

# A Survey of Tibetan *Sūtras* Translated from Chinese, as Recorded in Early Tibetan Catalogues<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

**A**s modern critiques of canonicity already reveal, a canon, so to speak, is a retrospective construction of privileged knowledge, a mechanism to reinforce particular value systems while at the same time silencing those that are excluded.<sup>2</sup> The same mechanism can also be discerned in the Tibetan canon,<sup>3</sup> dating back to the first decade of the 14th century and credited to the conceptual archetype of the so-called “Old-Narthing Kanjur”.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This paper was initially planned as part of the collaborative work with Prof. Jonathan A. Silk. However, we later decided to publish our works separately. I am heavily indebted to his paper published in 2019 that deals with the same corpus, which forms the background knowledge of the present paper. I also need to express my gratitude to Dr. Lewis Doney and the two peer-reviewers for their insightful comments and revision suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Refer to Brzyski 2007 for a recent critique of the canonical paradigm in the field of art and literature studies. With respect to the Buddhist studies, Silk (2015) has recently published an encyclopaedia entry on canonicity, which not only recapitulates the history, content, and organization of Buddhist canons across Asia, but also discusses how Buddhist canons exert power by admitting or ignoring certain texts, and investigates the reception, interpretation, extension (through ongoing commentaries), fluidity (including mutual influence), and preservation of Buddhist canons in different canonical traditions.

<sup>3</sup> Since I restrict the object of this paper to the genre of *sūtra*, I here mainly deal with the Kanjur (*bka' 'gyur*) division of the Tibetan canon. However, I add a list of non-*sūtra* translations from Chinese (including *sūtra* commentaries) in Appendix II, based on textual information from the four early catalogues: the imperial *Dkar chag Lhan* (or *Ldan*) *dkar ma* (abbr. LKK), *Dkar chag 'Phang thang ma* (abbr. PTK), Bcom ldan ral gri's (1227–1305) 13th-century catalogue *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od* (abbr. TGGNO), and Bu ston's (1290–1364) *Catalogue* (abbr. BC)—the main source of knowledge of my ensuing discussion.

<sup>4</sup> Before the compilation of the Old-Narthing Kanjur, a clear distinction between Kanjur and Tanjur did not exist, see Skilling 1997: 92, 100; Tauscher 2015: 107–108. This is reflected in the fact that earlier Tibetan Buddhist catalogues, including LKK, PTK, and TGGNO, do not adopt the labels ‘Kanjur’ and ‘Tanjur’. Moreover, in many local canonical collections such as Namgyal and Lang, there only exist

It is common knowledge that the overwhelming majority of *sūtras* compiled in the Tibetan canon, no matter their lineage, are translations from Sanskrit. In the vast body of Kanjur texts (ca. 750–1100 in number),<sup>5</sup> those translated from other languages,<sup>6</sup> which mainly refer to Chinese, number fewer than 40.<sup>7</sup> This number includes all the works

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separate compilatory units of translations (e.g., the *Sūtra* Section and the *Prajñāpāramitā* Section), instead of Kanjurs. See Viehbeck 2020; Almogi 2021: 165. Proto-Kanjurs that came into being as early as the late 13th century (e.g., Gondhla) also arrange texts with similar or related topics into the same volumes, but still do not have a systematic organisation as seen in the Kanjurs, Tauscher 2015: 107; Tauscher 2008: xi–xii. Almogi 2021 strongly argues that the concepts of ‘Kanjur’ and ‘Tanjur’ were introduced no earlier than the compilation of the Old-Narthing Kanjur, and could not be dated back to the second half of the 13th century as proposed in Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 10–14.

<sup>5</sup> Eimer 1992: xii; Tauscher 2015: 104.

