

# Of Epigraphic Palimpsests and Similar Phenomena

## Some Notes on Tibetan Wall Inscriptions

Kurt Tropper and Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

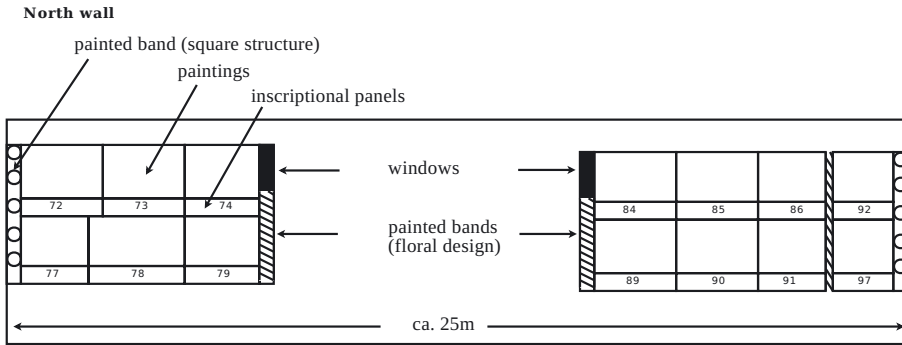
In two previous studies<sup>1</sup> we have already briefly touched upon epigraphic palimpsests in the Tibetan cultural realm<sup>2</sup> and the present paper aims to expand on these short remarks by discussing several inscriptions that

---

Much of the fieldwork and research for this paper was financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF) within the framework of three projects on Tibetan inscriptions (project nos. S 8705-G06, S 9804-G08, S 9811-G21). We would also like to thank Jürgen Schörflinger for his technical support and Patrick Mc Allister for correcting our English.

<sup>1</sup> Tropper 2007: 942; 2008: 197.

<sup>2</sup> While palimpsests in general are of course mostly known from the European middle ages when Latin and Greek paper, papyrus, or parchment manuscripts were frequently overwritten with other texts, the phenomenon is also attested for other cultural spheres, including the Indian subcontinent. For examples in Indian epigraphy, see Salomon 1998: 118, who lists several “palimpsests, wherein an old and presumably invalid copper plate was reinscribed after the old inscription had been obliterated”. Various aspects of spurious, forged and touched-up Indian epigraphs are also discussed in Salomon 2009. Probably some of the earliest evidence for palimpsests in a Buddhist context is provided in the *Sūtrālamkāra/Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* that has been variously ascribed to Aśva-ghoṣa or Kumāralāta (cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2009: 37 f., n. 11) and was translated into Chinese (*Da zhuang yan lun jing* 大莊嚴論經; Taisho No. 201; <http://w3.cbeta.org/result/T04/T04n0201.htm>) by Kumārajīva around 405 CE (cf. Nanjio 1883: 261, No. 1182). The first chapter of this text contains the story of a Brahmin from the area of Pāṭaliputra, who bought a Buddhist manuscript called “The *sūtra* of the twelve *nidānas*” (*Shi er yuan jing* 十二緣經), intending to wash off its letters (*xi que qi zi* 洗卻其字), and then to write some “*Vaiśeṣikasūtra*” (毘世師經) on it (259b14; for a French translation of the passage, see Huber 1908: 13; the story was also summarised in Lévi 1908: 98). The narrative suggests that this was primarily meant as a symbolical act, but the Brahmin’s intentions could also have been due to economical reasons, as it was usually the case with palimpsests in the Greco-Roman world.



**Figure 13.1** Zhalu—sketch plan of the *skor lam*'s north wall

have been overwritten or restored in a number of different ways. The problems resulting from such tampering have received little attention so far, and one may even contend that there is hardly any awareness that these problems exist. Their implications are far-ranging, nonetheless, as they concern not only the dating of inscriptions but also the evaluation of their contents.

