

TIBETAN NYIN-RAÑS AND T'O-RAÑS

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*Dedicated to Professor Johannes Schubert on his seventieth birthday
in remembrance of A. H. Francke, our first teacher of Tibetan.*

I

It was H. A. Jäschke who first assigned identical meanings to *nyin-rañs* and *t'o-rañs*. In his *Handwörterbuch der Tibetischen Sprache* (Gnadau, 1871, p. 193), we find under the entry *nyin-mo* the equation

“*nyin-rañs Tar. = t'o-rañs das Morgengrauen. Schf.*”

On p. 541 of the same work, under the entry *rañs-pa*, an exact reference to A. Schiefner's edition of Tāranātha's *C'os-hbyun*¹ and a Tibetan paraphrase is given:

“2. *nyin-rañs-par st[att] t'o-rañs-kyi dus-su. Tar. III, 17.*”

Both entries reappear in practically identical form in Jäschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* of 1881 (or its various reprints), on pp. 188 and 524.

Sarat Chandra Das took over the equation into his *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta, 1902, p. 483), but it suffered considerably in the process. Neither Tāranātha nor Jäschke are mentioned, *nyin-rañ* appears in lieu of *nyin-rañs*, and Schtr. (= Schroeter) instead of Schr. (= Schiefner) is quoted as the authority.

Das's entry under *rañs-pa* is equally unsatisfactory. After the gloss “*rañs-pa = ullāsa, rapture, ecstasy, ravishment*” to be mentioned below, he simply repeats Jäschke's paraphrase of “*nyin-rañs-par*” as “*t'o-rañs-kyi dus-su early in the morning*”, again without giving his authorities or the page references.

Schiefner's interpretation of *nyin-rañs* as “daybreak” is to be found in his German translation of Tāranātha.² In the passage in question (pp. 143-4) the arrival of deities is expected:

“An der Stelle verweilend, dachte er *bei Tagesanbruch*, ob nicht die Ārja's kommen würden; allein es kam niemand.”

¹ *Tāranāthae de doctrinae Buddhicae in India propagatione*. St. Petersburg, 1868. (Reprinted, together with the German translation, Tokyo, 1963, by the Suzuki Foundation as Vols. 2 and 3 of its *Reprint Series*.)

² *Tāranātha's Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*. Aus dem Tibetischen uebersetzt von Anton Schiefner. St. Petersburg, 1869. (See above, no. 1.)

The original text is as follows (p. 111):

"sa der bsdad-nas *nyin-rañs-par* hp'ags-pa hbyon-nam sems-pa-las ma byon."

Seeing the passage and its translation, Jäschke apparently surmised that Schiefner, though not saying so in so many words, must have regarded *nyin-rañs* as a synonym of *t'o-rañs* and therefore included an equation to that effect in his Dictionary. In support of Schiefner's and Jäschke's opinion it is now possible to quote the Tibetan-Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionary by Sumatiratna,³ where (Vol. I, p. 749) *nyin-rañs-par* has been translated as *örlüge* (early).

Nevertheless we can now easily convince ourselves that Schiefner's and Jäschke's interpretation of *nyin-rañs* was mistaken. Basing himself on Professor F. Weller's *Tibetan-Sanskrit Index to the Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Vol. I, p. 132), Dr. Lokesh Chandra's *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary* (Pt. 5, 1960, p. 860 and Pt. 11, 1961, p. 2217) has listed *nyin-rañs* as translating Skt. *dinānta* ("day-end", sunset, evening). The first line of the *śloka* in question (VIII, 73), viz. *keścid dinānta-vyāpāraih pariśrāntaḥ kukāminah*, has been rendered as *nyin-rañs las-kyis yoñs dub-ste*,⁵ which L. Finot⁶ translated: *Les uns, pleins de vils appétits, travaillent tout le jour à des besognes épuisantes*.

A glance at the above-mentioned passage from Tāranātha will convince us that "at sunset" fits in fact the context much better than "at daybreak", as the expected deities do make their appearance shortly after midnight.

Far from being synonymous, *nyin-rañs* and *t'o-rañs* are in fact words of opposite meaning.

II

It is easy to account for this case of mistaken identity. It hinges on the meaning of *rañs-pa* as the common element of the two compounds. As I suggested on another occasion,⁷ the basic meaning of *rañs-pa* is "entire, complete, unimpaired".⁸ The compound *nyin-rañs*, literally "day-complete" for "end of the day", sunset, evening, thus forms a parallel to

³ *Bod-Hor-gyi brda-yig miñ-tš'ig don-gsum gsal-bar byed-pa mun-sel sgron-me*, Vols. 1 and 2 (= Corpus Scriptorum Mongolorum, Vols. VI and VII), Ulan Bator, 1959.

