

# Tibetan Buddhism Registered: A Catalogue from the Imperial Court of 'Phang Thang

GEORGIOS T. HALKIAS

## CONTENTS AND DIVISIONS:

1. An Official Registration of Buddhist Texts
2. Dating Inconsistencies: Historical Sources and the PT
3. Textual Archaeology
  - 3.1. The Introduction and Colophon to the Catalogue
  - 3.2. Translation of the Title and Colophon
  - 3.3. Transcription of the Colophon
4. Observations on Taxonomy and Other Considerations
  - 4.1. Sūtras, Śāstras & Dhāraṇī
  - 4.2. Tibetan Authors
  - 4.3. Tantric Texts
  - 4.4. Other Divisions
  - 4.5. Notes
  - 4.6. Dating
5. Appendices
  - TABLE 1 PT Index (Divisions and Number of Texts)
  - TABLE 2 Tibetan Authors (PT)
  - TABLE 3 Common Divisions and Distributions (PT/DK)
  - TABLE 4 Hīnayāna Śāstras/Madhyamaka Śāstras/Logic (PT/DK)
  - TABLE 5 Five Great Dhāraṇī (PT/DK)
  - TABLE 6 Minor Works Attributed to Nāgārjuna (PT/DK)

TABLE 7 Tantric Texts (PT)

TABLE 8 Mahāsūtras (PT/DK)

TABLE 9 Mahāyāna Sūtras Translated from Chinese (PT)

1. An Official Registration of Buddhist Texts\*

THE first diffusion of Buddhism into Tibet (*snga dar*) coincides with the foundation and military expansion of the Tibetan Empire (seventh-ninth century). According to traditional accounts, the importation of Buddhism and concomitant translation of Buddhist literature into Tibetan commenced during the time of the first *dharmarāja* Srong btsan sgam po (617–649/650) and continued well up until the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> With the imperial patronage of Buddhist monasticism from the eighth century onwards, a number of registers of Buddhist and non-Buddhist<sup>2</sup> translated works were compiled and kept in Tibetan monastic communities and imperial depositories. The growing political role of the Tibetan *saṅgha* (Dargyay 1991) and the need for a systematic and standardized exposition of Buddhist doctrines eventually led to the official sponsorship of authoritative catalogues (*dkar chag*) which, based on earlier lists, represented a revised selection mainly of Sanskrit and Chinese Buddhist literature translated into Tibetan, as well as related works authored by Tibetan writers.

The present study concerns the *dKar chag 'Phang thang ka ma (-med)* (hereafter PT) which has long since been presumed lost.<sup>3</sup> The PT is the last

\* I wish to thank Sherab Gyatso for sharing his knowledge of Tibetan literature and for his generous support during the writing of this article. I am also grateful to Charles Ramble, Cristina Scherrer-Schaub and Brandon Dotson for offering their valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Although Tibetan encounters with Buddhism from Central Asia, China and Nepal prior to the seventh century cannot be ruled out, most sources accede that Srong btsan sgam po's minister, Thon mi Sambhoṭa, devised the Tibetan script and rendered the first translations of Buddhist texts into Tibetan (Skilling 1997a, pp. 87–89). For evidence of a small but steady number of literary transmissions to Tibet beyond the thirteenth century, see Shastri 2002.

<sup>2</sup> The Tibetan Tripiṭaka includes a number of secular Indian texts, such as, the *Prajñā-Śataka nāma Prakaraṇa* translated by dPal brtsegs, the *Nītiśāstra Prajñādaṇḍa nāma* and *Nītiśāstra Jana-poṣaṇa bindu nāma* translated by Ye shes sde, and the *Āryakoṣa nāma* translated by dPal gyi lHun po (Pathak 1974).

<sup>3</sup> Western scholars have noted the missing status of the PT: see Vostrikov 1970, p. 205; Bethlenfalvy 1982, p. 5; Harrison 1996, p. 87, n. 6; Herrmann-Pfandt 2002, pp. 134, 138. The temple of 'Phang thang was allegedly flooded during the reign of King Khri srong lde btsan (*Blue Annals*, 43; *The Chronicles of Ladakh*, 86; *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, 324; *dBa' bzhed*, 8b, 12a). *The Chronicles of Ladakh* (85) state that King Mes Ag tshom was responsible for building

royally-decreed catalogue composed in the ninth century at the imperial court of 'Phang thang in southern Central Tibet. Its contents and divisions reveal that it was based on two older imperial catalogues. The older of the two, composed at the fortress sTong thang lDan dkar, is known as the *dKar chag lDan dkar ma* (hereafter DK), or *lHan dkar ma*, and it is commonly assigned to the reign of Khri lde srong btsan (*alias* Sad na legs, *circa* 800–815).<sup>4</sup> It is preserved in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.<sup>5</sup> The second catalogue is said to have been written also during the reign of Khri lde srong btsan at the court of Mchims bu.<sup>6</sup> It is known as the *dKar chag bsam yas mChims phu ma* and it is considered at present missing.

a number of *vihāras* on the plains near Lhasa, among them the 'Phang thang ka med. The *bKa' thang sde snga* (148) reports that during his administration the temple of bSam yas mChims phu was built. In the *Myang chos 'byung* (83) Tāranātha speaks of a '*phang (thang) du gzim khang*, an important hermitage of a later period (near) the small town of dKar 'phyigs. A 'Phang thang khang mo che (the big building of 'Phang thang) is mentioned as the court in which King Khri gtsug lde btsan (*alias* Ral pa can, *circa* 815–836) met with a messenger of King Mywa (*dBa' bzhed*, p. 46, n. 107). Skilling (1997a, p. 91, n. 32) cites a few sources, among them the *lDe'u chos 'byung*, where it is said that the fortress of 'Phang thang ka med was built during the reign of King Khri gtsug lde btsan. The translators of the *dBa' bzhed* (p. 46, n. 107) report that today the 'Phang thang's locality is called 'Pho brang and is located to the south-east of Yum bu bla sgang. For a map reference of the 'Phang thang located in Yar stod (Upper Yar) in the subdistrict (Chinese: *xiang*) of 'Pho brang (Sørensen, et al. 2005, pp. 13–14).

<sup>4</sup> The dating of the DK is contested. Tucci (1958, p. 48) and more recently Herrmann-Pfandt (2002, p. 134) has dated it around 812 C.E. Tshul khri ms skal bzang Khang dkar (1985, pp. 91–96), Yamaguchi (1996, p. 243, n. 15), and Rabssel (1996, p. 16) analyzed the different dates proposed in the Tibetan sources for the DK and assigned it to 824 C.E., that is to say, well into the reign of King Khri gtsug lde btsan. The same date is cited by Yoshimura (1950), but according to Tucci (1958, pp. 46–47, n. 1), his argument is not cogent. In this article, the chronological sequence of the three imperial *dkar chag* is in agreement with Bu ston (1989, p. 314), the *Yar lung chos 'byung* (65), the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (417) and Tshul khri ms skal bzang Khang dkar (1985, p. 95; 2003, p. 87).

<sup>5</sup> The catalogue is titled *Pho brang stong thang dkar gyi bka' dang bstan bcos ro cog gi dkar chag* and it is located in Peking: No. 5851, (Cho 352b<sup>5</sup>–373a<sup>8</sup>), colophon: dPal brtsegs (Śrī kūṭa), Klu'i dbang po (Nāgendra), 'Khon Nāgendrarakṣita, etc; sDe dge, No. 4364, (Jo 294b<sup>7</sup>–295a<sup>1</sup>), colophon: dPal brtsegs, Nam mkha'i snying-po. For introductions to this catalogue: see Yoshimura 1950, Lalou 1953, and Rabssel 1996.

<sup>6</sup> Tshul khri ms skal bzang Khang dkar (1985, p. 95) lists the following authors of the *dKar chag bsam yas mChims phu ma*: *de rjes rgyal po khri lde srong btsan sad na legs mjing yon gyi dus su/lo tsā ba ska ba dpal brtsegs dang/chos kyi snying po/de va nandra/dpal gyi lhun po sogs kyiis pho brang mchims bu na bzhugs pa'i gsung rab yod tshad phyogs gcig tu bsgrigs te dkar chag bkod pa la dkar chag mchims phu ma zer*. The area of 'Chims phu (= mChims spelled as in the mChims clan), is a hermitage/reliquary N.E. of bSam yas. It allegedly served

From the contents of the DK and the PT, we can infer that teams of Tibetan translators and predominantly Indian Buddhist scholars<sup>7</sup> (*lo paṅ*) labored with the assistance of many anonymous scribes through more than a thousand translations of Buddhist scriptures, often with duplicate and triplicate versions of the same text. It is not known how many polyglot and variant recensions of original manuscripts they had at their disposal and how they went about collating them. We can infer that these catalogues accorded with previous registers and with a gradual and cumulative process of a literary standardization movement aimed at regulating translations across the Tibetan Empire. In accordance with official procedures and relying upon lexicons and methodological guidelines set forth by the *vyutpatti* treatises, translators (*lo tsā ba*) and scholars (*paṅdita*) revised all the past translations of Buddhist manuscripts, that is, purged them of errors and inconsistencies according to established religious terminology and principles fixed for the new language of translations (*skad gsar bcad*).<sup>8</sup> The *vyutpatti* treatises prescribed authoritative rules for translation, set exact equivalences for Sanskrit-Tibetan terms, classified Buddhist doctrines, and offered practical advice on grammatical matters. Three such state-sponsored documents are known in Tibetan literature: a) the *Bye brag tu rtogs byed chen po* (*Mahāvvyutpatti*),<sup>9</sup> b) the *Bye brag tu rtogs byed 'bring po*, commonly known as the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis*

---

as a repository of texts in the time of King Srong btsan sgam po and also during the reign of Mes Ag tshom (mChims phu nam ral) (*rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*, 196). It is reported in the *rGyal po bka'i thang* (128) that Padmasambhava revealed and taught the Vajrakīla maṅḍala (*rDo rje phur pa'i dkyil 'khor*) to King Khri lde srong btsan Sad na legs (= Mjing yon mu tig) at the hermitage of mChims phu brag dmar. As a result, the obstructing elements (*bar gcod*), the malevolent spirits (*dam sri*) and the Maras (*bdud*) turned into dust. Many other teachings and initiations are listed, making the hermitage of mChims phu a significant rNying ma site with unequivocal ties to the imperial past.

<sup>7</sup> For the contributions of Nepalese scholars in the transmission of Indian Buddhism into Tibet: see Bue 1997, pp. 629–58.

<sup>8</sup> Scherrer-Schaub (2002, p. 288) writes: “in 783/795 the ecclesiastic chancery already followed an established hierarchical procedure: the colleges of translating and explaining Buddhist texts had to refer proposed terminology for approval to the high ecclesiastic representative and the college of translators attached to the palace. . . The canonical and Dunhuang versions, possibly reflecting the 814 situation, bear evidence to a flourishing ecclesiastic bureaucracy.”

<sup>9</sup> It is preserved in Peking: No. 5832, (go204b<sup>7</sup>–310a<sup>8</sup>), no colophon; sDe dge: No. 4346 (131a<sup>4</sup>–131a<sup>4</sup>), colophon: *lo paṅ mang po*. The contents and history of this document have been discussed by Scherrer-Schaub (2002).

*pa* (*Madhyavyutpatti*);<sup>10</sup> and c) the *Bye brag tu rtogs byed chung ngu* (*Alpavyutpatti/Svalpavyutpatti*) now considered lost.<sup>11</sup> As demonstrated by Scherrer-Schaub (2002; 1999), these treatises are legislative documents corresponding to three imperial decisions (*bkas bcad*) of 763, 783 and 814 relative to the codification of religious language and may be utilized as resources for appraising the dynamic relation between the translation principles employed and the exegetical transmission of Indo-Buddhist doctrines in imperial Tibet.

Vostrikov (1970, p. 205) was right to consider these registration-catalogues as historical works for they are definitive records of the official adaptation of Buddhism in the Tibetan Empire.<sup>12</sup> Their value for Tibetan textual studies is undeniable. Bu ston Rin chen grub (1290–1364) and other librarian-scholars consulted them to draw accreditation for their large collection of scriptures. A fair number of scriptural divisions and hundreds of texts listed in those early imperial catalogues can be found in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka-out of the 735 texts included in the *lHan dkar ma* “most of the first 445 texts are of the kind which were later put into the Kanjur, and the rest, as far as they have survived, were mostly to become Tanjur texts” (Herrmann-Pfandt 2002, p. 135). Within the penumbra of an ecclesiastical-bureaucratic authority, these *dkar chag* re-

<sup>10</sup> It is preserved in Peking: No. 5833, (ngo 1–38a3), no colophon; sDe dge: No. 4347 (131b<sup>1</sup>–160a<sup>7</sup>), colophon: *m khas pa rnam s*. According to Scherrer-Schaub (2002, p. 267), the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* is ‘one of the oldest documents of ecclesiastic chancery.’ Four incomplete manuscripts and one canonical version of this translation manual survive (ibid., p. 264). The Mi rigs dpe skrun khang (2003) edition of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* differs from the bsTan ’gyur version in that it contains entries in Lan tsa script and a longer colophon, which states that Indian scholars (Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, etc.) and Tibetan translators (Ratnarakṣita, Dharmatāśila, Jayarakṣita, etc.) were decreed to clarify all difficult religious terms. For a discussion regarding its dating in Tibetan historical literature, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002, Panglung 1994, and Tshul khri ms skal bzang Khang dkar 1985, pp. 84–85.

<sup>11</sup> It has been suggested that the small *Vyutpatti* explained the various units and measures to be adopted in translations (Uray 1989, p. 3). For an updated discussion on its contents and possible usage, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002, pp. 306–7. Another work, that might have been related to the codification of religious terminology, is a *Chos skad gtan la dbab pa* listed in the ’Phang thang ma catalogue (PT §XXXI, No. 876).

<sup>12</sup> Translations of Buddhist texts seem to have originated from areas well enmeshed, through trade and politics, in the Tibetan Empire, i.e., India, China, Kashmir, Nepal, and Khotan. The ingress of the Tibetan state in the Tarim basin and in parts of China fostered the importation of new political models and cultural norms ensuing in a gradual cultural colonization of the colonizer. For the cultural, economic and political impact of Buddhism in the region, see Samuel 2002, Xinru 1994, Beckwith 1987 and Puri 1987.

flected the systematic cataloguing of Buddhist scriptures to ensure, in all probability, their future reproduction and distribution across the empire. At the same time, their admitted contents reveal a process of scriptural appropriation and affirmation which entailed the intentional omission of other texts and Buddhist doctrines thereby neither legitimized nor recorded.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. Dating Inconsistencies: Historical Sources and the PT

Many Tibetan chronicles are inconsistent, or mistaken, regarding the exact chronology of the imperial catalogues and the dates and names of the teams who collaborated in their composition. Contemporary Tibetan scholar Tshul khri ms skal bzang Khang dkar encapsulated these issues when he argued that a number of Buddhist histories are gravely mistaken on at least two major counts: a) for conflating the identity of two patrons of Buddhism, King Khri lde srong btsan with his son King Khri gtsug lde btsan; and b) for situating under the auspices of the latter a comprehensive rectification proposal, known as the Major Revision (*zhu chen skad gsar bcan*), that aimed for the revision and standardization of all existing translations of Buddhist scriptures in Tibet (1985, pp. 84–85).

I will briefly contextualize these issues as they pertain to the dating of the PT by looking at some available sources. The editor of the PT edition (Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003, pp. 1–2) assigned the catalogue's composition to the reign of Khri gtsug lde btsan.<sup>14</sup> In his Collected Writings, Tibetan scholar

<sup>13</sup> The imperial catalogues are by no means exhaustive of all the early literature translated into Tibetan. The majority of early texts found in the *rNying ma'i rgyud bum* (Collected Tantras of the Ancients) and in the Dunhuang collections are not represented. In the introduction to the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (2003, pp. 70, 73), we read that according to Khri lde srong btsan's edict it was forbidden to translate Tantras without official permission. Bu ston (1986, p. 197) explains that during the reign of King Khri gtsug lde btsan it was prescribed that the Hīnayāna scriptures, other than those acknowledged by the Sarvāstivādins, and the Tantras were not to be translated. Karmay (1988, pp. 5–6) writes that during the reign of the latter, the Buddhist Council took up the question of the unsuitability of the Tantras as a teaching for the Tibetans and certain types of Tantras, particularly of the *Ma rgyud* class (Mother-Tantras), were forbidden to be translated; see also Snellgrove 1987, p. 456, Panglung 1994, p. 165, and Germano 2002. A similar censorial trend was noted in China with the prohibition of the translation of the Anuttarayoga-tantra type of texts and practices (Herrmann-Pfandt 2002, p. 131).

<sup>14</sup> In the introduction to the published catalogue, rTa rdo purports that the PT was copied by an anonymous scribe from an original MS sometime during the Sa skya hegemony (thirteenth-fourteenth century). His dating is based on the old form and textual peculiarities of the catalogue (archaic spellings, *dha rma*, *shu log*, *ṭi ka*, *lsogs*) and the colophon to the *sGra byor bam po gnyis pa* (Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003: 205).

Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las (1997, pp. 338–9) sides with the *sDe dge bka' gyur dkar chag* and dates the PT erroneously before the DK, that is, during the reign of Khri lde srong btsan.<sup>15</sup> Vostrikov (1970, p. 205) has cited several Tibetan sources (i.e., *Thob yig gangā'i chu rgyun*; *sDe dge dkar chag*; *sNar thang dkar chag*; *Gsung rab rnam grags chu'i dri ma sel byed nor bu ke ta ka*), which mistakenly regard the PT as the earliest catalogue of the Tibetan canon. Others, led by Bu ston Rin chen grub's *Chos 'byung*, maintain that the DK is the earliest of the imperial catalogues. In the *rGyal rabs dep ther dkar po* (1981, p. 28), dGe 'dun chos 'phel considers the *IDan dkar bka' gyur gyi dkar chag* to have been the first imperial catalogue compiled. Tshul khrims skal bzang Khang dkar (1985, p. 94) is in agreement with dGe 'dun chos 'phel and further argues that the PT was compiled sometime after 824 C.E. (the date he postulates for the DK) but prior to the death of Khri gtsug lde btsan. To contrast his view, he quotes De srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1706) who, even though he was aware of the conflicting accounts in the Tibetan sources, is nonetheless mistaken when he writes: “Regarding the misinterpretation surrounding the 'Phang thang ma, the astrological tables demonstrate that it was written by *lo tsā ba* dPal brtsegs during the times of Sad na legs” (ibid., p. 95).

It is clear that De srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, like Padma dkar po (1527–1592) and the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag dbang Blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617–1682), mistakenly reproduced in their respective works Bu ston's conflation of the name of Khri lde srong btsan with that of Khri gtsug lde btsan (Uray, 1989, p. 8; Haarh, 1969, pp. 68–69). Tucci (1950) went to great length to set the record straight and show that Khri lde srong btsan was unmistakably the father of Khri gtsug lde btsan even though there are disputes as to who was the latter's immediate predecessor.<sup>16</sup> The attribution of the 'On cang rdo tem-

<sup>15</sup> In the *Deb ther dmar po'i mchan 'grel* (331), Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las cites a different account wherein the DK comes chronologically before the PT and the former is attributed to the times of Khri srong lde btsan. This chronology follows closely the order in the *mKhas pa'i dga' ston* (p. 417).