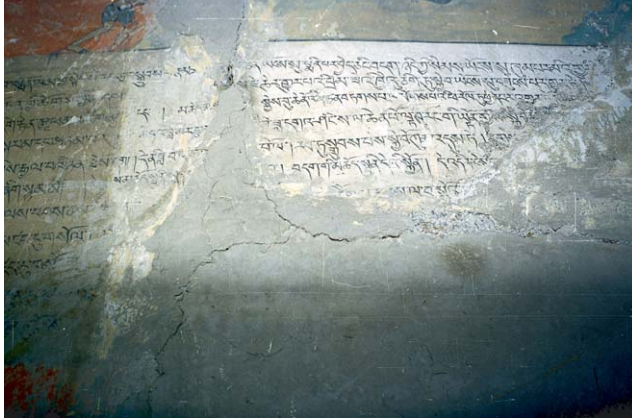
A basic distinction must be made between inscriptions that are engraved on a rock or stone-slab and those where the text is written on the surface of a wall with a special kind of ink or paint. The latter type is usually found inside a temple or half-open porch, whereas the former is predominantly located in the open. In the present context, wall inscriptions are most relevant, and all the examples discussed below belong to this category.<sup>3</sup>

## Zhalu

The outer walls of the *skor lam chen mo* at Zhalu monastery are covered by an extensive cycle of inscriptional panels containing long excerpts from

In this context, it is somewhat surprising that palimpsests of Tibetan manuscripts in codex form do not figure prominently (indeed, no cases are known to us), as from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards many copies of various voluminous corpora, most notably the Kanjur and the Tanjur, were produced, and paper (or wood) was not so easily available in many parts of Tibet.

<sup>3</sup>While there are some indications that lithic inscriptions have also been restored or tampered with, such cases are probably much less common. For a substantial discussion it will be necessary to collect more evidence, which we hope to provide in a follow-up paper.



**Figure 13.2** Zhalu—detail from the middle part of panel no. 79

Rang byung rdo rje's *Skyes rabs brgya pa*. The panels are arranged in two rows and have large illustrating paintings above them. Detailed plans of the entire cycle have already been provided elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> and here it is sufficient to point out that the regular arrangement of the inscriptions and paintings is interrupted for about 10 meters in the *skor lam*'s northern section. The central part of that wall was painted over with some murals that do not correspond at all to the rest of the original cycle (cf. FIGURE 13.1).<sup>5</sup> In the process, three of the four inscriptional panels adjacent to the area painted over (i.e., nos. 74, 79 and 89) were also touched up. These panels respectively render excerpts from Jātakas no. 73, 78 and 88 of Rang byung rdo rje's voluminous text.

FIGURE 13.2 shows the middle part of panel no. 79, whose left side is original (most likely dating from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century),<sup>6</sup> while its right

<sup>4</sup>Tropper 2005: 67, 70–73.

<sup>5</sup>As Vitali (1990: 121, n. 206) points out, the north wall (i.e., the weather side) of Tibetan temples is often in the worst condition, thus particularly encouraging restoration. On the occasion of his visit to Vienna in March 2001, Tenzin Dhargyal, a painter who was born in 'Phan po in 1964 and moved to Kathmandu in 1994, told us that some time in the 1970s he accompanied his father to do large-scale renovation work in Zhalu. He could not remember any specifics but considered it likely that the over-painting in the central part of the *skor lam*'s northern section was part of the general refurbishment that was carried out at that time.

<sup>6</sup>On the dating see Vitali 1990: 105 ff., Tropper 2005: 88-96, and Tropper 2007: 942.

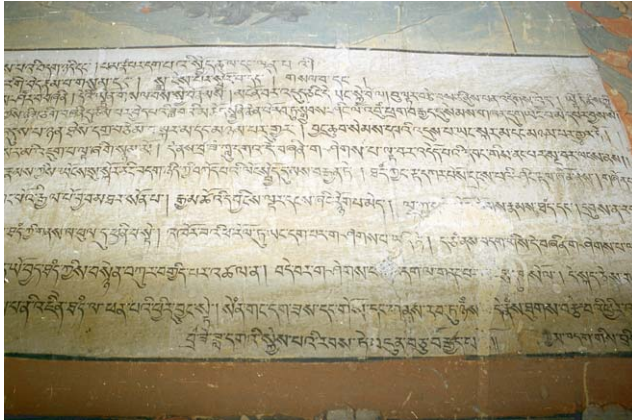


Figure 13.3 Zhalu — right side of panel no. 79

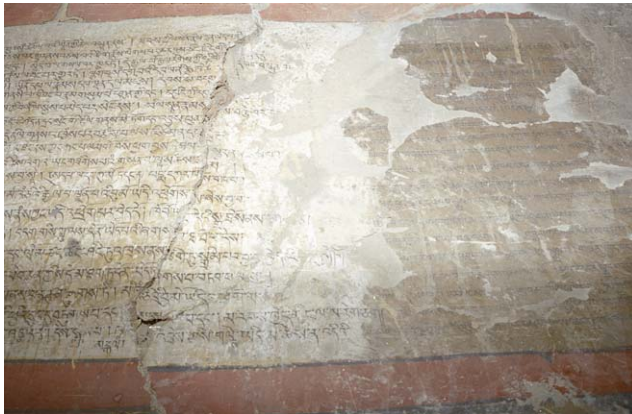


Figure 13.4 Zhalu — detail from the middle part of panel no. 89

side was rewritten at a more recent date.<sup>7</sup> Obviously, the scribe who restored the inscription must have used a manuscript or block print of the *Skyes rabs brgya pa*. In the first two lines he seems to have had some problems to match the available space with the amount of text that had to be inserted into the restored part of the panel, since both lines end well before its right margin (cf. FIGURE 13.3).

