams chad*, with a distinct preference for the latter. Scholars of Old Tibetan are not yet able to explain the significance of the non-standard spellings encountered in Dunhuang manuscripts. Until we understand more about spelling in Old Tibetan manuscripts, it seems reasonable to assume that a given scribe would adhere to a particular orthographic pattern within a particular timeframe. Thus, we can say that P. T. 766 and P. T. 762 are either the work of two different scribes or the work of a single scribe separated by some, likely significant, gap of time.

A further difference between the two manuscripts has to do with the relative neatness of their layout. P. T. 762 has the air of a preliminary draft or, perhaps, notes taken during an oral teaching session. Its annotations appear to have been placed without much forethought, filling whatever available space was closest to the term on which they comment (fig. 9.3b). There are also several instances of false starts, where the scribe started to write an annotation but

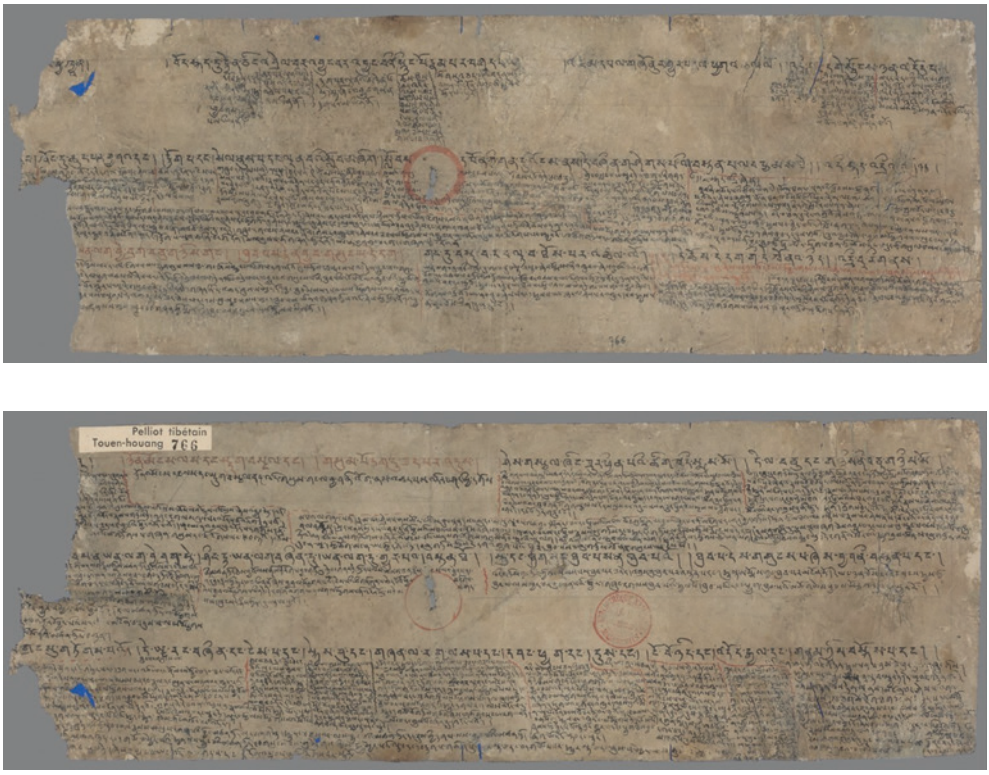

FIGURE 9.4A Tibetan annotations to the *Epitome*, 13 cm × 38? cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 766, FOL. 1R–V, BNF (NOTE THAT THE BNF HAS MISTAKENLY FLIPPED THE RECTO AND VERSO OF FOL. 1)

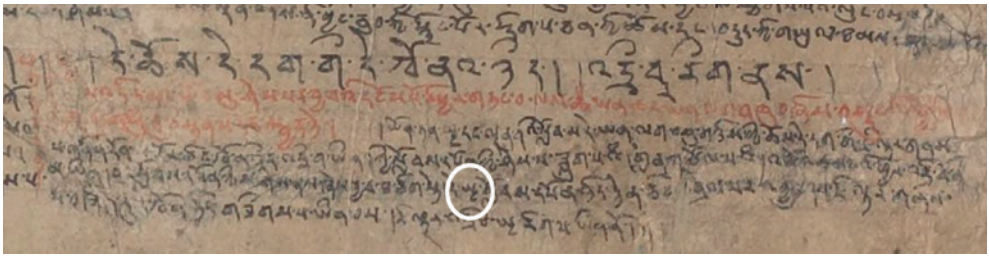

FIGURE 9.4B Detail of annotation, distinctive *ya+ng* ligature marked in white. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 766, FOL. 1R3, BNF

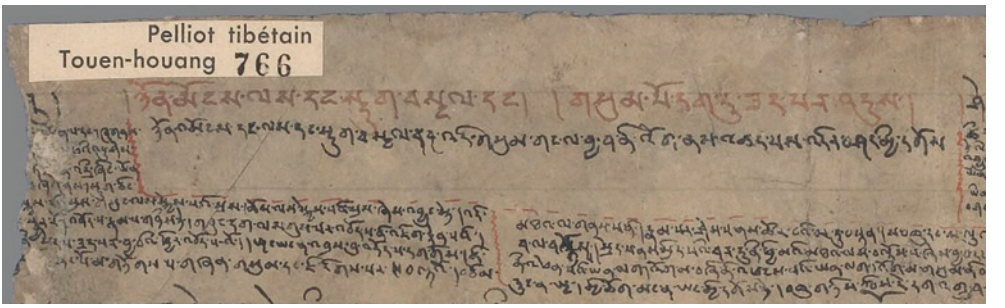

FIGURE 9.4c Detail of scribal hand and annotation layout. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
P. T. 766, FOL. 1V1, BNF

then, deciding to restrict the allotment of horizontal space, crossed it out and rewrote it on a second line. See, for example the annotation to *rtog pa dang* ('[able] to realise and') in figure 9.3b. The box just to the right opens with *nges par 'byung ba dang* ('renunciation and') crossed out, and the same phrase has been inserted between the first two lines of the annotation to which it belongs.

In line with this, we may also note P. T. 762's unusual format as an unfinished roll-type manuscript. Tibetan roll-type manuscripts are one of the main formats that were used for the early ninth-century *sūtra*-copying projects.[43] Because of this, they are quite numerous in Dunhuang yet are rarely encountered for texts not produced as part of these projects.[44] P. T. 762's unfinished state and haphazard presentation preclude its identification as an output of official copying projects, but its unusual format suggests that its scribe may have been associated with those projects. Such a connection could also explain how the scribe came by the paper he used.[45]

The situation with P. T. 766 is less clear. It could be interpreted as either a draft or an informal text. As seen in fig. 9.4a, the scribe of P. T. 766 appears to have reserved space for annotations ahead of time, and yet, as suggested by the mostly empty box at the top of fol. 1v (fig. 9.4c), he did not always judge

43 For two studies of *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* copies in this format, see Kazushi Iwao, "On the Roll-type Tibetan *Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sūtra* from Dunhuang," in *Scribes, Texts, and Rituals in Early Tibet and Dunhuang*, ed. Brandon Dotson, Kazushi Iwao, and Tsuguhito Takeuchi (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2013), 111–118; and Gertraud Taenzer, "*Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*s Discovered at Dunhuang: The Scriptorium at Thang kar and Related Aspects. A Preliminary Investigation," *Revue d'Etudes Tibétaines* 60 (2021): 239–281.

44 One exception may be P. T. 2105, which contains a copy of Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭīkā* in roll format.

45 See fn. 16.

the space requirements accurately. Unlike P. T. 762, the annotations to P. T. 766 follow a horizontal line and fill up their allotted space in an orderly manner. However, as in P. T. 762, we find a relatively high frequency of crossed-out text and interlinear additions. If P. T. 766 (currently damaged and incomplete) was originally a finished manuscript, it could only have been intended for the scribe's private use. It was certainly not a polished prestige object, nor even a so-called 'fair copy'.[46]

What might be the relationship between P. T. 762 and P. T. 766? Although P. T. 766 is neater than P. T. 762, the former cannot have been copied from the latter since the latter is unfinished. The reverse is possible, but what would have been the purpose of copying it in a less orderly and incomplete fashion? If P. T. 762 is not derived from P. T. 766, we must posit a common source for both manuscripts. The precise correspondence between the surviving annotations makes it unlikely that they represent parallel translations of the same source text. There must have been a Tibetan source for these annotations, and we must not ignore the possibility that this source was oral. I do not have the space to pursue this possibility here, but I intend to return to it in future studies.[47]

2.3 *An Annotated Gloss Commentary?*

Before examining the content of the Tibetan *Epitome* annotations, I want to draw attention to their potential relationship to the Tibetan preface. We have noted that the preface references an 'annotated gloss commentary', indicating that it was intended to accompany an annotated manuscript of the

46 Here I adopt the terminology used by Sam van Schaik, "Oral Teachings and Written Texts: Transmission and Transformation in Dunhuang," in *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 183–208. There were multiple stages involved in textual production. For a recent exploration of the process of textual production revealed by Chinese manuscripts from the Tangut Empire, see Carmen Meinert, "Production of Tantric Buddhist Texts in the Tangut Empire (11th to 13th C.): Insights from Reading Karakhoto Manuscript ф 249 + ф 327 金剛亥母修習儀 *Jingang haimu xiuxi yi* [The Ritual of the Yogic Practice of Vajravārāhī] in Comparison with other Tantric Ritual Texts," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 44 (2021): 441–484. See also my discussion in section 4.2.2, below, of the asymmetry between the surviving manuscripts of *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* commentaries in Chinese (largely finished works) and Tibetan (representing drafts of different stages).

47 The high frequency of corrections and minor variations in grammatical particles in both manuscripts could suggest that both are the product of dictation. I discuss one example in fn. 50, though a possible counterexample is discussed in fn. 48. I consider the oral features of manuscripts tied to Facheng and the role of preaching and pedagogy in the production of his textual corpus in my current book-in-progress. See also Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 93–95, on lecture-based translation in Chinese Buddhism.

auto-commentary. Could the annotated *Epitome* manuscripts from Dunhuang be the type of text indicated by this term? Moreover, might it be possible to link one or more of the five surviving manuscripts to the Tibetan preface?

The preface indicates that the headings of the topical divisions of the *Epitome* will be identified by the annotations in the annotated gloss commentary:

> For 'various' (Tib. *sna tshogs*) and so on, the last six terms [of a list of ten], the divisions of the root text (Tib. *dkyus*) and the explanation [of the given term] have been written in the respective annotations in the annotated gloss commentary.[48]

In P. T. 766, we find an annotation in red used to identify a division of the text—precisely the sort of annotation promised in the preface.[49] Although the red text is hard to make out from available images, the annotation below fol. 1r3 (fig. 9.4b) appears to use the same terminology as the preface.[50]

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48 P. T. 767, fol. 2r4: *'og ma 'I sna tshogs shes bya ba las stsogs pa'I tshig drug dkyus dang ji ltar* ⟦*gcad*⟧ *sa gcad cing bshad pa nI so so'i mchan du* ⟦*mtsha*⟧ *mchan tig du bris pha yin no/ /*. The *tig* in *mchan tig* resembles the syllable *nyig*. The forms of the letters *ta* and *nya* are quite close in the Chödrup hand, particularly with vowel markers attached. Most likely the left-most tick that would form the 'bowl' of the *nya* is actually the *tsheg* punctuation mark arcing over into the first stroke of the *ta*. (I adopt the term 'bowl' from Li, "Towards a Typology.") However, it is also possible that the scribe conflated the word *mchan tig* with the visually similar and common Buddhist term *mtshan nyid* (Skt. *lakṣaṇa*). The syllable *mtsha* has been cancelled directly before *mchan*, suggesting that the scribe began to write *mtshan nyid* but caught himself. Perhaps a similar error occurred with the second syllable, producing the seemingly nonsensical syllable *nyig*. I prefer the reading *mchan tig* because it is attested in two other Chödrup-hand manuscripts (IOL Tib J 589, fol. v5; P. T. 771, fol. v10; also see fn. 33), because it makes good sense in the context, and because the letters in this instance can conceivably be read as *mchan tig*. This statement comes at the end of the preface's discussion of the first four members of the ten-item list. Its import is confirmed by a statement attached to the initial introduction of the list (tentative reading between top half brackets): P. T. 767, fol. 1v11: "Regarding that [list], the six items starting with 'various', are explained at the appropriate point ⟪below⟫." (Tib. *de la sna tshogs las stsogs pha drug nI* ⟪*'o*⟫*g nas skabs dang sbyar zhIng 'chad /*).