⁴ *Tibetisch-Sanskritischer Index zum Bodhicaryāvatāra*, 2 vols. Berlin, 1952-5.

⁵ See the Appendix (p. 56) to Professor Weller's *Über den Quellenbezug eines mongolischen Tanjurtextes*, Berlin, 1950 = *Abhandlungen der Sächs. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Phil.-hist. Kl. Bd. 45, Heft 2*.

⁶ *La Marche à la lumière*, Paris, 1920, p. 111.

⁷ *Tibetan Lexicography and etymological research*, Transactions of the Philological Society, 1964, p. 107.

⁸ *rañs-pa* is therefore synonymous with *rañs-po*, preserved in two Tibetan glosses included in Das's and Sumatiratna's dictionaries, viz. *rañs-po = ts'an-ma* "all, whole, entire" (Das, p. 1166) and *rañs-po = ril-po* "the whole, the entire thing" (Sumatiratna, Vol. 2, p. 893).

hdab-rañs-pa, literally "leaves complete" = "full of leaves, with leaves fully developed", which Jäschke (*Dict.*, p. 274) took over from I. J. Schmidt's dictionary.⁹

To illustrate the meaning of *rañs-pa* I shall set out in full the quotation from the *Abhidharmakośa* on which I based my suggestion¹⁰ (Ex. 1) and give three additional examples (Ex. 2-4):

Ex. 1 (a) ños-na dehi p'yi-rol-gyi ños-su grib-ma bab-pas dkyil-k'or ma *rañs-par* snañ-ño.

(Ti[betan] T[ripitaka] CXV, 184 d⁴⁻⁵)

(b) aparapāśve chāyāpatanti¹¹ *vikalamaṇḍalam* darśayati.

(La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*. Troisième Chapitre. Paris, 1926, p. 158, n. 4.)

(c) Par suite, l'ombre tombant sur le côté opposé, le disque apparaît incomplet.

(La Vallée Poussin, *ibid.*, p. 158.)

Ex. 2 (a) k'ur-ba de-dag gtub-par brtsams-pa dañ ts'e-dañ ldan-pa hC'ar-k'as smras-pa / ma gtub-par *rañs-par* brims śig.

Vinayavibhaṅga

(Ti. T. XLIII, 163 a⁸-b¹ = N[arthang] hDul/Nya 89B¹⁻²)

(b) When they began to cut the cakes into pieces, the venerable Udāyin said: "Distribute them *whole*, without cutting them".

Ex. 3 (a) de-dag-gis bdag-gi buhi rgyab śna-mk'o bzin-du *rañs-par* byed nus kyañ srid do snyam-du bsams-nas . . .

Karmaśataka.¹²

(Ti. T. XXXIX, 141 d⁴⁻⁵ = N. mDo/Sa 18B⁴⁻⁵.)

(b) thinking "they (the woodcutters) will be able to make my (hunch-backed) child's back *whole* as before". . .

⁹ Sumatiratna (Vol. I, p. 1095) has *hdab-ma rañs-pa = nabci delgereksen*. Das failed to take over *hdab-rañs* into his dictionary.—The entry "*vitata-valikā = gnyer-ma reñs-pa* (or *rañs-pa*)" of the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* (ed. Sakaki, No. 6946) apparently also belongs here (literally "wrinkle complete"?), though Jäschke (*Dict.*, p. 194, s. v. *gnyer-ma*) quotes from the Tanjur a passage *gnyer-ma reñs-pa hgyur* and translates it as "wrinkles are made straight, are smoothed".

¹⁰ See above, n. 7.

¹¹ I am greatly indebted to Professor E. Lamotte for pointing out to me that *chāyā-patanti*, representing *chāyā āpatanti*, was certainly the reading of the ms. As Professor Sir Harold Bailey kindly informs me, the Sanskrit passage has been romanised as *aparapāśve chāyā patanti vikalamaṇḍalam darśayati* on p. 328, l. 1 of the edition by U. Wogihara (Ogiwara Unrai) of Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Tokyo, 1932-6). The edition by Narendranath Law (= Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 31, Calcutta, 1949, etc.) has (Pt. III, p. 90, ll. 4-5): *aparapāśve chāyā patanti vikalamaṇḍalam darśayati*.

¹² Similarly Ti. T. XXXIX, 142 a⁴⁻⁵ = N. mDo/Sa 28A⁴: de k'ri-las lañs-paḥi mod-la rgyab (5) sgur-ba de śna-ḥk'o bzin-du *rañs-par* gyur-to.

Ex. 4 (a) de-nas de skad ces brjod ma t'ag-tu dehi lus de rnam-pa t'ama-
cad-du yoñs-su rdzogs-ñiñ rañs-par gyur-nas . . .
(*ibid.* 13)
(Ti. T. XXXIX, 155 c²⁻³ = N. mDo, Śa 74A⁵)

(b) No sooner had he said so than his body in all its parts became
completely perfect and whole . . .