<sup>7</sup>As can be seen from the picture, the restoration was not carried out properly and in some areas the plaster had to be reapplied at some later date, without ever being inscribed again.



**Figure 13.5** Zhalu—panel no. 74

Perhaps frustrated by this, from line 3 onwards he did not try to match the end of the restored lines with the preserved beginning of the following ones any more, and simply filled the available space with one continuous segment from his master copy.<sup>8</sup> As far as readability is concerned, the result of this is of course far from perfect, because for the larger part of the panel there is no connection between the preserved original text and the restored one. Yet to a casual observer the inscription at least gives the *impression* of being complete.

The same applies to panel no. 89, the only difference being that here it was the left side of the inscription that was restored (cf. FIGURE 13.4).<sup>9</sup> Again, it is obvious that in the first two lines the scribe could not align the restored part with the preserved original text and then simply decided to render a continuous segment from his master copy in the rest of the restored section.<sup>10</sup>

In certain respects the most interesting of the three touched-up panels is no. 74 (FIGURE 13.5). There, the new grounding on the right side of the panel was completed, but for some reason it was never inscribed again. Perhaps panels nos. 79 and 89—located in the lower of the two rows of

<sup>8</sup>Corresponding to KG 512.20–515.18.

<sup>9</sup>As in panel 79, both the new grounding and script were executed in a rather crude way, and it seems that in some areas of the transition from the old to the new section the plaster came off again and had to be reapplied at a later date.

<sup>10</sup>Corresponding to KG 594.17–597.7.





**Figure 13.6** Gyantse—right side of the south wall and left side of the west wall

inscriptions—were restored first and the somewhat unsatisfactory results left the scribe discouraged. Alternatively, the restorers may have thought that the position of panel no. 74, some 3.5 metres above the ground, would not allow for the reading of the text anyway.<sup>11</sup> But whatever the case may be, the fact that parts of the panel were provided with a new grounding which then remained empty provides valuable evidence for some of the inscriptions that will be discussed below.

What also needs to be stressed with these examples from Zhalu is that the inscriptions were copied from some other work—unlike most historical epigraphs, which are usually unique original documents. In Zhalu it was therefore comparatively easy to restore the inscriptions, and if the scribe had done his job properly, the original text and the restored one would not differ significantly from each other. It goes without saying, however, that the master copy that was used for the original inscriptions and the one that the restorers had at their disposal need not be the same. For text-critical studies, the rewritten sections thus have to be taken as witnesses in their own right, again a point that is of relevance for some of the inscriptions discussed further on in this paper.

<sup>11</sup>It is an altogether different question whether these (and similar) inscriptions were meant to be read in the first place. On this, see Tropper 2005: 37–44, 75–78.



Figure 13.7 Gyantse—detail from the left side of the west wall

## Gyantse

Another unfinished restoration of an inscription is to be found on the west wall of the dGa' ldan lha khang in the sKum 'bum of Gyantse. Like the *skor lam chen mo* in Zhalu, the chapel features several bands of inscriptions which are combined with illustrating paintings, but here the inscriptions contain excerpts from more than a dozen different texts.<sup>12</sup> On the southern part of the west wall, the right side of the lower inscriptional band was provided with a new grounding, but, as in the last example from Zhalu, no new text was applied (FIGURES 13.6 and 13.7).<sup>13</sup>

The reason that the restored grounding of the panel remained empty is again unknown. It may well be due to the fact that the Tibetan translation of the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarikasūtra*, from which the inscriptional text was excerpted, amounts to some 200 folio-pages in the various Kanjur versions. Identifying the relevant passage<sup>14</sup> simply may have turned out to be too much of an effort.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Tropper 2005: 61.

<sup>13</sup>As can be clearly seen in FIGURE 13.7, the illustrating paintings above the inscriptions were also restored in the process.