49 There are two other annotations in red on P. T. 766. At fol. 2r1, an annotation in red adds two lines of the root verse that it says were erroneously omitted, although these same lines are cited by the auto-commentary on fol. 1v1. At fol. 2r2 an annotation in red credits Kamalaśīla, though exactly with what is not immediately clear.

50 This awaits examination of the original manuscript. Here I offer a tentative reading of the annotation to P. T. 766, fol. 1r3 with illegible text supplied from parallels in the preface: "At this point—up to *spyir gtang ba las*—the 'matter to be known' corresponds to 'teaching the fourteen [*sic*] branches [of interdependent origination] in three groups, so as to condense them'." (Tib. *sa 'di na*[*' yong*]*su shes par bya ba'i dngos po sphyir gtang ba las* ⟦⟪*cha*⟫⟧ *yan chad* [*yan lag*] *bchu bzhis bsdu* [*ba'i phyir dum bu gsuṃ du*] *bstan*

Unfortunately, the next point in the *Epitome* at which we might expect the annotations to announce a textual division falls in the portion of the manuscript that is missing. Nevertheless, the overlap between the surviving annotation and the preface confirms that the author(s) of both texts were working with a similar exegetical outline of the *Epitome* and—importantly—that P. T. 766 conforms to the preface's expectations of an annotated gloss commentary.[51]

Turning the question around and looking for hints of a preface in the annotations, we find that, although the annotations to P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 do not reference a preface explicitly, they may have anticipated circulating with one. Both P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 consist solely of glosses to the *Epitome*, starting with the treatise's title. There is no general introductory statement about the treatise's place in Buddhist literature, its author, the divisions to be encountered in the course of the text, or any other typical framing device for a Buddhist commentary. By contrast, the second set of *Epitome* annotations (P. T. 763

pa [*dang*] *sbyar te/*). Similar wording is found in the preface, P. T. 767, fol. 2r6–7: "The 'matter to be known' is two-fold—the operation [of the twelve branches of interdependence] in order and in reverse. In this instance, the operation in order is itself divided into four aspects, the operation in reverse making [a total of] five [aspects]. In general, if [the 'matter to be known' with regards to the subject matter of the twelve branches of interdependent origination] is condensed, the 'matter to be known' is said to have five aspects. Regarding them, [the first of] the four divisions [of the operation in order] is 'teaching the twelve branches [of interdependent origination] in three groups, so as to condense them'." (Tib. *yongsu shes pa'i dngos po ni lugs su 'byung ba dang lugs las ldog pha gnyis yin te/ skabs 'dIr nI lugs su 'byung ba* […] *de yang rnam pa bzhir dbye bas lugs ldog pha dang lnga ste spyir bsdu na yongsu shes pa'I dngos po rnam pha lnga zhes bya'o/ /de la bzhir dbye ba nI yan lag bcu gnyis bsdu ba'I phyir dum bu gsum du bstan pha dang/ /*). The erroneous reference to "fourteen branches of interdependent origination" in the P. T. 766 annotation could be explained by a lecture setting. We may posit a situation in which a teacher says something along the lines of the statement in the preface: "Regarding the 'matter to be known', the first of four categories subsumes the twelve branches into three groups." A student taking notes on these teachings, who happened to be falling behind at that point, could conceivably conflate the numbers in that sentence and produce something along the lines of the annotation in P. T. 766: "The 'matter to be known' subsumes the fourteen branches into three groups." A scenario in which the numbers twelve (Tib. *bcu gnyis*) and fourteen (Tib. *bcu bzhi*) have been conflated with each other would also explain why the P. T. 766 annotation gives 'fourteen' with the instrumental particle *-s*: *bcu bzhis*. I explore the role of oral teachings in shaping Facheng's translations and exegetical works in my current book-in-progress.

51 For another example of a text division mentioned in the preface that appears in the annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766, see fn. 52. The annotations to IOL Tib J 623, P. T. 763, and P. T. 768 also announce textual divisions, although they are working with a different outline of the treatise. See for instance, the annotations to 'how are they subsumed' (Tib. *gang du bsdu ba* […]) (IOL Tib J 623, fol. r3), 'types of branches' (Tib. *yan lag bye brag* […]) (P. T. 763, fol. r3), and 'the final *also*' (Tib. *mtha' ma'i yang* […]) (P. T. 768, fol. r2).

FIGURE 9.5A Variant set of Tibetan annotations to the *Epitome*, 7.4 cm × 50.4 cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
IOL TIB J 623, FOL. 1R, BL

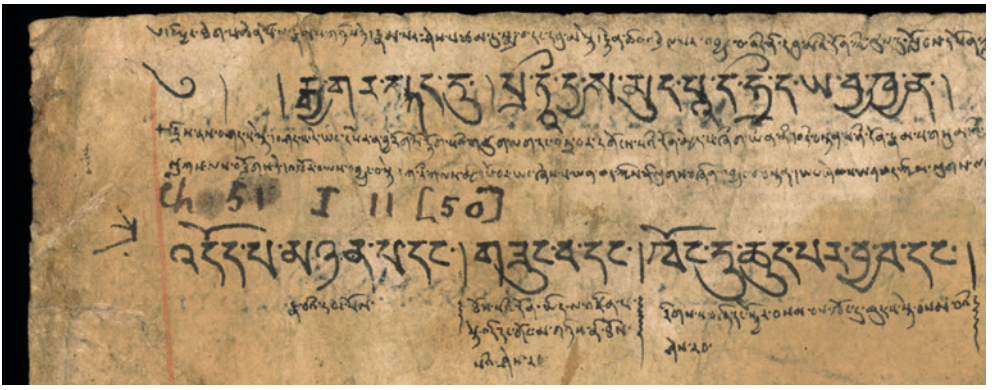

FIGURE 9.5B Detail of scribal hand and annotation layout. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
IOL TIB J 623, FOL. 1R1–2, BL

and IOL Tib J 623, fig. 9.5) opens with just such an introductory paragraph.[52] Some annotated commentaries, then, did open with introductory remarks, but for annotations that circulated with a preface, such an opening would be redundant—the treatise having already been introduced in the preface. Thus,

52 IOL Tib J 623/P. T. 763's introductory paragraph also mentions that the text has no introduction (Tib. *gleng gzhi*, Skt. *nidāna*) and thus there is no need to comment on it (IOL Tib J 623, fol. 1r; P. T. 763, fol. 1r). The preface in P. T. 767, meanwhile, specifies the *nidāna* as the first of seven major subdivisions (fol. 2r5). A *nidāna* is also mentioned by the P. T. 762/P. T. 766 annotations to the first line of the treatise. Although these survive in fragmentary form, they appear to match the preface's comments on the *nidāna* almost verbatim, P. T. 767, fol. 2r5: "Of these [seven points], applying the *nidāna* as the cause that gave rise to the preaching of the treatise, [in the case of this treatise,] it is the [doctrine of] interdependent origination spoken by the Sage." (Tib. *de{{'i}} la gleng gzhI ni bstan bcos bshad pa⟦'I⟧ 'byung ba'I rgyu yin bar sbyar te / thub pas gsungs pa'I rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba'o*). By comparison, P. T. 766's annotation to 'now then' (Tib. *'di la*), with reconstructed text in square brackets, reads as follows, P. T. 766, fol. 1r1: "Applying the *nidāna*, it is the interdependent origination spoken by the Sage." (Tib. *gleng gzhi* [*dang*] *sbyar ste* [*thub pa*]*s gsungs pa'I* [*rte*]*n cing 'brel bar* [*'b*]*yu*[*ng*] *ba'o/ /*).

while not conclusive, it is possible to see the absence of an introductory section in the P. T. 762/P. T. 766 annotations as evidence that these annotations may have originally been accompanied by separate prefatory material, something akin to the Tibetan preface in P. T. 767.

While these observations suggest some link between the Tibetan preface and the annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766, the constellation of Buddhist literature cited by both texts may reveal another aspect of the connection between them. Both include similar passages on Nāgārjuna's qualities as a teacher, in the course of which they cite the same two prophecies from the *Laṅkāvatāra-* (Derge Tōhoku no. 107) and *Mahāmegha-* (Derge Tōhoku no. 232) *sūtra*s.[53] Both also cite the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4035) and Nāgārjuna's *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* (Derge Tōhoku no. 3825). The annotations similarly cite the *Śālistambasūtra* (Derge Tōhoku no. 210), while the preface cites its commentary by Kalamaśīla (*Śālistambaṭīkā*, Derge Tōhoku no. 4001).[54] One would expect authors working in Dunhuang, or the Hexi region, in the same period to draw on a shared pool of Buddhist literature and lore, and this is borne out by these lists of proof texts. Yet, the significant overlaps here may also signal a more direct relationship between the two texts.

In answer to the questions posed at the start of this section, it seems likely that the annotated *Epitome* manuscripts are so-called 'annotated gloss commentaries'. This designation suggests that annotated manuscripts were considered to be full-fledged works of commentary in their own right. Given the ubiquity of annotated manuscripts from the earliest periods of Tibetan literature up until the present day, our understanding of this format carries wide-reaching implications. I return to this point in section 5.

Secondly, though we are not able to definitively link a particular annotated manuscript with the preface in P. T. 767, we are able to map different commentarial traditions within the corpus. Specifically, in terms of both form and content, P. T. 766 (if not the unfinished P. T. 762) represents the very sort of manuscript that the preface of P. T. 767 was intended to accompany. The same cannot be said for IOL Tib J 623/P. T. 763 and P. T. 768, which explicate the

53 On these prophecies, see Max Walleser, *The Life of Nāgārjuna from Tibetan and Chinese Sources* (New Delhi: Nag Publishers, 1979 [1923]), 19–22; and Ye, "Nāgārjuna," 338–339. The *Mahāmeghasūtra* prophecy is discussed by Joseph Walser, *Nāgārjuna in Context: Mahāyāna Buddhism and Early Indian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 71–73; and Ian Mabbett, "The Problem of the Historical Nāgārjuna Revisited," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 118.3 (1998): 336–337.

54 At several points, the annotations erroneously attribute passages to the *Śālistambasūtra* that are actually from Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭīkā*. See, for instance, passage F in table 9.5 below (P. T. 766, fol. 1v1).

Epitome according to a different outline from that encountered in both the preface and in P. T. 766.

3 Chinese Commentarial Materials: The *Epitome Notes*

As already mentioned, in Dunhuang we find at least four manuscripts of a Chinese commentary on the *Epitome* entitled the *Epitome Notes* (fig. 9.6). The commentary's title, structure, and terminology suggest that it may have been composed by Facheng. The *Epitome Notes* consists of an expository introductory section that is followed by a line-by-line gloss of the *Epitome* auto-commentary. The introductory section of the *Epitome Notes* is divided into four sections: (1) identifying the author (Chin. *yi ming zaolun zhi zhu* 一明造論之主), (2) explaining the reason for the composition (Chin. *er ming zaolun zhi yin* 二明造論之因), (3) assessing the commentary's claims to authority (Chin. *san ming suozao zhi lun wei zhengliang fou* 三明所造之論為正量不), and (4) locating the text in Buddhist doxography (Chin. *si bian lun suozong* 四辨論所宗).