III

While the above four examples would seem sufficient to establish firmly the meaning of "entire, complete, unimpaired", it is necessary to link up this usage of *rañs-pa* in the first instance with the well-known combinations of *rañs-pa* with *yi* (or *yid*) and *sems* on the one hand, and with the less frequent ones with *snyin*¹⁴ and *nyam*¹⁵ on the other, all of which render Skt. words for "being glad at heart, delighted, rejoicing", as assembled in Section CXLVI of the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (Sakaki, Nos. 2929-45, see particularly Nos. 2931 (*āttamañāḥ* = *yid-rañ-ba*, *yi-rañ-ba*), 2934 (*harṣa-jātaḥ* = *rañs-pa skyes-pa*) and 2935 (*hrṣita-cittaḥ* = *sems-rañs-par gyur-ba*). There can be little doubt that the meaning of rejoicing is conveyed by describing the mind or heart as "unimpaired" and therefore "perfect"¹⁶ (*cp. sems mi rañs-par* "discontented", Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 523). It is easy to understand

¹³ It so happens that in this cliché (*cp. yathā paurāṇam sarīram kṛtvā, Jātakamāla*, Kern, 1890, p. 51, l. 14), so familiar to all readers of the *mDzañs-blun* (*cp. pp. 6⁸, 9⁸, 17³, 51¹⁴* of Part I of I. J. Schmidt's edition [St. Petersburg, 1843]) the word *rañs-pa* occurs only in the "missing chapter" published in 1955 by the late Dr. W. (= G.) Baruch in Vol. 243 of the *Journal Asiatique (Le Cinquante-deuxième chapitre du m'rañs-blun*, pp. 339-66, see p. 352) from the MS. Kanjur in the British Museum (B.M. Or. 6724) and the MS. copy of the *mDzañs-blun*, formerly belonging to Sir Denison Ross and now in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (PL. MS. 40580). The passage in question is: *ces dam bcas ma t'ag-tu dehi lus kyañ sñā-mk'o bñin-du rañs-par gyur-to* (B.M., Or. 6724, mDo XXXV, 209A⁷). But for this accident of the missing chapter, this meaning of *rañs-pa* would certainly not have been missed by Jäschke, who in his dictionary had paid so much attention to the vocabulary and usage of the *mDzañs-blun*.

¹⁴ I noted from the *Vinayavibhanga* (Narthaṅg, hDul, Ja 203A² [*cp. Taiśhō Tripiṭaka* XXIII, 816 a¹⁵]) the passage "gžan mu-steps-can-dag, hDul, Ja 203A² [*cp. Taiśhō Tripiṭaka* kun-tu dga-bar mdzad skye-bo hDzañs-pa-dag-gi snyin-dag rañs-par mdzad-pa dehi ts'e-na . . ." (At the time when he [the Buddha] by expelling the other heretics gave joy to gods and men and filled with delight [lit.: made perfect] the hearts of the learned . . .)

¹⁵ In the Tibetan version of the *Karmaśataka* the phrase *nyam rañs-su bžag-ste* is to be found frequently (e.g. Narthaṅg, mDo, Sa 104A³) in the well-known cliché about the pregnant wife who is "made comfortable" by her husband on the upper floor of the house. I am very much indebted to Professor J. Brough for the information that the phrase also occurs in this cliché in the Tibetan version of the *Avadānāśataka*, rendering *ayantritām dhārayati*. The usage of *rañs* to translate *ayantrita* is reminiscent of (*a*)*vikāla* in Ex. 1 above. I noted that in the *Kotikārṇa Story of the Divyāvadāna* (edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge 1886, p. 2, l. 18) the phrase is left out in the Tibetan version (see Narthaṅg hDul, Ka 380A² = Ti. T. XLI, 97 c⁴).

¹⁶ I am indebted to Professor Sir Harold Bailey for directing my attention to a passage of the Tibetan translation of the *Siddhasāra* in which *yi-rañ-ba* apparently

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that *yi(d)* could also simply be understood,¹⁷ in which case we meet *rañs-pa* as "rejoicing" in our texts, and the above mentioned gloss¹⁸ *rañs-pa* = *ñilāsa*, extracted by Das from the *mNon-brjod-kyi bstan-bcos mk'as-pahi ma-rgyan* and translated by him as "rapture, ecstasy, ravishment", records its usage as a noun in the same meaning.

