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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAA — Archives of Asian Art

AAH — Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae ACASA — Archives of the Chinese Art Society of America

ActaO — Acta Orientalia, Copenhagen

ActaOH — Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

ADMG — Abhandlungen der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft AION — Annali dell'Istituto (Universitario) Orientale di Napoli

AJA — American Journal of Archaeology AMI — Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran

ArOr — Archiv Orientální

ASIAR — Annual Reports (Archaeological Survey of India)
BEFEO — Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient
BMC — Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum

BMFEA — Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities
BMMA — Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

BSO(A)S — Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies

CAH— Cambridge Ancient History — Central Asiatic Journal CAICHC— Cambridge History of China CHInd Cambridge History of India CHIr— Cambridge History of Iran CIInd — Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum CIIr— Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum CIS— Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum

CRAI — Comptes rendus des séances (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres)

EW — East and West

HJAS — Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies

HR — History of Religions

IIJ — Indo-Iranian Journal

JA — Journal Asiatique

IAH — Journal of Asian History

JAOS — Journal of the American Oriental Society

JAS — Journal of Asian Studies

JASB — Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal

JESHO — Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient

JGJRI — Journal of the Ganganath Jha Research Institute

JIABS — Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies

IISOA — Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art

INES — Journal of Near Eastern Studies

JRAS — Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland

JUPHS — Journal of the Uttar Pradesh (formerly: United Provinces) Historical Society

KSIA — Kratkie soobščenija Instituta Arheologii MASI — Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India

MCB — Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques

MDAFA — Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan

MIA — Materialy i issledovanija po Arheologii SSSR

MTB — Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tôyô Bunko

NTS — Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap
OLZ — Orientalistische Literaturzeitung

PSAS — Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies

REI — Revue des Études Islamiques

RepMem — Reports and Memoirs (IsIAO [formerly IsMEO], Centro Studi e Scavi

Archeologici)

RHR — Revue de l'Histoire des Religions RSO — Rivista degli Studi Orientali SA — Sovetskaja Arheologija SAS — South Asian Studies

SOR — Serie Orientale Roma (IsIAO [formerly IsMEO])

TOCS — Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society

TP — T'oung Pao

TPS — Transactions of the Philological Society

VDI — Vestnik drevnej istorii

WZKM — Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes

WZKS — Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für indische Philosophie

ZAS — Zentralasiatische Studien

ZDMG — Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

The Inscriptions of the Great Stupa of Gyantse

A Review of Their Transcription in Giuseppe Tucci's *Indo-Tibetica* and a Remark on the Calligraphic Conventions Used in the Inscriptions

by SAERJI

To unravel some of the problems that emerged while translating into Chinese and compiling a critical edition of the volumes dealing with the inscriptions in the Great Stupa of Gyantse (rgyal rtse sku 'bum) in Giuseppe Tucci's *Indo-Tibetica*, in September 2007 the author carried out a field investigation of the inscriptions in the sku 'bum (¹). In spite of significant time limitations (only two weeks were available for this work), a systematic proofreading of the text of the transcriptions published by Tucci (*Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV.II) against the original inscriptions in the Great Stupa was carried out. Combining the *in situ* observations with the subsequent organization and revision of the material, I plan to complement and clarify related material published by Tucci from the perspectives of completeness, accuracy and order of transcription, the implications of modification of the original inscriptions, their use to explain symbology and record authorship, and calligraphic conventions used in the inscriptions.

Completeness, Accuracy and Order of Transcription

Omission and Addition

The major outcome of the on-the-spot investigation was finding out that the transcriptions published by Tucci do not reflect the full panorama of the inscriptions of the Great Stupa: some inscriptions have not been included in Tucci's transcription. We were not prepared for this fact, which greatly increased the amount of work to be carried out *in situ*. We resorted to identifying and photographing the unrecorded inscriptions, compiling a computer file of these and

[1]

^{*} I am indebted to Pat Field for her constructive comments on the English draft of this article.

⁽¹⁾ The fieldwork was carried out by the author together with Giuseppe Vignato, who kindly drew the maps of the Great Stupa for the article. During this work it was found that the positioning and naming of some gods as recorded by Tucci in *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV.I do not correspond to the actual paintings in the sku 'bum. The limited time available enabled only some chapels to be re-examined in this respect; complete verification will need further investigation in the future.

their location, and ascertaining the completeness and legibility of a printout of this file by comparing it with the actual inscriptions. The file was thus verified as an accurate copy of the inscriptions.

The proofreading demonstrated that inscriptions from 11 different chapels were incompletely recorded by Tucci:

First Floor, No. 6.T.: inscriptions on both sides of the entrance; No. 16.T.: inscriptions on both sides of the entrance and below the paintings; No. 19: all the inscriptions.

Second Floor, No. 14: all the inscriptions.

Third Floor, No. 1.T.; No. 6.T.; No. 11.T.: inscriptions on both sides of the entrance; No. 19: inscription on the wall opposite the door (eastern part of the northern wall).

Fourth Floor, No. 2: inscription right of the door; No. 4: inscriptions below the paintings (2).

Campana (Drona), lower storey: inscription on the inner northern wall.

Even with these additions the verification of the transcription of inscriptions in the Great Stupa remains incomplete, because some inscriptions are no longer visible. For instance, First Floor, No. 13. is a chapel whose inscriptions are now peeled off and impossible to read (³); in Fourth Floor, No. 7. right of the door, the inscription inside the yellow band is ruined and smeared over. It can be reasonably assumed that in First Floor, No. 11.T in the yellow panels on the two sides of the door, and in Fourth Floor, No. 2. in the yellow panel right of the door, as well as in the cases where a yellow band below the paintings does not bear an inscription, originally there were inscriptions which have little by little peeled off, or have been intentionally erased.

In First Floor, No. 16.T., is a significant number of inscriptions in yellow bands within the paintings. Their examination revealed that they are explanations of the content of the paintings, different from the inscriptions specifying the layout of the paintings we are dealing with in this context, therefore they will not be considered in this paper.

The proofreading of the transcriptions revealed cases of both omission and addition of text.

Omissions from text vary from one or two words to full sentences, the most noticeable cases being:

First Floor, No. 4: inscription on the lower row of the southern part of the eastern wall (4); No. 6.T.: inscription on the eastern part of the northern wall and on the right

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⁽²⁾ These were discovered after leaving Tibet while looking at the photographic material collected, therefore the author did not record the inscriptions in this chapel.