After these four have been discussed, the commentary proceeds with a gloss in two parts, first of the title and then of the text itself. The glosses follow a regular formula, which cites the word or phrase being glossed and then gives a comment of variable length: *yan* 言 [… citation …] *zhe* 者, [… comment …] (*ye* 也). For example, the very first word of the title is glossed as follows:[55]

> 言因緣者, 此遮斷常無因等論諸惡見也. (T. 2816.85, 1178c24–25)
>
> Speaking of 'causes and conditions' [i.e., interdependent origination]: This refutes the pernicious views of such theories as nihilism, permanence, and [origination] without a cause.

4 Comparing the Tibetan and Chinese *Epitome* Commentaries

We are effectively dealing with two sub-commentaries to the *Epitome* auto-commentary: the Chinese *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan 'annotated gloss commentary' constituted by the preface in P. T. 767 and the annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766. What can we learn from reading them side-by-side?

55 Unless otherwise noted, citations of the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* are based on T. 2816.85, although the punctuation is my own.

FIGURE 9.6 Chinese *Epitome Notes*, 29 cm × 444 cm. Dunhuang, mid-9th century
S.269, COL. 1–34, BL

4.1 *Comparing the Tibetan Preface and the Chinese Introduction*

4.1.1 Parallels of Structure, Syntax, and Content

The Chinese and Tibetan sub-commentaries share a structural resemblance, consisting of an expository introduction followed by a line-by-line gloss of the auto-commentary. When we compare their outlines in table 9.1, the resemblance is striking.[56]

The topics covered in the introductory sections of both sub-commentaries show significant overlap. The four topics of the Chinese text correspond to the first four topics of the Tibetan preface, though in a slightly different order: the doxographical considerations come first in Tibetan (1.1) and last in the Chinese (1.4). The Tibetan topics devoted to naming the topic divisions (1.5) and glossing the title (1.6) do not appear in the Chinese introduction. However, when we ignore the hierarchy of the outline and simply examine the placement of Tibetan topic 1.6—an explanation of the title—we notice that it appears where the Chinese commentary shifts from the expository introductory section to a gloss of the title.

TABLE 9.1 The outlines of the Chinese *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan annotated gloss commentary (i.e., preface + annotations)

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85)**	**Tib. annotated gloss commentary (P. T. 767 + P. T. 762/P. T. 766)**
(1) introduction by way of four gates (Chin. *xian yi simen fenbie* 先以四門分別)	(1) introduction by way of six topics (Tib. *mgo nan la don rnam pha drug cig brjod par bya ste*)
	(1.1) locating the text in Buddhist doxography (Tib. *gzhung 'dI gang gI yin ba bstan*)
(1.1) identifying the author (Chin. *yi ming zaolun zhi zhu* 一明造論之主)	(1.2) identifying the author (Tib. *bstan bcos 'dI sus mdzad pha'I khungs bstan pa*)

56 I have paraphrased the section headings to emphasise the similarities. There are numerous differences in wording. For example, "identifying the author" is more literally rendered as "explaining the master who composed the treatise," in Chinese (1.1) and "teaching the source [in terms of] who composed this treatise," in Tibetan (1.2). There is not space in this paper to fully examine the overlaps and divergences in wording between the Chinese and Tibetan section headings, though I do consider the broader question of cultural influences on commentarial forms in section 5.

TABLE 9.1 The outlines of the Chinese *Epitome Notes* ... (*cont.*)

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85)**	**Tib. annotated gloss commentary (P. T. 767 + P. T. 762/P. T. 766)**
(1.2) explaining the reason for the composition (Chin. *er ming zaolun zhi yin* 二明造論之因)	(1.3) explaining the reason for the composition (Tib. *bstan bcos 'dI jI'I phyir brtsams pa'I dgos pha bstan pa*)
	[unnumbered] describing the composition's literary form (Tib. *ji ltar brtsams she na*)
(1.3) assessing the commentary's claims to authority (Chin. *san ming suozao zhi lun wei zhengliang fou* 三明所造之論為正量不)	(1.4) assessing the commentary's claims to authority (Tib. *bstan bcos 'dI tshad mar gzung du rung ngam myi rung ba'I gtan tshigs bstan pa*)
(1.3.1) authentication through scriptural quotes (Chin. *jiaoliang zhengcheng* 教量證成)	(1.4.1) authentication through scriptural quotes (Tib. *lung*)
(1.3.2) authentication through logical reasoning (Chin. *li zhengcheng* 理證成)	(1.4.2) authentication through logical reasoning (Tib. *rIgs pa*)
	(1.5) identifying the number of subdivisions that form the framework of the exposition (Tib. *'dI la yang rtsis mgo du zhig gis bshad par sbyar ba bstan pa*)
(1.4) locating the text in Buddhist doxography (Chin. *si bian lun suozong* 四辨論所宗)	
(2) glossing the treatise (Chin. *ranhou shi qi zhenglun zhi wen* 然後釋其正論之文)	
(2.1) glossing the title (Chin. *yi shi lunti* 一釋論題)	(1.6) explaining the title (Tib. *jI'I phyir rten 'brel snying po zhes btags pa'I bshad pha*)
(2.2) explaining the text (Chin. *er ming zhenglun* 二明正論)	(2) annotations (Tib. *mchan*)
(2.2.1) the extensive meaning (Chin. *guangyi* 廣義), verses 1–5	
(2.2.2) the brief meaning (Chin. *lüeyi* 略義), verses 6–7	

The resemblances between the expository introductions of both texts go beyond their organisational structures to the content and wording of the texts themselves. Both texts open with parallel statements:

TABLE 9.2 The opening lines of the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1178a25–26)**	**Tib. preface (P. T. 767, fol. 1r1)**
將釋此論, 先以四門分別, 然後釋其正論之文.	*rten 'brel gyi snying po 'dI bshad pa la thog ma kho nar mgo nan la don rnam pha drug cig brjod par bya ste /*
Taking up the explanation of this treatise, one first divides it into four gates and (only) after that glosses the text of the treatise itself.	To explain this *Epitome of Interdependence*, at the start, one first of all should state the six topics.

As the texts continue, the main points are each listed in distinctly similar verbal phrases, respectively 'illuminating' (Chin. *ming* 明) and 'teaching' or 'showing' (Tib. *bstan pa*) the topic at hand. In their discussions of the treatise's author (Chin. 1.1 and Tib. 1.2), the qualities attributed to Nāgārjuna are virtually identical. He is hailed as one who has "accomplished benefit for self and other," "fully realised the *bhūmi* of Utter Joy," "seen well the very profound *dharmatā* of dependent arising," and "been prophesied by the Sugata."[57] In their sections on the reason behind the treatise (Chin. 1.2 and Tib. 1.3), both texts include a lengthy excursus on the two truths, in which four types of relative truth are identified.[58] In the section that follows (Chin. 1.3 and Tib. 1.4), both texts establish the treatise's authority through appeals to the same passages of the *Laṅkāvatāra-* (T. 672.16, Derge Tōhoku no. 107) and *Mahāmegha-* (T. 387.12,

57 T. 2816.85, 1178a28–b1: 謂龍猛大師自利他滿, 證極喜地, 善見緣起甚深法性, 善逝受記, 名稱普聞, 具諸德者之所造也. P. T. 767, fol. 1r3–4: *'phags pha klus sgrub / bdag dang gzhan gyi don grub pha'i mtha' / rgya mtsho'I pha rol du byon pa / rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba ji ltar gnas pha bzhin du ⟦gnas⟧ de kho na gzigs pha⟦s⟧ sa rab ⟦⟪sdu⟫⟧ {{tu}} dgyel ba'i khyad bar brnyes pa / bde bar gshegs pas lung bstan pa⟦s⟧ des mdzad do /*.

58 T. 2816.85, 1178b2–24, and P. T. 767, fol. 1r4–14. The texts use standard names for the two truths: absolute truth (Chin. *shengyi di* 勝義諦, Tib. *don dam pa'i bden pa*) and relative truth (Chin. *shisu di* 世俗諦, Tib. *kun rdzob kyi bden pa*). The four types of relative truth are the real (Chin. *zhenshi* 真實, Tib. *bden pa'I kun rdzob*), the untrue (Chin. *feizhen* 非真, Tib. *yang dag pa ma yin pa'I kun rdzob*), the close to the absolute (Chin. *jin shengyi* 近勝義, Tib. *don dam pha dang nye ba'I kun rdzob*), and the purified (Chin. *qingjing* 清淨, Tib. *rnam par byang ba'I kun rdzob*).

Derge Tōhoku no. 232) *sūtra*s, as well as by a similar train of reasoning.[59] And so on.

It is difficult to say exactly what type of relationship is indicated by these structural and syntactic correspondences. The structure of the *Epitome Notes* is firmly rooted in Chinese Buddhist commentarial genres.[60] Similarly, the syntax with which the text opens and proceeds is likewise standard scholastic Buddhist Chinese.[61] Thus, an initial appraisal might suggest that the Tibetan preface has been influenced by Chinese commentarial models. However, large holes in our understanding of Buddhist scholasticism make such a claim difficult to assess. Chinese Buddhist commentarial modes, in particular, reflect a complex synthesis of imported and indigenous practices.[62] As our understanding of culturally embedded commentarial forms grows, we will be better able to assess the degree of Chinese influence on the Tibetan preface and to differentiate that from Indic influences being refracted through Tibetan scholasticism.

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59 T. 2816.85, 1178b25–c10, and P. T. 767, fol. 1r15–v4. The *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* cites Śikṣānanda's (652–710, Chin. Shichanantuo 實叉難陀) translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (T. 672.16, 627c19–22) and the Tibetan preface cites Derge Tōhoku no. 107 (Derge 107, 165b5–6), with one significant variant. In a bit of irony, this passage is missing from Guṇabhadra's (394–468, Chin. Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅) Chinese translation (T. 670.16), on which Derge Tōhoku no. 108—generally credited to Facheng—is based. For an overview of Facheng's involvement in the Tibetan translations of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, see Meghan Howard Masang and Amanda Goodman, "The Mise-en-page of a Sino-Tibetan Dunhuang Manuscript: Yuanhui's Commentary on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*," *The Medieval Globe* 8.2 (2022): 139–169; and Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," xii–xviii, 181–182. See fn. 53 for references to scholarship on these prophecies.

60 Chinese Buddhist exegesis remains critically understudied—as do Buddhist scholastic practices across all traditions. Three useful points of departure, which include descriptions of various commonly employed organisational structures, are Robert E. Buswell, Jr., "Wŏnhyo: Buddhist Commentator *Par Excellence*," *Journal of Korean Religions* 8.1 (2017): 131–160; Hiroshi Kanno and Rafal Felbur, "Sūtra Commentaries in Chinese until the Tang Period," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume One: Literature and Languages*, ed. by Jonathan A. Silk et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 450–466; and Alexander L. Mayer, "Commentarial Literature," in *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, ed. Robert E. Buswell, Jr. (New York: Macmillan, 2004), 165–168. These three articles are devoted to *sūtra* commentaries. As a commentary on *śāstra*, the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* belongs to a slightly different and almost completely unstudied category.

61 A simple search of the phrase 'taking up the explanation of this treatise' (Chin. *jiang shi ci lun* 將釋此論) on CBETA's digital corpus yields 21 matches; 'taking up the explanation of this *sūtra*' (Chin. *jiang shi ci jing* 將釋此經) yields 82. Search conducted October 11, 2021.

62 See, for instance, Buswell's characterisation of Wŏnhyo's exegetical style as "a thoroughgoing fusion of imported Indian commentarial practice and indigenous Sinitic scholarly exegesis, primarily based on Confucian models," in Buswell, "Wŏnhyo," 138.