<sup>16</sup> This is noted by Richardson (1998, pp. 69–70), Tshul khrims skal bzang Khang dkar (1985, pp. 84–85), and Uray (1989). Richardson (1985, p. 43; 1998, p. 223) mentions that there has been also the occasional historical conflation between the names of Khri srong lde btsan and Khri lde srong btsan and the false division between Khri lde srong btsan known as “Sad na legs” and his second name “Mu tig btsan po” presumed to be another king. He also notes that in Hackin's *Formulaire*, a Dunhuang Tibetan document circa 1000 C.E., Ral pa can is listed as a different person from Khri gtsug lde btsan (ibid., p. 54). Haarh's quote (1969, p. 70)

ple in sKyid chu valley to Khri gtsug lde btsan may be partly to blame for his being mixed up with his father Khri lde srong btsan. A number of historical sources attribute the building of the temple of 'On cang rdo to Khri gtsug lde btsan and this has caused confusion, as Khri lde srong btsan was said to have been residing at the court of 'On cang rdo at the time of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa's* redaction. Tucci (ibid., p. 18) offers a viable explanation when he says that 'On cang rdo was the name of a locality with a fortress before Khri gtsug lde btsan's erection of a temple there by the same name.<sup>17</sup>

Some early post-dynastic histories, such as the *Nyang chos 'byung* and the *Chos 'byung me tog snying po'i sbrang rtsi'i bcud*<sup>18</sup> assign the Major Revision initiative to the monarch Khri gtsug lde btsan, contrary to the findings of present historical research, which attribute it to Khri lde srong btsan.<sup>19</sup> Three revision proposals are mentioned in the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (227) as having been decreed by Khri gtsug lde btsan. This is obviously

---

from the *rGyal po bka'i thang* may shed some light on this confusion: “(When) the *Master* (Padmasambhava) addressed (the king) by name, it was *Mu tig btsan po*. (When) the *father* addressed (him) by name, it was *Khri lde srong btsan*. (When) the *minister of the interior* addressed (him) by name, it was *mJing yon Sad na legs*. (When the Emperor of) *China* addressed (him) by name, it was *Mu tig btsan po*.”

A good number of early and later Tibetan historical sources are not confused on this issue of succession. The twentieth-century *rGyal rabs dep ther dkar po* (1981, p. 33) and *bDud 'joms chos 'byung* (p. 136) narrate the imperial father-to-son sequence correctly. So do the thirteenth-century *Sngon gyi gtam me tog phreng ba* (11) and a rare historical MS from the library of Burmiok Athing published along with the latter, the *Bstan pa dang bstan 'dzin gyi lo rgyus* (354) by rTa nag mkhan chen chos rnam rgyal. The Biography of Atiśa by 'Brom ston describes Khri gtsug lde btsan as one of the three sons of Khri lde srong btsan (Haarh 1969, p. 83) unlike many other sources which list four sons for the latter (Haarh 1960, pp. 146–64). *The Chronicles of Ladakh* (89), *Yar lung chos 'byung* (64–65), *Deb ther dmar po* (38), *Lo paṅ bka'i thang* (406), *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (Sørensen, 408–10), and the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (133–4) unmistakably list Khri gtsug lde btsan as one of the five sons of Khri lde srong btsan. According to *The Chronicles of Ladakh* (89) two of his sons, lHa rje and lHun grub were not by the principal queen which may account for 'Brom ston's listing of three sons. Tucci (1950, pp. 21–22) maintains that although there is perfect agreement between some Chinese and Tibetan histories concerning the date of Khri lde srong btsan's death and the coronation of Khri gtsug lde btsan, there is definitely a confusion between both sources as to the immediate predecessor of Khri gtsug lde btsan. For a detailed discussion, see Haarh 1960.

<sup>17</sup> This is confirmed by the Eastern Zhwa'i lha khang inscription where we read that Ban de Myang ting nge 'dzin-a principal witness of Khri lde srong btsan's oath to maintain the Buddhist religion-was residing at 'On cang rdo (Richardson 1985, p. 57).

<sup>18</sup> Uray 1989, p. 7.

<sup>19</sup> *dBa' bzhed* (11); Scherrer-Schaub 2002.

wrong.<sup>20</sup> Even though many scholars have argued that the Major Revision of translations may have started sometime during or before 814 C.E.,<sup>21</sup> we should bear in mind that the task of revising was not concluded and did not come to a complete halt with the death of Khri lde srong btsan. It continued, as many historical sources attest, during the reign of Khri gtsug lde btsan and beyond.<sup>22</sup> Buddhist ministers would have also seen to its continuation. The monk-minister Bran ka Dpal gyi yon tan-whose political pre-eminence during the reigns of Khri lde srong btsan and Khri gtsug lde btsan is beyond question-was according to Richardson (1989, pp. 145–6) and Tucci (1958, pp. 54–55) chief among those who took part in reconciling Sanskrit and Tibetan religious terminology and would have seen to the maintenance of the revision and cataloguing process. Another likely supporter is the Buddhist monk gTsang ma who, according to Haahr (1969, p. 339), ran the actual government on behalf of his mentally-challenged brother, Khri gtsug lde btsan. As we will see by examining the contents of the PT, the revision-cum-registration of translations and native compositions was most likely sustained during the reign of Khri 'U Dum btsan and endured during the time of his heir, King 'Od srung.

### 3. Textual Archaeology

A comparison between the PT and the DK reveals that the compilers of the

<sup>20</sup> Sørensen 1994, n. 1431, Scherrer-Schaub 2002.

<sup>21</sup> Herrmann-Pfandt 2002, p. 135, Tshul khri ms skal bzang Khang dkar 1985, p. 84, Uray 1989.

<sup>22</sup> See for instance, *The Chronicles of Ladakh* (89), *Lo paṅ bka'i thang* (406), and the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (227). The PT, a much later work, reserves special sections for works in the process of emendation: i.e., *Scriptures of sūtras and śāstras in the process of revision and remaining translations* (§XXVIII), each containing twenty-four works apportioned under four well-structured subdivisions.

Snellgrove's observations (1987, p. 445) regarding the post-“Major Revision” translations are worth quoting in full: “However by the ninth century, high standards of competence in this most difficult of translating work was achieved. In this respect the best known figure must be the Chinese scholar Fa ch'eng, known in Tibetan as Chos-grub with the equivalent meaning 'Perfect in Religion.' Active in Tunhuang from the early 830s onward, he received from the Tibetan administration the title of 'Great Translator-Reviser of the Kingdom of Great Tibet' (Bod chen po'i chab srid kyi zhu chen gyi lo tsa ba), producing translations of Buddhist works subject to the sympathetic interest of a Tibetan district commissioner who was himself a fervent Buddhist.”

PT had access to the DK.<sup>23</sup> Internal evidence in the catalogue confirms that the PT was compiled after the DK and the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* which is text No. 875 in PT division (§XXXVI). Two notes in PT division (§I) state clearly that the compilers of the catalogue consulted the DK for *sūtras* that were 60 *bam po*, as well as 26 *bam po* and 100 *śloka* long.<sup>24</sup>

We will now examine some additional testimonies by looking at texts listed in the PT that were composed by four imperial members:

- I. Three small works attributed to lHa btsan po; (§XXVII, Nos. 674, 675; §XXXI, No. 842)
- II. One work attributed to Queen Byang chub ma; (§XXXI, No. 877)
- III. One small work attributed to King Mu rug btsan; (§XXXI, No. 779)
- IV. Two works attributed to King dBa' Dun brtan; (§XXXI, No. 828, 829)

I. Works attributed to lHa btsan po. The epithet *lha btsan po* (divine ruler) may be assigned to any of the Tibetan kings up until the end of the empire.<sup>25</sup> PT divisions (§XXVII) and (§XXXI) are identified as works of Khri srong lde btsan. Contained in them we find, among titles conventionally attributed to Khri srong lde btsan, three composed by lHa btsan po. There are no works attributed to a lHa btsan po in the DK division entitled *Compositions of King Khri srong lde btsan* (§XXVII). However, DK text No. 729 (§XXVIII) which bears the same title, but not of the same length, as PT text No. 842 (§XXXI,) is attributed to King Khri srong lde btsan. It is plausible therefore to assume that these three texts attributed to lHa btsan po meant to imply that Khri srong lde btsan was their author.

Three one *śloka*-long texts are assigned to lHa btsan po: a *stotra* to protector Ārya-Acala (No. 674); a decree (*bkas bcad*) concerning a *dhyāna* text (No. 842); and a Mahāyāna *dhyāna-upadeśa* (No. 675).

II. One work attributed to Queen Byang chub ma, the rGyal mo btsan of the 'Bro clan. She is listed as one of the five queens of Khri srong lde btsan (Uebach 1997, pp. 63–64). A follower of the Chinese Buddhist master, Mahāyāna, she was allegedly present during the famous bSam yas debate.

<sup>23</sup> For a comparison of the contents between the DK and the PT, see Kawagoe 2005a.

<sup>24</sup> The note reads: *bam po drug bcu ldan dkar mar 'byung ste dpyad/ldan du bam po nyer drug dang sloka brgya 'dir byon* (PT, p. 4).

<sup>25</sup> Richardson 1995; Stein 1981, pp. 242–5.

She may have been the mother of Mu khri, the eldest son of Khri srong lde btsan. It was said that after the death of her only son, she was ordained, along with a maternal aunt of the king and thirty other noble ladies, and received the Buddhist renunciation name of Jo mo Byang chub ma (Richardson 1985, p. 32; 1989, pp. 91, 111, 142). The donation inscription on the bSam yas bell reads that it was sponsored by her and her son and its merits dedicated to lHa btsan po Khri srong lde btsan. She is the author of a *pranidhāna* (*smon lam*) that may have read like the inscription on yet another heavy bronze bell donated by her to the prestigious Khra 'brug temple. The inscription was cast for her by the Chinese monk Rin cen. It is registered to have been sanctioned by the heavens for the benefit of all sentient beings who may hear its ringing as a "wake-up call to virtue."<sup>26</sup>

III. One work attributed to King Mu rug btsan, who was the brother of King Khri lde srong btsan. He is mentioned in the west inscription of Zhwa'i lha khang—a record of privileges granted to Ban de Myang ting nge 'dzin by an ever-grateful Khri lde srong btsan. Here, Mu rug btsan is singled out by name and bound by oath along with "the sister queens, the feudatory princes, and all ministers great and small from the ministers of the kingdom downwards" to abide by Khri lde srong btsan's edict (Richardson 1985, pp. 52–53). In the same inscription, we read a longer version of his public detraction: "Later, after my father and elder brother had fallen into repeated disagreement, before I obtained the kingdom there was some confusion and a contention of evil spirits."

Several Tibetan sources relate that he was not given the chance to rule the empire because of having been banished to the northern frontier for killing (or murdering) 'U rings, the son of the powerful chief minister Zhang rGyal tshan lha snang sometime between 794–796 C.E. (Haarh 1969, p. 339, 1960, pp. 151, 161). Bon po sources suggest deeper political and religious reasons than the murder of 'U rings to have separated him from royal favour (Haarh 1960, pp. 162–3). Even though his reign is not substantiated by early Tibetan sources, his designation as King Mu rug btsan in the catalogue is in perfect agreement with the T'ang Annals where it is said that the Chinese recognized

<sup>26</sup> The bell inscription is rendered in Richardson's translation as: "This great bell was installed here to tell the increase of the lifetime of the lHa btsan po Khri lde srong btsan. The donor Queen Byang chub had it made to sound like the drum roll of the gods in the heavens and it was cast by the abbot, the Chinese monk Rin cen as a religious offering from Tshal and to call all creatures to virtue" (1985, p. 83).

him as *btsan po* under the name Tsu chih chien until his death in 804 (Richardson 1985, p. 44). This is acknowledged by Haarh (1969, p. 339) where it is said that for some years, before his murder, the usurper Mu rug btsan may have possessed the power of a king.

He is the author of a one *śloka*-long explanation regarding the *Ārya-saṃdhinirmocana-sūtra*.

IV. One work attributed to King dBa' Dun brtan (*alias* Glang dar ma). dBa' Dun brtan is a variant, or corruption of U'i' Dum brtan attested in Dunhuang documents and other sources.<sup>27</sup> The reference of Dun brtan (= Dum brtan) as dBa' Dun brtan is unusual and it may be a misspelling of dPal Dun brtan, the name cited by Bu ston from his reading of the '*Phang thang ma* catalogue.<sup>28</sup>

King Dun brtan was Khri gtsug lde btsan's successor and reputed assassin who was later murdered, according to tradition, by the abbot of bSam yas, lHa lung dPal gyi rdo rje in 842 (Karmay 1988, p. 9) and/or rGyal to re sTag snya (Petech 1992, p. 650).<sup>29</sup> Later Tibetan traditions unanimously denigrate Khri 'U Dum btsan as having been an anti-Buddhist king. Such an ominous view is recast in many post-dynastic histories and we read in the *rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long* (Sørensen, pp. 427–9) an account to this effect:

Since the wicked, sinful ministers such as sBas stag ma can etc. now had become very powerful, King Khri Glang dar ma dBu dum can, himself an emanation of Māra, being in opposition to Buddhism and (moreover) endowed with a malicious character, was elected to the throne. Some of the ordained (monks) were appointed as butchers (*shan pa bcol*), some were deprived of (their) insignia (of religion), some were forced to chase (and kill) game. Those disobeying were put to death (*srog dang phral*). The entrances to lHa

<sup>27</sup> For his various names, see Haarh (1969, pp. 59–60).

<sup>28</sup> In his *gSung rab rin po che'i mdzod*, Bu ston cites an *dBu ma'i dka' dpyad* (sixty *śloka* long) attributed to King dPal Dun brtan unaware that King dPal Dun brtan is the same person as Glang dar ma (Yamaguchi 1996, p. 243). Here Bu ston reads *dka' dpyad* for *bkas bcad* in the titles of the works by Glang dar ma (PT: §XXXI, No. 828) and lHa btsan po (PT: §XXVII, No. 675). Assuming that he did not obtain the editorial license to copy *dka' dpyad* for *bkas bcad*, it may be that he was consulting a different version of the PT *dkar chag* from the one available to us. This is most likely the case, as the term *bkas bcad* is also employed in DK (§XXVIII) for text No. 729 in relation to *btsan po* Khri srong lde btsan.

<sup>29</sup> The assassination of King Dar ma by lHa lung dPal gyi rdo rje has been cast into serious doubt by Yamaguchi (1996).

sa ('Phrul snang) and bSam yas etc. were walled up (*sgo rtsig*). All other minor temples were destroyed. Some books were thrown into the water, some were burned and some were hidden like treasure.

It has been argued that many Tibetan sources have fictionalized the violent opposition to Buddhism during Khri 'U Dum btsan's reign. Karmay (1996) and Richardson (1989) have addressed this issue at some length, while Yamaguchi, offering a compelling argument, has stated that "since he reigned for only one year, the assertion that a 'persecution of Buddhism' was conducted by him becomes virtually untenable" (1960, p. 243). Concerning the heirs to the throne after his death, Richardson (1998, pp. 48–56; pp. 106–13) has argued against Yum brtan in favour of 'Od srung, while Petech (1992) and Yamaguchi (1996) have given a balanced account where each of them ruled different sections of the empire.

If the identification of dBa' btsan po Dun brtan as Khri 'U Dum btsan is indeed correct, the *dKar chag 'Phang thang ka ma* may be dated either during his reign, or most likely during that of King 'Od srung (*circa* 843–881), his heir apparent.<sup>30</sup> It is known that 'Od srung and his mother the btsan mo 'Phan supported the continuation of the cataloguing operation as seen in Pell. T. 999: "In a Mouse year the junior prince (*pho brang*) 'Od srungs and his mother jo mo btsan-mo 'Phan issued from Tun-huang a document confirming an earlier grant by King Sad na legs to the Buddhist clergy" (Petech 1992: p. 651).<sup>31</sup> 'Od srung is said to have died in 'Phangs mda'<sup>32</sup> and was the last king to be entombed in the royal burial grounds in Yar lung valley (Petech 1992, p. 653).

King Dun brtan is the author of a decree (*bkas bcad*) concerning an explanation on Madhyamaka with notes, sixty *śloka* long.

### 3.1. The Introduction and Colophon to the Catalogue

The PT was published by Mi rigs dpe skrun khang (2003) together with a

<sup>30</sup> This is in agreement with Yamaguchi who placed the PT after the reign of King Glang dar ma (1996, p. 243). The dating of the PT will be discussed later (see section 4.6. "Dating" in this paper).

<sup>31</sup> For a translation of Pell. T. 999, see Yamaguchi (1996, pp. 239–40). Petech's translation of *pho brang* as "junior prince," just as the more common translation "palace," require closer scrutiny. Denwood (1990) has argued that there is no actual evidence for the existence of palaces in Tibet during the Royal period while *pho brang* is generally envisaged to be a moving court.

<sup>32</sup> Many sources report that he died in Yar lung 'Phang thang (Sørensen 1994, p. 435, n. 1555).

unique version of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. According to the editor, rTa rdo, the handwritten catalogue—in small, legible cursive letters (*dbu med*)—is kept in the archives of Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. It is 26 folia long plus one embellished frontispiece with a title ornamented below with a lotus flower (*padma*). The published edition consists of a typed version of the catalogue without an index. It is in printed letters (*dbu can*), 67 pages long. A photographic sample of the catalogue (*poṭhi* shape/ink on paper) is included in the printed edition.

In the catalogue's introduction, written by the anonymous author of the colophon and PT copyist, we learn that the source—a paper scroll-manuscript (*shog dril chen po*, hereafter MS) used as the base for the PT we now possess—contained captioned illustrations of prominent Indian Buddhist masters, representing an authoritative lineage of spiritual transmission starting with the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. According to the scribe, all the Buddhist teachers represented were dressed in monastic attire, save that of Maitreya. They are listed in the following order: the triad of Śākyamuni, Ānanda and Nāgārjuna followed in the background by a monk holding a parasol, Maitreya, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Dignāga, Dharmakīrti, Śāntarakṣita, Padmasambhava, Vimalamitra, Kamalaśīla, Hāshang Mahāyāna, the seven Buddhas (with Hāshang Mahāyāna situated next to Śākyamuni), Shantigarbha, Buddhaguhya, Śāntideva, and Candrakīrti. The scribe further writes that in a Dog year the *btsan po* Ral pa can was residing in the Eastern Yar lung court 'Phang thang ka med when the monk (*ban dhe*) dPal brtsegs, the monk Chos kyi snying po, the translator-monk De ben dra, and the monk lHun po among others, participated in revising all that was contained in the former catalogues.

The catalogue's colophon enumerates other list of captioned illustrations displayed in the MS. It starts with a list of renown Indian scholars and Tibetan translators of Buddhist texts: Indian *paṇḍita* Surendrabodhi, translator Cog ku (-ro) Klu'i rgyal mtshan, Indian *paṇḍita* Jinamitra, translator sKa ba dPal brtsegs, Indian *paṇḍita* Mu ni Va rma, and translator/editor Ye shes sde.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The *sDe dge bka' 'gyur dkar chag* (34) and contemporary scholars like Dung dkar (1997, p. 338; 2004, p. 10) and Tashi Tsering (1983, 1a) provide an alternate list of PT editors: dPal brtsegs, Rakṣita, Chos kyi snying po, De va nadra (lHa'i dBang po) and dPal gyi lHun po (exegetical parenthesis in Dung dkar). Tshul khrims skal bzang Khang dkar (1985, p. 94) quotes the *Sa bcu'i rnam bshad* to argue against the widespread belief that the Major Revision translators Ye shes sde and dPal brtsegs could have collaborated with each other; see also Martin 2002. For a list of Tibetan sources on *snga dar* translator-scholar teams: see Skilling 1997a, p. 87, n. 2; 1997b, pp. 111–76. There is no consensus to their dating.

The colophon proceeds with a list of Tibetan kings who, according to tradition, supported the spread of Buddhism in Tibet: King lHa tho de snyan btsan, King Srong btsan sgam po, King Khri srong lde btsan, King Khri lde srong btsan, and King Khri gtsug lde btsan. The scribe's assertion that the depictions of these early Tibetan monarchs in the MS were portrayed in monks' attire is troubling and it will be discussed later (see section 4.6. "Dating").