⁽³⁾ First Floor, No. 1: the walls are completely darkened by smoke; although it is difficult to determine, it cannot be ruled out that there were inscriptions.

⁽⁴⁾ Recording the name of the painter.

of the main statue on the eastern wall (5); No. 15: inscription on the southern part of the eastern wall (6); No. 17: part of the inscription on the northern part of the eastern wall (7); No. 20: part of the inscription on the western part of the southern wall.

Second Floor, No. 1: part of the inscription on the eastern wall (8); No. 11: part of the inscription on the western wall (9).

Third Floor, No. 8: part of the inscription in the eastern wall (10); No. 11.T.: part of the inscription on the western part of the southern wall (11); No. 13: part of the inscription on the southern part of the eastern wall and on the western part of the southern wall (12).

Cupola (Dome): No. 1. (eastern chapel): part of the inscription on the left side of the doorway (¹³), and the inscription on the northern part of the eastern wall (¹⁴); No. 2. (southern chapel): inscription in the green band on the western part of the southern wall (¹⁵); No. 3. (western chapel): part of the inscription on the southern wall (¹⁶); No. 4. (northern chapel): part of the inscription on the right side of the doorway (¹⁷), and the inscription in the green band on the eastern wall (¹⁸).

Campana (Droṇa), lower storey: part of the inscriptions on the inner western wall (19).

Campana (Droṇa), upper storey: part of the inscriptions on the inner western wall (20).

The most important apparent additions identified are:

Second Floor, No. 7: in the inscriptions on the southern wall, Tucci's transcription gives the names of the gods painted on the southern wall, which nowadays cannot be seen; according to the context and the available space on the wall, these could be additions.

Third Floor, No. 14: on the damaged area of the northern part of the western walls, about 20 cm, the inscriptions contained the name of the donor: Tucci's

- (5) Recording the name of the painter and prayer.
- (6) Recording the layout of the paintings on the eastern wall.
- (7) Recording the layout of the paintings above the door and on the northern part of the eastern wall.
- (8) Description of the statues.
- (9) Recording the layout of the paintings above the door.
- (10) In which is recorded a prayer.
- (11) Recording the tantric text from which the paintings are taken.
- (12) Recording the master with his disciples, at shoulder level of the main statue.
- (13) Recording the part in verse of the prayer.
- (14) Recording the layout of the paintings on the northern part of the eastern wall and above the door.
- (15) Recording the name of the painter and prayer.
- (16) Recording the layout of the paintings on the southern wall.
- (17) Recording part of the verses in the prayer.
- (18) Recording the repair of the paintings.
- (19) Recording the prayer.
- (20) Recording the praises to the painter.

[3]

transcription does not correspond to the remaining mutilated text, thus could be an addition (21).

First Floor, No. 20: there are two rows of inscriptions on the eastern wall, part of which (about 77 cm) is blackened, and presently it is impossible to read them. In Tucci's transcription the first row is completely recorded – supposedly an addition (²²). The last prayer recorded in the transcription in this temple is presently not visible and supposedly is also an addition.

It should be added that proofreading the transcription of Tucci revealed that although today some inscriptions have become hard to decipher, they can still be identified, whereas others are completely missing (²³); in the Chinese translation of Tucci's *Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV.II, the author has enclosed in square brackets [] the transcriptions that could not be verified.

Accuracy of Transcription

While proofreading against the inscriptions, the author came to realize that as well as presenting omissions and additions the transcription at times is inaccurate. On the one hand, probably for lack of time, the copyists were not sufficiently precise: when meeting with damaged, difficult-to-decipher inscriptions requiring conscientious examination, they sometimes skipped a whole passage; in some instances when the inscriptions were correct, they erroneously transcribed them, misleading Tucci into thinking that the inscriptions contained mistakes, and in the subsequent work of translation and proofreading he added notes to reconstruct the correct form. On the other hand, some copyists seem to have possessed a good degree of knowledge: when coming across abbreviations and irregular forms of writing in the inscriptions they used their knowledge of Tibetan grammar to actively correct it; when meeting with unclear passages the context was used to reconstruct the meaning, a type of occurrence that can best be appreciated in the inscriptions in verse. During the author's proofreading some of these integrations could be confirmed or emended by comparing them with the original inscription; others, where the original inscription was lost, could not be validated.

In the inscriptions most of the names of donors, painters and sculptors, as well as some emphasized terms, were written in vermillion ink, a fact which has not received proper attention in Tucci's transcription. Moreover, in some verses vermillion ink was used to acrostically indicate the object of praise, as well as the

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⁽²¹⁾ However, the ground for this transcription needs to be further investigated.

^{(&}lt;sup>22</sup>) In other chapels where the wall was a little spoiled (such as in Third Floor, No. 1, eastern wall) the inscription was not recorded by Tucci so it is unreasonable that here, where the spoiling is heavy, an inscription was recorded.

⁽²³⁾ For example, Tucci recorded inscriptions on the northern end of the eastern wall of Third Floor, No. 8., which have now completely disappeared.

motif of the description: without the vermillion ink warning, it would be difficult to make out its meaning. Finally, in cases where several names of donors were mentioned in the inscriptions, some parts of the names have not been recorded in the transcription; others have not been correctly individuated, resulting in a wrong transcription of some names. Examples of this case are the names of the donors in the First Floor, No. 5. southern wall, as well as on the southern end of the western wall of the western chapel in the Cupola (Dome), in the green band.

Order of the Inscriptions

In Tucci's transcription there are cases in which the order of the inscriptions has been overturned. The most relevant are:

Third Floor, No. 16.T.: inscriptions under the paintings. These should begin from the western wall, left of the throne of the main statue, and proceed clockwise to the right of the throne. In Tucci's transcription the text under the throne right of the main statue is recorded first, then that of the western part of the southern wall; at the end the remaining inscriptions are recorded, starting from under the throne left of the main statue and proceeding clockwise.

Tucci divides the inscriptions in the temples of the Cupola (Dome) into two groups, the inscriptions on the sides of the doorways and those below the paintings. For the first group of inscriptions, Tucci begins recording those of the eastern temple (Tempio Primo), and proceeds clockwise; but, since the western temple (Tempio Terzo) does not present inscriptions on the doorway, Tucci's Tempio Terzo actually records the text on the doorway of the northern temple (Tempio Quarto). In Tempio Quarto is recorded the text on the band under the paintings of the eastern temple (Tempio Primo) – inscriptions which actually belong to the second group.