<sup>14</sup>Derge Kanjur: *mdo sde, cha*, 144a7-b7 (The Tibetan Tripitaka: Taipei Edition. Taiwan 1991, vol. 50).

## Nako

The rGya 'phags pa lha khang in Nako (Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh) holds several painted figures that are combined with identifying captions. One



**Figure 13.8** Nako — caption in the rGya 'phags pa lha khang



**Figure 13.9** Nako — right side of the caption in the rGya 'phags pa lha khang

of these short texts refers to a certain “Chos rje dārma mtshan can”<sup>15</sup> and was originally written in a brownish colour. In the course of time it seems to have faded and was then overwritten in black letters (FIGURE 13.8).

The new text does not completely align with the original one, and parts of the latter cannot be read with certainty any more, but it appears that the new text was intended to be a more or less faithful copy of the original. For, while there are some variants, they are relatively insignificant and certainly do not yield two altogether different readings of the text. At the end of the first line, the last syllable of the original was *ma*, preceded (and followed) by a *tsheg*, whereas in the restored version the line ends in *dārma*, without any *tsheg* between *dā* and the ligature *rma* (cf. FIGURE 13.9). Interestingly, in the original text *mtshan can* was followed by another syllable, most likely *la*, and thus it could have ended in *la na mo*, with *na mo* written either at the beginning of a

third line or at the rightmost side of line 2. In either case, this suggests that originally the panel was somewhat larger than it is now, which is also corroborated by the fact that the left side of the prescript *m* in the original *mtshan* is covered by the black frame-line of the present panel.

<sup>15</sup>For a discussion on the identity of this figure, see Kerin 2010 and Tropper 2010.



## Sumda chung

A rather special case of a restored epigraph can be found in the temple of Sumda chung in Ladakh. The original document belongs to what De Rossi Filibeck 1999 has termed “paper inscriptions”, i.e., texts that were written on a sheet of paper that was then glued to a wall. The inscription in question is made up of five *mangala* verses addressing various deities, and a more extensive section that provides information on the history and geographical setting of various places in Ladakh, including Sumda chung.

The paper on which the document is written has become slightly tattered and its lower part is covered by blotches of soot (FIGURES 13.10 and 13.11). In an attempt to preserve the text and make it easier to read, the inscription has recently been copied onto a piece of wood or cardboard, which was then posted on a pillar of the temple (FIGURE 13.12).<sup>16</sup>

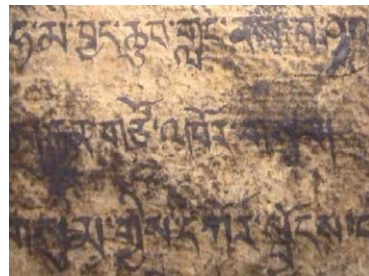
Looking at the beginning of the restored text (FIGURE 13.13), we thus find the same wording as in the original (FIGURE 13.14), two minor variants<sup>17</sup> (and the different use of colours) notwithstanding: “\*\*\* // *om sva sti sid dham / ston pa mnyam med kun mkhyen shākya'i gtso //*”.

## Tabo

The monastery of Tabo (Spiti, Himachal Pradesh) holds several inscriptions that have been dated to the late 10<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> cen-



**Figure 13.10** Sumda chung—frayed edge on the right side of the paper inscription



**Figure 13.11** Sumda chung—blotches of soot on the paper inscription

<sup>16</sup>An edition and annotated translation of both the original and the recent copy will be provided elsewhere.

<sup>17</sup>“\*\*\* : \*\*\*\*” and “/ : //”.

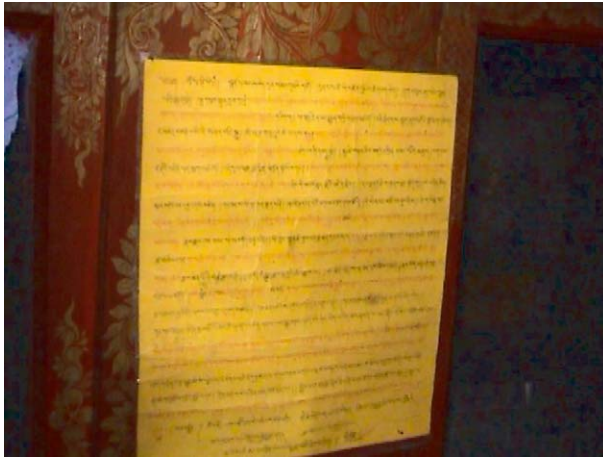
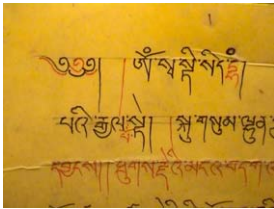
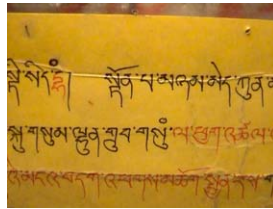