### 3.2. Translation of the Title and Colophon

The title of the PT reads: A Principle Catalogue of Sūtras and Śāstras from the former Yar lung 'Phang thang ka med, compiled by Dharmarāja, the translators and scholars-(*sNgon dus yar lungs 'phang thang ka med na bzhugs pa 'i bka' bstan mdo phyogs gtso ba 'i dkar chag chos rgyal lo paṅ rnam kyis bsgrigs pa*).

The first section to the colophon reproduces the captions of key historical figures of the *snga dar* epoch which were illustrated in the MS. The second section of the colophon contains two notes. The first testifies that the MS contained captioned illustrations of five earlier kings in monastic attire, one of which was without an inscription. The second note is a list of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma-piṭaka sevenfold division by title and alleged authorship.

#### Colophon:

dBa' Ye shes dbang po,<sup>34</sup> the Buddhist translator and incarnate Bodhisattva;  
 'Ba' (dBa') Khri bzher Sang shi ta,<sup>35</sup> the incarnation of Bodhisattva  
 rTa skad can,<sup>36</sup> sBrang rgya ra legs gzigs;<sup>37</sup>

<sup>34</sup> He is also known by his layman name gSal snang, the alleged author of the *dBa' bzhed*. dBa' Ye shes dbang po was instrumental in inviting Śāntarakṣita (*alias* Ācārya Bodhisattva) to Tibet and is noted as one of his main disciples (Karmay 1988, p. 78). After the latter's death, he was appointed the first Tibetan abbot of bSam yas by Khri Srong lde btsan (*ibid.*, p. 3). Bu ston: Szerb (140a<sup>3</sup>, 140b<sup>1</sup>, 141b<sup>2</sup>, 142a<sup>6</sup>, 145a<sup>1</sup>, 157b<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>35</sup> The sources are not clear whether he was Tibetan or Chinese. Tucci (1958, p. 12) considers the Tibetan sBa Khri bZher to be a different person from the Chinese Sang shi who introduced several Buddhist books from China despite some historical sources that conflate the two. Bu ston: Szerb (141b<sup>3</sup>, 145a<sup>1</sup>, 157b<sup>2</sup>).

<sup>36</sup> rTa skad can literally mean "possessing a horse's neigh" and it is probably referring to Aśvaghōṣa, see Bu ston: Szerb (140b<sup>5</sup>, n. 4). A *sūtra* in the PT bears the same title: '*Phags pa rTa skad byang chub sems dpa' i mdo* (§XXIXd, No. 718).

<sup>37</sup> In the *dBa' bzhed* (7b; 44), sBrang rgya ra legs gzigs is addressed as *Zhang blon chen po*, and configures in the narrative as one of three ministers under the orders of King Khri srong

Ngan lam rgyal ba mchog dbyangs,<sup>38</sup> the first fully-ordained monk;<sup>39</sup>

dPa' khor Be ro tsa na;<sup>40</sup>

sNubs Nam mkha'i snying po;<sup>41</sup>

King lHa tho de snyan btsan, the emanation of Buddha Kāśyapa, who enjoyed two births in one lifetime<sup>42</sup> and during whose time the sacred Dharma was received;

lde btsan sent on a divination/appraisal mission to Ra sa vihāra to investigate the interference of “black magic and evil spirits” in the border regions of lHo bal. For this mission to lHo bal, see also Bu ston: Szerb (140b<sup>1</sup>). According to the translators of the *dBa' bzhed* (44, n. 99), “the Dunhuang Chronicle and the *lDe'u chos 'byung* mention that he was one of the seven great ministers of the empire. The title *Zhang blon chen po* seems to be used with ‘a general honorific significance and not to identify him as a member of the uncle-minister clans.’” For a relevant discussion of the Tibetan kinship term *zhang* as it applied to the maternal relatives of the Tibetan royal line, see Dotson (2004).

<sup>38</sup> Ngan lam rgyal ba mchog dbyangs, disciple of the eminent Bengali scholar Śāntarakṣita, was present during the funeral rituals of King Khri srong lde btsan reciting the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra* along with sNubs Nam mkha'i snying po and Vairocana who was presiding as the master of mantra (*dBa' bzhed*, f. 31a; 104). He is mentioned elsewhere to come from the Ngan lam clan and to have been ordained as one of the seven monks (*sad mi*), and in a Dunhuang document he is listed in the religious lineages of bSam yas and 'Phrul snang (*dBa' bzhed*, 104, n. 425). Bu ston: Szerb (141b<sup>3</sup>, 149a<sup>2-3</sup>, 157b<sup>1</sup>).

<sup>39</sup> There are disagreements about who was the first monk ordained in Tibet, but there is a general consensus that he belonged to the dBa' clan (*dBa' bzhed*, 63, n. 202). Most Tibetan chroniclers consider dBa' Ye shes dbang po to have been the first ordained monk (Uebach 1990, p. 411).

<sup>40</sup> The renown translator Vairocana from the ancient Pa gor clan is said to have been one of the first seven Tibetans to be ordained as a monk by Śāntarakṣita (Zhi ba 'tsho). Later, in the rNying ma histories, he figures as one of the 25 main disciples of Padmasambhava. In the Bon tradition, he is presented as an eclectic figure upholding both Buddhist and Bon faiths (Karmay 1988, pp. 17–37; *dBa' bzhed*, 70, n. 238). Bu ston: Szerb (141b<sup>1</sup>, 157b<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>41</sup> sNubs Nam mkha'i snying po (*alias* Rin chen grags) is mentioned as the co-author of the DK and is listed as one of the main disciples of Padmasambhava, who took vows from Śāntarakṣita and went to India to collect teachings. Bu ston: Szerb (157b<sup>6</sup>). The *Nyang chos 'byung* (310–317) provides an extensive biography.

<sup>42</sup> Tibetan historical references on King lHa tho de snyan btsan (= lHa to do snya brtsan; lHa to tho ri; Tho tho ri; lHa tho tho ri gnyan btsan, etc) are invariably suggestive of a memorable (c. third-fourth century) early Tibetan encounter with a Buddhist mission probably from Central Asia (Puri 1987, p. 147, n. 181). King lHa tho tho ri was said to have been at the age of 60 when, residing at the court of Yum bu bla sgang, he received from the sky a casket which opened containing the *Karaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (*Za ma tog bkod pa*), the *sPang skong phyag brgya pa*, and a golden stupa-*lHa tho thor ri gNyan btsan byon pa'i tshe/dgung lo drug cu thub pa na/pho brang Yum bu bla sgang gi rtse na bzhugs pa na/nam mkha' nas za ma tog cig babs*

King Srong btsan sgam po, the son of gods and emanation of Ārya Avalokiteśvara who introduced Buddhist customs to Tibet;<sup>43</sup>

King Khri srong lde btsan, the emanation of Ārya Mañjuśrī under whose auspices the Buddhist teachings were widely translated in Tibet;

King Khri lde srong btsan, the son of gods, who forged a treaty among China, Tibet and Hor,<sup>44</sup> and established a legal code based on the Buddhist doctrine;<sup>45</sup>

The emanation of Glorious Vajrapāṇi was prophesied by Śākya-muni in the *Ārya-Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka-sūtra*:<sup>46</sup> “Ānanda do not despair, there will be born a householder named Ral pa can in the town of rDo ’jog<sup>47</sup> and my doctrine will be propagated by him”–

*babs pa kha phye bas/Za ma tog bkod pa/sPang skong phyag brgya pa/gser gyi mchod rten zhid byung ste*; Bu ston: Szerb (137b<sup>5</sup>). The power of the blessings of these objects, like long-life rituals, caused his gradual rejuvenation—he was born again so to speak, and lived to an advanced age (*The Chronicles of Ladakh*, 81; *dPyid kyi rgyal mo’i glu dbyangs*, 15; *Yar lung chos ’byung*, 48; *bDud ’joms chos ’byung* 122; *dBa’ bzhed*, 25). The miraculous Buddhist conversion of this Tibetan king is complemented by several accounts of an ‘esoteric conversion’ where he is portrayed as an emanation of the self-enlightened Buddha Samantabhadra (Haarh 1969, p. 83), the archetypal Buddha of the Bon and rNying ma traditions. The *Yar lung chos ’byung* (48) refers to him as an emanation (*sprul pa*) of Vajrapāṇi. The scribe’s reference to King lHa tho snyan btsan as an emanation of Buddha Kāśyapa is unusual.

<sup>43</sup> The Tibetan reads *srol ’dod* where it should probably read *srol btod*, to introduce a tradition, a custom.

<sup>44</sup> The use of Hor probably refers to the Uighurs to the north of the Tibetan plateau. Based on the 816 C.E. IDan ma brag rtsa inscription, this event corresponds to the negotiations for peace with China that commenced in 810 C.E. (during the reign of Khri lde srong btsan) and culminated in the well-known 821/823 C.E. peace treaty between the Chinese Emperor Mu tsung and King Khri gtsug lde btsan (Richardson 1998, pp. 276–9).

<sup>45</sup> The *mKhas pa’i dga’ ston* (184–5) and the *dBa’ bzhed* (28) give similar accounts. As noted by the translators of the *dBa’ bzhed* (28–29, n. 32), despite the legendary character of this claim, “it points to a decisive transition in Tibetan history: the qualitative difference between kingdoms based on orally transmitted rules with arbitrary decision-making by the ruler and the stability of a kingdom based on written laws and well-established political structure.” For an assessment of legal codes during the reign of Srong btsan sgam po: see Uray 1972.

<sup>46</sup> The *Phags pa sNying rje pad ma dkar po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo* (*Ārya-Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka Mahāyānasūtra*) is located in Peking: No. 780 (cu149a<sup>5</sup>–337a<sup>8</sup>); colophon: Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Prajñāvarman, and Ye shes sde; sDe dge No. 112 (cha 297a<sup>7</sup>–297a<sup>7</sup>); PT: (§IV, No. 39); DK: (§V, No. 101).

<sup>47</sup> In Chandra Das’ dictionary, rDo ’jog refers to Taxila, the ancient capital of the Punjab when Alexander the Great invaded that region. The prophesy makes it sound as if rDo ’jog is a place in Tibet.

Khri gtsug lde btsan Ral pa can, the son of gods, during whose reign in Tibet the translation of the previously incomplete sacred Dharma was fixed by means of the Major Revision;  
 Surendrabodhi, the most erudite Indian *paṇḍita*;  
 Cog ku<sup>48</sup> Klu'i rgyal mtshan, the chief translator of the definitive meaning;  
 Jinamitra, the most erudite Indian *paṇḍita*;  
 sKa ba dPal brtsegs, the chief translator of terminology;  
 Mu ni Va rma, the Indian *paṇḍita*;  
 Ye shes sde, the chief editor and translator.<sup>49</sup>

In the lower part of the original scroll-manuscript, all of these (persons listed above) were illustrated with captions. The illustrations, even the five kings, appeared as monks though one was without a caption. This catalogue is an accurate copy of the original scroll-manuscript and you should have complete confidence in it.

<sup>48</sup> A more usual spelling of his clan name is Cog ro.

<sup>49</sup> These famous Tibetan translators-cum-authors and Indian scholars listed in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka were active during the reign of King Khri lde srong btsan and some continued with their activities during his son's rule. dPal brtsegs, known in many sources as the co-author of all three imperial catalogues, is attributed authorship of a Madhyamaka text, the *lTa ba'i rim pa bshad pa* and the *gSung rab rin po che'i gtam rgyud*, among others (Tucci 1958, pp. 447–51). He also collaborated with the Indian preceptor Vidyākara-prabha in the translation of the *Vimuttimaggā* from Pāli into Tibetan (Skilling 1993, pp. 135–40). Klu'i rgyal mtshan is mentioned in relation to a search party composed of Vimalamitra and sKa ba dPal brtsegs looking for *rdzogs chen* manuscripts (Blezer 1997, pp. 87–88). An extant treatise on Grub mtha', the *lTa ba'i khyad par*, is ascribed to the prolific translator Ye shes sde (Jñānasena), usually known as Zhang sNa nam Ye shes sde, i.e., belonging to the family of sNa nam (Karmay 1988, pp. 28–29, 149; Ruegg 1981). He was also active during the time of King Ral pa can and along with sKa ba dPal brtsegs and Cog ro Klu'i rgyal mtshan are referred to as the *Ka Cog Zhang gsum* (dBa' bzhed, 96, n. 380). The Indian scholar Surendrabodhi (lHa'i dbang po byang chub), for whom we know very little, was a leading figure for a number of works preserved in the bKa' gyur (Skilling 1997, pp. 132–3). See also Bu ston: Szerb (145a<sup>2</sup>, 156b<sup>5</sup>). The Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Jinamitra (rGyal ba'i bshes gnyen), an essential figure in the transmission of the Vinaya in Tibet, participated in the compilation of the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* and many works and with great acknowledgement the tradition recognizes him along with *paṇḍita* Dānaśīla and Zhang Ye shes sde as the *drin can lo paṅ gsum* (three kind translators and scholars). These three were also assigned with the translation of the *Āryāvikalpapraveśanāmadhāraṇī* ('Phags pa rNam par mi rtog par 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i gzungs), which played an important role in the spread of Buddhism in Central Asia to Tibet (Meinert 2003). For corresponding works, see *rNam par mi rtog par 'jug pa* (PT: §V, No. 194; DK: §VI, No. 197); *rNam par mi rtog par 'jug pa'i 'grel ba* (PT: §XIX, No. 503; DK: §XX, No. 552).

Seven Sections to the Abhidharma are quoted:<sup>50</sup>

1. The *Dharmaskandha* by Śāriputra
2. The *Prajñaptiśāstra* by Maudgalyāyana
3. The *Dhātukāya* by Pūrṇa
4. The *Vijñānakāya* by Devakṣema
5. The *Jñānaprasthāna* by Kātyāyana
6. The *Prakaraṇapāda* by Vasumitra
7. The *Samgītiparyāya* by Mahākauṣṭhila

May the teachings of the Buddha spread and remain for a long time.  
May there be auspiciousness.

### 3.3. Transcription of the Colophon

*chos sgyur mkhan byang chub sems dpa'i sprul pa dpa' ye shes dbang po/byang chub sems dpa' rta skad can gyi sprul pa 'ba' [dba'] khri bzher sang shi ta/sbrang rgya ra legs gzigs/dge slong la snga ba ngan lam rgyal ba mchog dbyangs/dpa' khor bé ro tsa na/snubs nam mkha'i snying po/sangs rgyas 'od srungs kyi sprul pa dam pa 'i chos kyi dbu brnyes pa 'i rgyal po tshes gcig la skye ba gnyis bzhes pa 'i lha tho de snyan btsan/'phags pa spyen ras gzigs dbang phyug gi sprul pa bod kyi chos kyi srol 'dod pa 'i rgyal po lha sras srong btsan sgam po/'phags pa 'jam dpal dbyangs kyi sprul pa bod yul du chos rgyas par sgyur mkhan 'phrul gyi rgyal po khri srong lde btsan/rgya bod hor gsum dang mjal sdums/(nyer bdun byon)/byas nas bod yul du chos khrims 'cha' mkhan lha sras khri lde srong btsan/dpal phyag na rdo rje 'i sprul pa mdo snying rje pad ma dkar po 'i nang du grong khyer rdo 'jog ces bya bar khyim bdag ral ba can zhes bya ba 'byung/des kyang nga 'i bstan pa rgyas par byed kyis/kun dga' bo mya ngan ma byed cig ces bcom ldan 'das kyis lung bstan yod pa/bod yul du dam pa 'i chos sgyur 'phro bsgyur nas zhu chen skad gсар bcad gyis gtan la phab pa 'i lha sras khri gtsug lde btsan ral ba can/rgya gar gyi mkhas pa chen po paṇḍi ta su ren dra bo dhi/don sgyur gyi lo tsha ba chen po cog ku klu 'i rgyal mtshan/rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta mkhas*

<sup>50</sup> Skilling questions whether the Sūtraṭīka and the rest of the Abhidharmaṭīka were ever translated into Tibetan (1997, p. 96). The odd inclusion of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma divisions in the colophon may imply that they were only extant (if translated at all) as a list at the time of the scribe. According to Poussin (1991, p. 17), these seven works survive in Chinese translation with the *Dharmaskandha* attributed to Maudgalyāyana, the *Dhātukāya* to Vasumitra, and the *Samgītiparyāya* to Śāriputra. For a discussion of the Abhidharmaṭīka divisions (Theravādin/Sarvāstivādin), see Poussin 1991, pp. xlvii–xlvi; pp. 17–28, and Gethin 2001; 1998, pp. 202–23.

*pa chen po 'dzi na mi tra/sgra sgyur gyi lo tsha ba chen po ska ba dpal brt-segs/rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta mu ni wa rma/zhu chen gyi lo tsha ba chen po ban dhe ye shes sde/de rnams ni shog dril chen po 'i smad na sku gzugs bris pa rnams kyi kha yig yin/sku de rnams la 'ang btsan po 'i sku lnga/kha yig med pa 'i sku gcig ma gtogs pa rnams rab tu byung ba 'i sku gzugs su snang//dkar chag 'di ni sngon gyi shog dril chen po na 'dug pa ji lta ba bzhin du bris pas shin tu yid ches pa lags so///chos mngon pa sde bdun ni/chos kyi phung po shā ri 'i bus//gdags pa 'i bstan bcos mo dgal bus//khams kyi tshogs ni gang pos byas//rnam shes tshogs ni lha skyid kyis//ye shes la 'jug ka ta 'i bus//rab tu byed pa dbyig bshes kyis//yang dag bgro ba 'i rnam grangs ni//bsus po che yis byas ces grags//ces so//thub pa 'i bstan pa rgyas shing yun ring du gnas par gyur cig/dge legs su gyur cig/*

#### 4. Observations on Taxonomy and Other Considerations

Note: references to text numbers and divisions in the DK correspond to Lalou's index (1953), while references to divisions in the PT correspond to TABLE ONE with individual texts numbered as they appear in sequence in the catalogue. For an alternative divisional distribution of texts, see the complete index to the PT in Kawagoe 2005b.<sup>51</sup>

A detailed discussion of the diverse Buddhist literature contained in the PT exceeds the scope of this article. Nonetheless, it may be useful to share some insights on the structure and contents of the PT and offer, as needed, a comparison with the DK. The PT contains 960 titles distributed across thirty-two main divisions while the DK has 737 titles across twenty-seven main divisions. The catalogues share with each other twenty divisional headings and follow, for the most part, the same principles of organization. The titles are sorted along established classificational schemes of Indian Buddhism, i.e., vehicle, baskets, doctrine, etc. They are also arranged by size, the largest unit being a *bam po* and the smallest a *śloka*.<sup>52</sup> The bulk of the translations in both catalogues is predominantly that of Mahāyāna texts (*mdo/rgyud*) divided into *bKa'* (Buddha's sermons) and *bsTan bcos* (commentaries). The terms *bstan bcos*, *'grel ba*, and *ṭīkā* indicate that these texts belong to the genre of commentarial literature.

<sup>51</sup> Kawagoe identifies 959 texts in the PT not counting what appears to be a text by the title *bZod pa 'i phan yon* that is not part of the divisional heading 27-3: see Kawagoe, p. 35. Counting the *bZod pa 'i phan yon* I identify 960 texts in the PT.

<sup>52</sup> According to Dung dkar (1997, p. 338), each *bam po* contains 300 *śloka* (*sho lo ka*) and each *śloka* is subdivided into eight syllables (*tsheg bar brgyad*). For a detailed discussion on these measurements: see *Lo paṇ bka 'i thang* (357–8); Scherrer-Schaub 1992, pp. 218–20.