For the second group of inscriptions, Tucci starts from the northern temple and moves clockwise. In Tempio Secondo are recorded the inscriptions below the paintings in the southern temple. His transcription of Tempio Terzo and Tempio Quarto is actually of inscriptions found below the paintings in the western temple, and their correct order should be Tempio Quarto and Tempio Terzo, respectively. In the record of Tempio Terzo, at the beginning of the second paragraph (*Indo-Tibetica*, Vol. IV.II, p. 118) Tucci records the names of the donors, a text in the green band on the southern part of the western wall: this belongs in the first paragraph, and should be inserted before the sentence introducing the name of the painters, as follows:

sgo'i lho phyogs kyi steng na 'gro ba 'dul ba thugs dam tshig gi phyag rgya gtso bor gyur pa gzungs kyi dkyil 'khor chen po bzhugs/ /de'i 'og na 'gro ba 'dul ba gsung chos kyi phyag rgya gtso bor gyur pa chos kyi dkyil 'khor chen po bzhugso/ /'di rnams kyi dgos kyi sbyin bdag skya dpon a khro ba/ dpon yig gsnyene/ [g]sol dpon

[5]

zhal ngo/ yul stod mi dpon/ rdzong dpon sangs rgyas/ 'um bu chung ba dpon dge bsnyen rnams dkyiro cig/ [ye shes] 'bum/ dpon bsod nams mgon/ sog khang pa/ dpon chos bkras/ gzhon nu btsan dar/ brag dmar ba/ sde chen pa/ brag dkar dpon bzangs/ cha dkar jo 'bum/ rgyang gling pa lnga dar/ stag rtse gzhu mkhan rnams kyi dkyiro cig/ ri mo mkhas pa dpal gnas rnying pa dpon mo che dpon btsun dpal 'phel ba dpon slob rnams kyis legs par bzabs//

The inscriptions below the paintings in the northern temple should begin from the western part of the southern wall and proceed clockwise up to the eastern part of the southern wall, but Tucci begins his transcription from the western wall and ends with the western part of the southern wall.

Tucci follows the same order in recording the inscriptions on both storeys of the Campana (Drona). He first divides the inscriptions into the inner four walls and outer eight walls (the window at the centre of each wall marking the dividing line between inscriptions); then proceeds to record them from inner to outer walls, from east moving clockwise to west, that is, recording first the inscriptions on the four inner walls, and then the inscriptions on the eight outer walls, beginning from the south-east and ending with the north-east part of the wall, giving each wall a progressive number from 1 to 12. But in the recording of the inscriptions of the lower storey of the Campana (Drona, Fig. 1), Tucci omits the number 8, so that his number 9 covers the inscriptions of wall number ® (the southern part of the western outer wall), continuing thus up to number 12, which should be number ① (actually, wall number ⁽¹⁾, that is, the northern part of the eastern outer wall, does not present any inscription). In the upper storey of the Campana (Drona, Fig. 2) the transcription number 5 covers the inscriptions of both walls number ⑤ (southern part of the outer eastern wall) and @ (eastern part of the southern outer wall). Tucci's number 6 corresponds to wall number ② (western part of the outer southern wall); number 8 corresponds to wall number 9 (this is because the southern part of the outer western wall does not present inscriptions), continuing thus, with number 11 corresponding to wall number ①.

Since some of the names of painters and sculptors were not transcribed or wrongly recorded, the list of their names as given in *Indo-Tibetica*, vol. IV.I requires emendment. A list corrected according to data obtained during fieldwork is given in Appendix I below.

Implications of the Modification of Original Inscriptions

Observation carried out during the fieldwork revealed that the inscriptions as we see them today present cases of modification and amendment. Although this could have happened in an early period, the fact remains that the inscriptions contain material from different periods. This calls for caution in that the inscriptions should not be indiscriminately looked upon as a coherent unity.

240 [6]

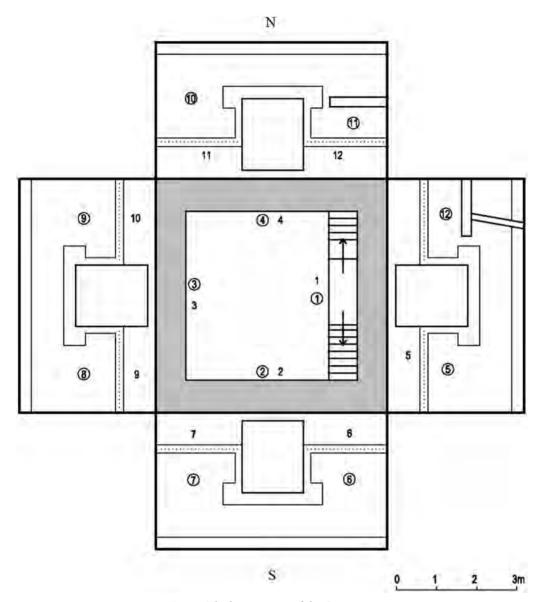


Fig. 1 - The lower storey of the Campana.

The following examples illustrate some cases of later additions to early inscriptions:

Third Floor, No. 14: in spite of a crack in the plaster of the western wall, about 3 cm wide, the text of the inscription flows coherently on the two sides of the crack, hinting at the possibility of having been written after the plaster cracked. Third Floor, No. 15: on the western wall a large crack of 18 cm has been repaired;

[7]

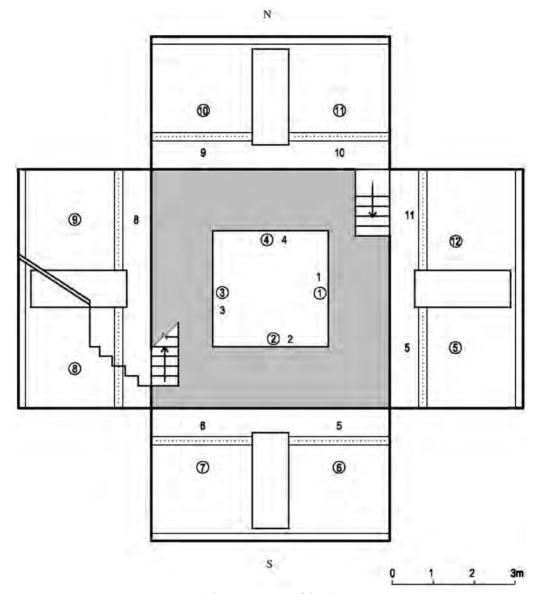


Fig. 2 - The upper storey of the Campana.

although there is no inscription on the restored part, the text on the two sides is continuous and coherent, leading us to suppose that the inscription was written after the crack happened. Third Floor, No. 19: a portion of the inscription on the northern wall presents letters packed unusually close to one another, indicating the possibility of a later adjustment.