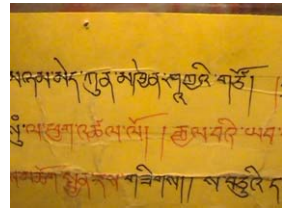
Figure 13.12 Sumda chung—recent copy of the paper inscription



(a)

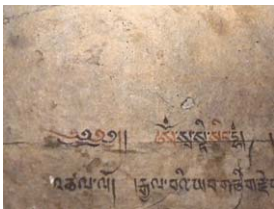


(b)

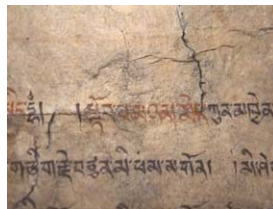


(c)

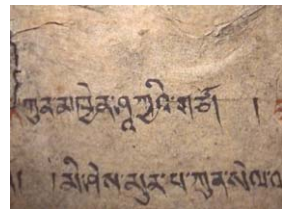
Figure 13.13 Sumda chung—beginning of the paper inscription’s copy



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 13.14 Sumda chung—beginning of the paper inscription



**Figure 13.15** Tabo—the “renovation inscription” (WHAV; CL 94 68, 36)

ture.<sup>18</sup> The most well-known of these is usually referred to as “renovation inscription” (FIGURE 13.15), as it tells of a renovation carried out 46 years after the temple’s foundation, the latter most likely having taken place in 996.<sup>19</sup> The inscription has been edited and translated three times already, namely by Tucci (1935: 195–204), Steinkellner and Luczanits (1999), and Thakur (2001: 252–257).<sup>20</sup>

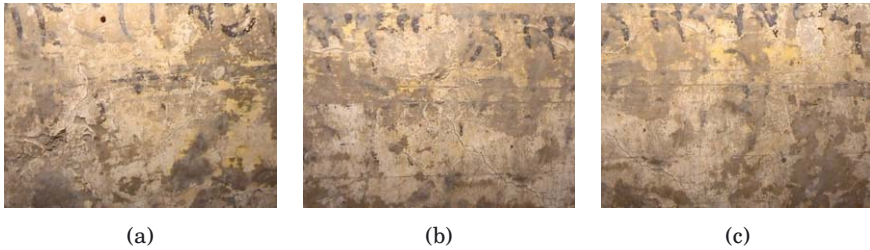
An interesting piece of information about this epigraph was provided by Steinkellner and Luczanits (1999: 11), who copied the inscription *in situ*, but later also had a colour photograph taken by Thomas Priztker at their disposal when they prepared their edition:

The colour photograph reveals faint traces of two lines of writing in the space just below the lower edge of the inscription,

<sup>18</sup>For editions, translations and discussions on the dates of these inscriptions see the collection of articles published by Petech and Luczanits 1999, as well as Steinkellner 1995, 1999.

<sup>19</sup>Cf. Klimburg-Salter 1985: 14 f., 1997: 45 ff., and Petech 1997: 233.

<sup>20</sup>Some new evidence on the inscription was recently found among A.H. Francke’s unpublished works and evaluated in Tropper 2008.



**Figure 13.16** Tabo—traces of earlier writing below the last line of the “renovation inscription”

i.e. not covered by the writing of the inscription. We did not observe these traces on the spot, and they are illegible in the photograph. All that can be said is that there is a possibility that when the ground for the renovation inscription was applied, it was applied over an older inscription in the same place, whose contents and function are no longer known.

Note that Steinkellner and Luczanits do not speculate about the contents of this presumed earlier inscription, but in the light of the examples presented above, we think one should make room for the possibility that the inscription as we have it now is a more or less faithful copy of an earlier version. If so, the obvious question would be: “How faithful?” If the original text was damaged and no master copy on paper was preserved,<sup>21</sup> the scribe would have been forced to come up with his own conjectures for the *lacunas*. The more extensive the damage, the greater, of course, the possibilities for divergences between the original and the restored text.