<sup>6</sup> It is also known that 13 Theravādin texts, translated into Tibetan in the 14th century, are included in the Kanjurs, and many more citations from larger Theravādin texts are found in the Tanjurs. The detailed research has been done by Skilling 1993: 73–201. Moreover, the Tibetan Tanjurs preserve many *dohā* texts, which were originally written in the *Apabhramśa* dialect, see Schaeffer 2005: 80ff. Noteworthy is also the text Derge Kanjur 831, which contains a title in the language of Burushaski (*bru sha*). See Martin 2014, s.v. *Sarvatahāgatacittajñānaguhyārthagarbhavyūha-vajratantrasiddhi-yogāgama-samājasarvavidyāsūtra-mahāyānābhisamayadharmaparyāyavyūhanāma-sūtra*. There are also records of translations from Khotanese. For instance, in the ‘*Phang thang ma*, under the number 733, the *Snang brgyad ces bya ba’i rig sngags* (I adopt the numeration in Kawagoe 2005) was reported as one of the translations from Chinese and Khotanese (*rgya dang li las bsgyur*). According to Bu ston’s *Chos ’byung*, it was translated from Khotanese, Nishioka 1983: 62, no. 1287. However, according to Oda (2015: 58), the Kanjur version of this text (e.g., D.1067 and P 693) is a translation from the Chinese apocrypha *Tiandi bayang shenzhou jing* 天地八陽神呪經 (T.2897). The Kanjur version was an abbreviated translation from the Chinese version, and has little to do with the Dunhuang Tibetan versions of the same text (there are three versions in Dunhuang, namely the old version, the new version, and the later version). For a more detailed bibliography, see Silk 2019: 238. The TGGNO also lists a separate section of translations from Khotanese (*li*) but, as I discuss below, I suspect that this section is a misreading or based on a corrupted reading of the ‘*Phang thang ma*’s section for translations from Chinese or Khotanese (PTK716–733). In addition, the famous text *Li yul lung bstan pa* “The Prophecy of Khotan”, a narrative relating the history of Buddhism in Khotan, was also translated into Tibetan during the imperial era. Zhu 2015 dates the text to 830 CE.

<sup>7</sup> According to Silk 2019, the Derge Kanjur contains 31 *sūtras* translated from identified Chinese sources: D.51, 57, 58, 61, 64, 84, 108, 119, 123, 135, 137, 174, 199, 237, 239, 242, 243, 256, 264, 335, 336, 341, 351, 353, 354, 359, 555, 691–897, 692, 694, and 1067. In addition, there are four *sūtras* whose Chinese sources cannot be identified (D.122, 241, 255, 263). Of course, the numbers vary in each Kanjur. The *Them spangs ma* lineage contains at least two more translations from Chinese that are missing in the *Tshal pa* lineage (i.e., Stog266, with an identified Chinese source, and Stog130, with an unidentified Chinese source). Within the *Tshal pa* lineage, the situation also differs. For instance, the Chinese apocrypha *Sishi’er zhang jing* 四十二章經 (D.359a, *Dum bu zhe gnyis pa zhes bya*), which was translated in the Qing Dynasty, was added to the Derge Kanjur, but not in the Peking or other Kanjurs.

collected in the Kanjurs translated either in the imperial or post-imperial era.

However, the various records concerning the earliest phase of Tibetan Buddhism provide us with a different picture, one in which Buddhism from China plays an essential role in Tibetan textual history. In the narrative dimension, as already noted by scholars such as Paul Demiéville,<sup>8</sup> Giuseppe Tucci,<sup>9</sup> Rolf Stein,<sup>10</sup> and Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, there exists a historiographical tradition in which “Buddhism was first introduced to Tibet from China at the time of the Ancestors or during the infancy of Khri Srong lde btsan” (742–ca. 800).<sup>11</sup> The *Dpang skong phyag brgya pa*, which is listed as one of the earliest Tibetan Buddhist translations in Bu ston’s *Chos ’byung*, is said to have been translated from Chinese in the 12th-century *gter ma* work *Zangs gling ma*, although the credibility of this attribution is subject to question.<sup>12</sup> The historiographical records revealing early Buddhist communications between China and Tibet include, for instance, records of importing Chinese Buddhist texts and a Śākyamuni statue in the course of the politically motivated marriage of Princess Wencheng and Srong btsan sgam po (c. 605–649).<sup>13</sup> There are also records in Chinese historiographies that, from 781, Chinese monks were regularly sent to Tibet to preach the Buddhist teaching,<sup>14</sup> and it is also recorded that young

<sup>8</sup> Demiéville 1987 [1952]: 185 has noticed that in Bu ston’s *Chos ’byung*, the introduction of Buddhism from China predates the arrival of Indian masters. Cited in Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 298.