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In the northern temple of the Cupola (Dome), the whole eastern wall presents large restored areas; the two descriptions of the *maṇḍalas* in the four corners, found in two places, on the left side of the doorway and below the paintings, do not correspond to each other; moreover, the inscription in the green band below the paintings on the eastern wall clearly states that the paintings have been restored: from this we deduce that the inscription in the green band was written at the time of restoration (²⁴).

Apart from the fact that some inscriptions were rewritten, paintings also have undergone repainting which, in most cases, is perceptible to the naked eye: it is possible that in some cases repainting and later inscriptions were contemporary, such as in the example mentioned above of the northern temple of the Cupola (Dome); in other cases the repainting occurred after the inscriptions were written, such as in the case of First Floor, No. 16.T., where the small wall on the east presents traces of repainting, but the representations in the repainted areas do not correspond to the inscriptions below. We cannot even exclude the possibility that a painting was restored several times. All these complex instances require a careful appraisal of the relationship between inscriptions and paintings, and it cannot be taken for granted that the two always correspond.

The fact that inscriptions have been restored can be appreciated by the following data:

First, some inscriptions have been lost during restoration. The most typical example is First Floor, No. 12, where the inscriptions are greatly damaged and have many traces of restoration and overlay. Other examples are: First Floor, No. 7, about 60 cm of the eastern end of the northern wall and the whole eastern wall lack inscriptions, but inscriptions preserved on all the other walls fall short of describing the layout of paintings on the eastern wall, indicating clearly that during restoration the original inscription was lost. Third Floor, No. 5, the lower part of the eastern

[9]

⁽²⁴⁾ Concerning the *maṇḍalas* of the four corners, according to the inscription on the left side of the doorway, above the central *maṇḍala*, to the right is the Maṇḍala of Great Initiation (dbang chen gyi dkyil 'khor), to the left the Maṇḍala of the Initiation into the Truth of the Identity (of creatures) with all the Tathāgatas (de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi mnyam pa nyid sngon par dbang bskur ba'i dkyil 'khor). Below the central *maṇḍala*, to the right is the Maṇḍala of Subduing Creatures ('gro ba 'dul ba'i dkyil 'khor), to the left the Maṇḍala of Vajraratna (rdo rje rin chen gyi dkyil 'khor). But according to the inscription below the paintings, above the central *maṇḍala*, to the right is the Maṇḍala of Kašagarbha (nam mkha'i snying po'i dkyil 'khor), to the left the Maṇḍala of Subduing Creatures ('gro ba 'dul ba'i dkyil 'khor), below the central *maṇḍala*, to the right is the Maṇḍala of Vajrahūṇkāra (rdo rje hūṃ mdzad kyi dkyil 'khor), to the left the Maṇḍala of Vajrasandhi (rdo rje khu tshur gi dkyil 'khor). The inscription on the left side of the doorway corresponds to rgyal rtse chos rgyal gyi rnam par thar pa dad pa'i lo thog dngos grub kyi char 'bebs (*bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang*, Lhasa 1987, p. 141). According to bu ston's *rdo rje snying po rgyan gyi rgyud kyi dkyil 'khor gyi rnam bzhag*, there are no *maṇḍalas* of Ākāśagarbha and Vajrahūṇkāra in this Tantra. Apparently, the inscription below the paintings is later miswriting.

wall has been repaired for a stretch of 222 cm, the original inscriptions have been lost; in the northern part of the western wall of the Western Temple of the Cupola (Dome) there is a repair of about 96 cm, and the whole northern wall has been repaired: all the inscriptions are lost. Between the western and northern wall in the Northern Temple there is a restoration of 117 cm: the inscriptions are all lost.

Second, the extant inscriptions present traces of alteration. For instance, in the Western Temple of the Cupola (Dome), the inscriptions in the upper row on the northern part of the eastern wall, as well as part of the original inscriptions on the eastern part of the outer southern wall of the upper storey of the Campana (Droṇa) have been overpainted and rewritten; some of the earlier letters can be appreciated beneath the paint. During the fieldwork it was realized that most of the alterations are focused on the names of donors, painters and sculptors: this can be seen in First Floor, No. 3, on the southern wall (25); Second Floor, No. 2, on the northern wall; Second Floor, No. 3, on the eastern wall; No. 12, northern wall; Third Floor, No. 12, southern wall.

In Second Floor, No. 1, on the western wall is recorded the names of the donor and painter, but between the two names is a space of about 24.5 cm: judging from the position of the inscription on the wall, the traces of earlier letters, and from the space left, it appears that the name of the donor was written after the previous inscription was covered with paint. In some temples the inscriptions referring to the name of donor have been intentionally erased; for example, in First Floor, No. 3, northern wall, there is an empty space of about 15 cm; No. 9, the southern and western walls present spaces of 33.5 cm and 48.5 cm, respectively; Second Floor, No. 16, the eastern part of the southern wall, a space of 16 cm.

The alteration of some descriptions as described above should warn against indiscriminate reference to these inscriptions, and the need to study them in conjunction with other related material.

During the fieldwork, the author found that large empty spaces were left between consecutive parts of some inscriptions, although the content was coherent: presently no explanation has been found for this occurrence, which is left for future analysis.