It may therefore be assumed that *rañs-pa* in the meaning of "entire, complete, unimpaired" is in fact identical with *rañs-pa* "glad at heart, delighted, rejoicing" (with or without *yi(d)*, *sems*, etc.) and that in both meanings it must be derived from the verb *rañ-ba* (pf. *rañs*) as we have indeed found *rañs-su* for *rañs-par* in the phrase *nyam rañs-su bžag-ste*.¹⁹ Over and above the meaning of "to rejoice", noted so far only in our dictionaries, that of "to be complete, unimpaired, perfect" can now be suggested as its basic meaning.

IV

It would seem necessary to separate *rañ* from *rañ-ba*, "to be complete" if we base ourselves on the entry *rañ* in Jäschke's dictionary, where "self" is given as its first and foremost meaning. With *rañ* covering both Skr. *sva* and *atmān*, it is surprising that Jäschke, followed therein by Das (whose list of Sanskrit equivalents was headed by these two words!), should have omitted the meaning of "own". It is easy to combine "own" with "self" from the semantic point of view, since we find Tib. *bdag* "self" belonging with *bdag-po* "proprietor" and *bdog-pa* "to be possessed of", thus recalling English "own, owner, to own".²⁰

A combination of "own" and "complete" in one and the same word seems more difficult to accept. We witness, however, a semantic link between these two meanings in the Indo-European field. It is apparently provided by the idea of *exclusive possession*, which as such is complete, unimpaired, uncurtailed and not shared by other persons. This semantic combination is to be found in Skt. *kevala*²¹ and German *heil*²² (related to

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corresponds to Skt. *smgdha* "gentle, kind" (and Khotanese *brorā*) in a list of adjectives describing the attendant of a physician. See H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1945), p. 10, 6 v 1, Sanskrit text, p. 107, 2 v 6 and Tibetan text, p. 11, 140 r, the latter text corresponding to Ti(betan) T(tripiṭaka), Vol. CXLVIII, 60 a¹ = Peking Print, p. 144B¹).

¹⁷ *cp. Jäschke, Dict.*, p. 215: *ñton-pa* . . . "with or without *yid*".

¹⁸ See above, p. 179.

¹⁹ See above, n. 15.

²⁰ *cp. BSOAS X (1942)*, pp. 956-7.

²¹ See, e.g., M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1951, p. 309: "exclusively one's own (not common to others), alone, only, merely, sole . . . entire, whole, all" and M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen*, Bd. 1 (Heidelberg, 1956), p. 267: "exclusively one's own, alone, whole".

²² See F. Kluge and A. Götz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 16th edn., Berlin, 1953, p. 309, where for the meaning of "own" reference is made to an article by W. Krogmann (*Wörter und Sachen*, N.F. III [1940] = Vol. XXI [1941],

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English *whole*²³) and the contention, then, is that Tibetan *rañ* "own, self", *rañ-ba* "to be complete, unimpaired, perfect" and *rañs-pa* "entire, complete, unimpaired" constitute a word family of a similar semantic pattern.²⁴

Without in any way attempting to rewrite the entry *rañ*, I should like to draw attention to the fact that Csoma²⁵ listed *rañ-bu* "single, alone", *rañ-bur* "singly, alone, without a consort", *rañ-po* "an unmarried man", *rañ-mo*²⁶ "an unmarried woman", of which the first two words again recall Skt. *kevala(m)*.

V

The meaning of "complete, entire, unimpaired" allows also of an analysis of the compound *t'o-rañs*. Through the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (Sakaki, No. 8244) we are acquainted with its Skt. equivalent, *pañcama praharaḥ*. The fifth nightwatch is described as the "fifth striking" (of the bell or gong). No doubt the *t'o* of *t'o-rañs* must then be connected with *t'o-ba* (or *mt'o-ba*) "hammer", and the term for the night watch in question, which is in fact the last watch, be translated literally as "hammer complete", constituting as such further evidence of the meaning of *rañs-pa*, with which this paper has been preponderantly concerned.

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p. 45) "Der Runenring von Pietroasa", adducing also modern Icelandic *helga sér* "to prove a thing to be one's own" [cp. also the entry *helga* in the *Icelandic-English Dictionary* by R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, 2nd edn. (with a supplement by Sir W. A. Craigie), London, 1957, pp. 254-5].

²³ Cp., e.g., C. Wyld, *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*, London, 1952, p. 1393 s.v. and C. T. Onions, *The Oxford Dictionary of English etymology*, Oxford, 1966, p. 1005.

²⁴ See, on the Indo-European side, also J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. I, Bonn and München, 1959, pp. 519 (*Kai-*, *Kai-yo-*, *Kai-yeo* "allein") and 520 (*Kai-lo-* [*Kai-lu-*], "heil, unversehrt, auch von guter Vorbedeutung").

²⁵ See Jäschke, *Dict.*, p. 523a.

²⁶ Cp. *ibid.*, p. 598, the entry *hrañ-ba*.