## 4.1. Sūtras, Śāstras &amp; Dhāraṇī

The Mahāyāna sūtras (*mdo*) in the PT are divisible into: *Prajñāpāramitā* (§I), *Avatamsaka* (§II), *Ratnakūṭa* (§III), size (§IV, §V, §VI), vehicle (§VIII), and Chinese origin (§VII). The corresponding DK *Ratnakūṭa* division (§III) lists forty-eight works, most of which can be found distributed across PT divisions (§IV, §V) and subdivision (§XXVIIIa)-four texts listed in the subdivision shows that the PT editors felt that they were not properly revised. Out of more than 300 sūtras *in toto*, fewer than fifty are singled out as translations from Chinese and there is a noticeable decline in their number as compared with earlier listings in the DK. In both catalogues, we find the *Vajrasamādhisūtra* (*rDo rje ting nge'i 'dzin*) and the *Śūraṅgamasūtra* (*dPa' bar 'gro ba'i mdo*) evidencing the reception of Chan lineages in Tibet.<sup>53</sup> DK (§IX) lists ten sūtras translated from Chinese not found in a corresponding PT division, whereas all the sūtras translated from Chinese listed in PT (§VII) can be found in the DK. Among them we find, the *Sūtra of the Wise and Foolish* (*mDzangs blun*), the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* (*Mya ngan las 'das pa chen po*), and the *Sūtra of the Sacred Golden Light* (*gSer 'od dam pa rgya*). All the titles listed in the *Sūtra-commentaries translated from Chinese* (PT: §XX) are located in corresponding DK division (§XXI).

The largest division in the PT is the *Mahāsūtras* (in size) (§IV) with 130 titles and thirteen subdivisions according to length containing works such as, the *Ratnaketu* (*Rin po che tog*; No. 51), the *Ratnamegha* (*dKon mchog sprin*; No. 52), the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama* (*De bzhin gshegs pa mi 'khrugs pa'i zhing gi bkod pa*; No. 68), the *Karandavyūha* (*Za ma tog bkod pa*, No. 75), the *Ghanavyūha* (*Stug po bkod pa*; No. 78), the *Amitābhavyūha* (*'Od dpag med gi bkod pa*; No. 89), and the *Tathāgatagarbha* (*De bzin gshegs pa'i snying po*, No. 144). Sūtras less than one *bam po* in length are listed in (§V) where we find the *Instructions to the King* (*rGyal po la gdams pa*, No. 186), the *Sukhāvativyūha* (*bDe ba can gyi bkod pa*, No. 188) and the *Bhavasamkrānti* (*Srid pa 'pho ba*, No. 204), a sūtra in Sanskrit, now lost, dealing with the passage from this existence to the next.<sup>54</sup> The *Small Prajñāpāramitā* (§VI) contains works ranging from fifty to ten *śloka*, while the *Small Sūtras* (§XI)

<sup>53</sup> *rDo rje ting nge'i 'dzin* (PT: §VII, No. 233; DK: §IX, No. 254); *dPa' bar 'gro ba'i mdo* {PT: §IV, No. 72; DK: §V, No. 111; Peking: No.0800, mDo sna tshogs (thu 276a<sup>4</sup>-344a<sup>5</sup>) sDe dge: No. 0132, mDo sde (da 316b<sup>6</sup>-316b<sup>6</sup>)}. For a discussion on the impact of Chan lineages in Tibet, see Tanaka & Robertson 1992; Kapstein 2000, pp. 75-78.

<sup>54</sup> Peking: No. 0892, mDo sna tshogs (tshu 185a<sup>3</sup>-187a<sup>1</sup>); sDe dge: No. 0226, mDo sde (dza 177a<sup>3</sup>-177a<sup>3</sup>); DK: §VII, No. 224.

includes texts from two *bam po*. In the latter division, we find the *Dharma-skandha* (*Chos kyi phung po*, No. 272), the *Ārya-maitrī-vyākaraṇa* ('*Phags pa Byams pa lung bstan pa*, No. 273), the *Anityatā-sūtra* (*Mi rtag pa nyid kyi mdo*, No. 296), and the *Candra-sūtra* (*Zla ba mdo*, No. 297). A total of ten texts are listed in the *Class of Mahāsūtras* (PT: §IX), eight of which are preserved in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka and in the corresponding DK (§VIII). The division *Commentaries on miscellaneous sūtras* (PT: §XIX) contains forty-six titles, thirty-nine of which can be found distributed across corresponding DK divisions (§XX, §XVI, §XXIV, §XXV) with Nos. 481, 499, 500, 501, 502, 512, and 513 not included in the DK. This PT division features works such as, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (*mNgon par rtogs pa'i rgyan rgya cher 'grel*) (No. 473); the *Daśabhūmi* (*Sa bcu rnam pa bshad pa*) and its commentary (Nos. 476, 477); the *Vajracchedikā* (*rDo rje gcod pa rgya cher 'grel pa*) by Kamalaśīla (No. 475); and the *Samdhinirmocana* (*dGongs pa nges par 'grel ba*) by Asaṅga (No. 480).

The majority of DK Hīnayāna *sūtras* (§X) can be traced in the PT, while all the *sūtras* listed in PT (§VIII) are found in corresponding DK (§X) with one exception—the *Ārya-Brahmajāla* ('*Phags pa Tshangs pa'i dra ba*; No. 248) which the DK editors placed as a *sūtra* translated from Chinese in (No. 261). It is striking that twenty-four titles listed by the DK editors as Hīnayāna *sūtras* (§X) are relocated by the PT editors to divisions (§XI, §VI, §XXIXd) and not under Hīnayāna *sūtras* (PT: §VIII) as it would have been expected.<sup>55</sup> All of the Hīnayāna *śāstras*, including *Abhidharmakośa* texts, are listed in both catalogues (DK: §XXVI; PT: §XXIII).

The PT classifies 152 *dhāraṇī* according to size (*che phra*) (§XIII, §XV), kind (*gzungs chen po/sna tshogs/gzungs sngags kyi snying po*) (§XIV, §XV, §XVI), and as genera (*gzungs*) (§XXX). There is a noticeable increase in *dhāraṇī* as compared with the DK which lists 108. The majority of the *dhāraṇī* enumerated in corresponding DK division (§XII) can be found distributed across PT divisions (§XIII, §XV, §XVI, §XXXII). In PT (§XV), we discover an assortment of *dhāraṇī* related to: Avalokiteśvara (Nos. 322, 349, 364, 409) and his *vidyā mantra* (No. 401), Vajragarbha (No. 323), Meghala (No. 325), Samantabhadra (No. 348), Vajrapāṇi (Nos. 354, 371, 378), Vajrabhairava (No. 374), Mañjuśrī (No. 370), the White Canopy Uṣṇīṣa (No. 332), Amitāyus (Nos. 334, 365), the seven Buddhas (No. 330), the eight goddesses (No. 360), the seven zombies (*ro langs*) (No. 339), the black goddess (No. 388), the *Sūtra*

<sup>55</sup> DK: §X, Nos. 278, 279, 282, 284, 285, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306 & 308.

of *Entering the City of Vaishali* (No. 329), the *Stainless Sūtra* (No. 337), the *Tathāgatagarbha* (No. 368), *vidyā mantras* for kings and queens (Nos. 327, 328, 333, 393), requests from the King of Nāgas (No. 391), making offerings (No. 396), overcoming savages (*mi rgod*) (No. 395), purifying karmic obstructions (No. 382), increasing wealth (No. 384) and intelligence (No. 407), bearing many children (No. 390), liberating oneself from the eight great fears (No. 386), and lastly, for curing illnesses (Nos. 389, 405), soothing hemorrhoids (No. 387), eye diseases (No. 404), and smallpox (No. 380). Most *dhāraṇī* are of Indian origin with five *dhāraṇī* designated as translations from Chinese, and one *sūtra* with its related *dhāraṇī* from China and Khotan (PT: §XXX, Nos. 733, 734). Among the Indian teachers of *dhāraṇī* listed in PT (§XXX) we meet Vasubandhu (Nos. 737, 748, 751), Āryadeva (No. 741), Śāntarakṣita (No. 742), Kamalaśīla (Nos. 743, 754), Nyi ma 'od (No. 745), Kalyāṇavarman (No. 746), Ye shes snying po (Jñanagarbha)<sup>56</sup> (No. 747), rTa dbyang (No. 752), and mTho btsun grub rje khyad pa<sup>57</sup> (Nos. 755, 756).

#### 4.2. Tibetan Authors

All the works listed in the *Compositions of King Khri srong lde btsan* (DK: §XXVII) are included in (PT: §XXVII). PT divisions (§XXVII) and (§XXXI) contain a total of 126 texts of Tibetan authorship as compared to seven listed in the DK. Of them only eighteen are assigned to a specific Tibetan author. Among them, we find an extant work<sup>58</sup> attributed to King Khri srong lde btsan, the *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma* (§XXVII, No. 666), which must have enjoyed steady popularity in its time to generate a long commentary (§XXXI, No. 845), two summaries (§XXXI, Nos. 769, 814) and one outline (§XXXI, No. 847). Of interest is a general presentation of Buddhism in four sets of objections and replies by the translators dPal brtsegs and Klu'i rgyal mtshan (§XXXI, No. 827) and a work by Vairocanarakṣita on the characteristics and attributes of Buddha Amitābha (§XXXI, No. 879). Likewise, a short text, the *Dge 'dun la btsan pos sems nyam smas pa*, is noted as it relates to the king's addressing the *saṅgha* (§XXXI, No. 874). An early text, perhaps of the rNying ma Khyung cycle, is the *Khyung gong dang dge 'dun gyi gal* (§XXXI, No. 872). The *Theg pa chen po gcig car 'jug pa* (§XXXI, No. 837) is clearly

<sup>56</sup> Bu ston: Szerb (141b<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>57</sup> Sørensen (1994, p. 67, n. 112).

<sup>58</sup> Peking: No. 5839, Ngo mtshar bstan bcos (ngo 64a<sup>4</sup>–103b<sup>6</sup>); sDe dge: No.4352, sNa tshogs (co 203b<sup>7</sup>–203b<sup>7</sup>); DK: §XXVII, No.723. For a discussion of this text: see Kapstein 2000, p. 45; Tucci 1958, pp. 432–35.

a work of the Simultaneist (*cig car ba*) tradition as propounded by the Chinese monk Hāshang Mahāyāna. Unfortunately, most of these early scriptures by Tibetan authors are not preserved in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka.

Early Tibetan Buddhist literature comes to us generally in the form of commentaries (*'grel pa/ṭikā*), explanations (*bshad pa*), praises (*bstod pa*), supplications (*smon lam*), epistles (*dris lan*), and summaries (*brjed byang*). It is extensive in range and covers many seminal topics of Mahāyāna theory and practice including works on: *Yogācāra-Madhyamaka* (§XXXI, No. 822), *Madhyamaka* (§XXXI, Nos. 768, 785, 786, 826, 829, 840; §XXVII, No. 668), *Prajñāpāramitā* (§XXXI, Nos. 774, 782, 783), *Yogācārabhūmi* (§XXXI, Nos. 801, 844), *Samdhinirmocana* (§XXXI, Nos. 779, 780), *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (§XXXI, No. 784), *Madhyāntavibhaṅga* (§XXXI, No. 795), *Karmasiddha* (§XXXI, No. 794), *Vajracchedikā* (§XXXI, No. 771), *Yuktiśaṭṭikā* (§XXXI, Nos. 787, 788, 789), *Pratīyasamutpāda* (§XXXI, Nos. 790, 791), *Bodhisattvaśīla* (§XXXI, No. 799), *Śīla* (§XXXI, No. 801); *Prajñāhṛdaya* (§XXXI, No. 783), *Buddhabhūmi* (§XXXI, No. 777), *Nāyabindhu* (§XXXI, Nos. 806, 807), *Prātimokṣa* (§XXXI, Nos. 809, 810, 811, 813), Two truths (§XXXI, No. 865), Ten *bhūmis* (§XXXI, No. 776), *Dhyāna* (§XXXI, Nos. 805, 838; §XXVII, No. 675), *Pañcaskandha* (§XXXI, Nos. 796, 797), *Samvaraviṃśaka* (§XXXI, No. 803), *Samatha* and *Vipassana* (§XXXI, No. 866), *Prāṇidhāna* (§XXXI, Nos. 781, 878, 880, 881), *Stotras* to the Three Jewels, Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī, *stūpas*, etc., (§XXXI, Nos. 808, 882, 883, 884; §XXVII, Nos. 670, 671, 672, 673), *Pramāṇa* (§XXXI, No. 847), *Siddhānta* (§XXXI, No. 846; §XXVII, No. 666). Among them we also find the *Madhyavyutpatti* (§XXXI, No. 875), a key text in the revision movement, and two works likely related to the codification of religious terminology, a *Chos skad gtan la dbab pa* (§XXXI, No. 876), and Klu'i rgyal mtshan's *Chos gtan la dbab pa'i mdo* (§XXXI, No. 871) composed in great earnest.

#### 4.3. Tantric Texts

The *Three Doors of Tantra* (§XXXII) is a unique PT division that has no corresponding divisional heading in the DK. It includes seven works found in DK (§XII). Amid its seventy-five titles, we find a number of *sādhana*s (*sgrub thabs*) dedicated to the deities Vajrapāṇi (No. 919), Vajradharma and Padmapāṇi (No. 911), Vairocana (No. 918), Mañjuśrī (Nos. 910, 921), Amitāyus (No. 916), Amṛitakuṇḍalī (No. 922), Haygrīva (No. 924), Vajrasattva (No. 914), and Avalokiteśvara (No. 920). There are also works

on offerings (*mchod pa*) to Maitreya (No. 957), Mañjuśrī (No. 956), and the three Buddha families (No. 955). Buddhaguhyā, the renown Ācārya of Nalanda, figures prominently in the catalogue where we find his *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-tantrapiṇḍārtha* (No. 898) translated by dPal brtsegs and Śilendrabodhi, a work on essence-extraction (*rasāyāna*) by him (No. 951), and long and short *sādhana*s to his *Tantrārthāvatāra* (No. 909).

Other works listed in this division include: the *Vidyottama-tantra* (*Rig pa mchog gi rgyud*, No. 900); the *Guhya-tantra* (*gSang ba'i rgyud*, No. 903); a commentary to the first part of Śāntarakṣita's *Tattvasaṃgraha* (No. 886); Śākyamitra's *Kosalālamkāratattvasaṃgrahaṭīkā* (*De nyid bsdus pa'i tīkā ko sa la'i rgyan*, No. 887); the *Tattvasaṃgraha-uttara-tantra* and its explanation (No. 885); a summary of the *Dhyānottara-tantra* (*bSam gtan phyi ma'i brjed byang*, No. 899); the *Susiddhi-tantra* (No. 902) with a collection of *sādhana*s (No. 926); the *Phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud* (No. 895) with commentary; the *Tantra Requested by Subāhu* (*dPung bzangs kyis zhus pa'i rgyud*, No. 905); the *Trailokyavijaya-tantra* (*'Jig rten gsum las rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud*, No. 888) with its commentary (No. 889); and a rNying ma tantra<sup>59</sup> of the Mahāyoga class, the *gNod sbyin gar mkhan mchog gi rgyud* (No. 904).

Six Vairocana texts in the catalogue are noted as they support a wealth of iconographic evidence for the prominence of the Vairocana cult in imperial Tibet.<sup>60</sup> The textual evidence suggests that Vairocana tantras were among the official ones taught in imperial temples (1, 2), elucidated (3, 4, 5), and most likely taken on as practice (6) among the nobility and clergy in the imperial court:

(1) *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-tantra*  
*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud* <7<sup>1/2</sup>  
*bam po*> (§XII, No. 299)

(2) *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-uttaratāntra*  
*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud phyi ma*  
 <1 *bam po*> (§XII, No. 300)

<sup>59</sup> *rNying ma rgyud 'bum* (mTshams brag: Tb. 548, vol. 29 (ha), Text 34).

<sup>60</sup> Heller 1994, 1997; Richardson 1998, pp. 177–81; Kapstein 2000, pp. 60–65. Buddhaguhyā's *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-tantrapiṇḍārtha* and the *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sādhana* are also listed in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka: Peking: No. 3486, rGyud 'grel (ngu1-76b<sup>7</sup>); Peking: No. 5120, rGyud 'grel (lu 153b<sup>1</sup>–153b<sup>6</sup>). There is also a \**Vairochanaprasaṃsā* composed by an anonymous Tibetan author (PT: §XXVII, No. 670).

- (3) *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-tantra-aviparyāsa*  
*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud phyin ci*  
*ma log par bshad pa <1 bam po> (§XXXII, No. 897)*
- (4) *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-tantra-vṛtti*  
*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud kyi stod*  
*'grel <1 bam po> (§XXXII, No. 898)*
- (5) *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-tantrapiṇḍārtha*  
*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud kyi bsdsu*  
*pa'i don <1 bam po> (§XIX, No. 501)*
- (6) Short and long *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhi-sādhana*  
*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i sgrub thabs*  
*che chung gnyis <length not specified> (§XXXII, No. 918)*

The *gTsong lag khang brtsigs pa'i cho ga* (§XXXII, No. 952) reveals that tantric rituals were performed during the construction of Buddhist temples. Other texts in the Tantra (*rgyud*) section include: *bali* rituals (No. 929); *homa* rituals (No. 934); vase rituals with instructions (No. 935); water empowerment (No. 927); rituals for offering edibles to the gods (No. 960); wrathful means of accomplishment (No. 913); visualization of the Wrathful King (No. 893); recollection of Acala (No. 925); rituals and *dhāraṇī* recitations to the seven Buddhas (No. 945); Nāga rites (No. 946); statue consecrations (No. 950); rituals to Dra byi ta with explanations (No. 939); a weather-making *sādhana* (No. 923), prayers (No. 954), and related rituals with explanations (No. 938); commentary on rituals and *maṇḍalas* (No. 953) in a massive work, twelve *bam po* long, the *Tantrasamuccaya* listed in the PT (§XII, No. 301); *sādhana*s based on the *Sanmukha dhāraṇī* (No. 928); rituals and practices to protector deities (No. 944); rituals to the White Canopy Uṣṇīṣa (No. 936); ablution rituals to Vajravidāraṇa (No. 940); *maṇḍala* rituals to Pratisara (No. 943); rituals to the divinity Prajñāpāramitā (No. 894); rituals to Amoghasiddhi (No. 901); recitations to Yamāntaka (No. 925); Amogapāsha rituals with commentary (No. 937); rituals and commentaries on *maṇḍalas* (Nos. 930, 931, 932); and the *rMa bya chen mo'i cho ga* (No. 942), a ritual compliment to the *Mahāmāyūrī* (§XIV, No. 316).

The colophon of the *Three Doors of Tantra* (p. 65) suggests that this list is not exhaustive of all tantric texts available at the time: *I ti/sngags nang pa'i 'gyur byang gzhan na bzhugs*. It may translate: “Thus, the inner (higher) Tantras are in other colophons.”