Use of Inscriptions to Explain Symbology and Record Authorship

Each part of the Great Stupa and its symbolic meaning is echoed in the extant inscriptions in a number of chapels. For example, the inscriptions in Third Floor, No. 1.T. and No. 19, clarify the meaning of the most important part of the stupa and their symbolism; the inscriptions in No. 16.T. describe the most important parts of the stupa in elegant words. The most complete is found in First Floor, No. 6.T.: this inscription

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⁽²⁵⁾ Here we can even see traces of the original inscriptions beneath.

describes the symbolic meaning of the important and secondary parts of the stupa. A comparison of this text with that published in *Indo-Tibetica* vol. I allows us to complement Tucci's rendition: the garland signifies precepts and rules; the bell symbolizes the sound of Brahma; the new moon symbolizes the glory of the supreme mind of Enlightenment; the umbrella symbolizes the Foremost Sentient Being, that is, the Buddha; the pinnacle symbolizes the six supernatural powers; the mirror symbolizes the four wisdoms; the diadem symbolizes the supreme enlightenment; the stander symbolizes the great reputation of the doctrine. Apart from pinnacle and mirror, which are a new Mahāyāna addition, all the parts have come down in one continuous line from the Small Vehicle, whose description corresponds to the *mchod rten gyi cha dbye ba'dul ba las byung ba'i mdo* quoted in the appendix of *Indo-Tibetica* Vol. I (²⁶).

In some inscriptions the names of the composer of the inscription and of the scribe are mentioned. This is the case in First Floor, No. 6.T.: the composer was g.yu lung pa, the scribe nyi ma 'od zer; Fourth Floor, No. 2: the composer was g.yu lung pa, the scribe nyi ma; Fourth Floor, No. 10: the composer was g.yu lung pa. It cannot be excluded that the inscriptions of other chapels were due to the collaboration of these two persons.

Calligraphic Conventions Used in the Inscriptions

The inscriptions present a large number of abbreviations (bsdus yig, bskungs yig) and irregular forms which were not included in Tucci's transcription. Since these forms may reflect calligraphic conventions of a particular period and region and could be used in the study of Tibetan language, a brief discussion on them is given below, while most of these forms and their instances in the inscriptions have been noted in Appendix II.

Concerning the abbreviations I refer to the study of nor brang o rgyan (²⁷). According to this study, the system of abbreviations was already in use during the Tibetan empire, the famous stone pillar 'Praising the Achievements of the Great Minister, stag sgra klu khong' being a clear example. Its origins are possibly connected with the need to speed up the writing process, conserve paper, and similar concerns, progressively developing into a kind of calligraphic habit and reaching its culmination at the beginning of the 15th century, the time when the Great Stupa was built. The mode of abbreviation seen in the Great Stupa is essentially the same as that in the stone pillar 'Praising the Achievements of the Great Minister, stag sgra klu khong', therefore reflecting an early abbreviation method, which will be separately classified and explained below.

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⁽²⁶⁾ Hakuju Ui et al., A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, Töhoku University, Tokyo 1934, No. 3078, pu. folio 173b-175b.

^{(&}lt;sup>27</sup>) Bod kyi skung yig gi rnam gzhag chun ngu, *nor brang o rgyan gyi gsung rtsom phyogs btus*, krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2006, pp. 1-41.

The abbreviations in the inscriptions of the Great Stupa often combine two syllables in one, according to nor brang o rgyan's classification for the abbreviate forms, the most frequent abbreviation recurring in words with a similar consonant (gsal byed 'dra ba). Use of abbreviations can be further classified as follows:

1. The suffixed or postsuffixed letter of the preceding consonant merges with the superfixed or prefixed letter of the following consonant.

For example শ্রপ্পত্ম for শ্রমাপ্র , ব্যাপর for ব্যায়াপর etc.

2. The root letter of the preceding consonant merges with the prefixed letter of the following consonant.

For example: बेह्रव for बें बहुव; दें ब्रिक्श म for दें ब्रें ब्रिक्श म etc.

3. The suffixed or postsuffixed letter of the preceding consonant merges with the root letter of the following consonant.

For example: बँद्रश for ब्रिन्द्रश्च ; द्वनायक्यें for द्वनायक्यायें etc.

Also, a high recurrence of abbreviations in the inscriptions present the suffixed letter or postsuffixed letter m being marked with Sanskrit Anusvāra (nga ro), for example: প্রাম্বার (বিশ্বর মুন্দ্র etc.

Other cases:

The vowel sign of the preceding consonant overlaps with the vowel sign of the following consonant, for example: $\tilde{\xi}$ for $\tilde{\xi}$, $\tilde{\xi}$ for $\tilde{\xi}$ for $\tilde{\xi}$ $\tilde{\xi}$, $\tilde{\xi}$ $\tilde{\xi}$

Discarding the dot between the two syllables, for example: অৰ্থাৰ for অৰ্থাৰ; notably, অৰ্থাৰ is also written as অৰ্থাৰ in the inscriptions.

In the inscriptions of the Great Stupa many irregular forms also occur; the most important cases are as follows:

- 1. A postsuffixed letter s is frequently added or omitted, for example: go 'phangs for go 'phang; gzug for gzugs, etc.
- 2. Exchanges between the prefixed b and g, for example: dri gzhon for dri bzhon; gzhengs for bzhengs, etc.
- 3. Addition or omission of the prefixed b, for example: bskyong ba for skyong ba; dge shes for dge bshes, etc.
- 4. Occurrences of the postsuffixed d, for example: gyurd for gyur; rold for rol; phyind for phyin.
- 5. Exchanges among dra, gra, bra with the same pronunciation; also between phra and khra, for example: lcam gral or lcam bral for lcam dral; 'brel pa for 'grel pa; 'khros for 'phros, etc.
- 6. Exchange between the prefixed m and 'a, for example: 'tshams for mtshams; 'thun for mthun.
- 7. Exchange between the aspirated syllable and unaspirated syllable, for example: sa rdol for sa brtol; bka' stod for bka' sdod; cen for chen.
- 8. Exchange between the superfixed r and s, for example: brnyad for bsnyad; bstan for brtan.

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Abbreviations and irregular forms are not a characteristic peculiar to Buddhist text: they are abundantly found in Bon texts as well. For example, addition and omitting of the suffixed and postsuffixed letter s, and the writing of gling bzhi for gleng gzh; the latter is also reflected in the inscriptions of the Great Stupa. To investigate the circumstances of the many kinds of abbreviation in Tibetan texts, discuss the many different forms of abbreviation, and sum up the rules, is a task for future researchers.