<sup>9</sup> Tucci 1958: 47–49 has stated that the number of texts translated from Chinese in the early phase of Tibetan Buddhism could be greater than those translated from Sanskrit.

<sup>10</sup> Stein 2010 [1985]: 169–70: “Contrariwise, more than Confucianism, the eminent role of China around 730–750 resides in the transmission of Chinese Buddhism (partly via the intermediary of Chan), in parallel and in concurrence with Indian Buddhism. And this not only with regard to Chan, properly so-called, but also especially the apocryphal sūtras, the simple texts of morality and the practices usable by the laity (funerary rites, *zhai* 齋). The later Tibetan historians have retained well this preponderant role of China (TA I, 5, 49–50 and n. 23)”. The French is cited in Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 298.

<sup>11</sup> Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 298.

<sup>12</sup> Skilling 1997: 88, n. 8.

<sup>13</sup> As commented by Kapstein 2009: 2–3, even though the historicity of Princess Wencheng’s role in the transmission of Buddhism in Tibet is subject to question, for Tibetan Buddhists, it has become “an article of faith that the precious image of the Lord Śākyamuni in Lhasa, the most revered object of Tibetan pilgrimage, was brought to their land from China by a royal emanation of the female buddha Tāra, on the occasion of her wedding to their king, a mortal manifestation of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara himself”. Also see Kapstein 2009.: 21–22 for a more detailed and historical discussion of Princess Wencheng’s role in Sino-Tibetan relations.

<sup>14</sup> *Tang huiyao*, *Tufan Chapter* 唐會要·吐蕃: (建中二年, 781 CE) 初, 吐蕃遣使求沙門之善講者, 至是遣僧良琇文素二人行, 每人歲一更之 (“At the beginning, Tibet sent

Tibetan noblemen were sent to China to receive (a more Confucian style of) education as early as the 7th century.<sup>15</sup> In addition, the *Sba bzhed* accounts that, under the reign of Khri Lde gtsug btsan (704–754), the Chinese princess Jincheng was promoting the Chinese branch of Buddhism, and by establishing Jincheng’s genuine maternity to Khri Srong lde btsan, the latter was regarded as “Chinese uterine descent”.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, the birth of the religious king Khri Srong lde btsan was predicted by a Chinese monk.<sup>17</sup> Afterwards, when Buddhism was persecuted by anti-Buddhist ministers before Khri Srong lde btsan gained the actual power, a Chinese monk is said to have left one of his shoes in Tibet when being expelled, which foretells the future success of the *dharma* in Tibet.<sup>18</sup> The different versions of the *Testimony*<sup>19</sup> of *Ba* (*Dbā’ bzhed*, *Sba bzhed*, and the supplemented *Sba bzhed*)<sup>20</sup> all tell us that a Tibetan delegation headed by *Dbā’ Gsas snang* and *Dbā’ Sang shi*<sup>21</sup> was sent by Khri Srong lde btsan to look for Buddhist doctrines in China.<sup>22</sup>

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envoys to ask for Buddhist monks who were skillful at preaching the *dharma*. Up to that time, two monks, Liangxiu and Wensu, were sent for the journey. Every year, one person was replaced”). A similar record is later collected in the *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (T.2035 [49] 379a25–27). See Demiéville 1958 [1987]: 10, 183–84; Kapstein 2009: 23.