4.1.2 Differences and Points of Convergence

Given these similarities, it may be more fruitful to ask what the differences between the two texts are. The most significant difference is section 1.5 in the Tibetan preface—on the topical divisions of the treatise—which is absent from the Chinese introduction.[63] In this section, the author of the preface references various frameworks used to structure the presentation of interdependent origination in other *sūtra*s and *śāstra*s. He then demonstrates how the respective lists of subtopics associated with interdependent origination in the *Yogācārabhūmi* and Kamalaśīla's (ca. 740–795) *Śālistambaṭīkā* may be applied to the *Epitome*.[64]

Although this discussion is not present in the *Epitome Notes*, we nevertheless find a point of convergence between the two texts. In discussing the 'matter to be known' (Tib. *yongs su shes pa'i dngos po*, Skt. *parijñeyavastu*, third of the *Śālistambaṭīkā*'s seven topics), the author of the Tibetan preface divides the main body of the *Epitome* into five topics. The names of these five topics and—so far as they are specified—the corresponding divisions of the text match the five divisions of the 'extensive explanation' specified in the Chinese commentary (Chin. 2.2.1):

TABLE 9.3 The five 'matters to be known', as applied to the *Epitome of Interdependent Origination* by the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179a7–12)**	**Tib. preface (P. T. 767, fols. 2r6–8)**
就廣之中復分爲五.	*yong su shes pa'i dngos po ni lugs su 'byung ba dang lugs las ldog pha gnyis yin te/ skabs 'dIr nI lugs su 'byung ba* 《〖*yang*〗》 *de yang rnam pa bzhir dbye bas lugs ldog pha dang lnga ste spyir bsdu na yongsu shes pa'I dngos po rnam pha lnga zhes bya'o/ /de la bzhir dbye ba nI*
The extensive presentation is further divided into five:	

63 P. T. 767, fols. 1v5–2r11.

64 Kamalaśīla's dates after James Marks and Vincent Eltschinger, "Kamalaśīla," in *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism. Volume Two: Lives*, ed. Jonathan A. Silk et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 272, who cite Erich Frauwallner, "Landmarks in the History of Indian Logic," *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens* 5 (1961): 144.

TABLE 9.3 The five 'matters to be known' … (*cont.*)

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179a7–12)**	**Tib. preface (P. T. 767, fols. 2r6–8)**
	'The matter to be known' is [the twelve branches] arising in order and in reverse order. In this case, arising in order is divided into four aspects with the reverse order making five. When summarised in general, 'the matter to be known' is said to have five aspects. Regarding which, the division into the four [of arising in order] are as follows:
一, 三攝十二門, 即初二頌也. (1) the gate onto subsuming the twelve [branches] into three: verses 1–2	*yan lag bcu gnyis bsdu ba'I phyir dum bu gsum du bstan pa dang//* (1) teaching three groups into which the twelve branches may be subsumed
二, 十二支法遞互相生無有始終門, 即第三頌. (2) the gate onto the twelve branches arising one from another without beginning or end: verse 3	*yan lag rnam《pa》gcig las gcig 'byung ba'I《p》yir thog ma dang tha ma myed par bstan pa dang//* (2) teaching that the branches arise one from another and thus there is no beginning or end
三, 十二支法空故無我門, 即頌中半頌也. (3) the gate onto the twelve branches being empty and, thereby, the nonexistence of a self: verse 4ab	*yan lag stong pa nyid kyi phyir bdag myed par bstan pa dang//* (3) teaching that the branches are empty and thus there is no self

TABLE 9.3 The five 'matters to be known' … (*cont.*)

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179a7–12)**	**Tib. preface (P. T. 767, fols. 2r6–8)**
四, 十二支法離二邊故無轉移門, 即頌中始從唯從於空法至不移.	*yan lag mtha' gnyis dang bral ba'I phyir myi 'pho bar bstan pha'o//*
(4) the gate onto the twelve branches transcending the two extremes and, thereby, the nonexistence of transmigration: verses 4cd and 5, except for 智應察	(4) teaching that the branches are free from the two extremes and thus there is no [trans]migration
五, 還滅門, 即頌 云智應察也.	*de la ldog pa nI dngos su zad de/ tha ma'I yang zhes bya ba dang sbyar ro//*
(5) the gate onto reversing and exhausting [the twelve branches]: 智應察 of verse 5d	(5) regarding that, reversal is actual exhaustion, and it applies to the final *also* (Tib. *yang*, in 5d)

Thus, the Chinese *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan commentary divide the main body of the *Epitome* treatise into the same five sections. In the Tibetan commentary, these five core divisions are embedded within a larger exegetical framework drawn from an authoritative Indic source (Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭīkā*). The Chinese commentary's presentation is considerably more succinct, and it does not reference any framework external to the *Epitome* itself.

Another discrepancy is found in the commentaries' respective sections on the *Epitome*'s doxographical position (Chin. 1.4, Tib. 1.1).[65] Here the *Epitome Notes* makes cursory mention of the fragmenting of the Buddha's followers into multiple schools following his *parinirvāṇa* and then references a fuller account 'given elsewhere' (Chin. *ru yuchu shuo* 如餘處說, T. 2816.85, 1178c13). The Chinese text then divides the Mahāyāna into three schools, locating the *Epitome* within the school propounding the 'absolute truth that all is empty' (Chin. *shengyi jie kong zong* 勝義皆空宗). Meanwhile, the Tibetan preface simply identifies the *Epitome* as 'close to the *sūtra*-based Middle Way view' (Tib. *mdo sde pa'I dbu ma pa'i lta ba*, Skt. *sautrāntika madhyamaka*) and directs

65 T. 2816.85, 1178c11–c17, and P. T. 767, fol. 1r3.

readers to the *lTa ba'i khyad par* [The Particularities of (Buddhist) Views, Derge Tōhoku no. 4360].[66]

In other words, the Tibetan and Chinese *Epitome* commentaries appear to be operating within different doxographical schema. Yet, here too, we find points of convergence. The Dunhuang manuscript P. 2045 offers a hint as to the fuller doxographical account referenced by the *Epitome Notes*.[67] In P. 2045, the Chinese *Epitome* (T. 1654.32) is followed by an untitled text discussing the division of the Mahāyāna into three sub-schools, which precisely match the divisions listed in the *Epitome Notes*.[68] This passage turns out to be an excerpt of Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary (T. 2782.85), a composition that, as documented by Ueyama, draws heavily on *The Particularities of Buddhist Views* by Yéshé Dé.[69] If this conjecture is correct, the Chinese *Epitome Notes* is

66 This identification is made in an interlinear addition in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. The note is hard to read in available images, nevertheless the reference to *sautrāntika madhyamaka* is not in doubt: *mdo sde pa'I dbu ma pa'i* ⟪*lta*⟫ *ba dang* ⟪*sbya*⟫*r* ⟪*du*⟫ ⟪*nye*⟫ *bar ni* (P. T. 767, fol. 113). *The Particularities of Buddhist Views*, by the famous translator Yéshé Dé—credited with the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* translation and many others—is one of the first Buddhist doxographies composed in Tibetan. It survives in the Tengyur and in the incomplete Dunhuang manuscript P. T. 814. For more on this important text, see David Seyfort Ruegg, "Autour du *lTa ba'i khyad par* de Ye šes sde (version de Touen-houang, Pelliot tibétain 814)," *Journal asiatique* 269.1–2 (1981): 207–229.

67 P. 2045 contains seven texts and has attracted attention in particular because of four Chan (禪) texts (three tied to Shenhui [668–760, 神會]) that open the manuscript: the *Putidamo nanzong ding shifei lun* 菩提達摩南宗定是非論 [Treatise Determining the True and the False about Bodhidharma's Southern School], *Nanyang heshang dunjiao jietuo chanmen zhiliao xing tanyu* 南陽和上頓教解脫禪門直了性壇語 [The Platform Sermon of the Venerable of Nanyang on Directly Comprehending the Nature according to the Chan Approach to Emancipation in the Sudden Teachings], *Nanzong ding xiezheng wugeng zhuan* 南宗定邪正五更轉 [Determining Wrong from Right according to the Southern School over the Course of the Five Watches of the Night], and *Sanzang fashi Putidamo jueguan lun* 三藏法師菩提達摩絕觀論 [Tripiṭaka Dharma Master Bodhidharma's Treatise on the Transcendence of Cognition]. These are followed by the *Hastavālaprakaraṇa* (T. 1621.31), the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* (T. 1654.32, verses and auto-commentary), and an untitled excerpt from Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary (T. 2782.85, 544b3–545a2). Ueyama mistakenly gives a list of eight texts, listing the final item twice, first as "untitled" (no. 7) and a second time as an excerpt of Facheng's commentary (no. 8) (*Tonkō bukkyō no kenkyū*, 407, 431). On the dating of P. 2045, see fn. 24.

68 The three schools named by the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* are (1) the school of the 'absolute truth is that all is empty' (Chin. *shengyi jie kong* 勝義皆空), (2) the school of 'corresponding to reason is perfect reality' (Chin. *yingli yuanshi* 應理圓實), and (3) the school of 'the nature of *dharma*s is perfect interfusion' (Chin. *faxing yuanrong* 法性圓融). See T. 2816.85, 1178c14–16, and compare the list of synonyms at T. 2782.85, 544b3–6.

69 The passage corresponds to T. 2782.85, 544b3–545a2. Ueyama seems to have been the first to recognise this as an excerpt of Facheng's commentary. See Ueyama, "Tonkō ni okeru zen," 95–96.

referencing a doxographical discussion that itself is heavily influenced by the doxographical treatise cited by the Tibetan preface.

The doxographical discussion in Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary also helps bridge the divergent classifications of the *Epitome* found in its Tibetan and Chinese commentaries. The formulation used in the *Epitome Notes* ('school of the absolute truth that all is empty') is listed in Facheng's commentary as a synonym for the 'school of the middle that relies on *sūtra*s' (Chin. *yijing zhongzong* 依經中宗). This idiosyncratic formulation is likely a calque of *sautrāntika madhyamaka* ('*sūtra*-based Middle Way', Tib. *mdo sde pa'i dbu ma pa'i lta ba*),[70] the same term attached to the *Epitome* by the Tibetan preface. In the case of the Tibetan preface, the ultimate source for the term seems to have been the twofold delineation of the Middle Way school in *The Particularities of Buddhist Views*. This does not change the fact that the Chinese text locates the *Epitome* within one of three Mahāyāna schools, while the Tibetan text aligns it with a particular strand of Middle Way thought (of presumably two such strands). Neither should we assume that the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan preface necessarily intend the same thing with the *sautrāntika madhyamaka* label.[71] As with the treatise's exegetical outline, the Tibetan and Chinese commentaries are working with different doxographical frameworks. Nevertheless, within these variant frameworks, the terminology and content converge in unexpected ways.

4.2 *Comparing the Tibetan Annotations and the Chinese Glosses*

We do not find Chinese manuscripts of the *Epitome* auto-commentary marked up in a fashion similar to the annotated Tibetan manuscripts. However, the second half of the *Epitome Notes* proceeds as a series of glosses. Upon comparison, the Tibetan annotations to P. T. 766/P. T. 762 correspond with remarkable frequency to the Chinese glosses of the *Epitome Notes*:

70 This possibility was first proposed by Ueyama, "Hōjō no kenkyū 2," 193–196. See also his analysis of the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji*'s doxography in light of Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary (which also incorporates large sections of the *The Particularities of Buddhist Views*), Ueyama, "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron," 57–58.

71 Facheng's synthesis of Chinese Faxiang (法相) *yogācāra* with Indo-Tibetan **yogācāra-madhyamaka* in his *Śālistamba* commentary has attracted significant scholarly attention. See, in particular, Ueyama, "Hōjō no kenkyū 2," 193–196, as well as the broader discussion of influences evident in Facheng's oeuvre in the same work, 177–222.