APPENDIX I

THE NAMES OF THE PAINTERS IN THE GREAT STUPA (28)

- 1 kun dga' ba of rgya: I. 3.
- 2 shes rab dpal bzang po of rgyal khang in nyug, dge sbyong: I. 4, II. 5, 6, III. 12, 13.
- 3 thar pa pa of lha rtse: I. 5, 6, II. 16, III. 20, IV. 5, VI, namely the Campana (Droṇa), lower storey: 4, 10.
- 4 sangs rgyas bzang po, monk: I. 5.
- 5 shes rab dpal, perhaps same as No. 2: I. 8.
- 6 don grub bzang po of lha rtse, the master of don ri: I. 9, 10, 14, III. 10, 14, 15.
- 7 dge slong of lha rtse: I. 9.
- 8 bkra shis bzang po: I. 10.
- 9 shes rab rgya mtsho of bzang ldan: I. 12, II. 10.
- 10 bkra shis of shag tshal in lha rtse, perhaps same as No. 8: I. 15.
- 11 rgyal mtshan pa of gnas rnying: I. 20.
- 12 nam mkha' 'od zer of bde chen in lha rtse (29): II. 1.
- 13 dge ba of bde chen in lha rtse: II. 2, IV. 6.
- 14 blos slos dge ma: II. 3.
- 15 dge bsnyen of lha rtse: II. 3, IV. 12, Cupola (Dome): 4.
- 16 dkon mchog bzang po of jo nang: I. 19, II. 4, III. 7, Cupola (Dome): 4, Campana (Drona), lower storey: 1, 6, 7.
- 17 bsam gtan bzang po of lcags thang (30): II. 4.
- 18 ban chen skyabs pa of bzang ri in snye mo: II. 7, 11, III. 9.
- 19 (b)tsan ne of gnas rnying: II. 9, 11, 12.
- 20 bla ma mgon: II. 11.
- 21 nam mkha' dpal: II. 12.
- 22 btsan of g.yag sde in snye mo: II. 13.
- (28) The Roman numerals in the appendices indicate the different floors in the Great Stupa: V = the Cupola (Dome); VI = Campana (Drona), lower storey; VII = Campana (Drona), upper storey.
- (29) According to the inscription of III. 19, it is possible that he also painted some of the paintings in III. 2, 5, 8.
- (30) According to the inscription of III. 19, it is possible that he also painted some of the paintings in III. 2, 5, 8.

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- 23 dpal 'byor rin chen of gnas rnying, monk: II. 15, III. 1, 16.
- 24 bsod nams dpal 'byor of gnas rnying: II. 15, Cupola (Dome): 1.
- 25 dpal chen of rdzong shos in lha rtse: III. 3.
- 26 khro rgyal dbang phyug of khab gsar in lha rtse: III. 4.
- 27 chos skyong bkra shis of bshag tshal: III. 15.
- 28 bkra shis bzang po of bshag tshal in lha rtse: III. 17 perhaps same as No. 10.
- 29 legs pa of bsa' lung in lha rtse: III. 19.
- 30 lha'i rgyal mtshan: IV. 1.
- 31 don grub skyabs of mkhar kha ('khar dga'): III. 6, IV. 2, 8, 10, Cupola (Dome): 2.
- 32 dpal 'phel of gnas rnying: I. 17, Cupola (Dome): 3, Campana (Droṇa), upper storey: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 12.
- 33 sangs rgyas rin chen of 'khar dga': III. 11, Campana (Drona), lower storey: 5.
- 34 rin chen dpal 'byor: I. 16, IV. 1.
- 35 Ihun grub of lha rtse: Campana (Drona), lower storey: 8, 9.
- 36 rgyal mtshan: I. 16 (³¹).
- 37 slo na dge ma ba: II. 13 (³²).
- 38 rin chen skyabs: III. 19 (33).

THE NAMES OF THE SCULPTORS IN THE GREAT STUPA

- 1 brtson pa: I. 4.
- 2 tshan pa (tsan pa): I. 8, II. 1, 11.
- 3 bsod nams rgyal mtshan of lha rtse: I. 9, III.6 (34).
- 4 lha'i rgyal mtshan: I. 14, 16, 19, II. 2, 4, 15, 16, III. 1, 16, Cupola (Dome): 2.
- 5 dge shes rgval she: I. 15.
- 6 stag na pa: II. 8.
- 7 one of rgyan mkhar in lha rtse: II. 10.
- 8 nam mkha' bzang po of bde chen in lha rtse: II. 12, III. 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, IV. 5, 6, 8, 10.
- 9 dpal la of mtsho po in lha rtse: III. 3.
- 10 ma ta sa of mkhar kha: I. 5 (35).
- 11 mañjuśrī of mkhar kha: III. 11, IV. 12.

- (31) Perhaps the same as rgyal mtshan pa in I. 20.
- (32) Perhaps the same as blos slos dge ma in II. 3.
- (33) According to the inscription of III. 19, it is possible that he also painted some of the paintings in III. 2, 5, 8.
 - (34) Perhaps he also modeled the statues in I. 14.
 - (35) Here the inscription is illegible, so the name is uncertain.