- <sup>15</sup> *Jiu tangshu*, *Tufan zhuan* 舊唐書吐蕃傳: (貞觀十五年 641CE) ... 仍遣酋豪子弟, 請入國學以習詩書, 又請中國識文之人典其表疏. See Demiéville 1958 [1987]: 187–88; Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 276.
- <sup>16</sup> *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 4–5; Kapstein 2000: 28–30; Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 34. The key term *rgya tsha* is translated as “Chinese uterine descendant” in Doney 2013: 23. In the *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, it is explained as *rgya rigs dang bod rigs ’dres pa’i phru gu* “a child of mixed Chinese and Tibetan parentage”.
- <sup>17</sup> Kapstein 2000: 26;
- <sup>18</sup> Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 37; *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 8.
- <sup>19</sup> Doney (2021a: vi, n. 6) argues for reserving the term ‘testimony’ for translating the Tibetan *bzhed*, while using ‘testament’ for translating *bka’ chems* / *bka’ thang* / *thang yig*.
- <sup>20</sup> See Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 1–2 for a description of different recensions of this text. A more recent and comprehensive study of the complicated exemplar situation of this text, together with an extensive and useful overview of the previous scholarship, is offered in Doney 2021b: 6–24. For the *Sba bzhed*, I use the eclectic edition published in Beijing in 1980 (reprinted in 1982). For the Supplemented *Sba bzhed* (*Sba bzhed zhabs btags ma*), I use Tong Jinhuan and Huang Bufan’s 1990 edition, which is largely based on Stein’s edition of 1961.
- <sup>21</sup> *Sang shi* is presented as a Tibetanised Chinese master in the *Testament of Ba*, Kapstein 2000: 71–72. It has been observed by scholars that the name *Sang shi* closely resembles *shen(g) shi* (or *shan[g] shi*), the Tibetan transcription for *Chanshi* 禪師 (“*dhyāna* master”) in Dunhuang manuscripts (e.g., Pelliot tibétain [abbr. PT] 116). See Lalou 1939: 40; Tucci 1958: 24; Kapstein 2009: 57. Demiéville favours the correspondence of *Sang shi* to *seng shi* 僧師, which, however, is not a common term in Chinese Buddhism.
- <sup>22</sup> Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 47; Tong Jinhuan and Huang Bufan 1990: 89–93, 97. *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 6. According to Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger

The supplemented *Sba bzhed* further narrates that the delegation obtained one thousand texts, written in gold, from China.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, there are also statements that during Khri Srong lde btsan's reign, Indian and Chinese translation projects were organized and conducted separately from each other.<sup>24</sup> At the end of the *Dbā' bzhed* and *Sba bzhed*, Khri Srong lde btsan expresses immense regret over not having translated (the complete) Buddhist texts from Chinese.<sup>25</sup>

In the dimension of textual history, the role of Chinese Buddhism is even more apparent in view of the discoveries from Dunhuang: many Tibetan *sūtra* translations from Chinese have come to light in Dunhuang, but they were not included in any Kanjurs.<sup>26</sup> Silk has provided us with an admirable panorama of the currently known Chinese

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2000: 47, in the *Sba bzhed*, this was actually the second trip to China, but in the *Dbā' bzhed*, there was only one trip. One episode commonly appearing in all versions recounts that the Chinese monk Gyin Hwa Shang gave Sang shi three Buddhist scriptures (*Las rnam par 'byed pa* [Supplemented *Sba bzhed*: *Dge ba bcu'i mdo*], *Sa lu ljang pa*, and *Rdo rje gcod pa*) and prophesied that Buddhism was destined to blossom after the young prince (Khri Srong lde btsan) grew up, see Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 50; Tsering Gonkatsang and Michael Willis 2021: 118–19; Tong Jinhuan and Huang Bufan 1990: 97. This information is also recorded in the *Lde'u chos 'byung* (1987: 302), in which the three *sūtras* were *Sgrib pa rgyun gcod pa*, *Sa ru ljang pa*, and *Rdo rje gcod pa*. A related story is also mentioned in Kapstein 2000: 71–72.