The same situation could apply to another inscription in Tabo that contains long excerpts from the Tibetan translation of the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* (FIGURE 13.17). It was edited by Tauscher (1999), whose tentative dating of the epigraph to the 11<sup>th</sup> century was followed by Steinkellner (1999).

Their main arguments for the 11<sup>th</sup> century dating were the inscription’s palaeographic and orthographic features, some of which can be seen

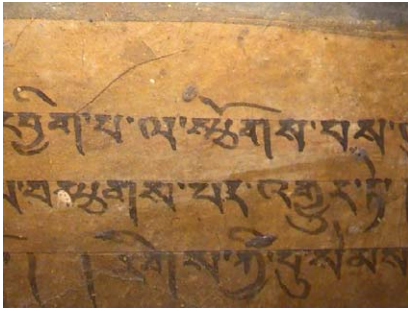
<sup>21</sup>The practice of retaining the original text of an inscription is already attested in an edict cut into the western face of a pillar at Zhwa’i lha khang (ed. and transl. in Richardson 1985: 46–53). This epigraphic document records the privileges granted by Khri lDe srong brtsan to Myang Ting nge ’dzin and mentions (ll. 52–54) that the edict’s original text and two copies of it were stored at different places. For details, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 265–266 and 265, n. 10, as well as the sources cited there. We have no information about such copies of the “renovation inscription”.



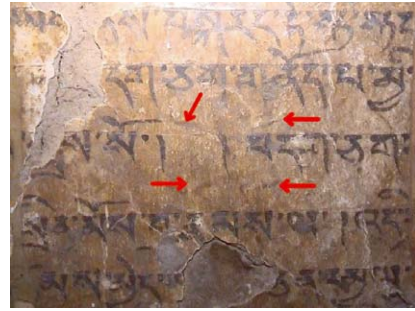


**Figure 13.17** Tabo—the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* inscription (WHAV; CL 94 96, 35)





**Figure 13.18** Tabo—detail from the beginning of the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* inscription



**Figure 13.19** Tabo—detail from the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra* inscription (arrows marking what appear to be traces of an earlier text)

in FIGURE 13.18. The horizontal ligature *sts*, occurring in *stsogs* (l. 1) and *bstsags* (l. 2), as well as the spelling itself certainly tally well with such an early dating,<sup>22</sup> but the general appearance of the panel and the freshness of the colours make it hard to believe that the inscription was executed some thousand years ago. The orthography and palaeography thus should not be considered a very strong argument, because such features can of course be used on purpose to make an inscription appear ancient. If we assume that the text replaced an earlier one that already contained archaic orthography and palaeography, the use of such features in the restored version would be even more understandable. That the inscription was indeed written over an earlier text, albeit one with unknown contents, was already indicated by Tauscher (1999: 30 f.), who pointed to some “traces of an older text underneath the present one”. Judging by our own photographic documentation, these traces appear to be less distinct than in the “renovation inscription”, however (cf. FIGURE 13.19).

Some additional pieces of evidence are equally hard to evaluate. Immediately to the right of the text there is another panel, separated from the inscription by a thin greenish line (cf. FIGURE 13.17). As Tauscher (1999: 29 f.) notes, this panel “shows only the drawing of a wishfulfilling gem on a lotus in the upper left quarter and a few solitary *akṣaras* not related to anything, obviously dating from a much later time than the inscription”. Moreover, he states that this panel does not have “traces of any older writing underneath”. With regard to the drawing, it is interesting

<sup>22</sup>Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 1999, Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002.

to note that in documents from Central Asia and Dunhuang such auspicious symbols were added to particularly important or sacred texts to both protect and “close” them, thus precluding any subsequent falsification or forgery.<sup>23</sup> One may speculate whether the drawing in Tabo was meant to serve the same purpose, and whether it was considered especially appropriate because the text had already been “restored” once. Furthermore, the panel with the drawing clearly appears to have been prepared to receive some text as it shows the typical red rulings that are widely used in both inscriptions and manuscripts in codex form to enable the scribe to write in a straight line. Perhaps the original inscription was longer and the restoration was carried out incompletely, or—similar to some of the examples from Zhalu—the scribe simply failed to match the size of the letters with the available space.

Compounding matters, Klimburg-Salter (1997: 51) proffers that the inscription itself covers a painted figure dating back to the late 10<sup>th</sup> century. No traces of this painting seem to have survived, but its erstwhile existence can be assumed with some probability, as the opposite wall on the north side of the transition zone from the assembly hall to the *cella* still has a clearly visible painting of a nine-headed green figure (cf. Klimburg-Salter 1997: 50, fig. 20). Thus there may actually be three layers, with the painting coming first, the original inscription second and the restored one third.