## 4.4. Other Divisions

*Stotras praised by former Ācāryas and Kings* (§XXVI) appears to be a unique PT division, but it is no more than a renaming of *Various stotras* (DK: §XVI). It contains fifteen texts of which six are minor works attributed to Ārya Nāgārjuna and nine to Ācārya Mātriceta. The *Miscellaneous writings on śāstras by Masters* (PT: §XXV) includes texts found in divisions *Miscellaneous Mahāyāna śāstras* (DK: §XXV) and *Dhyāna-akṣara* (DK: §XXIII). Here, we find Kamalaśīla's *Bhāvanākrama* (*Sgom pa 'i rim pa*) (No. 646) and another text bearing the same title attributed to Ācārya Vajrakīrti (No. 648). Other works in this division include: Nāgārjuna's *Sūtrasamuccaya* (No. 626); the *Jātakamālā* (*Skyes pa rabs kyi rgyud*) (No. 628); Nāgārjuna's *Jewelled Necklace*, the *Ratnamala* (*Rin po che 'phreng ba*) (No. 629) with commentary (No. 630); Śāntideva's *Bodhisattvacaryāvatāra* (*Byang chub sems dpa 'i spyod pa la 'jug pa*) (No. 631); Āryasūra's *Pārimitāsamāsa* (*Pha rol tu phyin pa bsdu pa*) (No. 632); Nāgārjuna's *Letter to a Friend* (*Grogs po 'i 'phrin yig*) (No. 633) and its commentary (No. 635); Nāgārjuna's *Dhūtaguṇānuśamsa* (*Sbyangs pa 'i yon tan bcu gnyis bstan pa*) (No. 636); Mātriceta's *Rājakanīṣkalekha* (*Rgyal po ka ni ka la spring ba 'i 'phrin yig*) (No. 639); *Bodhicittabhāvanā* from the tantric collection by Ācārya Jayaprabhā (*Byang chub sems sgom pa slob dpon dza ya pra bhas sngags kyi tan tra las btus te bgyis pa*) (No. 642); Ācārya Mañjuśrimitra's *Bodhicittabhāvanā* (*Byang chub sems sgom pa*) (No. 643); Nāgārjuna's *Prajñāśataka* (*Shes rab brgya pa 'i tshigs su bcad pa*) (No. 644); the *Gāthākośa* by Ācārya Nyi ma sbas pa (*Tshigs bcad*) (No. 645); the *Bhāvanāmukhanirdeśa* (*Sgom pa 'i sgo bstan pa*) (No. 649) by Ācārya Kalyānavarman; and Bodhidarpatara's instructions on *Dhyāna* translated from Chinese (*Bsam gtan gyi yi ge bo dhi dar pa ta ras bgyis pa rgya las bsgyur*) (No. 650).

Three lengthy commentaries to Śāntarakṣita's *Ornament for the Middle Way* (*Madhyamakālmkāra*) are listed in *Madhyamaka śāstras* (PT: §XXI, Nos. 534, 535, 536) and a long summary of this text (10 *bam po* long), composed by the Tibetan Ācārya Bkra shis, is located in (PT: §XXXI, No. 786). Candrakīrti's commentary to Nāgārjuna's *Sixty Stanzas of Reasoning*, the *Yuktiśaṣṭikā-vṛtti* (*Rigs pa drug bcu pa 'i 'grel pa*) and the *Yuktiśaṣṭikā-kārikā-nāma* (*Rigs pa drug bcu pa 'i tshigs le 'ur byas pa*) are also listed in *Madhyamaka śāstras* (§XXI, Nos. 529, 530).<sup>61</sup> Two related Tibetan com-

<sup>61</sup> *Yuktiśaṣṭikā-vṛtti*: sDe dge: No. 3864, mDo 'grel, (ya 30b6–30b6); *Yuktiśaṣṭikā-kārikā-nāma*: sDe dge: No. 3825, mDo 'grel, (tsa 22b<sup>6</sup>–22b<sup>6</sup>).

mentaries, the *Rigs pa drug bcu pa las btus te mdor bshad pa*, 1 *bam po*, composed by Ācārya Vairocana and the *Rigs pa drug bcu pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa nyi tshe bshad pa*, 1 *bam po*, by an anonymous author, are found in (§XXXI, Nos. 788, 787). Lastly, four commentaries to Nāgārjuna's *Mūlamadhyamalaka-kārikā* located in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka<sup>62</sup> are also located in *Madhyamaka śāstras* (PT: §XXI):

- 525. *Prajñāpradīpa-Mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti* (*dBu ma rtsa ba'i 'grel pa Shes rab sgron ma*);
- 526. *Prajñāpradīpa-ṅikā* (*Shes rab sgron ma rgya cher 'grel pa*);
- 527. *Buddhapālita-Mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti* (Buddhapālita's Commentary);
- 528. *Akutobhayā* (*Ga las 'jigs med*).

The *Enumerations of the Dharma* (PT: §X, Nos. 261–265) contains a *Don rnam par nges pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs* (No. 261) not found in the DK, while the rest (Nos. 262–265) can be located across DK divisions (§VII, §XI). On the other hand, *Vijñāna-śāstras* division (DK: §XXIV) contains many works not found, under the same title, in corresponding (PT: §XXII). The *Vinaya* division (PT: §XVIII) contains nineteen texts all of which, except for the *dGe tshul gyi ka ri ka chung ngu* (No. 464), can be found in the *Vinaya* division (DK: §XIX). A text concerning *Vinaya* rules for nuns, the *dGe slong ma'i 'dul ba rnam par 'byed* listed in (DK: §XIX, No. 488) was considered incomplete by the PT editors who placed it, along with four other DK *Vinaya* texts (Nos. 494, 496, 497 & 486), under the *Incomplete translations of sūtra and vinaya texts* (PT: §XXVIIIb).

The catalogue itself was not meant to be exhaustive. *Scriptures of sūtras and śāstras in the process of revision, remaining translations* (§XXVIII) lists twenty-four texts apportioned under three subdivisions: 1) *Unrevised sūtras and commentaries on sūtras* (§XXVIIIa); 2) *Incomplete translations of sūtra and vinaya texts* (§XXVIIIb); and 3) *Unrevised śāstras* (§XXVIIIc) and 4) *Incomplete translations of logic* (§XXVIIId). Two unrevised texts are listed in DK division *Unrevised pravacana* (§XXIX):<sup>63</sup> the *Dran pa nye bar gzhang*

<sup>62</sup> *Prajñāpradīpa-ṅikā*: sDe dge: No. 3859, mDo 'grel, (wa 341a<sup>7</sup>–za 341a<sup>7</sup>); *Akutobhayā*: sDe dge: No. 3829, mDo 'grel, (tsa 99a<sup>7</sup>–99a<sup>7</sup>); *Buddhapālita-Mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti*: sDe dge: No. 3842, mDo 'grel, (tsa 281a<sup>4</sup>–281a<sup>4</sup>).

<sup>63</sup> In this division (XXIX), Lalou (1953, p. 337) assigns the same number (No.730) to what are most likely two different texts. Rabsel (1996, p. 70) lists two separate texts under the same division.

*pa chen po* (No. 730), which can be found in PT division (§XXVIIIb, No. 682) as an incomplete translation, while the *She rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag bzhi* (No. 731?) is not found in the PT. Out of the six *śāstras* listed in the *Śāstras in the process of translation* (DK: §XXX, Nos. 731–736), five have been translated<sup>64</sup> and are placed under revision (PT: §XXVIIIc), while No. 734 does not seem to be available in the PT. The first PT subdivision (§XXVIIIa, Nos. 676–680) contains no *sūtras*. The PT editors have placed the DK *sūtra* commentaries (Nos. 526, 527, 528, 540) in this subdivision. The second PT subdivision (§XXVIIIb, Nos. 681–691) contains, in addition to the five *Vinaya* texts mentioned above, six *sūtras* which, with the exception of the *Shes rab bzhi stong pa* (1 *bam po*) (§XXVIIIb, No. 681), are listed in the DK (Nos. 31, 35, 37, 38, 730). The third PT subdivision (§XXVIIIc, Nos. 692–699) contains, in addition to the five DK *śāstras* (Nos. 731, 732 (2), 733, 735, 736) discussed above, a *bStan pa rgya pa* (sixty *bam po*) (No. 695), not listed in the DK, and DK text No. 685.

#### 4.5. Notes

I have translated *bstan bcos* as *śāstra*, and *'grel ba* and *ṭikā* as commentaries for the titles of PT divisions (§XIX, §XX, §XXI, §XXII, §XXIII, §XXV, §XXVIII, §XXXI). I am not clear of the different meaning the editors meant to imply between the latter two which also seem to be used interchangeably in the titles of texts with the term *'grel ba* occurring at a greater frequency. I have translated *bstan bcos kyi ṭikā* in (§XXXI) as “Commentaries on *śāstras*,” and *bstan bcos kyi yi ge* in (§XXV) as “Writings on *śāstras*.”

Texts No. 675 (§XXVII) and Nos. 828, 829 (§XXXI) are attributed to lHa btsan po and Glang dar ma respectively. These two texts contain, in their titles, the expression *bka' bcad* (edict or decree). This expression is used only for the above two works of royal authorship, but *not for all works* of royal authorship (i.e., §XXXI, Nos. 779, 842, 877; §XXVII, No. 674). It may be the case that it is a higher honorific term used for works composed by the king, or it may be referring to a royal decree used in conjunction with a settlement arising from a previous dispute regarding scriptural authenticity, or relating to the codification of Dharma language. The term *bkas bcad* is also employed

<sup>64</sup> Among those *śāstras* translated and placed under revision, we find Dharmakīrti's commentary on the Compendium of Valid Cognition, the *Pramāṇavārtika* (*tshad ma rnam 'grel*); PT: (§XXVIII d, No. 697). For an analysis of the four versions preserved in the Tibetan canon: see Franco 1997.

in DK text No. 729 where we read: *theg pa chen po'i bsam gtan gyi man ngag/gol sa brgyal btsal ba/btsan pos bkas bcaad pa*.<sup>65</sup>

I have added the parenthetical note “Tibetan Authors” to the titles of divisions (§XXXI) and (§XXVII) as they evidently contain a number of works not authored by King Khri srong lde btsan. This is further substantiated by the colophon to division (§XXXI, p. 60) which states: *'di rnams ni bod kyi slob dpon dag gis mdzad pa ste/chung ba rnams ma bris*. This translates: “These (i.e., the above texts) were composed by Tibetan Ācāryas—smaller than those which have not been listed here.” Some of the authors listed by name in this division can be dated after the reign of King Khri srong lde btsan.

A most telling division for the cataloguing enterprise is (§XXIX). It may roughly translate as: *A few titles of scriptures are listed in three registers. Many titles, which are not available in three, are generally accepted if they are listed in two registers*. This division admits thirty-three texts distributed across four subdivisions:

- §XXIXa: *Titles acquired from one register—not listed in both registers.*
- §XXIXb: *Titles acquired from Bande gZhon nu snying po's register—not listed in the two older registers.*
- §XXIXc: *Titles of scriptures acquired in other colophons and in one older register—not listed in either older register.*
- §XXIXd: *Titles not listed in the colophons.*

This division and its subdivisions meant to explain the editorial process of comparing titles (*mtshan byang*) across the two older registers (*dpe rnying*), namely the *lDan dkar ma* and *mChims phu ma* catalogues—the latter serving as the source (*yum*).<sup>66</sup> *gZhon nu snying po's* register was also consulted. Generally, those texts whose titles were represented in at least two registers were selected. It is clear that works listed in division (§XXIX) are demarcated from the works in the rest of the catalogue which, by deduction, should have met

<sup>65</sup> Rabsel (1996, p. 70) copies instead: *Theg pa chen po'i bsam gtan gyi man ngag gol sa brgyal btsal ba btsad pos bkas bcaad pa*.

<sup>66</sup> PT division (§I) closes with the phrase, *sras yum bcu bdun no*, referring to the seventeen titles listed within. Since the corresponding *lDan dkar ma* division (§I) lists sixteen titles and is mentioned elsewhere in the same division (see *Textual Archaeology*), we can assume that the PT compilers had access to yet another register which included fifteen DK texts (listed in the division) and two additional texts, contributing to a total of seventeen in all texts contained within what is likely the other *dpe rnying*, the *dkar chag mChims phu ma*.

the original criteria for cataloguing set by the editors, that are listed in at least two indexes. The selection process seems to be yet more complex, for in addition to the registers, the editors availed themselves of the translators' colophons ('gyur byang) in the texts themselves, or as mentioned in the colophons of other texts.

The first subdivision, (§XXIXa, Nos. 700–704), contains the DK titles (§V, Nos. 163, 173, 170, 151, 165). The length of No.163 is listed as one *bam po*/ten *śloka* which varies from PT No. 700 that lists one *bam po*.

The second subdivision, (§XXIXb, Nos. 705–707), does not duplicate any works from the DK, with the exception of No. 707 which matches the titles of DK: (§III, No. 65) and (§VIII, No. 222), but not its size which is given as forty *śloka* long. Texts which are not listed in the DK but are located in this subdivision are (No. 707), the *Treasury of Jewels (dKon mchog gi mdzod, one śloka)*, and (No. 706), the *Ten Pāramitā Sūtra (Pha rol tu phyin pa bcu'i mdo, one śloka)*.

The third subdivision, (§XXIXc, Nos. 708–711), does not contain any DK works matching both in title and length. DK texts (§XIX, No. 496) and (DK: §XXIV, No. 624) have only corresponding titles to PT Nos. 709 and 710. Texts not included in the DK but found in this subdivision are: (No. 708) *The Benefits of Patience (bZod pa'i phan yon)*, and (No. 711) *Commentary to the Pramānakārikā and an Explanation of the Commentary (Pra ma ṇa ka ri ka 'grel pa dang 'grel pa bshad pa, eighteen bam po)*.

The last subdivision, (§XXIXd, Nos. 712–732), contains four matching DK texts (§IX, Nos. 264, 266, 269; §X, No. 281), and three texts with the same title but not of the same length (§III, No. 41; §V, No. 107; §IX, No. 262). The following fourteen *sūtras* listed in this subdivision are not indexed in the DK:

- 712. *mDo sde dkon mchog gi mdzod <4 bam po/1 śloka>*
- 713. *dKon mchog gi snod <2 bam po>*
- 715. *'Phags pa Klog gi dbyig gis zhus pa'i mdo <bam po>*
- 716. *'Phags pa Theg pa chen po'i chos mngon pa'i mdo <bam po>*
- 718. *'Phags pa rTa skad byang chub sems dpa'i mdo <bam po>*
- 719. *bSam gtan gyi mdo <bam po>*
- 720. *sMon lam gyi mdo <bam po>*
- 724. *Sangs rgyas kyi sbyangs pa'i yon tan bshad pa <bam po>*
- 725. *Zas kyi 'tsho ba rnam par dag pa'i mdo <18 śloka>*
- 726. *'Phags pa 'Khor sil gyi mdo che chung gnyis <bam po>*
- 727. *'Phags pa Ting nge 'dzin mchog gi mdo <bam po>*

729. *dGe ba dang mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pa'i mdo*  
 <śloka>  
 730. *Maud dgal 'tsho ba'i mdo* <bam po>  
 731. *rTa mgrin gnam sa bkod pa'i mdo* <bam po>

#### 4.6. Dating

The PT is the last authoritative witness to the scriptural corpus of imperial-sponsored Buddhism in Tibet. Within a historical mosaic of interlaced issues concerning appropriation and affirmation of texts, spiritual lineage affiliations, and personal values, it has served for more than 500 years leading to the formation of the voluminous *bKa' 'gyur* and *bsTan 'gyur* collections, as the representative canon of early Buddhist texts translated into Tibetan. In the catalogue's colophon and in a number of post-dynastic chronicles, we read that the PT was compiled during Khri gtsug lde btsan's reign. However, the inclusion of a Madhyamaka text (No. 828) by Khri Dun brtan admits that the PT was most likely composed during his reign, or that of his heir 'Od srung. This cannot be refuted if the PT was perceived as a fixed catalogue after its compilation in the ninth century C.E. A preliminary examination of available textual and iconographical evidence suggests that we are dealing with an open register which, being the last of its kind, was susceptible to scriptural augmentation yielding several variants from the second transmission of Buddhism (*phyi dar*) onwards.

The register's authenticity is a matter of contention for the scribe who confesses in the colophon that the catalogue is an "accurate copy of the original scroll-manuscript" and exhorts us to have "complete confidence in it"—the implication being that there may have been more than one version of the register circulating in the fourteenth century. This is substantiated by a note in the PT where we read that there have been other copies of the imperial catalogue (*'Phang thang ma'i dpe kha cig las*) with ritual texts not included in our present version: *skabs 'dir 'phang thang ma'i dpe kha cig las dkyil 'khor sbyin sreg sa tsha/yul skor gyi thang yig/dus mchod spyi'i bsham thabs/prati ha ri'i mchod pa'i cho ga/'phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi mchod pa'i cho ga/dpal gyi lha mo'i mchod pa'i cho ga zer* (PT: §XXXII, p. 64). Lokesh Chandra (1963, p. 505) and Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las (2004, p. 234) list such another likely edition, *bKa' 'gyur gyi dkar chag 'Phang thang ma*, which, according to Dung dkar, was compiled by Sprul sku bSod nams ye shes dbang po.

Let us examine some additional facts. Among the many works listed in the

*Three Doors of Tantra*, we find two post-ninth-century translations: Śākya-mitra's *Kosalālamkāra* translated, according to the colophons, by Rin chen bzang po (958–1055)<sup>67</sup> and the *gNod sbyin gar mkhan mchog gi rgyud*.<sup>68</sup> Further circumstantial evidence reveals that the MS may be, at the earliest, an eleventh-century revision. The scribe informs us, in the colophon to the catalogue, that the lower part of the MS contained illustrations of five Tibetan kings dressed in monastic robes. However, according to dGe 'dun chos 'phel, the costumes of these Tibetan kings followed the customs of Persia with whom they had the closest connections at the time; they included a turban of light red cloth, a cloak of glossy silk cloth and slippers with curled-up toes, (H. Karmay 1975, p. 15). Even though early representations of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas in kings' robes are not unheard of,<sup>69</sup> depictions in Dunhuang murals may symbolize Tibetan kings with the occasional halo (Cave 158) but commonly portray them in royal attire.<sup>70</sup> The assignation of Tibetan kings in monastic garb is not iconographically attested during the times of the empire and it is clearly retrospective of the royal family of Western Tibet (tenth-eleventh century) featuring King Ye shes 'od and his two sons, Nāgārāja and Devarāja, renouncing worldly life and becoming Buddhist monks (ibid., p. 29).

From the above evidence, we can infer that the MS, from which our present catalogue was copied, is a post-ninth-century reproduction. Moreover, there is one more thing we would need to take into account in dating the MS. The treaty mentioned in Khri lde srong btsan's caption is somewhat curious since early Tibetan post-dynastic historiographers hardly ever mentioned agreements forged between Tibet and China. The reference to the 821/3 treaty suggests that we might be dealing with a source MS dated after the Tibetan translation of the New T'ang Annals printed by Gu śrī Rin chen grags in the fourteenth century (Uebach 1991). This would mean that both the MS and its "faithful" copy date to the times of the scribe who, according to the editor of our present edition rTa rdo, was active during the Sa skya hegemony.

<sup>67</sup> Peking: No. 3326, rGyud 'grel (wi 1-zhi 230a<sup>6</sup>); sDe dge: No. 2503, rGyud, (yi 1a<sup>1</sup> ri 202a<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>68</sup> In the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Centre (TBRC), Gene Smith attributes the translation of this work to a Tshul khrims 'bung gnas (tenth century) in collaboration with the Indian scholar Dhanagupta.

<sup>69</sup> Heller describes large images of Vairocana and eight Bodhisattvas dressed in royal robes at the temple of 'Bis mda in Eastern Tibet. They were carved at the behest of the monk-translator Ye shes dbyangs during the reign of Khri lde srong btsan (1997, pp. 390–1).

<sup>70</sup> For a pertinent analysis of available iconography: see H. Karmay 1977, pp. 65–81; 1975.

It is difficult to evaluate the marked increase in *dhāraṇī*, works by Tibetan authors, and tantric literature from earlier listings in the DK, as we have no access to the contents and divisions of the mid-imperial catalogue, the *dkar chag mChims phu ma*. There is no reason, however, to doubt that most of the texts in our catalogue reflect the enormous translation-cum-revision enterprise initiated in the times of the empire. Further philological investigation is required to determine which texts in the catalogue may be assigned to the second diffusion of Buddhism, the period in which our version of the PT discernibly belongs.