TABLE 9.4 A comparison of *Epitome Notes* glosses with two sets of Tibetan annotations

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85)**	**P. T. 766**	**IOL Tib J 623**
言沙門者, 即是梵音. 此云善學, 亦云善寂. 即是諸聖及隨彼聖出家衆也. 此則通於內外學也. (1179a18–21) *Shamen* [Skt. *śramaṇa*] is the Sanskrit pronunciation. It means 'well learned' and also 'well quieted', referring to the saints [Skt. *ārya*] and the body of the ordained who follow those saints. This refers to both Buddhist and non-Buddhist learning.	gloss on *dge sbyong* (fol. 1r1): *sha ra ma na zhes bya ba sdig pa zhi bar bya ba spyod cing legs pa la sbyong zhing 'phags pa rab tu byung ba rnaṃs dang rjesu rab du byung ba'o/ 'di ni slob ma yon than lnga dang ldan pa'o/* *Sharamana* [Skt. *śramaṇa*], meaning one who cultivates the pacification of sin and trains in the good, [indicating] the ordained noble ones [Skt. *ārya*] and those ordained following them. Here it refers to the disciple of five qualities.	gloss on *dge sbyong* (fol. 1r): *myi dge spong zhing dge ba bsgrub pas na dge slong* One who abandons non-virtue and accomplishes virtue, hence, a fully ordained monk [Skt. *bhikṣu*].
言樂聞者, 爲遮不信及無欲樂. 欲雖多[a], 此中欲令於緣起義明了聞也. (1179a21–22) It says 'enjoyed hearing' in order to refute non-faith and disinclination. Although there are many types of 'wanting', here it means wanting to hear so as to engender a clear understanding of the meaning of conditioned arising.	gloss on *nyan 'dod pa* (fol. 1r1): *ma dad pa dang myI 'dod pa dgag pa ste 'dod pa la ya+ng*[b] *mang mod kyI 'dIr ni rkyen ⟦kun⟧ kyI do⟪n⟫ kun shes pa⟦'I⟧ 'dod pa'I ⟦don gyis⟧ semse*[c] *⟦sa'i⟧ kyis nyan 'dod pa'I phyir* ['Wanting to hear'] refutes non-faith and disinclination (lit. 'non-wanting'). Although there are many types of 'wanting', [it is used] here because [the disciple] wanted to hear, thinking, "I want to know all the meanings of conditions."	no gloss on *nyan 'dod pa* (fol. 1r–2)

TABLE 9.4 A comparison of *Epitome Notes* glosses with two sets of Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85)**	**P. T. 766**	**IOL Tib J 623**
言能悟者, 謂意識憶持所了之義. 以惠善觀於聞聲義, 無有遺[d]餘悉了知也. (1179a25–26) 'Able to realise' means the mental consciousness retains the meaning that has been understood; [the disciple] uses wisdom to carefully contemplate the meaning that has been heard and understands it all without any remainder.	gloss on *khong du chud par bya ba' dang* (fol. 1r2):[e] *yi*[*d*] *la gzung* [*b*]*a'i don de dag ma* [*n*]*o*[*r*] *par shes rab* [*gyis khong du cud ching yi ge dang sgra'i don 'ga' tsham yang myi rig pa dang myi r*]*togs par myI 'gyur bar bya ba'I pyir* [*sems tham*]*s shad kyIs bsaṃ nus pa'i phyir* ['To be comprehended' is used] to indicate that [the disciple is] unmistaken with regard to those meanings that were retained in mind, comprehending them with wisdom and not failing to recognise or understand the meaning of some of the letters or words; and to indicate that he is able to reflect on it with his all of his mind.	gloss on *khong du chud par bya ba' dang* (fol. r2a): *rigs pa bzhi dang sbyor bsam bas khong du chud pa ste bsam ba'I shes rab* That which is comprehended by intending to apply the four principles of reasoning, [namely], the wisdom of contemplation.

a T. 2816.85 reads 無樂. 欲欲欲雖多. Emended to 無欲樂. 欲雖多 on the basis of S. 269 (l. 51), which reads 無樂{{乙}}欲乙雖多. The first 乙 appears to the right of the character 樂, as a reverse marker indicating that 欲 should precede 樂. The second 乙 appears in line with the rest of the text, directly below 欲, as a ditto marker indicating that 欲 should be repeated. The Taishō editors were apparently misled by the combination of these notations. P. 2211 reads 無樂欲雖多 (l. 47). I have not had access to images of S. 541, and P. 2538V starts after this point in the text. On correction marks and other Chinese manuscript conventions, see Imre Galambos, "Correction Marks in the Dunhuang Manuscripts," in *Studies in Chinese Manuscripts: From the Warring States Period to the 20th Century*, ed. Imre Galambos (Budapest: ELTE University, Department of East Asian Languages, 2013), 191–210, and Imre Galambos, "Punctuation Marks in Medieval Chinese Manuscripts," in *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field*, ed. Jörg Quenzer and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 341–357. Galambos discusses combinations of correction marks in Galambos, "Correction Marks," 208.

b See n. g to table 9.5.

c Read *sems*.

d T. 2816.85 reads 遺. Emended to 遺 on the basis of S. 269 (correction in red, l. 54) and P. 2211 (ll. 49–50). Note that P. 2211 gives a slightly different reading for this gloss without significantly changing the meaning: 以惠 [damaged, possibly missing one character] 觀於聞起義, 無為遺失餘悉了知也.

e P. T. 766 is damaged at this point. I have supplied missing or illegible text based on P. T. 762, panel 1.2.

As these examples demonstrate, the *Epitome Notes* and the Tibetan annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 supply definitions rooted in Buddhist śāstric learning, and the two texts display significant parallels in syntax and semantic content.

To the degree that these glosses are stock definitions and standard interpretive schema, a parallel between the Chinese and Tibetan points to a shared body of Buddhist knowledge that was drawn on by both Sinophone and Tibetophone Buddhists in Dunhuang and the Hexi region.[72] The many overlaps between the *Epitome Notes* and P. T. 762/P. T. 766 suggest that they emerged from a common scholastic environment.

4.2.1 Considering the Possibility of Influence

We can use the other Tibetan *Epitome* manuscripts to further assess the degree of connection between the *Epitome Notes* and P. T. 762/P. T. 766 (table 9.4). For example, reading the annotations to IOL Tib J 623 (fig. 9.5) side by side with those to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 gives an indication of the range of overlaps and divergences possible in texts emerging from ninth-century Tibetophone scholiasts in Dunhuang and the Hexi region. Although the annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and IOL Tib J 623 contain significant differences—and must be seen as unrelated works—both are rooted in traditional Buddhist scholasticism. IOL Tib J 623's annotation to *dge sbyong* (Skt. *śramaṇa*), for instance, reads as a paraphrase of the same stock definition that forms the basis of P. T. 762/P. T. 766's annotation of the same word.[73]

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72 Such traditional definitions are often based on Sanskrit *nirukti* etymologies, which make use of near homophones to analyse a given term's meaning. For examples, see fn. 73 and 79. The *nirukti* logic loses much of its interpretive force once translated into non-Indic languages. It is therefore worth noting the continued presence of such definitions in Buddhist scholastic traditions far removed from the Indic context. See also Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 150–152.

73 In this case, the P. T. 762/P. T. 766 annotation appears to be a citation of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* [The Composition of Terms in Two Parts; hereafter *Composition of Terms*, Derge Tōhoku no. 4347]: *dge sbyong dang bram ze dang mu stegs can gyi ming la shra ma ṇa zhes bya shra ma tsā ri shra ma ṇa zhes bya ste/ sdig pa zhi bar byed pa spyod cing legs pa la sbyong bas na dge sbyong zhes bya/ dngos su na 'phags pa rab tu byung ba rnams la bya/ de'i rjes su rab tu byung ba gzhan la yang bya/* (Derge 4347, 153b2–3). By shifting from pacification (Tib. *zhi bar bya ba spyod*) to abandoning (Tib. *spong*), IOL Tib J 623's paraphrase modifies the word play by which the underlying Sanskrit etymology was originally established. Seishi Karashima has compiled a list of Indic-language etymologies deriving *śramaṇa* from *śamayati* ('to pacify'), causative of √*śam* ('to be pacified'), Seishi Karashima, "Indian Folk Etymologies and their Reflections in Chinese Translations—*brāhmaṇa, śramaṇa* and *Vaiśramaṇa*," *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology* 19 (2016): 108–110.

Yet, the annotations to IOL Tib J 623 also contain marked differences to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and the *Epitome Notes* glosses. While P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and the *Epitome Notes* comment exhaustively on almost every word or phrase in the root text, IOL Tib J 623 treats fewer terms and does so with greater concision. There are also differences in the scholastic source material referenced by the annotations. For example, in the gloss on 'to be comprehended' (Tib. *khong du chud par bya ba'*), IOL Tib J 623 introduces a technical term ('the four principles of reasoning', Tib. *rigs pa bzhi*, Skt. *catasro yuktayaḥ*) not found in the other texts' comments. The degree of consistency between P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and the *Epitome Notes* is brought into relief by the contrast with IOL Tib J 623—in other words, the Tibetan annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766 share closer parallels with the Chinese *Epitome Notes* than with other Tibetan *Epitome* annotations produced in the same historical moment.

Moreover, there are indications that the *Epitome Notes* may be dependent on the Tibetan annotations to P. T. 762/P. T. 766. For example, the *Epitome Notes* gives a two-sentence gloss on 'enjoyed hearing' (Chin. *le wen* 樂聞, T. 2816.85, 1179a21–22) (see table 9.4). The first sentence discusses 'disinclination' (Chin. *wuyule* 無欲樂), while the second sentence switches to a discussion of 'wanting' (Chin. *yu* 欲). This shift is facilitated by the fact that 'wanting' (Chin. *yu* 欲) is an element of 'disinclination' (Chin. *wuyule* 無欲樂), which in turn is picking up on the word 'enjoyed' (Chin. *le* 樂) from the root text. However, it is a bit puzzling that the gloss gives so much attention to *yu* (欲) when the actual term in the root text, *le* (樂), effectively goes unglossed. Furthermore, there is a textual problem at this point. P. 2211 reads 'non-enjoyment' (Chin. *wule* 無樂, l. 47), while S. 269's reading ('disinclination') is achieved through a combination of two correction marks.[74] So, the term 'disinclination', which serves as the pivot between 'enjoyed' and 'wanting' is only attested in a single manuscript.[75] In P. 2211, the transition from 'enjoyed' to 'wanting' is even more abrupt, with the term 'wanting' seemingly unconnected to the root text or the gloss in question.[76]

The reason for the shift from 'enjoyed' to 'wanting' is clarified by the Tibetan. What is alternately translated as enjoyment (Chin. *le* 樂), (dis)inclination

74 This combination misled the Taishō editors. See n. a to table 9.4.

75 Unfortunately, I have not had access to images of S. 541, and P. 2538V starts after this point in the text, so I am only able to compare the readings of S. 269 and P. 2211.

76 The phrase '[I] now wish to hear' (Chin. *jin yule wen* 今欲樂聞) appears a few lines further down at the end of the disciple's question (T. 1654.32, 490b22; T. 2816.85, 1179b17). It is possible that the introduction of *yu* (欲) in the gloss under discussion intentionally or inadvertently reflects this line. The gloss on 'I now wish to hear' does not comment on *yu* (欲).

(Chin. [*wu*]*yule* [無]欲樂), or wanting (Chin. *yu* 欲), is consistently translated as 'wanting' (Tib. *'dod pa*) in the Tibetan. The disciple is 'wanting to hear' (Tib. *nyan 'dod pa*), and the term is used to refute 'disinclination', literally, 'non-wanting' (Tib. *mi 'dod pa*). Possibly because this term is also an element in negatively charged Buddhist terms like 'desire' (Tib. *'dod chags*), the Tibetan commentator felt the need to specify why 'wanting' would be a positive quality in a disciple—a situation that was not the case with the unambiguously positive Chinese reading of a disciple who 'enjoyed hearing [the Dharma]'.