Against the background of the examples presented so far, we would like to conclude the discussion of the epigraphic material in Tabo by looking at an extensive cycle of inscriptions that has also been dated to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. Covering the lower parts of the assembly hall’s south wall, as well as the southern sections of its east and west wall, this cycle consists of forty-two inscriptional panels containing excerpts from the Tibetan translation of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*. Like the *Skyes rabs brgya pa* inscriptions in Zhalu, it is combined with illustrating paintings and some of them are identified by small insets. The inscriptions and insets were edited by Steinkellner (1995), who points out the following fact:

A number of inscriptional panels and some of the insets in the painted scenes are empty. All these panels have been well grounded for receiving their inscriptions, in some cases even

---

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2007: 258–259.



**Figure 13.20** Empty panel (no. xxxiv) of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* cycle in Tabo

ruled lines are clearly visible. ... Why was this work not finished? Did the scribes have to move out before the first heavy snows, and was there a reason why they did not come back the next year, or why nobody else continued the work? Was the original motive for adding the inscription in the first place lost immediately after the painted frieze was finished?<sup>24</sup>

In the light of the previous examples, it certainly seems possible that these panels *had* in fact been inscribed, but that eventually they were damaged or that their letters faded away, and that—similar to the examples from Zhalu and Gyantse—they were then provided with a new grounding, which never received any text.

## Concluding Remarks

In most of the presented cases the overwriting or (attempted) renewing of the inscriptions is obvious and easy to detect. Naturally, this raises some suspicions as to whether there are not also less obvious cases that have escaped our attention so far. In the future, the use of modern technology may enable us to better determine if certain Tibetan inscriptions were restored or written over an earlier text, and whether some of the hypotheses

<sup>24</sup>Steinkellner 1995: 5.

provided above are correct. For the time being, we would merely like to draw attention to the possibility that quite a few epigraphic sources in the Tibetan cultural realm may actually be palimpsests or copies of earlier inscriptions.

Obviously, this constitutes a serious problem with regard to both the dating of inscriptions as well as the appraisal of their contents. As is well known from copies of manuscripts in codex form, copyists not only introduced accidental mistakes, but they sometimes also altered the original text on purpose. Such tendencies must certainly have been compounded if a severely damaged inscription was touched up or entirely rewritten. In this connection, the dubious text-critical value of restored inscriptions that render excerpts from Kanjur or Tanjur texts particularly needs to be kept in mind.

As in many other areas of research in Tibetan Studies, a more cautious approach to epigraphic sources thus seems appropriate to us. In other words, one should not automatically take the contents of inscriptions at face value, nor should one assume that they necessarily date back to the times they refer to.

## Abbreviations

**KG** Rang byung rdo rje. *Sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi skyes rabs brgya ba*. Ed. by Krung go bod brgyud mtho rim nang bstan slob gling gi slob gzhi rtsom sgrig tsho chung. Gangs can rig brgya'i sgo 'byed lde mig 22. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang / Minzu chubanshe, 1995.

## References

- De Rossi Filibeck, E. (1999). "Later Inscriptions in the Tabo gTsong lag khañ". In: Petech and Luczanits 1999, 189–206.
- Huber, É. (1908). *Açvaghōṣa: Sūtrālamkāra; Traduit en Français, sur la version Chinoise de Kumārajīva*. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Kerin, M. (2010). "Visual Evidence for 'Bri gung Activity in Nako, Kinnaur". In: Lo Bue and Luczanits 2010, 175–196.
- Klimburg-Salter, D. (1985). "The Tucci Archive Preliminary Study, 1: Notes on the Chronology of Ta pho 'Du khañ". In: *East and West* 35, 1–3, 11–41.
- (1997). *Tabo: A Lamp for the Kingdom; Early Indo-Tibetan Buddhist Art in the Western Himalaya*. Milan: Skira.
- Lévi, S. M. (1908). "Açvaghōṣa: Le Sūtrālamkāra et ses sources". In: *Journal Asiatique* 12 (Ser. 10), 57–184.
- Lo Bue, E. and C. Luczanits, eds. (2010). *Tibetan Art and Architecture in Context: Proceedings of the Eleventh Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Königswinter 2006*. Halle (Saale): International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies GmbH.
- Nanjio, B. (1883). *A Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, the Sacred Canon of the Buddhists in China and Japan*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Petech, L. (1997). "Western Tibet: Historical Introduction". In: Klimburg-Salter 1997, 229–255.