## 5. APPENDICES

TABLE ONE: PT Index (Divisions and Number of Texts)
---

\* subdivisions based on size are not notated

{§I-§XXXII}

- I. Prajñāpāramitā and other sūtras by title and size (*'Phags pa Shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa la sogs pa mdo sde 'i mtshan byang dang bam grangs*) Texts: 1–17
- II. Sūtras of the Avatamsaka class (*'Phags pa Shin du rgyas pa chen po sangs rgyas phal po che 'i mdo sder gtogs pa*) Texts: 18–22
- III. Sūtras of the Ratnakūṭa class (*'Phags pa dKon mchog brtsegs pa chen po 'i sder gtogs pa*) Texts: 23–32
- IV. Mahāsūtras (in size) (*mDo chen po 'i tshar*) Texts: 32–161
- V. Small sūtras, less than 1 *bam po* (*mDo sde phra mo bam por mi ldang ba 'i tshar*) Texts: 162–215
- VI. Small Prajñāpāramitā (*Shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa sde chung ngu*) Texts: 216–228
- VII. Mahāyāna sūtras translated from Chinese (*Theg pa chen po 'i mdo sde rgya las bsgyur ba 'i tshar*) Texts: 229–239
- VIII. Hinayāna sūtras (*Theg pa chung ngu 'i mdo sde*) Texts: 240–250
- IX. Class of Mahāsūtras (*mDo chen por gtogs pa*) Texts: 251–260
- X. Enumerations of the Dharma (*Dharmaparyāra*) (*Chos kyi rnam grangs*) Texts: 261–265
- XI. Small sūtras (*mDo phra mo rnams*) Texts: 266–298
- XII. Tantric Mantras (*sNgags kyi rgyud*) Texts: 299–302
- XIII. Dhāraṇī with their respective rituals, long and short (*gZungs che phra so so 'i cho ga dang bcas pa*) Texts: 303–315

- XIV. Five great dhāraṇī (*Pañcamahādhāraṇī*) (*gZungs chen po lnga*) Texts: 316–320
- XV. Miscellaneous dhāraṇī, long and short (*gZungs che phra sna tshogs*) Texts: 321–409
- XVI. Minor essential dhāraṇī-mantras (*gZungs sngags kyi snying po nyi tshe gud du phyung ba*) Texts: 410–418
- XVII. Set of 108 Names; Praises; Auspicious verses; Miscellaneous praṇidhāna (*mTshan brgya risa brgyad dang/stod ra dang/bkra shis dang/smon lam sna tshogs*) Total Texts: 419–451
- XVIIa. Set of 108 Names and Praises: Texts: 419–431; XVIIb. Auspicious verses: Texts: 432–438; XVIIc. Miscellaneous praṇidhāna: Texts: 439–451
- XVIII. Vinaya (*'Dul ba 'i phyogs*) Texts: 452–470
- XIX. Commentaries on miscellaneous sūtras (*mDo sde sna tshogs kyi 'grel pa*) Texts: 471–516
- XX. Commentaries on sūtras translated from Chinese (*mDo sde 'i ṭikā rgya las bsgyur ba*) Texts: 517–523
- XXI. Madhyamaka śāstras (*dBu ma 'i bstan bcos*) Texts: 524–552
- XXII. Vijñāna śāstras (*rNam par shes pa 'i bstan bcos*) Texts: 553–582
- XXIII. Hinayāna śāstras (*Theg pa chung ngu 'i bstan bcos*) Texts: 583–597
- XXIV. Logic (*Tar ka 'i phyogs*) Texts: 598–625
- XXV. Miscellaneous writings on śāstras by Masters (*Slob dpon so sos mdzad pa 'i bstan bcos kyi yi ge sna tshogs*) Texts: 626–650
- XXVI. Stotras praised by former Ācāryas and Kings (*sNgon gyi slob dpon dang rgyal po de dag gis 'phags pa la bstod pa bgyis pa la bstod ra*) Texts: 651–665
- XXVII. Compositions of Khri srong lde btsan (and other Tibetan Authors) (*bTsan po Khri srong lde btsan gyis mdzad pa 'i gtsug lag*) Texts: 666–675
- XXVIII. Scriptures of sūtras and śāstras in the process of revision and remaining translations (*gSung rab mdo sde dang bstan bcos bsgyur ba las zhu chen ma bgyis te gtan la ma phab pa dang sgyur 'phror lus pa*) Total Texts: 676–699
- XXVIIIa. Unrevised sūtras and commentaries on sūtras (*mDo sde dang mdo sde 'i 'grel pa zhu chen ma bgyis pa*) Texts: 676–680
- XXVIIIb. Incomplete translations of sūtra and vinaya (*mDo sde dang 'dul ba 'i sgyur 'phro*) Texts: 681–691

- XXVIIIc. Unrevised śāstras (*bsTan bcos zhu chen ma bgyis pa*) Texts: 692–696
- XXVIIIId. Incomplete translations of logic (*Tar ka'i sgyur 'phro*) Texts: 697–699
- XXIX. A few titles of scriptures are listed in three registers. Many titles, which are not available in three, are generally accepted if they are listed in two registers. (*gSung rab mdo sde rnams kyi mtshan byang dpe gsum la gtugs nas nyung shas mi mthun pa dpe gnyis las mthun par 'byung ba rnams ni mang brtsan du byas nas dkyus su stsal*) Total Texts: 700–732
- XXIXa. Titles acquired from one register-not listed in both registers (*dPe gcig las 'byung ste gnyis las ma byung ba rnams gud du bris pa*) Texts: 700–704
- XXIXb. Titles acquired from Bande gZhon nu snying po's register-not listed in the two older registers (*dPe rnying rnam gnyis las ni ma byung/ban dhe gZhon nu snying po'i dpe las byung ba*) Texts: 705–707
- XXIXc. Titles of scriptures acquired in other colophons and in one old register-not listed in both older registers (*'Gyur byang gzhan las smos pa'i gsung rab kyi mtshan la/dpe rnying las 'byung/dpe gnyis las ma byung ba*) Texts: 708–711
- XXIXd. Titles not listed in the colophons (*'Gyur byang las mi 'byung ba'i bzhugs pa'i mtshan*) Texts: 712–732
- XXX. Dhāraṇī (*gZungs*) Texts: 733–767
- XXXI. Commentaries on sūtras and śāstras of Khri srong lde btsan (and other Tibetan Authors) (*mDo sde dang bstan bcos kyi 'ikā/btsan po Khri srong lde btsan gyis mdzad pa*) Texts: 768–884
- XXXII. Three Doors of Tantra (*sNgags sgo gsum*) Texts: 885–960

TABLE TWO: Tibetan Authors (PT)
---------------------------------

PT: §XXVII (666–675), §XXXI (768–884)

TIBETAN AUTHORS:

(1) Bodhidharmata,\* Master

*mKhan po Bo dhi dha rma tas bshad pa las btus pa* <60 śloka> (§XXXI, No. 841)

(2) Glang dar ma, King

*bTsan po dBa' dun brtan gyi dbu ma'i bka' bcad bshad pa dang bcas pa* <60 śloka> (§XXXI, No. 828)

(3) Jo mo Byang chub, Queen

*Jo mo byang chub kyis mdzad pa'i smon lam* <length not specified> (§XXXI, No. 877)

(4) Kalayāna, Ācārya

*A tsa rya Ka la ya na'i dris lan* <1 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 869)

(5) Khri srong lde btsan, King (lHa btsan po)

5.1. *'Phags pa Mi g.yo mgon po la bstod pa lha btsan pos mdzad pa* <1 śloka> (§XXVII, No. 674)

5.2. *bSam gtan gyi dgos pa brgyad bstsal ba lha btsan pos bkas bcad pa* <1 śloka> (§XXVII, No. 675)

5.3. *Theg pa chen po'i bsam gtan gyi man ngag lha btsan pos mdzad pa dang de'i brjed byang* <1 śloka> (§XXXI, No. 842) related title: (DK: §XXVIII, No. 729)

(6) Klu'i rgyal mtshan, Ācārya

6.1. *Nges pa'i don dbu ma'i slob dpon Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa* <1 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 823)

\* This work may be referring to explanations by Bodhidharma, the alleged founder of the Chan lineage, arranged by a Tibetan author. A work of the *Cig car ba* tradition, the *bSam gtan gyi yi ge rgya las bsgyur ba* by Ācārya Bodhidharmātara, is listed in DK (§XXIII, No. 613) and in PT (XXV, No. 650).

6.2. *dBu ma'i don Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis Shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa* <length not specified> (§XXXI, No. 824)

6.3. *Chos kyi gzhung spyir bstan pa dPal brtsegs dang Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyi brgal lan bzhi phrugs* <1 bam po> (listed also above, 12.2.) (§XXXI, No. 827)

6.4. *Phreng ba'i rgyan slob dpon Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa* <1 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 835)

6.5. *Chos gtan la dbab pa'i mdo slob dpon Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyis mdzad pa'i gal* <1 śloka> (§XXXI, No.871)

(7) bKra shis, Ācārya

7.1. *dBu ma rgyan gyi brjed byang slob dpon bKra shis kyis mdzad pa* <10 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 786)

7.2. *Byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa nyi shu pa'i 'grel pa/slob dpon bKra shis kyis mdzad pa* <1 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 802)

(8) Mu rug btsan, King

*'Phags pa dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i mdo bshad pa btsan po Mu rug btsan gyis mdzad* <1 śloka> (§XXXI, No. 779)

(9) dPal brtsegs, Ācārya (Śrikūṭaraksita)

9.1. *Phyi'i yul rang rgyud du yod par 'dod pa sel ba slob dpon dPal brtsegs kyis mdzad pa* <2 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 821)

9.2. *Chos kyi gzhung spyir bstan pa dPal brtsegs dang Klu'i rgyal mtshan gyi brgal lan bzhi phrugs* <1 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 827)

9.3. *mTshan nyid gsum mdor bstan pa/slob dpon dPal brtsegs kyis mdzad pa* <1 śloka> (§XXXI, No. 864)

(10) dPal gyi lhun po,\*\* Bhikṣu

*dGe slong ma'i so so thar pa'i bshad pa dPal gyi lhun pos mdzad pa* <1 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 813)

(11) Pra sha se, Ācārya

*'Phags pa Shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa'i snying po'i tika slob dpon Pra sha se nas mdzad pa* <1 śloka> (§XXXI, No. 782)

\*\* Bu ston: Szerb (157b<sup>5</sup>).

(12) Rin chen zla ba 'byung gnas

*Rin chen zla ba 'byung gnas kyi dris lan* <200 śloka> (§XXXI, No. 870)

(13) Samudramegha, Ācārya

*Byang sems kyi tshul khrims kyi le'u/bam po gnyis/'gyur byang bam po/tshul khrims kyi le'u'i 'grel pa slob dpon Sa mu tra me gas mdzad pa* <2 bam po> *gyur byang* = 1 bam po (§XXXI, No. 799)

(14) Shes rab snying po, Ācārya

*dGongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i byams pa'i le'u'i brjed byang slob dpon Shes rab snying pos mdzad pa* <1 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 780)

(15) Vairocana, Ācārya

*Rigs pa drug bcu pa las btus te mdor bshad pa/slob dpon Be ro tsa nas mdzad pa* <1 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 788)

(16) Vairocanarakṣita, Ācārya

*A tsa rya Be ro tsa na Sang shi tas mdzad pa'i sNang ba mtha' yas kyi mtsan brjod pa* <1 śloka> (§XXXI, No. 879)

(17) Ye shes sde, Ācārya (Jñānasena)

17.1. *'Phags pa bZang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi brjod byang/slob dpon Ye shes sdes mdzad pa* <1 bam po> (§XXXI, No. 781)

17.2. *lHa ba'i bye brag gi brjed byang slob dpon Ye shes sdes mdzad pa* <1<sup>1/2</sup> bam po> *dran byed* = 1 bam po (§XXXI, Nos. 819, 820)

(18) Udpalkośa

*rKom Ud pal ko sha'i dris lan* <50 śloka> (§XXXI, No. 873)

OTHER WORKS OF TIBETAN AUTHORSHIP:

PT: §XXVII (666–675)

DK: §XXVIII (723–729)

666. *Grub pa'i mtha' 'gro ba* <40 śloka>

DK: §XXVIII, No. 727

667. *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma* <7 bam po>

DK: §XXVIII, No. 723

668. *dBu ma'i gzer bu* <30 śloka>  
 DK: §XXVIII, No. 728  
 669. *De bzhin gshegs pa'i brta skad* <5 bam po>  
 DK: §XXVIII, No. 724  
 670. *'Phags pa rNam par snang mdzad dang/shākya thub pa dang/byang chub sems dpa' brgyad la bstod pa* <śloka>  
 DK: na  
 671. *'Phags pa 'Jam dpal la bstod pa* <śloka>  
 DK: na  
 672. *'Phags pa Byams pa la bstod pa chen po* <1 bam po and 100 śloka>  
 DK: §XXVIII, No. 725  
 673. *'Phags pa Byams pa la/bstod pa chung ngu* <150 śloka>  
 DK: §XXVIII, No. 726  
 674. Tibetan Authors (5)  
 675. Tibetan Authors (5)

PT: §XXXI (768–884)

- Ba bang ka'i brjed byang* <1 bam po> (No. 815)  
*Bla na med pa'i smon lam* <śloka> (No. 881)  
*Bla na med pa'i spyod pa* <śloka> (No. 848)  
*'Bum pa'i ti ka'i don bsdus* <1 bam po> (No. 785)  
*dBus dang mtha' rnam par 'byed pa'i brjed byang* <1 bam po> (No. 795)  
*Byang chub 'byung ba'i smon lam* <śloka> (No. 880)  
*Byang chub dam pa'i smon lam* (No. 878)  
*Byang chub kyi phyogs kyi chos sum bcu rtsa bdun bstan pa* <śloka> (No. 863)  
*Byang chub kyi sems sgom ba'i 'grel pa* <1 bam po> (No. 804)
- mChod rten la bstod pa sna gnyis* <śloka> (No. 884)  
*Chos bslab pa'i mdo brjed byang* <200 śloka> (No. 859)  
*Chos kyi mtshan nyid rnam pa gnyis su bstan pa* <1 bam po> (No. 851)  
*Chos kyi rnam grangs gsung rab mdo sde las bstan chos btus pa* <4 bam po> (No. 856)  
*Chos kyi rnam grangs kyi brjed byang rtsa ba dang 'grel pa* <1 bam po> (No. 857)  
*Chos skad gtan la dbab pa* <1 bam po> (No. 876)

*De kho na nyid kyi bsam gtan la 'jug pa zhes bya ba mdo 'grel <1 bam po>*  
(No. 805)

*De'i brjed byang rnying 'gyur <1 bam po>* (No. 793)

*lDem dgons brgyad kyi brjed byang <śloka>* (No. 867)

*bDen pa gnyis mdor bsdus pa'i brjed byang <80 śloka>* (No. 865)

*rDo rje gcod pa'i brjed byang chung ngu <1 bam po>* (No. 772)

*rDo rje g.yung drung nges par bkod pa'i rgyan <3 bam po>* (No. 818)

*mDo sde brgyad/bcu khungs <4 bam po>* (No. 832)

*sDom pa nyi shu pa'i 'grel pa rang log zhu log gi brjed byang <śloka>* (No. 803)

*mDor bsdus te gsol ba btab pa <1 bam po>* (No. 824)

*dGe 'dun la btsan pos sems nyam smas pa <śloka>* (No. 874)

*dGe tshul gyi bya ba lnga bcu pa'i rgya cher 'grel ba <1 bam po>* (No. 817)

*Gleng gzhi man chad so so thar pa'i tshig brjed pa dran byed <1 bam po>*  
(No. 812)

*sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (No. 875)

*Grub pa'i mtha' 'gro ba las btus pa <1/2 bam po>* (No. 846)

*Kā ri kā lnga bcu pa'i brjed byang <2 bam po>* (No. 816)

*bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma mdor bstan pa <1 bam po>* (No. 847)

*dKon mchog gsum gyi bstod pa'i brjed byang rnam gnyis <śloka>* (No. 808)

*Khyung gong dang dge 'dun gyi gal <100 śloka>* (No. 872)

*Las grub pa'i dran byed <1 bam po>* (No. 794)

*dMigs su med pa'i tshul gcig pa'i gzhung <1/2 bam po>* (No. 834)

*Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan mdo dang sbyar ba <1 bam po>* (No. 784)

*Mu stegs kyi lta ba'i skabs kyi brjed byang <śloka>* (No. 868)

*Nā ya bin dhu'i brjed byang <1 bam po>* (No. 806)

*Nā ya bin dhu'i skabs kyi brjed byang <śloka>* (No. 807)

*rNal sbyor spyod pa la 'jug pa'i tshul rnam pa gsum las btus pa <1 bam po>*  
(No. 844)

*rNal sbyor spyod pa'i dbu ma'i lha ba'i tshul <1 bam po>* (No. 822)

*rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa las/byang chub sems dpa'i sa bcu pa'i brjed byang*  
*<1 bam po>* (No. 801)

*lNga phung 'grel ba mi brjed pa'i tshig <1 bam po>* (No. 797)

*Nyi shu pa'i brjed byang* <1 bam po> (No. 798)

*Nyon mongs pa spang ba'i rim pa* <60 śloka> (No. 860)

*Pañca skan dha'i brjed byang chen po* <1 bam po> (No. 796)

*'Phags pa Blo gros mi zad pa bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa* <1 bam po> (No. 770)

*'Phags pa Ga ya rtse mo'i rgyud (brjed) byang* <1 bam po> (No. 773)

*'Phags pa 'Jam dpal la bstod pa sna gnyis* (No. 883)

*'Phags pa Sa lu ljang pa'i brjed byang* <1 bam po> (No. 778)

*'Phags pa Sangs rgyas kyi sa'i brjed byang* <1 bam po> (No. 777)

*'Phags pa Shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa 'bum gyi rgya cher 'grel pa* <1 bam po> (No. 768)

*'Phags pa Shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa rdo rje gcod pa'i ti ka chen po* <1 bam po> (No. 771)

*'Phags pa sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug la bstod pa sna gnyis* (No. 882)

*Phyi nang gi 'jig rten mdor bstan pa* <1 bam po> (No. 853)

*Rigs pa drug bcu pa'i ti ka* <6 bam po> (No. 787)

*Rigs pa drug bcu pa'i tshig le 'ur byas pa nyi tshe bshad pa* <1 bam po> (No. 789)

*Sa bcu'i brjed byang* (No. 776)

*bSam gtan sgom pa'i thabs dang gnyen po bshad pa* <śloka> (No. 838)

*Sems 'khor ba mdo tsam du bstan pa sna* <śloka> (No. 855)

*Sems dang sems las byung ba'i mtshan nyid mdo tsam du bstan pa* <1/2 bam po> (No. 850)

*gSung rab mdo sde las mdor bsdus pa rtsa 'grel* <śloka> (No. 854)

*Shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa bdun brgya pa'i brjed byang* <1 bam po> (No. 774)

*Shes rab snying po'i bshad pa* <1 śloka> (No. 783)

*So so thar pa'i brjed byang chen po* <10 bam po> (No. 810)

*So so thar pa'i ti ka* <1 bam po> 'grel ba yang <1 bam po> (No. 810)

*Sū tra lo ka* (corrupt text) *ti'i bskyud (brjed) byang* (No. 775)

*bsTan bcos btus pa'i phreng ba* <śloka> (No. 858)

*rTen cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i brjed byang* <1 bam po> (No. 790)

*rTen cing 'brel bar 'byung ba'i snying po'i bskyud byang sna gsum* <1 bam po> (No. 791)

*Tha snyad kyi phren ba* <śloka> (No. 839)  
*Thabs dang shes rab kyi spyod pa bstan pa* <80 śloka> (No. 861)  
*bsTan pa'i snying po* <1 bam po> (No. 830)  
*Theg pa chen po'i chos dang don dang rgyud bris pa* <śloka> (No. 836)  
*Theg pa chen po'i chos rgyu dang 'bras bu mdor bshad pa* <1 bam po> (No. 849)  
*Theg pa chen po dbu ma lugs kyi snying po* <śloka> (No. 840)  
*Theg pa chen po dbu ma'i tshul bstan pa* <200 śloka> (No. 826)  
*Theg pa chen po gcig car 'jug pa* <1 bam po> (No. 837)  
*Theg pa chen po kun rdzob dang don dam pa bstan pa* <1 bam po> (No. 825)  
*Theg pa chen po mdo sde'i rgyan gyi brjed byang* <1 bam po> (No. 792)  
*Theg pa chen po pa'i gang zag rnal 'byor pas bsgom zhing nyams su blang pa'i mdo* <1 bam po> (No. 833)  
*Tshad med pa bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa* <śloka> (No. 862)  
*Tshegs chung ngus bsod nams chen po 'thob pa'i rtags* <1 bam po> (No. 852)

*Yang brjed byang* <1 bam po> (No. 769)  
*Yang brjed byang rnying 'gyur* <1 bam po> (No. 814)  
*Yang dag pa'i lam bstan pa* <2 bam po and 100 śloka> (No. 845)

*gZigs pa bla ma* <1 bam po> (No. 831)  
*Zhi gnas dang lhag mthong gi lam bstan pa* <śloka> (No. 866)

(No. 779) Tibetan Authors (8)  
(No. 780) Tibetan Authors (15)  
(No. 781) Tibetan Authors (17)  
(No. 782) Tibetan Authors (11)  
(No. 786) Tibetan Authors (7)  
(No. 788) Tibetan Authors (16)  
(No. 799) Tibetan Authors (14)  
(No. 802) Tibetan Authors (7)  
(No. 813) Tibetan Authors (10)  
(No. 819) Tibetan Authors (17)  
(No. 821) Tibetan Authors (9)  
(No. 827) Tibetan Authors (9)  
(No. 823) Tibetan Authors (6)  
(No. 824) Tibetan Authors (6)

HALKIAS: TIBETAN BUDDHISM REGISTERED

- (Nos. 828, 829) Tibetan Authors (2)
- (No. 835) Tibetan Authors (6)
- (No. 841) Tibetan Authors (1)
- (Nos. 842, 843) Tibetan Authors (5)
- (No. 864) Tibetan Authors (9)
- (No. 869) Tibetan Authors (4)
- (No. 870) Tibetan Authors (11)
- (No. 871) Tibetan Authors (6)
- (No. 873) Tibetan Authors (18)
- (No. 877) Tibetan Authors (3)
- (No. 879) Tibetan Authors (13)

TABLE THREE: Common Divisions and Distributions (PT/DK)

For wider reference, I have kept the divisional numbering of headings as listed by Lalou (1953) even though I agree with Rabsel (1996) and Yoshimura (1950) that DK divisions §V, §VI, §VII, may be treated as subdivisions of (DK: §IV) yielding a total of 27 main DK divisions instead of 30 listed by Lalou. In reading the Table below it should be noted that many texts\* listed in the DK may be subsumed under some other division in the PT.