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APPENDIX II

Chapel	Original Form	Abbreviation	Occurrences
I.3	শ্বশ্ৰশ্নবৰ	শ্বশ্পুত্ৰ	1
I.3	ম মধ্র	ब्रीशुद	1
I.3, II.9, III.12, III.16(2), III.19, V.1(2), V.3, VII.3, VII.4(2)	Ě	F	12
I.5, III.1(3), III.5, III.6, III.11(2), III.16, III.19, III.20, IV.6, V.4, VI.4	ব্যুখান্ত্	व्यायव	14
I.5(2), II.6, III.6, IV.10,	मैब छेव	देवे देव _{V.4(2)}	7
I.5	क्रेव-र्से	केंड्रॅं	1
I.6	ಸಹೆಸ≼	হক্তীৰ	1
I.6, III.10(3), III.11(11), III.16(4), III.20, IV.2(2), IV.8(2), IV.12, V.1(7), V.2(2)	য়ে র্ন্থিল্ব	অৰ্থ্যস্থ	34
I.6, III.12, III.16(4), IV.10	ૡ૽ૼઽ <u>ૹ</u> ૢ	ũcą ũ _ą	7
I.6	ট্ৰ্ৰিল্ ৰ াশ্	डॅ ग् ड	1
I.6, II.13(4), III.6, III.15, III.16(2), III.19(5), IV.5, IV.8, IV.10, V.3	শ্ৰ্য	শৃঙ্গু	18
I.16, III.6, II.11, III.16, III.19(2), IV.10	सिया.पक्षता.जू	द्यम् तक्ये	7
I.16	ট্রেম শ	ß́₹	1
I.16	শ উ মা'শী	শউদী	2
I.16, II.9, II.11, III.6, III.11, III.20, IV.2	[ন্ত্ৰাৰ	ra A	7
I.17, II.13(2)	દેશ	H3	3
I.17, III.16, IV.2	इस≈	4	3
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I.19, III.4, III.8, III.19, V.1(12), V.2, V.3(7), V.4(8)	ন্ৰুগ্ৰ'ৰ	चतुम्ब चतुम्ब (V.1)	32
II.1, II.16, III.11(2), V.1, V.2(2)	चंदे	en e	7
II.6, II.9, II.11(2), II.12, II.13(2), III.8, III.11(2), III.16, IV.2, IV.5(2), IV.6, IV.8, IV.10, V.1(6), V.3(3)	¥श≼	ই ব্	26
II.8, IV.5, V.3	ঘৰ্ষিব্ ব্যাশ	নৰ্জিব্'ব্'ৰ	3
II.9	लया.चा श्रीश.त	ব্যস্থ্যুব	1
II.9	ন্ ব-ই্ৰশন্ত্ৰী	ন্ব-ইষ্ট্ৰ	1
II.9	ঘৰ	Tal.	1
II.10, II.11	ই র্মী ঝাদশ্ব য	रे.श्रॅावसाय	1
II.13	<u> न</u> े:धिश्रःश्चे	<u> રે : બેર્ક્</u> યુ	1
II.13	ন্দ্ৰ্য শী্ম	ন্দ্ৰী ম	1
II.13(7), III.19, IV.2, VII.5	इस	है	10
II.13	ર્રે સેંવે વર્ડુ કેર્	३ :बॅंदेरु:डेर	1
	यम्'यदे'दर्'चेर	यम् यदेर् चेर	
II.13(2), IV.6(2), VII.1(2), VII.2	न्ययायु क	न्यक् व	7
II.13	নুমা শ	है ≈।	1
II.13	শ্বস্থ	শ্দূ	1
II.13(2), III.16, III20	<u> </u>	রঁম	4
II.13, IV.10	श्चेम् ची	र्भमी	2
II.13	रेग्'ग्रइ≉।	ই শ্ ৰ্	1
II.13	अर्केग मे	અર્કેવી	1
II.13	न्वॅ न्स	ন ৰ্ণীব্ধ	1
II.13	प ्रे म्श	ଘର୍କ୍ଷ	2
III.1	दह्याचीर	दह मुँद	2
III.16	तह्रमातुःसुः च	८ ६ँ मु.सु.चॅ	

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III.1	ন্ত্ৰাশ	(Å*N	1
III.6	तह्यान्यय	दहै द्यय	1
III.6	নুমশ্বস্তু	वुँ≈ ग्य¥े	1
III.6	£ 4.4	कें भू	1
III.11	श्रुव:युव	न्निष्ट्व	1
III.11	<u> ব্লু'বর্</u> ডিম'য	ব্ শু'ব উঁ 'ব	1
III.11	নুমান্ত র	৭ঁ :ডব	1
III.11	र्ध्वेगशः क्र्येट	<u>र्च</u> ि गर्झे द	1
III.15	सुरा	<u>జ</u> ్ర	1
III.16	व्यव प्रव	मूंब	1
III.16	মৰ্ক্তমশ	યા ઢેઁ≈ા	1
III.17	ळॅग'मे	कें भी	1
III.19	ਰੰਅ.ਜ.	मुं.य.	1
III.19	এপ্র	ů	1
III.19	मार्वेव तु	गर्बेन्	1
III.19, V.3(2)	ન્ શુૈવ્ય:વર્ષિત	५ गुः रे	3
IV.1	ঘৰিহ্ম	ঘৰিৱ	1
IV.2	এশ র	ಇ ೩ೆ	1
IV.8	<i>સ્</i> ચ	÷	1
V.1	द हेस ब	दहें ह	1
V.1	धेव वें	धिर्दे	1
V.1	ુ શ	Ş	1
V.1	दॅर्'र्यम्'सेर्	वें द्यम् अद्	1
V.1, V.2, V.4	वयाःसः च	बद्धे.च	3
V.2	ঝল্শ ৰ্ষ	মেশ্ৰ ৰ্	1
V.3	<u>इ</u> शःश्रु	ÈŊ	1
V.3	हे र:दे:दाईंब:	हेदे दहें ब	1
V.3	લુકા	Š	1
V.3	વસુમ	ૡ૾ ૡૡ૽૾	2
VII.2	व्यद्भः ह्युं द	बॅ न्ड्रॉइ	1

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Chapel	Original Form	Irregular Form	Occurrences
I.4(2), I.5, I.6(2), I.8, I.16, II.5, II.6, II.12(4), II.15, III.12(2), III.13, III.16(2), V.1, V.2(2), V.3(4), V.4	ದತನ	ロヨに対	27
I.4	न्यम्	<u> ব্যক্ষ</u>	1
I.5(2), I.10, I.12, I.20	অ'ৰ্থ্যব্দ	<u> একার্য্য</u>	5
I.5	ロヨロダ	ロヨロ	1
I.16, III.5, III.7, III.12, III.19, VII.12	ロヨロダ	শ্ৰন্থ	6
I.6	ڳ [तर् <u>श्</u> रेंद.य	1
I.6	発 2 3 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4	ភុទ្ធិ៍	1
I.6	दबेव	न् येव	1
I.6	5=	वर्म	1
I.6	বশ্বুদ	755	1
I.6	ર્શે.વલ્	र्न्ने:वस्	1
I.6	ই নৰ্বিৰ	<u> इ</u> .मॉर्बेब	1
I.6, I.16(2), IV.6, V.1	刻ち	মহন	5
I.6	श्रेव श्रुम	यरे र्र्यु	2
I.6	र्येण सुव	র্মিল্'ন্স্ক্রুন	1
I.6	चग्रदः ब्रेंद	यगवः ब्रेंद	1
I.7(9), I.8(2), III.11, III.16(2), V.3(2)	শৃত্তিশ	ই শ	16
I.7	ই·ॺ্রিব্-থ্র্-মার্ক্তীর্ব-ম	रे ब्रिंद् यें अ ब्रिंद्र अव	1
I.8	हम्बर्च	हुण्यकुर	1
I.8, III.16, V.2, VI.1	લુ ઠા: <u>5</u> વ	ञ्चराम्य	4
		दुस्य (III.16, V.2, VI.1)	
I.9, V.1, V.2, V.4	বাৰ্ট্নাশ্ব:ঘ	हेंग्र	4
I.9, I.14, I.17, I.19, II.1, II.2, II.8, II.10, II.11, II.12, II.16, III.19	हे म .श्रृ	हे [.] श्रु	1
I.16, III.6, III.11 III.19, IV.5, V.1	देव	देवा रा	6