- Petech, L. and C. Luczanits, eds. (1999). *Inscriptions from the Tabo Main Temple: Texts and Translations*. Serie Orientale Roma 83. Rome: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- Rang byung rdo rje. *Sangs rgyas bcom ldan ’das kyi skeyes rabs brgya ba*. Ed. by Krung go bod brgyud mtho rim nang bstan slob gling gi slob gzhi rtsom sgrig tsho chung. Gangs can rig brgya’i sgo ’byed lde mig 22. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang / Minzu chubanshe, 1995.
- Richardson, H. E. (1985). “Inscriptions at Zhwa’i Lha khang”. In: *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 43–61. Originally published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1952, 133–154, and 1953, 1–12.
- Salomon, R. (1998). *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- (2009). “The Fine Art of Forgery in India”. In: *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique*. Ed. by G. Colas and G. Gerschheimer. Paris: École française d’Extrême-Orient, 107–134.
- Scherrer-Schaub, C. A. (1999). “Towards a Methodology for the Study of Old Tibetan Manuscripts: Dunhuang and Tabo”. In: Scherrer-Schaub and Steinkellner 1999, 3–36.
- (2002). “Enacting Words: A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (*bkas bcad*) and their Application in the *sGra sbyor bam po gñis pa* Tradition”. In: *Journal of the International Association for Buddhist Studies* 25.1–2, 263–340.
- (2007). “Revendications et recours hiérarchique: Contribution à l’histoire de Śa cu sous administration tibétaine”. In: *Études de Dunhuang et Turfan*. Ed. by J.-P. Drège. Genève: Droz, 257–326.
- (2009). “Scribes and Painters on the Road: Inquiry into Image and Text in Indian Buddhism and Its Transmission to Central Asia and Tibet”. In: *The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Subcontinent in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Ed. by A. Pande. New Delhi: Aryan Books International, 29–40.

- Scherrer-Schaub, C. A. and G. Bonani (2002). “Establishing a Typology of the Old Tibetan Manuscripts: A Multidisciplinary Approach”. In: *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgeries*. Ed. by S. Whitfield. London: The British Library, 184–215.
- Scherrer-Schaub, C. A. and E. Steinkellner, eds. (1999). *Tabo Studies II: Manuscripts, Texts, Inscriptions, and the Arts*. Serie Orientale Roma 87. Rome: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- Steinkellner, E. (1995). *Sudhana’s Miraculous Journey in the Temple of Ta pho: The Inscriptional Text of the Tibetan Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra; Edited with Introductory Remarks*. Serie Orientale Roma 76. Rome: Istituto italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente.
- (1999). “Notes on the Function of Two 11<sup>th</sup>-Century Inscriptional Sūtra Texts in Tabo: *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* and *Kṣitigarbhasūtra*”. In: Scherrer-Schaub and Steinkellner 1999, 243–274.
- Steinkellner, E. and C. Luczanits (1999). “The Renovation Inscription of the Tabo gTsong lag khan”. In: Petech and Luczanits 1999, 9–28.
- Tauscher, H. (1999). “The «Admonitory Inscription» in the Tabo ’Du khan”. In: Petech and Luczanits 1999, 29–94.
- Thakur, L. S. (2001). *Buddhism in the Western Himalaya: A Study of the Tabo Monastery*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Tropper, K. (2005). *Die Jātaka-Inschriften im skor lam chen mo des Klosters Zha lu: Einführung, textkritische Studie, diplomatische Edition der Paneele 1–8 mit Sanskritparallelen und deutscher Übersetzung*. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 63. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien.
- (2007). “The Buddha-vita in the skor lam chen mo at Zha lu Monastery”. In: *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ: Papers Dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*. Ed. by B. Kellner et al. Vol. 2. Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde 70. Vienna: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 941–973.
- (2008). “New Evidence on the ‘Renovation Inscription’ at Tabo Monastery”. In: *Rivista di Studi Sudasiatici* 3, 181–200.

- (2010). “Inscriptions and Captions in the Gu ru lha khang at Nako, Kinnaur”. In: Lo Bue and Luczanits 2010, 143–174.
- Tucci, G. (1935). *I templi del Tibet Occidentale e il loro simbolismo artistico*. Vol. 1: *Spiti e Kunavar*. Indo-Tibetica 3. Rome: Reale accademia d’Italia.
- Vitali, R. (1990). *Early Temples of Central Tibet*. London: Serindia Publications.