This comment, moreover, seems likely to have originated with the Tibetan. The corresponding word is missing from both extant Sanskrit manuscripts, but the Tibetan *nyan 'dod pa* most likely reflects the desiderative present participle of the Sanskrit verb for 'to hear' ('wanting to hear', Skt. *śuśrūṣamāṇaḥ* from √*śru*).[77] If this is indeed the underlying reading, 'wanting' would have been indicated by the verbal form itself. It would not be possible to analyse the Sanskrit word into discrete elements of 'wanting' and 'hearing', nor would the word in any way be related to Sanskrit words for 'desire' (Skt. *rāga*, *kāma*), 'wishes' (Skt. *abhilāṣa*, *chandas*), or the verb 'to want' (Skt. √*iṣ*). Thus, the Chinese appears to have imported the topic of 'wanting'—as an element distinct from 'hearing'—from the Tibetan.

The possibility of Tibetan influence is also suggested by the adaptation of parallel material to the different circumstances of the Tibetan and Chinese texts. In glossing the title, the Tibetan commentator breaks *rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba* (Skt. *pratītyasamutpāda*) into three parts (*rten cing*, 'dependent'; *'brel par*, 'connected'; and *'byung ba*, 'arising') and equates each with the refutation of one of three incorrect views (origination without a cause, nihilism, and permanence, respectively). In the Chinese title, *pratītyasamutpāda* is rendered more freely as *yinyuan* (因緣), 'causes and conditions'. Though this term cannot be easily split into three, the commentator of the *Epitome Notes* states that the compound term refutes the same three wrong views encountered in the Tibetan.[78] It is easier to envision the abbreviation of this tripartite gloss than its expansion.

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77 Compare Gokhale, "Der Sanskrit-Text," 105, and Gokhale and Dhadphale, "Encore," 62–68. *Śuśrūṣamāṇaḥ* is given as an equivalent to *nyan 'dod pa* in the *Mahāvyutpatti* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4346). Alternatively, the underlying Sanskrit could have been *śrotukāmaḥ*, which could also be reflected by the Chinese *lewen* (樂聞), though the Chinese may also reflect the gerundive of the same verb, 'to be heard' (Skt. *śravaṇīyaḥ*).

78 T. 2816.85, 1178c24–25: "Speaking of 'causes and conditions': This refutes the pernicious views of such theories as nihilism, permanence, and [origination] without a cause" (Chin. 言因緣者, 此遮斷常無因等論諸惡見也).

Even when the Tibetan and Chinese texts differ, it may be possible to detect echoes of Tibetan scholasticism in the Chinese. In glossing the term 'Blessed One' (Skt. *bhagavān*, Tib. *bcom ldan 'das*, Chin. *boqiefan*/*poqiefan* 薄伽梵/婆伽梵), the Tibetan annotations adopt the language of several traditional etymologies to the effect that the Blessed One is so-called because he has conquered Māra's army and, by extension, is fearless.[79] The Chinese defines the term more succinctly: "The Bhagavān is called 'vanquished-endowed', meaning that he has vanquished the four *māra*s and is endowed with six merits."[80] This combined paraphrase of two traditional Sanskrit etymologies could simply be another example of stock definitions common across Buddhist traditions.[81]

And yet, a search of the Chinese canon reveals that the Chinese phrase, 'vanquished-endowed' (Chin. *xiangfu ju* 降伏具) is quite rare. The term is attested only in two works: the *Epitome Notes* and Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary (T. 2782.85).[82] It is likewise difficult to find Chinese definitions of

79 P. T. 762 and P. T. 766 are both damaged at the point where they start to give an etymology for *bhagavān*. The portion that survives seems to be a citation from the *Paryāyasaṃgrahaṇī* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4041): "As for '*bhagavān*', on the *bodhimaṇḍa*, he conquered [(Tib. *bcom*)] the entire force of the sinful one's *dharma*s and the army of *māra*s." (Tib. *bcom ldan 'das ni byang chub kyi snying por sdig pa can gyi chos dang/ bdud kyi g.yul gyi stobs thams cad bcom pa'o* [D4041, 33a6–7]). Compare P. T. 766, fol. 112: *bcom ldan 'das ni byang cub kyi snying por sdig pa can kyi chos dang/ bdud kyi g.yul thams sha* […]. The definition based on fearlessness seems to be a verse adapted from the *Avaivartikacakrasūtra* (Derge Tōhoku no. 240), likely via its quotation in Kamalaśīla's *Avikalpapraveśadhāraṇītīkā* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4000). P. T. 762, l. 1.3: "Another aspect [of the term *bhagavān*] from the treatises: 'Though he explains to sentient beings that *dharma*s are like magical emanations, he has no fear [(read: *'jigs*)] of them. Thus, he is called *bhagavān* [(Tib. *bcom ldan*, 'vanquished-endowed')]" (Tib. *rnaṃ pa gchig tu ⟪gzh⟫ung dag las sprul pa 'dra ba'i chos dag ni sems chan rnams la rab bshad kyang 'di la 'jig pa myed pa'i phyir / de bas bchom ldan zhes bya /*).

80 T. 2816.85, 1179b6–7: 言婆伽梵者, 此云降伏具, 謂降四魔, 具六功德也.

81 Both of these etymologies appear in the *Composition of Terms* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4347, Derge 4347, 133a3–4): "*Bhagavān*, in one aspect—*bhagnamāracatuṣṭayatvād bhagavān* [('*bhagavān*' because he has smashed [*bhagna*] the four *māra*s)]—is styled 'vanquished' because he has vanquished the four *māra*s. In another aspect, *bhaga* refers to the six excellences, namely the six of form, reputation, sovereignty, glory, wisdom, and effort. The occurrence of *vān* is explained as 'endowed with': *bhago 'syāstīti bhagavān* [(of him there is fortune [*bhaga*], hence *bhagavān*)]" (Tib. *bha ga bā na zhes bya ba gcig tu na/ bha ga na mā ra tsa tuṣṭa pa tva dva bha ga bān/ zhes bya ste bdud bzhi bcom pas na bcom pa la bya/ yang rnam pa gcig tu na bhag ni legs pa rnam pa drug gi ming ste/ gzugs dang / grags pa dang / dbang phyug dang / dpal dang / shes rab dang / brtson pa ste 'di drug gi spyi la bya / bān zhes 'byung ba ni bhag syā stī ti bha ga bān zhes ldan bar bshad de /*).

82 Search of CBETA's digital corpus conducted October 11, 2021. The terms *xiangfu* (降伏) and *ju* (具) appear in sequential lines of a verse in a Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368, 元) translation of the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* (T. 1190.20).

various terms for *bhagavān* that use the same terms as the gloss in the *Epitome Notes*.[83] If the author of the *Epitome Notes* was drawing on stock formulations from Chinese scholastic works, we would expect his wording to match that of authoritative sources. The fact that it does not suggests it is his own coinage.

The Tibetan translation of *bhagavān*, *bcom ldan 'das*, is composed of three independent syllables, literally meaning 'vanquished-endowed-transcendent'. Could 'vanquished-endowed' (Chin. *xiangfu ju* 降伏具) have been calqued on the Tibetan? It is perhaps worth noting that P. T. 762 at one point drops the third syllable *'das* and refers to the *bhagavān* simply as 'vanquished-endowed' (Tib. *bcom ldan*).[84] Furthermore, in the absence of a clear Chinese precedent for the phrasing of the two etymologies in the second half of the gloss, it seems significant that the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* [The Composition of Terms in Two Parts; hereafter *Composition of Terms*] (Derge Tōhoku no. 4347) highlights these two particular etymologies in its justification for the Tibetan term.[85] This text, which was compiled by the Tibetan court in 814 to explain the codified translation choices for various Sanskrit words, appears to be the source for several of the glosses on P. T. 762/P. T. 766.[86] There are other Chinese glosses that

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83 What the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* terms 'vanquishing of the four *māra*s' (Chin. *xiang si mo* 降四魔) is more commonly encountered as their 'destruction' (Chin. *po*[*huai*] *si mo* 破[壞]四魔); the 'six merits' with which the *bhagavān* is 'endowed' (Chin. *ju liu gongde* 具六功德) in the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* are generally expressed as 'six meanings' that he 'has' (Chin. *you liu yi* 有六義) or 'based on which' the Sanskrit term 'proceeds' (Chin. *yi liu yi zhuan* 依六義轉). The closest wording to the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* that we encounter appears in works by Kuiji (632–682, 窺基) and Wŏnch'ŭk (613–696, 圓測), who refer to the Bhagavān as being 'able to destroy the four *māra*s' (Chin. *neng po si mo* 能破四魔) and 'being endowed with six virtues' (Chin. *ju liu de* 具六德) (T. 1723.34, 690a29–b1; XZJ 369.21, 184b15–c12). In the latter instance, the two elements of *māra*s and virtues are reversed. In a passage based on the **Buddhabhūmyupadeśa* (T. 1530.26, 292a24–b9), Tankuang (ca. 700–ca. 785, 曇曠) refers to the six meanings given in the **Buddhabhūmisūtra* (T. 680.16) as 'six merits of the Bhagavān' (Chin. *boqiefan gongde* 薄伽梵功德), and yet he does not mention the four *māra*s (T. 2735.85, 72a8–11). In the *Yogācārabhūmi* (T. 1579.30, 499c9–10), we find yet another variation: the Bhagavān is "able to destroy the great and powerful armies of all *māra*s and is endowed with many merits" (Chin. 能破諸魔大力軍衆, 具多功德, 名薄伽梵).

84 See fn. 79. This could be a simple scribal mistake. Dropping the final syllable *'das* violates the meter.

85 See fn. 81.

86 See, for instance, fn. 73. Three fragments of the *Composition of Terms* survive in Dunhuang: P. T. 843, P. T. 845, and IOL Tib J 76.6. On the identification of the latter, see Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, "Enacting Words: A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (*bkas bcad*) and Their Application in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* Tradition," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25.1–2 (2002): 325. Building on Scherrer-Schaub's analysis, Peter Verhagen has recently argued that many, if not most,

contain parallels to the *Composition of Terms*, as well, including the gloss on *shamen* (沙門, Skt. *śramaṇa*, table 9.4).[87] While such an explanation remains speculative, it is not impossible that these traditional etymologies have been refracted through Tibetan sources.

4.2.2 Considering Points of Distinction

While there are multiple points of convergence between the Tibetan annotations in P. T. 762/P. T. 766 and the *Epitome Notes*, we can also draw several distinctions between them. These are revealed most clearly in some of the longer comments, as in table 9.5, in which we find parallel passages from the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations presented in a slightly different order and with variations in content.[88]

In these comments, as in table 9.5, there are several key differences between the Tibetan annotation and the Chinese gloss—reminiscent of those between the Tibetan preface (P. T. 767) and the introduction to the *Epitome Notes* discussed above (see section 4.1):

1) Passage A appears only in the Chinese version.
2) Passage E is only in the Tibetan version.
3) Passage C appears as the final Tibetan section but third in the Chinese.
4) In two cases (see text between superscript and subscript parentheses), a sentence appears in one passage in the Tibetan but in a different passage in the Chinese.
5) Both comments quote or paraphrase authoritative texts, but only the Tibetan names the source of this material (or even identifies it as a citation).

These differences result in two rather divergent structures built out of largely parallel material. To see how this works, let us look at each comment in turn.

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of the lexicographical entries in the *Composition of Terms* were extant prior to the edict of 814 that is generally used to date the text. See Peter Verhagen, "'Tools of the Trade' of the Tibetan Translators," in *Tibetan Literary Genres, Texts, and Text Types: From Genre Classification to Transformation*, ed. Jim Rheingans (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 184; and Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 132–162.

87 As demonstrated in table 9.4, the Tibetan annotation to *śramaṇa* in P. T. 766 is largely parallel with the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji*'s gloss except for the final sentence. The parallel portion of the Tibetan annotation shares precise wording with the *Composition of Terms.* See fn. 73.

88 I have marked-up sentences (⌜ ⌝, ( ), ₍ ₎) that have been grouped with a different passage in the Tibetan and Chinese.