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I.16	শ্বীমাননি শ্বীমাননিক শ্বীমানুগ	ন্নী ন্যানী ন্যানী ন্মী ন্যানী নাৰী ৰ ন্মী ন্যানী নুয়া	1
I.16, II.9, II.10, II.13, II.14, III.1(3), III.4, III.5, III.7, III.9, III.17, III.19, IV.1, VI.1, VI.4	র্ন্ বেশ্বহ	র্ল্ বেশ্বহন্ধ	17
I.19	अरचॅं तर्देव य	अ ट चूँ 'देहेब्' घ	1
II.1, III.1, III.6(2), V.1(2)	মৰ্ক্সশ	বৰ্জমন্থ	6
II.3, II.4	ন্নী'ন্দ্ৰীশ্ব	<u> इस</u> े : बेह्य	2
II.3	ई चर्बेंब	न्मे श्लेब	1
II.6, IV.6	देश	<u> </u>	2
II.12, III.7	हेश्रश्च रत्वरःत	<u> हेब.शे.पचेटब.त</u>	2
II.13	ম শ্ ৰ'ৰ্ ষ	মৰ্শীব্ৰ	1
II.13	শ্ শ্ৰুশ্ শ	শ্ৰুশ	2
II.15	र्ज़र:श्रु	बे.स	1
II.15	ঘৰ্ৰ	ঘৰ্ষ্ট্ৰব	1
II.16	हर्य)	刊(口)	2
III.1	⊕ T	शु-र- र	10
III.2	X a	र्रेषर्	1
III.2	धुव	ક ્રેવ ્	1
III.2	<u> </u> వా	あたべ	1
III.4, III.5, III.7, III.8(2), III.11(4), V.1(5), V.2(3), V.4(4), VII.2, VII.5, VII.10	মশ্বৰ	दश्च	24
III.4	दर्भेश	ব <u>র্</u> থি	2
		<u> বুর্লু</u>	
III.4(2), V.2	च े श्याकेंद	यने वायक्षेत्र यने वाक्षेत्र	3
III.6	<u>इट:चड्</u> रोव	ર્દ્ર ક્ષેત	1
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III.6, IV.10(2)	શ:શ્રુંદ	રા ર્સુંદરા	2
		श.पर्श्चेदश	
III.6	বলুদ:অ শ:৫ দ্শ:ঘ	ন্নু হৰা অৰা হেব্ৰায়	1
III.6, III.11	র্মিশ্ব	র্থিল	2
III.7	ন্দ্ৰীঝ'ব	বন্র্বান্	1
III.8	ब्रें	নষ্ট্ৰ	1
III.10, V.1, VI.11	ন উ	মন্ত্ৰ্	3
III.11	<u> </u> ફેસ	<u> </u>	1
III.11	নষ্ট্ৰপ্ৰ	हे ज्र	1
III.11	<u>রু</u> দ:মন্ত্রিশ	<u>सु</u> दःदिश्च	1
III.11, III.16	रा यहें व	रू में त्य	2
III.11	মহ্যস্থিত্ৰ	শহু-ফুলম	1
III.11	নশ্ব:ই্ব্	चग्रदः श्रृँ	1
III.15	केंब	डे ब	1
III.16	545.到5	지역 등 기월 기	1
III.16	শ্	दब्	1
III.16	5.424	g ⁻ মদ্বশ	1
III.16	सुद्र:देद	पुत :मेद्र	1
III.19	অঅ'নম'রের্ট্র	षय:चर:सर्देर	1
III.19	क्षेद	श्चेदब	1
III.19	क्रॅबाचडु	कें श ञ्ज	1
IV.1, IV.5(2), IV.8(2), IV.12	વેં·કૂં	વે ં 'કું	6
IV.2	यहेग [:] हेव	द हेग् हेब	1
IV.2	सुद चड्ठव	सुर सूब	1
IV.2	वर्तेव	दम्दि	1
IV.2	ग्देर्स	गदेद	1
IV.5	न्द्रश श्च	ন্ইশ্ব্ৰ	1
IV.5	ୟ ଞ୍ଚିମ୍	दर्भे	1
IV.6(2)	यहब	নমূৰ	2

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IV.6	শ্বৰ	TNU	1
IV.8	र्जु य	न्यम्	1
IV.8	মার্থ	বৰ্ষ	1
IV.8	गर्ड्ग	र्ड्य	1
IV.10	পর্ব. য় এ	शर्व.द्वेप	1
IV.10	নশ্বশ্বস্থা	বশ্ব:বশ্ধাৰ	2
IV.10	ग्रान्यवा	র্থার-মে	1
V.1, V.4	प्रवेदश	ग्रेंद्र	2
V.1	র্থ্যসূত্রশ	র্বিগ্রহম	1
V.1, V.2(2), V.4(2)	वस्र-रु:गर्नेर-ध	वत्र-र्नु-क्रून-च	5
V.1	ঘর্লুর ঘ	ग्बिंदःय	1
V.2	<u> 5</u> :485	<u> इ</u> .स.	1
V.2	युग्र	स्या	1
V.2	ಇ ಹ್	8185	1
V.2, V.4	ন ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব ব	ब र्ने:बङ्ग्रीर	2
V.2	শ্ৰী	प्रवे	1
V.2	শ্ৰম্প্ৰ	বৰ্ষীঝ	1
V.4	हे ँ ५	বৰ্ধু	1
VI.5	धेग्-क	धेग् उ	1

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