PT: 960 titles/32 Main Divisions  
Main Divisions

DK: 737 titles/30 (27)

COMMON DIVISIONS	PT (§)	No. Texts	DK (§)	No. Texts
Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras	I	17	I	16
Avatamsaka-sūtras	II	5	II	8
Ratnakūṭa-sūtras	III	9	III	48*
Small Sūtras (less than a <i>bam po</i> )	V	54	VI/(IVa)	28
Mahāyāna Sūtras translated from Chinese	VII	11	IX	22
Hīnayāna Sūtras	VIII	11	X	38*
Mahāsūtras	IX	10	VIII	9
Tantric Mantras	XII	4	XII	18
Five Great Dhāraṇī	XIV	5	XIII	5
Dhāraṇī	XV	152	XIV	103
Set of 108 Names, Praises, etc.	XVII	33	XV-III	46*
Vinaya	XVIII	19	XIX	31
Miscellaneous Commentaries on Sūtras	XIX	46	XXV	31
Sūtra-commentaries from Chinese	XX	7	XXI	8
Madhyamaka Śāstras	XXI	29	XXII	33
Vijñāna Śāstras	XXII	30	XXIV	41
Hīnayāna Śāstras	XXIII	15	XI	7
Logic	XXIV	28	XXVII	28
Compositions by Khri srong lde btsan	XXVII	10	XXVIII	7
Unrevised Śāstras	XXVIIIc	8	XXX	6

TABLE FOUR: Hīnayāna Śāstras/Madhyamaka Śāstras/Logic (PT/DK)

Hīnayāna Śāstras: *Śāstras* 583–591 listed in (PT: §XXIII) can be found in corresponding (DK: §XXVI). *Śāstras* 592–594 are available in the DK under different divisions, whereas *śāstras* 595–597 are not found in the DK. For a discussion of Theravādin literature in Tibet (Skilling 1993).

PT: §XXIII (583–597)

592. *Ched du brjod pa'i tshoms* <4 bam po>

DK: §XI, No. 309

593. *'Phags pa gNas brtan spyang drang ba* <1 bam po & 100 śloka>

DK: §XI, No. 310

594. *gZhung tha dad pa rim par bklaḡs pa'i 'khor lo las sde tha dad par bstan pa bsdus pa* <50 śloka>

DK: §XX, No. 511

595. *sDe tha dad pa rim par bklaḡ pa slob dpon bha byas mdzad pa* <70 śloka>

DK: na

596. *sDe pa bcwa brgyad kyi ming dang rim pa slob dpon ta (sha nta?) de bas mdzad* <65 śloka>

DK: na

597. *gZhi lnga pa phrug la* <3 bam po>

DK: na

Madhyamaka Śāstras: All of the 29 Madhyamaka *śāstras* listed in (PT: §XXI) are included in the (DK: §XXII). 3 *śāstras* listed in the DK are not available in the PT.

DK: §XXII (573–605)

No. 584. *dBu ma de kho na nyid snang pa* <2 bam po & 600 śloka>

No. 588. *De kho na nyid la rtsod pa bzlog pa* <1 bam po & 300 śloka>

No. 601. *Byang chub sems kyi rnam par bshad pa* <200 śloka>

Logic: All the Logic texts (save one) listed in (DK: §XXVII) are included in (PT: §XXIV). Likewise, all texts (save one) listed in the PT are available in (DK: §XXVII).

DK: §XXVIII (695–722)

No. 715. *'Jig rten pha rol grub pa'i 'grel pa* <150 śloka>

PT: na

PT: §XXIV (598–625)

620. *sKad cig ma grub pa* <1/2 bam po>

DK: na

TABLE FIVE: Five Great Dhāraṇī (PT/DK)
--

Related and corresponding works in the Tibetan canon have been cited in sDe dge (= D) or Peking (= P). For a discussion of their relation to the *Mahāsūtras* and the *Pañcarakṣā* (Skilling 1997b, pp. 72–76). Related works in the DK are noted.

PT: §XIV (316–320)

DK: §XIII (329–333)

No. 316. *Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo* <2 bam po & 100 śloka>

DK: No. 329

related titles:

1.1. *Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo*. D: No. 0559, rGyud (pha 117a<sup>5</sup>–117a<sup>5</sup>)

1.1.1. *Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo las gsungs pa'i smon lam dang bden tshig*. D: No. 0814, rGyud (254b<sup>4</sup>–254b<sup>4</sup>); D: No. 1099, gZugs (wa 270a<sup>3</sup>–270a<sup>3</sup>); D: No. 4409, sNa-tshogs (nyo 346a<sup>5</sup>–346a<sup>5</sup>); P: No. 1044, 'Dul ba, (phe 308a<sup>8</sup>–308b<sup>5</sup>)

1.1.2. *Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo rma bya chen mo'i mdo'i 'bum 'grel zhes bya ba*. D: No. 2691, rGyud (du 241a<sup>7</sup>–241a<sup>7</sup>)

No. 317. *sTong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa* <2 bam po & 100 śloka>

DK: No. 330

related titles:

2.1. *Stong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa las gsungs pa'i smon lam*. D: No. 1098, gZugs (wa 269b<sup>5</sup>–269b<sup>5</sup>)

2.1.1. *Stong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa las gsungs pa'i smon lam*. P: No. 1043, 'Dul-ba, (phe 307a<sup>3</sup>–308a<sup>8</sup>)

2.1.2. *Stong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa'i mdo'i 'bum 'grel pa*. D: No. 2690, rGyud, (du 93a<sup>7</sup>–93a<sup>7</sup>)

2.1.3. *Stong chen mo rab tu 'joms pa'i sgrub thabs*. D: No. 3253, rGyud (bu 15b<sup>4</sup>–15b<sup>4</sup>)

No. 318. *Rig pa'i rgyal mo so sor 'brang ma chen mo <2 bam po & 240 śloka>*

DK: No. 331

related titles:

3.1.1. *'Phags pa Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo so sor 'brang ba chen mo*. D: No. 0561, rGyud (pha 138b<sup>5</sup>–138b<sup>5</sup>)

No. 319. *bsil ba'i tshal <180 śloka>*

DK: No. 332

related titles:

4.1. *bsil ba'i tshal chen po'i mdo*. D: No. 0562, rGyud (pha 150b<sup>1</sup>–150b<sup>1</sup>)

4.1.1. *Rig sngags kyi rgyal mo chen mo bsil ba'i tshal gyi mdo'i 'bum 'grel zhes bya ba*. D: No. 2693, rgyud (du 334a<sup>7</sup>–334a<sup>7</sup>)

4.1.2. *bsil ba'i tshal chen mo'i sgrub thabs*. D: No. 3123, rGyud (pu 220a<sup>5</sup>–220a<sup>5</sup>); D: No. 3255, rGyud (bu 16a<sup>2</sup>–16a<sup>2</sup>)P: No. 4078, rGyud 'grel (thu 297a<sup>4</sup>–297a<sup>8</sup>)

No. 320. *gSang sngags rjes su 'dzin pa <140 śloka>*

DK: No. 333

related titles:

5.1. *gSang sngags chen po rjes su 'dzin pa'i mdo*. D: No. 0563, rGyud (pha 156a<sup>6</sup>–156a<sup>6</sup>)

5.1.1. *gSang sngags chen mo rjes su 'dzin ma'i mdo'i bum 'grel*. D: No. 2692, rGyud, (du 282b<sup>7</sup>–282b<sup>7</sup>)

5.1.2. *'Phags ma gSang sngags chen mo rjes su 'dzin ma'i sgrub thabs*. D: No. 3122, rGyud (pu 220a<sup>2</sup>–220a<sup>2</sup>)

5.1.3. *gSang sngags kyi rjes su 'brang ba chen mo'i sgrub thabs*. D: No. 3254, rGyud (bu 15b<sup>6</sup>–15b<sup>6</sup>).

Related titles in the PT:

*gZungs chen po lnga'i cho ga mi mihun pa gsum smon lam dang bcas pa*  
PT: §XXXII, No. 941

*rMa bya chen mo'i cho ga*  
PT: §XXXII, No. 942

TABLE SIX: Minor Works Attributed to Nāgārjuna (PT/DK)
--

PT: §XXVI (651–656)  
DK: §XVI (446–451)

651. *Slob dpon Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa la sku gsum la bstod pa* <9 śloka>  
DK: No. 451
652. *bSam gyis mi khyab par bstod pa* <50 śloka>  
DK: No. 446
653. *'Jig rten las 'das par bstod pa* <22 śloka>  
DK: No. 448
654. *dPe med par bstod pa* <25 śloka>  
DK: No. 447
655. *bsTod pa las 'das par bstod pa* <18 śloka>  
DK: No. 449
656. *Don dam par bstod pa* <10 śloka>  
DK: No. 450

TABLE SEVEN: Tantric Texts (PT)

The length is not specified for Texts 21–70. Related titles in the DK are noted.

PT: §XXXII (885–960)

DK: §XII (unless otherwise indicated)

*A mo gha pā sha 'i cho ga sna gsum dang bshad pa* (No. 937)

*Bum pa 'i cho ga 'i las kyi rim pa mdo dang sbyar ba sna gnyis dang bshad pa* (No. 935)

*Byams pa 'i mchod pa* (No. 957)

*sByin sreg gi cho ga mi mthun pa gsum* (No. 934)

*bCom ldan 'das 'Jam pa 'i dbyangs kyi spyad (?) rtsa 'grel* (No. 917)

*bCom ldan 'das Mi g.yo ba 'i rjes su dran bar bya ba 'i cho ga/gshin rje gshed kyi bzlas pa* (No. 925)

*bCom ldan 'das Shes rab kyi pha rol du phyin pa 'i cho ga zhib mo (1 bam po)* (No. 894)

*Char dbab pa dang gcud pa 'i smon lam* (No. 954)

*mChod pa 'i thang dang bsham thabs* (No. 958)

*Chu dbang gi sgrub thabs* (No. 927)

*De bzhin gshegs pa bdun gyi gzungs bklags pa 'i cho ga dang bri byang* (No. 945)

*De bzhin gshegs pa thams cad kyi de kho na nyid bsdus pa 'i rgyud phyi ma dang bcas pa (9 bam po)* (No. 885)

*De nyid bsdus pa 'i dum bu dang po 'i 'grel pa (1 bam po)* (No. 886)

*De nyid bsdus pa 'i ŋikā ko sa la 'i rgyan (30 bam po)* (No. 887)

*rDo rje chos phyag na pad mo 'i sgrub thabs rnam gnyis* (No. 911)

*rDo rje rnam par 'joms pa 'i khros kyi cho ga gnyis dang bshad pa* (No. 940)

*rDo rje rnon po 'i sgrub thabs mi mthun pa bzhi* (No. 910)

*rDo rje sems dpa 'i sgrub thabs sna gnyis; De 'i brjed byang mi mthun pa gnyis* (Nos. 914, 915)

*Don yod grub pa 'i zhags pa 'i cho ga zhib mo (30 bam po)* (No. 901) related title: 15.1. *Don yod zhags pa 'i rtog pa chen po* (DK: No. 316)

*Dra byi ta 'i cho ga dang bshad pa* (No. 939)

*Drag shul gyi sgrub thabs* (No. 913)

*bDud rtsi thab sbyor gyi sgrub thabs che chung gnyis* (No. 922)

*sGo drug pa'i gzus (gzungs) kyi sgrub thabs gnyis* (No. 928) related title: 39.1.

*sGo drug pa'i gzungs kyi bshad pa* (DK: §XX, No. 553)

*rGyud bshags gsum pa'i cho ga* (No. 959)

*rGyud kun nas btus pa'i dkyil 'khor dang cho ga'i las kyi skabs kyi fikā sna gnyis* (No. 953)

*rGyud kyi don la 'jug pa'i sgrub thabs che chung gnyis* (No. 909)

*lHa bshos dbul ba'i cho ga* (No. 960)

*'Jam dpal gshin rje gshed kyi rtog pa phyi ma'i yang phyi ma spyir le'u bcu bdun* (1 *bam po*); *De'i brjed byang* (1 *bam po*) (Nos. 891, 892)

*'Jam dpal gyi mchod pa* (No. 956)

*'Jam dpal gyi sgrub thabs mi mthun pa gsum* (No. 921)

*'Jig rten gsum las rnam par rgyal ba'i 'grel ba* (1 *bam po*) (No. 889)

*'Jig rten gsum las rnam par rgyal ba'i rgyud* (2 *bam po*) (No. 888)

*Khro bo'i rgyal po zhal drug pa'i rtog pa* (1 *bam po*) (No. 893)

*Klu'i cho ga mi mthun pa bzhi* (No. 946)

*sKu gzugs spyan phye ba mi mthun pa bdun* (No. 950)

*dKyil 'khor spyi'i las bstan pa sna gnyis* (No. 930)

*Legs par grub pa'i rgyud las btus pa'i bsgrub thabs* (No. 926) related title: 37.1. *Legs par grub pa* (DK: No. 320)

*rMa bya chen mo'i cho ga* (No. 942)

*sMon lam che chung dang bcas pa* (No. 949)

*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud kyi stod 'grel* (1 *bam po*); (No. 898) related title: 12.1. *De'i sdus 'brel slob dpon Buddhaguptas mjad pa* (DK: No. 322)

*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud phyin ci ma log par bshad pa* (1 *bam po*) (No. 897) related title: 11.1. *rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa* (DK: No. 321)

*rNam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub'i sgrub thabs che chung gnyis* (No. 918)

*Ngan song rnam par sbyong ba'i dkyil 'khor bri byang dang bshad pa; 'Bum gyi cho ga* (No. 933)

*Ngan song thams cad rnam par sbyong ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtag pa* (2 *bam po*) (No. 890); related title: 6.1. *Ngan song thams cad yongs su sbyong ba gzi brjid kyi rgyal po brtag pa* (DK: No. 323)

*gNod sbyin gar mkhan mchog gi rgyud* (1 *bam po*) (No. 904)

*dPal rDo rje hūm gi sgrub thabs* (No. 912)

- dPung bzangs kyis zhus pa'i rgyud (1 bam po)* (No. 905) related title: 19.1.  
*dPung bzangs kyis zhus pa* (DK: No. 325) 19.1.1.*De'i 'grel pa* (DK: No. 326)  
*dPung bzangs kyis zhus pa'i rgyud kyi tshig gi don bshad pa'i brjed byang (1 bam po)*; *De'i don bsdus pa (1 bam po)*; *De'i don bsdus pa'i don dgrol ba'i brjed byang (1 bam po)* (Nos. 906, 907, 908)  
*Phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud (12 bam po)*; *De'i stod 'grel (1 bam po)* (Nos. 895, 896) related title: 10.1. *Phyag na rdo rje dbang bskur ba'i rgyud* (DK: No. 318)  
*Phyag na rdo rje'i sgrub thabs mi mthun pa gnyis* (No. 919)  
*Pra ti sa ra'i dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga chung gnyis* (No. 943)  
*sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gi sgrub thabs mi mthun pa sna bzhi* (No. 920)
- Rig pa mchog gi rgyud (1 bam po)* (No. 900) related title: 14.1. *Rig pa mchog* (DK: No. 317)  
*Rigs gsum gyi mchod pa* (No. 955)  
*bSam gtan phyi ma'i brjed byang (1 bam po)* (No. 899)  
*gSang ba'i rgyud (1 bam po)* (No. 903)  
*gSer laswo pa'i bcud kyis len brten pa kun las btus slob dpon Sangs rgyas gsang bas mdzad pa* (No. 951)  
*bSrung ba dang bsrung ba'i cho ga* (No. 944)  
*Su si ddhi ka ra'i rgyud (1 bam po)* (No. 902)  
*rTa mgrin gyi sgrub thabs che chung gnyis* (No. 924)  
*Thugs rje 'byung ba'i dkyil 'khor bri byang dang bshad pa* (No. 931)  
*sTobs po che'i cho ga dang bshad pa* (No. 938)  
*sTobs po che'i sgrub thabs che chung gnyis* (No. 923)  
*gTor ma'i cho ga rnam gsum* (No. 929)  
*Tsha tsha lce ti gdab pa'i cho ga mi mthun pa lnga* (No. 948)  
*Tshe dpag tu med pa'i sgrub thabs che chung gnyis* (No. 916)  
*gTsug tor dri ma med pa'i gzungs bklag pa'i cho ga* (No. 947)  
*gTsug tor gdugs dkar mo'i cho ga mi mthun pa gsum* (No. 936)  
*gTsug lag khang brtsigs pa'i cho ga* (No. 952)  
*gZungs chen po lnga'i cho ga mi mthun pa gsum smon lam dang bcas pa* (No. 941)

TABLE EIGHT: Mahāsūtras (PT/DK)

Corresponding texts in the DK are noted below. Corresponding works in the Tibetan canon have been cited in sDe dge (= D).