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)**	**P. T. 766** **gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs nI bcu gnyIs so /* (fol. 1v1) "Ten and two means twelve"**
A 次下又重釋問辭釋論也. In what follows, I gloss both the question's phrasing and the treatise [together].	
B 言此中十及二, 故曰為十二者, 若十及二不別說者, 數為二十有增加過, 故此言也. 'Here, they are ten and two, thus they are said to be twelve': If it did not separately state 'ten and two', they could be counted as twenty, which would be an error of excess. Therefore, it says this.	B *~// bcu pung gnyis lta bu la myi bya ba'i phyir bcu dang gnyIs su smos so/* In order to avoid indicating ten times two, it states 'ten and two'.
C 〔問〕, 不言十一, 不言十三, 〔定言十二, 為何謂耶?〕若言十一義不具足, 若言十三而[a]無所用, 有增減過故定十二. 〔One [may] ask,〕 'He did not say eleven, he did not say thirteen, 〔he determined them by saying twelve. Why so?'〕 If he said eleven, it would not be sufficient for the meaning, and if he said thirteen, it would be superfluous. Because that would err in excess or deficit, he determined them to be twelve.	(Tib. passage C appears below F)

a T. 2816.85 reads 義, here emended to 而 on the basis of S. 269 (correction in red, l. 76) and P. 2211 (l. 72).

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)**	**P. T. 766** **gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs nI bcu gnyIs so* / (fol. 1v1) "Ten and two means twelve"**
D (又三世因果用十二故,) 謂從於前際至中際因者無明, 行, 識, 果謂名色, 助因為愛. 從於中際至後之因從識至受, 果謂生, 老死, 助因取, 有 住中際者, 從識至受. 故定十二.[b]	D (*bchu gnyis kho* [*nar nges*] *pa jI'i phyir zhe na'*) *rnal 'byor spyod pa*⟦*'I*⟧ *las*[c] *sngon kyi mtha' nas dbus kyi mtha*[*r*] ⟦*na pa*⟧ *'byung* [*ba'i*] ⟦*nI*⟧ *rgyu nI ma rig pa dang 'du byed dang / rnam par shes pas 'bras bu ni myIng dang gzugs / grogs by*[*ed*] *rgyu ni sred pa' / dbus kyI mtha'* [*nas*] */ phyi ma'I mthar 'byung ba'i rgyu ni rnam par shes* [*pa'*] *nas tshor ba'I bar / 'bras bu ni skye da*[*ng*] *rga shI / grogs byed pa'i rgyu ni len pa dang srid pa' dbus kyI mtha' la gnas pa ni / rnam par shes pa nas tshor ba'i bar tu bstan /*
(Additionally, because the causes and fruits of three lifetimes require twelve,) it is explained that the causes of reaching the present from the past are ignorance, formations, and consciousness; the fruit is name-and-form; and the concomitant cause is craving. The causes of reaching the future from the present are [the branches] from consciousness to sensation, the fruits are birth and old age-and-death, and the concomitant causes are grasping and becoming. Residing in the present [engages the branches] from consciousness to sensation. Thus, they are determined as twelve.	(If one asks, 'Why [does he specify only] twelve?',) in the *Yogācārabhūmi* it is taught that the causes of the present arising from the past are ignorance and formations and consciousness; the fruit of such is name-and-form; the concomitant cause is craving. The causes of arising in the future from the present are [the branches from] consciousness to sensation; the fruits are birth and old age-and-death; the concomitant causes are grasping and becoming. Abiding in the present [engages the branches] from consciousness to sensation.

b See n. c to this table and compare with the *Yogācārabhūmi* (including *Vastusaṃgrahanī*; T. 1579.30, 321a17–322a18; 827c3–829a9).

c This passage is a condensation of two lengthy presentations of this topic in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4035, 101a3–103b5) and the *Vastusaṃgrahanī* (Derge Tōhoku no. 4039, 246a7–249a2). See n. b to this table. (Note that the *Vastusaṃgrahanī* is cataloged as one of five parts of the *Yogācārabhūmi* in Chinese canons; in the Tibetan canons, the same five parts are cataloged individually.)

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)**	**P. T. 766** **gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs nI bcu gnyIs so* /** **(fol. 1v1) "Ten and two means twelve"**
	E *sa bchu dang sa lu ljang pa las kyang*[d] */ sngon dang bar dang phyi ma'i mtha' yongsu smyin par bya ba'i khyad bar ni ma rig pa dang 'du byed gnyis / sngon kyi mtha' la⟪s⟫ bltos pa rnam par shes nas / tshor ba'i bar ni da ltar byung ba la bltos {{pa}} / sred pa nas srid pa'I bar tu nI phyi ma'i mtha' las bltos pa zhes bya ba dang*[e] */ snga ma dang bar ma dang phyi ma rnams su gnyis dang brgyad dang gnyis la rims kyis rmongs pa de dang / {{+bral ba'i phyir}} dum bu gsuṃ du rnam par bzhag ces 'byung ba dang* [...] In the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* [(Derge Tōhoku no. 44-31)] and *Śālistamba* [*sic*: *-ṭīkā*], though, there is a difference in the ripening of the past, present, and future: [In the former,] it says, 'The pair of ignorance and formations are dependent on the past; [the branches] from consciousness to sensation are dependent on the present occurrence; [the branches] from craving to becoming are dependent on the future'. And [in the latter], it says, 'The past, present, and future are, respectively, two and eight and two. In order to be free from that confusion, [the twelve branches] are presented in three categories'.

d Derge 44-31, v. 36, 222b2–3: *de ltar ma rig pa'i rkyen gyis 'du byed rnams shes bya ba 'di ni sngon gyi mtha' la bltas pa'o/ /rnam par shes pa dang ming dang gzugs dang drug gi skye mched dang reg pa dang / tshor ba 'di dag ni da ltar byung ba la bltas pa'o/ /sred pa dang nye bar len pa dang srid pa dang / skye ba zhes bya ba 'di ni phyi ma'i mtha' la bltas pa ste/.*

e Derge 4001, 149b 6–7: *gzhan dag ni snga ma dang bar ma dang phyi ma rnams su gnyis dang brgyad dang gnyis go rims bzhin te / de la rmongs pa rnam par bzlog pa'i phyir bstan par dum bu gsum du rnam par 'jog pas yan lag rnams rnam par brjod do /.*

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)**	**P. T. 766** **gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs nI bcu gnyIs so /* (fol. 1v1) "Ten and two means twelve"**
F 又十二者, 初三即是能引支也. 名色, 六入, 觸, 受四法所引支也. 愛, 取, 有三能成支也. 生之一法所成支也. 老死即是過失支也. ⌜能引支者, 顯其遠因. 能成支者, 即示近因. 若無此二, 生不成故.⌝[f]	F [...] *yang sa lu ljang pa las / dang po gsuṃ nI 'phen pa'i yan lag / 'og ma bzhi ni 'phangs pa'i yan lag / 'og ma gsum ni bsgruba'I ya+n*[g] *lag / skye ba nI* [*m*]*ngon bsgrub pa'I yan lag / rga shI ni nyes dmyigs kyi yan lag ces 'byung ste /*[h]
Additionally, as for the twelve, the first three are the casting branches. Name-and-form, the six sensory fields (Skt. *āyatana*), contact, and sensation—these four—are the branches cast. Craving, grasping, and becoming—these three—are the accomplishing branches. The single dharma of birth is the branch accomplished. Old age–and-death is the branch of error. ⌜The casting branches explain the distant cause. The accomplishing branches demonstrate the proximate cause. Without these two, birth is not accomplished.⌝	The *Śālistamba* [*sic*: *-ṭīkā*] also states: 'The first three are the casting branches. The next four are the branches cast. The next three are the branches accomplished [*sic*: productive branches]. Birth is the branch produced. Old age-and-death is the branch of misfortune'.

f Compare a similar passage from Facheng's *Śālistamba* commentary, T. 2782.85, 548a25–29: 答為五義故. 一能引支, 即無明, 行, 識. 二所引支, 即名色, 六入, 觸, 受. 三能成支, 即愛, 取, 有. 四所成支, 即生. 五過失支, 即老死. 能引支者即是遠因. 能成支者即是近因. 若無此二, 生不成故.

g I transcribe *yan* as *ya+n* to indicate that the letters *ya* and *na* are written as a stacked ligature with the *na* attached below the *ya*, which is a particular feature of the scribal hand of P. T. 766. See fig. 9.4b.

h Derge 4001, 149b3–5: *'di la dang po gsum ni 'phen pa'i yan lag go/ /ming dang gzugs dang skye mched drug dang / reg pa dang tshor ba rnams ni 'phags* [(read: *'phangs*)] *pa'i yan lag go/ /sred pa dang len pa dang srid pa 'di dag ni mngon par sgrub pa'i yan lag go/ /skye ba ni mngon par sgrub pa'i yan lag go/ /rga shi ni nyes dmigs kyi yan lag go/ /de la 'phen pa'i yan lag gis ni ring ba'i rgyu bstan to/ /mngon par sgrub pa'i yan lag gis ni nye ba'i rgyu bstan to/ /de gnyis med na skye ba 'grub par mi 'gyur te/ de bas na rnam pa gnyis su bshad do/.*

TABLE 9.5 Parallel passages and proof texts in the *Epitome Notes* and Tibetan annotations (*cont.*)

***Epitome Notes* (T. 2816.85, 1179b29–c13)**	**P. T. 766** **gloss on *de la bcu dang gnyIs nI bcu gnyIs so* /** **(fol. 1v1) "Ten and two means twelve"**
	C *(de dag ni 'khor ba'I rgyu 'bras yin la) bchu gnyis las nyung na ya+ng*[i] */ myi chog mang na yang myi dgos te / bchu gnyis kyis de dag 'grub pa'i phyir / thub pas bchu gnyis kho nar gsungs par nges so //* (Since they are the causes and fruits of *saṃsāra*,) they cannot be fewer than twelve, nor is there a need for more [than twelve]. They are established as twelve by the [authoritative texts just cited], and thus it is determined [by the fact] that the Sage taught only twelve.

i See n. g.

The Tibetan annotation opens with a statement to the effect that there are twelve branches of interdependence, not twenty.[89] It then asks, Why twelve?,[90] before proceeding to present four excerpts from authoritative sources on the operation of the twelve branches—one each from the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (Derge Tōhoku no. 44-31), and two from Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭīkā*.[91] These excerpts include three conflicting accounts of how

89 This seemingly obvious statement—which is also made in the Chinese—reflects an analysis of the Sanskrit word for 'twelve' (Skt. *dvādaśa*), found in the verses, which the author of the auto-commentary analyses as a compound comprised of two (Skt. *dvi*) and ten (Skt. *daśa*).

90 This question belongs to passage C in the Chinese and passage D in the Tibetan. Since passage C appears at the end of the Tibetan annotation but towards the beginning of the Chinese gloss, the question itself appears in roughly the same place in each comment. The shift in the placement of passage C (in whichever direction it occurred) likely resulted in this question being incorporated into a new paragraph.

91 These excerpts are identified above in n. b–f and h to table 9.5. The *Yogācārabhūmi* excerpt is found in passage D. Passage E—missing from the Chinese—pairs an excerpt from the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* together with one from Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭīkā*. Passage F

the twelve branches map onto the process of rebirth over the course of three lifetimes. The annotation then concludes with a statement that samsaric existence is maintained by precisely twelve causes and effects (passage C). The Tibetan annotation thus frames a range of doctrinal positions within a specific question.