PT: §IX (251–260)

DK: §VIII (240–248)

No. 251. *Mdo chen po Kun tu rgyu dang kun tu rgyu ma yin pa dang 'thun pa (Ātānāṭīya-mahāsūtra) <1 bam po and 50 śloka>*

DK: No. 240; D: No. 1061, gZugs (wa 205b<sup>4</sup>–205b<sup>4</sup>)

No. 252. *Mdo chen po sGyu ma 'i dra ba (Māyājāla-mahāsūtra) <1 bam po and 40 śloka>*

DK: No. 241; D: No. 0288, mDo sde (sha 244a<sup>7</sup>–244a<sup>7</sup>)

No. 253. *Mdo chen po 'Dus pa chen po 'i mdo (Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra) <1 bam po>*

DK: No. 242; D: No. 1062. gZugs (wa 215b<sup>7</sup>–215b<sup>7</sup>)

No. 254. *Mdo chen po lNga gsum pa (Pañcatraya-mahāsūtra) <220 śloka>*

DK: No. 243; D: No. 0294, mDo sde (sha 275b<sup>7</sup>–275b<sup>7</sup>)

No. 255. *Mdo chen po gZugs can snying pos bsdu ba (Bimbisārapratyud-gamana-mahāsūtra) <1/2 bam po>*

DK: No. 245; D: No. 0289, mDo sde (sha 249b<sup>7</sup>–249b<sup>7</sup>)

No. 256. *Mdo chen po sTong pa nyid chen po (Mahāsūnyatā-mahāsūtra) <1/2 bam po>*

DK: No. 244; D: No. 0291, mDo sde (sha 261b<sup>7</sup>–261b<sup>7</sup>)

No. 257. *Mdo chen po sTong pa nyid nyi shu <70 śloka>*

One text is listed in the DK and in sDe dge with the title *Mdo chen po sTong pa nyid*

DK: No. 246; D: No. 0290, mDo sde (sha 253b<sup>2</sup>–253b<sup>2</sup>)

No. 258. *Mdo chen po rGyal mtshan dam pa <80 śloka> (Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra)*

HALKIAS: TIBETAN BUDDHISM REGISTERED

DK: No. 248; D: No. 0293, mDo sde (sha 267a<sup>7</sup>–267a<sup>7</sup>)

No. 259. *Mdo chen po sTong pa nyid rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba* <70 śloka>

Not available in the DK or in D.

No. 260. *Mdo chen po rGyal mtshan mchog* <40 śloka> (*Dhvajāgra-mahāsūtra*)

DK: No. 247; D: 0292. mDo sde (sha 265b<sup>4</sup>–265b<sup>4</sup>)

TABLE NINE: Mahāyāna Sūtras Translated from Chinese (PT)
--

Corresponding texts in the DK are noted below.

PT: §VII (229–239)

DK: §IX (249–270)

No. 229. *'Phags pa Mya ngan las 'das pa chen po* (*Mahāparinirvāna*) <42 bam po>

DK: No. 249

No. 230. *'Dzangs (mdzangs) blun* (*The Wise and Foolish*) <20 bam po>

DK: No. 250

No. 231. *gSer 'od dam pa rgya las bsgyur ba rnying* (*Suvarṇaprabhāsa*) <10 bam po>

DK: No. 251

No. 232. *Sangs rgyas kyi thabs chen po drin lan glan pa* (\**Mahā-upāyakausalya*)

<bam po phyed dang brgyad>

DK: No. 253

No. 233. *rDo rje ting nge 'dzin* (*Vajrasamādhi*) <6 bam po>

DK: No. 254

No. 234. *Sangs rgyas kyi mdzod* (*Buddhakośa*) <5 bam po>

DK: No. 255

- No. 235. *Thar ba chen po phyogs su rgyas pa* (\*Mahāmokṣa) <*bam po phyed dang bzhi*>  
DK: No. 258
- No. 236. *bsNgo ba'i 'khor lo* (Pariṇāmacakra) <2 *bam po*>  
DK: No. 262
- No. 237. *Chos kyi rgya mo* (Brahmajāla) <2 *bam po*>  
DK: No. 261
- No. 238. *gTzug tor chen po bdud kyi le'u* (Mārapātala/\*Mahā-uṣṇīsa) <2 *bam po*>  
DK: No. 260
- No. 239. *Sems can gyi skye shi'i rtsa ba bstan pa* (Maitreyavyākaraṇa) <1 *bam po*>  
DK: No. 265

## REFERENCES

### I. Primary Sources

- dBa' bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet.* Trans. by Pasang Wangdu and H. Diemberger. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. 2000.
- Byed brag rtogs byed 'bring ba'm/sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa.* Delhi: Shes rig dpar khang. 2000.
- sDe dge Edition* (Tibetan Tripiṭaka). Tōhoku Univ., Japan. 1934.
- sDe dge'i dkar chag.* Si tu Chos kyi 'byung gnas. Che'ng du: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 1988.
- Deb ther dmar po.* Tshal pa Kun dga' rdo rje. Si khron: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 1981.
- Deb ther dmar po gsar ma.* bSod nams grags pa. Trans. by Tucci. Rome: Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente. 1971.
- lDe'u chos 'byung.* lDe'u Jo sras. Lha sa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 1987.
- 'bDud 'joms chos 'byung.* Bdud 'joms 'jigs brel Ye shes rdo rje. Si khron: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 1996.
- rGyal rabs deb ther dkar po* (= *Bod chen po'i srid lugs dang 'brel ba'i rgyal rabs deb ther dkar po*). dGe 'dun chos 'phel. Dharamsala: She rig dpar khang. 1981.

## HALKIAS: TIBETAN BUDDHISM REGISTERED

- rGyal rabs gsal ba'i me long*. Sa skya bSod nams rgyal-mtshan. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 1981.
- dKar chag 'phang thang ma/sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 2003.
- bKa' thang sde lnga*. U rgyan gLing pa. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 1986.
- mKhas pa'i dga' ston*. dPa' bo gTsug lag phreng ba. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 1986.
- Myang chos 'byung (= Myang yul stod smad bar gsum gyi ngo mtshar gtam gyi legs bshad mkhas pa'i 'jug ngogs)*. Tāranātha. Lha sa: Bod ljongs mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 1983.
- sNgon gyi me tog gi phreng ba*, and other rare historical texts from the library of Burmiok Athing T.D. Densapa. Ne'u Paṇḍita Grags pa sMon lam blo gros. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. 1985.
- rNying ma sde dge bka' 'gyur and bstan 'gyur (Tibetan Tripitaka)*. Tharthang Tulku, Dharma Publishing. 1980.
- Peking Edition (Tibetan Tripitaka)*. Tokyo, Japan. 1962.
- dPyid kyi rgyal mo'i glu dbyangs*. Blo bzang rgya mtsho. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang. 1988.
- bsTan 'gyur dkar chag*. Tshul khriims rin chen. Shin hwa: Pod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang. 1985.
- bsTan pa dang bstan 'dzin gyi lo rgyus yongs 'du'i me tog gsar pa'i do shal*. rTa nag mKhan chen chos rnam rgyal. 1985. See *sNgon gyi me tog gi phreng ba*.
- Yar lung chos 'byung*. Shākya rin chen. Shin hwa: Pod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang. 1988.

## II. Secondary Sources

- Beckwith, C. 1987. *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia: A History of the Struggle for Great Power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabs and Chinese during the Early Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bethlenfalvy, G. 1982. *A Hand-list of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse Thems-spangs-ma*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiado.
- Blezer, H. 1997. *Kar gling Zhi khro: A Tantric Buddhist Concept*. Leiden: CNWS.
- Bu ston. 1988. *Bu ston chos 'byung*: Krung go: Shes rig dpe skrun khang.
- . 1932. *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. Trans. by E. Obermiller. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications.
- . 1990. *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet*. Critical edition with a comprehensive index by J. Szerb. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bue, E.L. 1997. "The Role of Newar Scholars in Transmitting the Indian Buddhist Heritage to Tibet." In *Les habitants du toit du monde. Hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald*, ed. Karmay, et Sagant. Nanterre: Société d' ethnologie, pp. 629–58.
- Dargyay, E.K. 1991. "Sangha and State in Imperial Tibet." In *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on his Seventieth Birthday*, E. Steinkellner. Wien: Universität Wien.
- Das, S.C. 1998. *A Tibetan English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Davidson, R. 2002. "Gsar ma Apocrypha." In *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. Eimer H. and Germano D. Leiden: Brill, pp. 203–24.

- Denwood, P.T. 1990. "Tibetan *Pho-brang* in the Early Period." In *Indo-Tibetan Studies*, Buddhica Britannica, Series Continua II. Tring: The Institute of Buddhist Studies.
- Dotson, B. 2004. "A Note on *Źaṅ*: Maternal Relatives of the Tibetan Royal Line and Marriage into the Royal Family." *Journal Asiatique*, 292. 1–2: pp. 75–99.
- Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las 2004. *Bod kyi dkar chag rig pa*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang.
- . 1997. *Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las kyi gsung rtsom phyogs bsgrigs*. China: Shes rig skrun khang.
- Francke, A.H. 1926. *Chronicles of Ladakh and Minor Chronicles*. In *Antiquities of Indian Tibet, Part II*, New Delhi: S. Chand & Co. Ltd.
- Franco, E. 1997. "The Tibetan Translations of the *Pramānavārttika* and the Development of Translation Methods from Sanskrit to Tibetan." In *Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. I. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 277–89.
- Germano, D. 2002. "Canons at the Boundaries: the Rnying-ma *Tantras* and Shades of Gray Between the Early and Late Translations." In *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. Eimer H. and Germano D. Leiden: Brill, pp. 199–202.
- Gethin, R. 2001. *The Buddhist Path to Awakening*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.
- . 1998. *The Foundations of Buddhism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haarh, E. 1969. *The Yar-lung Dynasty*. Copenhagen: G.E.C. Gad's Forlag.
- . 1960. "The Identity of Tsu-Chih-Chien, The Tibetan King Who Died in 804 A.D." *Acta Orientalia*, 25: pp. 121–70.
- Harrison, P. 1996. "A Brief History of the bKa' 'gyur." In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, ed. Cabezon and Jackson. New York: Snow Lion, pp. 70–93.
- Herrmann-Pfandt, A. 2002. "The Lhan kar ma as a Source for the History of Tantric Buddhism." In *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. Eimer H. and Germano D. Leiden: Brill, pp. 129–49.
- Heller, A. 1994. "Early Ninth Century Images of Vairocana from Eastern Tibet." *Orientalia* 25/6: pp. 74–79.
- . 1997. "Buddhist Images and Rock Inscription from Eastern Tibet, VIIIth to Xth Century." *Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. I. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 385–405.
- Ishikawa, M. 1990. *A Critical Edition of the Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa: An Old and Basic Commentary on the Mahāvīyutpatti (Studia Tibetica No. 18/Materials for Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionaries, vol. 2)*. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko.
- Kapstein, M. 2000. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Karmay, Heather. 1977. "Tibetan Costume, Seventh to Eleventh Centuries." In *Essais sur l'art du Tibet*, ed. by Macdonald & Imaeda. Paris: A. Maisonneuve, pp. 64–81.
- . 1975. *Early Sino-Tibetan Art*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips Ltd.
- Karmay, Samten G. 1988. *The Great Perfection: A Philosophical and Meditative Teaching in Tibetan Buddhism*. Leiden: Brill.

HALKIAS: TIBETAN BUDDHISM REGISTERED

- . 1986. *Btsan po lha sras dar ma dang de'i rjes su byung ba'i rgyal rabs mdor bsdus*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. bKra shis Tshe ring (1983). *A mdo rwa rgya'i bka' 'gyur gyi dkar chag (gleng brjod)*. Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives.
- Kawagoe Eishin 川越英真. 2005a. “Pantan mokuroku no kenkyū” 『パンタン目録』の研究 (A Study of “dKar chag 'Phang thang ma”). *Report of the Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies*, no. 51, pp. 115–33.
- . 2005b. *dKar chag 'Phang thang ma*. Sendai: Tōhoku indo chibetto kenkyū kai 東北インド・チベット研究会.
- Köros, A.C. 1991. *Tibetan Studies* (Collected Articles of Alexander Csoma de Köros). Delhi: Gaurav Publishing House.
- Lalou, M. 1953. “Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan. Contribution à la bibliographie du Kanjur et du Tanjur.” *Journal Asiatique*, 241: pp. 313–53.
- Lokesh Chandra 1963. *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*. Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 30. Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture.
- Martin, D. 2002. “Gray Traces: Tracing the Tibetan Teaching Transmission of the Mngon pa Kun Btus (Abhidharmasamuccayas) through the Early Period of Disunity.” In *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism*, ed. Eimer H. and Germano D. Leiden: Brill, pp. 335–51.
- Meinert 2003. “Structural Analysis of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*. A Comparison of the Fourfold Correct Practice in the *Āryāvīkalpapraveśanāmadhāraṇī* and the Contents of the Four Main Chapters of the *bSam gtan mig sgron*.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 26/1: pp. 175–97.
- Panglung, J. L. 1994. “New Fragments of the *sGra-sbyor bam-po gnyis-pa*.” *East and West*, vol. 44/1: pp. 161–72.
- Pathak, S.K. 1974. *The Indian Nītiśāstras in Tibet*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Petech, L. 1994. “Disintegration of the Tibetan Kingdom.” In *Proceedings from the 6th IATS Seminar*. Oslo: The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture, pp. 649–59.
- Poussin, L.V. 1991. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*. Trans. by Pruden. CA: Asian Humanities Press.
- Puri, B.N. 1987. *Buddhism in Central Asia*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Rabsel, ed. 1996. *Catalogue of the Phodrang Lhankarma*. Sarnath: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.
- Richardson, H.E. 1985. *A Corpus of Early Tibetan Inscriptions*. Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
- . 1998. *High Peaks, Pure Earth: Collected Writings on Tibetan History and Culture*. London: Serindia Publications.
- Roerich, G.N. 1976. *Blue Annals*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.
- Ruegg, D. S. 1981. “Autour du lTa-ba'i khyad-par Ye-shes-sde.” *Journal Asiatique*, 269: pp. 207–29.
- Samuel, G. 1982. “Buddhism and the State in the Eight Century.” In *Religion and Secular Culture in Tibet*, ed. Blezer. *Proceedings of the 9th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1–19.
- Scherrer-Schaub, C. 2002. “Enacting Words. A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees and their Application in the *Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa* Tradition.” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 25: 1–2, pp. 263–340.

- . 1999. “Translation, Transmission, Tradition: Suggestions from Ninth-Century Tibet.” *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 27: pp. 67–77.
- . 1992. “Śa cu: Qu’y a-t-il au programme de la classe de philologie bouddhique?” *Proceedings of the 5th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, vol. 1. Narita, Naritasan Shinshoji, pp. 209–20.
- Shastri, Lobsang. 2002. “Activities of Indian paṇḍitas in Tibet from the 14th to the 17th century.” In *Tibet, Past and Present*, ed. Blezer. *Proceedings of the 9th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*. Leiden: Brill.
- Skilling, P. 1994. *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourse of the Buddha*, vol. 1: Texts, Oxford: The Pali Text Society.
- . 1997a. “From bKa’ bstan bcos to bKa’ ’gyur and bsTan ’gyur.” In *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon*, ed. by Eimer. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 87–111.
- . 1997b. *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourse of the Buddha*, vol. 2: Parts 1 & 2. Oxford: The Pali Text Society.
- . 1993. “Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation.” *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, Vol. XIX, pp. 69–201.
- Snellgrove, D. 1987. *Indo-Tibetan Buddhism: Indian Buddhists and their Tibetan Successors*. London: Serindia Publications.
- Sørensen, P. K., et al. 2005. *Thundering Falcon: An Inquiry into the History and Cult of Khra-brug, Tibet’s First Buddhist Temple*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Sørensen, P. K. 1994. *The Mirror Illuminating the Royal Genealogies. An Annotated Translation of the XIVth Century Tibetan Chronicle. rGyal-rabs gsal-ba’i melong*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Stein, R. A. 1981. “Saint et Divin.” *Journal Asiatique*, 269: pp. 231–75.
- Tanaka, K. & R. Robertson. 1992. “A Ch’an Text from Tun-huang: Implications for Ch’an Influence on Tibetan Buddhism.” In *Tibetan Buddhism: Reason and Revelation*, ed. by Goodman and Davidson. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Tshul khrims skal bzang Khang dkar. 2003. *Yul gangs can gyi bka’ bstan dkar chag dang bcas pa’i lo rgyus rags tsam brjod pa snar thang dran dbyangs* (History of bKa’ ’gyur and bsTan ’gyur). Kyoto: Annual Memoirs of the Otani Shin Buddhist Research Institute, vol. 20.
- . 1985. *Bstan pa snga dar gyi chos ’byung ’brel yod dang bcas pa’i dus rabs kyi mtha’ dpyod ’phrul gyi me long zhes bya ba bzhugs*. Delhi: Western Tibetan Cultural Association.
- Tucci, G. 1958. *Minor Buddhist Texts, Part II: First Bhāvanākrama of Kamalaśīla*. Rome: Serie Orientale Roma, IX: 2.
- . 1950. *The Tombs of the Tibetan Kings*. (Vol. 1). Rome: Istituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed Estremo Oriente.
- Yamaguchi, Z. 1996. “The Fiction of King Dar-ma’s Persecution of Buddhism.” In Jean-Pierre Drège, ed., *Etudes Chinoises et bouddhiques offertes à Michel Soymié*, Librairie Droz, Geneva.
- Yoshimura, S. 1950. *The Denkar-ma: An Oldest Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*. Kyoto: Ryukoku University.

## HALKIAS: TIBETAN BUDDHISM REGISTERED

- Uebach, H. 1997. "Eminent Ladies of the Tibetan Empire according to Old Tibetan Texts." In *Les habitants du toit du monde. Hommage à Alexander W. Macdonald*, ed. Karmay, et Sagant. Nanterre: Société d' ethnologie, pp. 54–74.
- . 1991. "dByar-mo-tha and Go-bu ma-ru. Tibetan Historiographical Tradition on the Treaty of 821/823." In *Tibetan History and Language: Studies Dedicated to Uray Géza on his Seventieth Birthday*, E. Steinkellner. Wien: Universität Wien.
- . 1990. "On Dharma-Colleges and their Teachers in the Ninth-century Tibetan Empire." *Indo-Sino-Tibetica, Studi in onore di Luciano Petech*, ed. Daffinà. Rome: (Studi Orientali IX), pp. 393–417.
- Uray, G. 1972. "The Narrative of Legislation and Organization of the Mkas pa'i dga' ston: the Origins of the Traditions Concerning Sroñ btsan Sgam po as First Legislator and Organizer of Tibet." *Acta Orientalia*, XXVI: pp. 11–68.
- . 1989. "Contributions to the date of the *Vyutpatti*-treatises." *Acta Orientalia*, XLIII: pp. 3–23.
- Vostrikov, A.I. 1970. *Tibetan Historical Literature*. Trans. Gupta. Calcutta: Soviet Indology Series.
- Xinru Liu 1994. *Ancient India and Ancient China: Trade and Religious Exchanges AD 1-600*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Copyright and Use:

**As an ATLAS user, you may print, download, or send articles for individual use according to fair use as defined by U.S. and international copyright law and as otherwise authorized under your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement.**

**No content may be copied or emailed to multiple sites or publicly posted without the copyright holder(s)' express written permission. Any use, decompiling, reproduction, or distribution of this journal in excess of fair use provisions may be a violation of copyright law.**

This journal is made available to you through the ATLAS collection with permission from the copyright holder(s). The copyright holder for an entire issue of a journal typically is the journal owner, who also may own the copyright in each article. However, for certain articles, the author of the article may maintain the copyright in the article. Please contact the copyright holder(s) to request permission to use an article or specific work for any use not covered by the fair use provisions of the copyright laws or covered by your respective ATLAS subscriber agreement. For information regarding the copyright holder(s), please refer to the copyright information in the journal, if available, or contact ATLA to request contact information for the copyright holder(s).

About ATLAS:

The ATLA Serials (ATLAS®) collection contains electronic versions of previously published religion and theology journals reproduced with permission. The ATLAS collection is owned and managed by the American Theological Library Association (ATLA) and received initial funding from Lilly Endowment Inc.

The design and final form of this electronic document is the property of the American Theological Library Association.