The Chinese, on the other hand, starts with passage A, promising that the *Epitome Notes* will explain the concept of the twelve branches in terms of the disciple's question and the master's answer in a single gloss.[92] The main body of the gloss then begins, as in the Tibetan, by stating that there are twelve branches of interdependence, not twenty, and then asking, Why twelve? Parting ways with the Tibetan, the Chinese gloss immediately answers the question by saying that the Buddha taught twelve, no more and no less (passage C). It then states that the process of rebirth over the course of three lifetimes requires precisely twelve causes and effects, using this sentence to introduce the (unidentified) excerpt from the *Yogācārabhūmi* on that topic (passage D). Finally, it closes by presenting a slightly different—though not conflicting—take on the twelve branches from the *Śālistambaṭīkā* (passage F). It is intriguing to note that, although the Chinese gloss does not identify Kamalaśīla's commentary as its source for passage F, it quotes a longer portion of the source text than does P. T. 766 (see text between top half brackets in table 9.5 above).[93] It thus would appear that the author of the *Epitome Notes* had some sort of access to Kamalaśīla's commentary that was independent from P. T. 766. In summary, while the Tibetan annotation frames a range of doctrinal positions within a specific question, the Chinese adopts a 'topic-comment' framework to present a point backed up by two complementary examples.

There is an inherent asymmetry between the Tibetan and Chinese *Epitome* commentaries. The surviving Chinese manuscripts of the *Epitome Notes*

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presents a second paragraph from Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambaṭīkā*. While the three excerpts in passages D and E each describe different and conflicting analyses of the operation of the twelve branches over the course of three lifetimes, passage F reflects a different approach to the twelve branches that is largely consonant with the *Yogācārabhūmi* quote in passage D. Although the Tibetan annotation identifies the third and fourth excerpts (in E and F) as belonging to the *Śālistambasūtra*, they are in fact found in Kamalaśīla's commentary to that *sūtra*.

92 Because P. T. 766 gives separate annotations for both the question and the answer, it does not include a note to this effect.

93 This same passage of Kamalaśīla's commentary is also silently cited by Facheng in his *Śālistamba* commentary. However, only the last sentence of that passage is a direct match for the wording of the *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji*.

appear as finished works.[94] They may have an informal feel—S. 269 and P. 2538V, for instance, are written on unruled paper, with no margins and with a high frequency of corrections and interlinear additions. However, the text's readings are reasonably consistent across manuscripts. There is no indication that we are, say, dealing with drafts from different points in the composition process. The situation with the Tibetan manuscripts is more complicated. Even if it seems—as I have argued above—that the preface on P. T. 767 was meant to accompany annotations of the type presented on P. T. 766, it is difficult to directly link P. T. 767 to P. T. 766. The two manuscripts appear on different size paper, with different formatting, and in different scribal hands. P. T. 762, unfinished and in an anomalous roll-type format, is an even bigger puzzle. Furthermore, all three manuscripts are full of corrections and annotations and do not give the appearance of being 'fair copies'. Unlike the Chinese manuscripts, where we are dealing with a finished composition, the state of the Tibetan materials suggests we are dealing with drafts rather than finished works.

In light of this observation, it becomes difficult to grapple with the differences in structure and content between the two texts, such as in the comments on the twelve branches considered above. The Tibetan text, presenting four accounts of the twelve branches and naming the sources, incorporates more scholastic material than the *Epitome Notes*. In the Chinese text, we find half as many passages, but they can be read in tandem without conflict and are incorporated seamlessly into the gloss—to the point that they are not even identified as scriptural citations. Does this reflect different commentarial approaches within Tibetophone and Sinophone Buddhist traditions? Or is it an artefact of the sources? Does the Tibetan annotation present conflicting passages because the commentator aimed for a comprehensive treatment of a difficult topic? Or is it because, in P. T. 766, we are reading an earlier version of the commentary, one from a stage in which the author was still gathering his source material? These questions point to the heart of issues of scholastic cultures and doctrinal transfer, but they cannot yet be answered.

5 Significance and Working Hypotheses

I hope to have demonstrated that the Dunhuang materials connected to the *Epitome of Interdependent Origination* in both Tibetan and Chinese emerged

94 I have neither been able to examine images of S. 541 nor assess how many *Yinyuan xin shilun kaijue ji* manuscripts survive in collections held in China.

from a shared scholastic milieu. I have argued that the Tibetan preface was intended to accompany a set of annotations to the *Epitome*, and that such sets of annotations (whether accompanied by a preface or not) effectively constitute sub-commentaries in their own right. Thus, the Dunhuang corpus contains two sub-commentaries—the Tibetan preface with annotations (represented by P. T. 767 + P. T. 762/P. T. 766) and the Chinese *Epitome Notes*—that share significant overlaps in terms of structure, content, and phrasing.

These observations constitute striking evidence of Buddhist scholastic activities bridging Tibetophone and Sinophone spheres in the ninth-century Hexi region. This paper is a preliminary exploration of this phenomenon, and we must be careful about extrapolating on the basis of a single case study. Nevertheless, my findings reveal that one or more exegetes—likely Facheng and his circle of disciples—were deeply engaged with Tibetan and Chinese scholastic traditions. They were conversant with overlapping sets of authoritative proof texts, and they integrated a range of commentarial strategies and conventions rooted in Chinese and Tibetan models, all of which was in turn imprinted by strands of Indic heritage.

Painting with broad brush strokes, we may characterise the Tibetan and Chinese *Epitome* sub-commentaries as a synthesis of a Chinese commentarial format with Indo-Tibetan content. The indications of Tibetan influence on the content and wording of the Chinese glosses testify to the impact that Tibetan scholasticism had on Chinese-language Buddhism in the wake of Tibetan political rule. Meanwhile, the structure of the Tibetan sub-commentary suggests that the Tibetan commentator (Facheng?) was working within a Chinese exegetical framework: By adding an expository multipart preface to an annotated gloss commentary, he effectively replicated a Chinese commentarial structure in Tibetan, bridging the cultural gap.

My analysis thus calls attention to two areas particularly worthy of future research. First, while scholars have paid significant attention to the Tibetan military presence in Central Asia and the imperial administrative system,[95] our understanding of the empire's impact on Buddhism in the region surrounding Dunhuang (and, for that matter, all areas of Eastern Central Asia under Tibetan rule) is much less developed. Our approach to this topic has been

95 Four monographs from this extensive literature are Christopher Beckwith, *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987); Tsuguhito Takeuchi, *Old Tibetan Contracts from Central Asia* (Tokyo: Daizo Shuppan, 1995); Brandon Dotson with Guntram Hazod, *The Old Tibetan Annals* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009); and Gertraud Taenzer, *The Dunhuang Region during Tibetan Rule* (*787–848*) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012).

hampered by overly simplistic narratives regarding imperial Tibet's encounter with Buddhism and a general neglect of the period of Tibetan rule over the Dunhuang region. Although a more nuanced account of imperial-period Buddhism in Tibet is finally starting to emerge,[96] scholars have yet to fully acknowledge the extent to which Tibetan-period Dunhuang Buddhism mirrors what we know of the Tibetan court's religious interests.[97] The Tibetan-period manuscripts (in both Tibetan and Chinese) indicate that Dunhuang received a steady flow of texts recently translated or composed in Central Tibet, some of which likely reached Dunhuang via the Blue Lake (Kokonor) region.[98] As I argue elsewhere, this means that, even as the Tibetan Empire devoted significant resources to gathering and translating Buddhist scriptures—in other words to the reception of Buddhism—it was also actively promoting specific forms of Buddhism by sponsoring religious activities throughout the imperium, including the dissemination of specific texts.[99] Beyond its potential to dramatically shift our view of the Tibetan Empire's cultural reach, a clearer picture of Tibetan-period Buddhism in Dunhuang will also hold significant ramifications for our contextualisation of Dunhuang materials from the Tibetan and Guiyijun (851–1036?, 歸義軍, Return-to-Allegiance Army) periods.[100]

Secondly, the Tibetan *Epitome* manuscripts highlight two largely overlooked commentarial genres—the 'prefatory aide-memoire' (Tib. *mgo nan brjed byang du byas pa*) and the 'annotated gloss commentary' (Tib. *mchan tig*). I discuss

96 See, for instance, Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Michael Walter, *Buddhism and Empire: The Political and Religious Culture of Early Tibet* (Leiden: Brill, 2009). I do not mean to discount the important work of scholars such as Paul Demiéville, Rolf A. Stein, and other pioneers, only to point to recent contributions that signal a shift in overarching narrative.

97 The first scholar to recognise this seems to have been Ueyama in "Tonkō ni okeru innen ron," 81–82.

98 A growing body of scholarship points to important links between Dunhuang and the Blue Lake (Kokonor) region, highlighted by Carmen Meinert's contribution to this volume. Gertraud Taenzer has recently identified an important Tibetan scriptorium that seems to have been located in the Blue Lake region, and which participated in official *sūtra*-copying activities and sent some of the fruits from these endeavours to Dunhuang—perhaps as exemplars for local copying projects. See Iwao, "On the Roll-type Tibetan SP"; Brandon Dotson, "The Remains of the Dharma: Editing, Rejecting, and Replacing the Buddha's Words in Officially Commissioned *Sūtra*s from Dunhuang, 820s to 840s," *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 36–37 (2013/2014): 5–68; and Taenzer, "SP Discovered at Dunhuang."

99 In my book-in-progress.

100 The Guiyijun received its name from the Tang Dynasty (618–907, 唐) in 851, but the official decree ratified an administration that came to power in 848. On the significance of this name, which is more accurately rendered "Submitting to Righteousness", see Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 14–15, n. 87.

the prefaces at length in section 2.1 and elsewhere.[101] Here I want to briefly draw attention to the 'annotated gloss commentaries'. Manuscripts bearing interlinear glosses and comments in a smaller hand are well attested among the earliest Tibetan manuscripts we have and remain an important textual format up through the present day. Furthermore, there is evidence that sets of annotations circulated well beyond the disciples of their creator.[102] Given how much annotated manuscripts can reveal about textual production and circulation, they are deserving of closer attention from students of Tibetan literature.

While this study has analysed how specific threads of Chinese, Tibetan, and Indic exegetical traditions were brought together in the Dunhuang *Epitome* materials, the question of who was at the loom is still difficult to answer. As discussed above, Facheng seems to have played a key role in this. It is quite possible that he translated the text from Tibetan into Chinese. Furthermore, a preponderance of circumstantial evidence seems to credit him with authorship of the Tibetan preface and the Chinese *Epitome Notes*. If he did author these two texts, it is likely that he was also responsible for the Tibetan annotations in P. T. 762/P. T. 766—given their connections to the Tibetan preface and sustained parallels with the Chinese glosses. If Facheng's authorship of these texts can be established, it points to a scenario in which a single individual commented on the *Epitome* in two languages, thereby facilitating the treatise's propagation within two language communities more or less simultaneously.[103]

Even if we resist crediting Facheng with the Tibetan and Chinese subcommentaries, his exegetical career constitutes an important example of textual production in ninth-century Hexi. The scholastic modes of translation, preaching, and composition were tightly interwoven throughout Facheng's career.[104] He preached on texts that he translated, and his lectures were compiled into polished commentaries. He incorporated large passages of translation into his compositions, and it seems likely that many of his translations

101 See Howard, "Translation at the Crossroads," 192–199. On the annotated gloss commentaries, see ibid., 190–193.

102 Kenneth Eastman discovered that annotations to a Dunhuang *Guhyasamājatantra* manuscript (IOL Tib J 438) have been incorporated into the *rNying ma brgyud 'bum*'s [Ancient Tantra Collection] recension of the root text (gTing skyes 242). See Kenneth Eastman, "The Dun-huang Tibetan Manuscript of the Guhyasamājatantra" (paper presented to the 27th convention of The Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies, Kyoto, Japan, November 17, 1979), 6.

103 In my book-in-progress, I reflect on how Facheng's ethnicity and education impacted his scholarship and facilitated his participation in local linguistic communities.

104 I explore this further in my book-in-progress. See also Mayer's comments on the relationship of preaching and translation to exegetical composition: Mayer, "Commentarial Literature," 167.

were undertaken in the service of exegetical projects. Although there is not space in this paper to explore the oral features of the *Epitome* manuscripts, it seems likely that they are also products of a complex layering of written and oral events. In developing a mature understanding of the dynamics of doctrinal transfer at Dunhuang and the surrounding region, the role of the lecture hall and processes of Buddhist pedagogy may prove just as formative as those of translation and composition.