<sup>23</sup> Tong Jinhuan and Huang Bufan 1990: 7, 91. *Sba bzhed* 1982: 7. A further *gter ma* type of episode concerning Chinese Buddhist texts obtained by Sang shi is developed in the *Sba bzhed* and *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston*, see Li Channa 2016: 210.

<sup>24</sup> Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 70–72; Tong Jinhua and Huang Bufan 1990: 46, 157; *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 59–60. It is well-known that Tibetans, at least those based in Dunhuang, were already familiar with Confucius and Confucius maxims. The famous *Kongzi xiangtuo xiangwen shu* 孔子項託相問書 was also translated into Tibetan in Dunhuang (e.g., PT 992 and 1284). In the 11th century, the image of Confucius was introduced into Bon literature. More related studies are found in Lin Shen-yu 2007 and Gurung 2009.

<sup>25</sup> *Sba bzhed* 1982 [1980]: 78: *rgya yul du chos byung nas lo stong nyis brgya lon tel gsung rab kyi dpe tshang bar bzhugs na rgya'i dha rma ma bsgyur pa yid la bcags so zhes gsung nas thugs ngal mdzad*. Since this contrasts the situation of the Indian texts (which were “completed” [*tshang bar*]), I read here the implication that the Chinese texts were not completely translated, rather than “not translated” at all. See Pasang Wangdu and Diemberger 2000: 90. The supplemented version lacks this record.

<sup>26</sup> These *sūtras*, according to Silk 2019: 233–35, include the *Dge bsnen ma gang ga'i mchog gi 'dus pa* (PT 89, from T.310–31), the *Snang ba mtha' yas kyi mdo* (PT 758, from T.366), the *Byang chub sems dpa' byams pas zhus pa'i 'dul pa* (PT 89, from T.310–42), the *'Od dpag med kyi bkod pa* (PT 96, 557, 563, 561, 562, 564, from T.310–5), and the *'Phags pa dus dang dus ma yin pa bstan pa zhes bya ba'i mdo* (IOL Tib J 213, from T.794a&b). See also Li Channa 2016: 208, n. 9. In addition, Silk also discovers that IOL Tib J 165 and 166 preserves sentences of the *Ratnarāsi* translated from Chinese, on which he will make some publication in the future. Helmut Tauscher 2021, in his publication on the *Mdo sde brgyad bcu khungs*, relates his discovery of many different types of Chinese elements in this Tibetan compilation of citations from 80 authoritative treatises.

*sūtras* in Tibetan translation. In this detailed list, he provides essential details for the study of the history of Tibetan translations from Chinese. Chos grub, the 9th-century bilingual Dunhuang-based translator, translated 23 texts (both scriptures and commentaries) from Chinese into Tibet, of which only 15 translations are collected in the Tibetan Canon.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, when speaking of the Chinese Buddhist influence upon Buddhism in Tibet, one could not avoid mentioning Chan, which, as argued by van Schaik, converged with *Rdzogs chen* as the practices in the Mahāyoga *sādhana*s by the 10th century,<sup>28</sup> and which seems to have still been alive in the 11th-century Tibet.<sup>29</sup> Translations listed in Appendix II demonstrate that, at least during the time of Bcom ldan ral gri (1227–1305), Chan translations were still collected in Tibetan monks' libraries. As revealed by Kapstein, many elements of this Chan teaching (e.g., passages from the *Vajrasamādhisūtra*) have been incorporated into "handbooks of certain Tibetan traditions of meditation".<sup>30</sup> In addition, the inscription on the *Khra 'brug* bell, made in the reign of Khri Lde srong brtsan, confirms that a Chinese monk named Rin chen cast this bell on behalf of Queen Byang chub (i.e. Rgyal mo brtsan, one wife of Khri Srong lde btsan).<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, apart from being the direct source of many Tibetan translations, Chinese texts may also have functioned as supplementary sources in Tibetan translation projects from Sanskrit. For instance, one Tibetan version of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra* (D.556)<sup>32</sup> and one version of the *Maitreyapariṣcchāśūtra* (D.85),<sup>33</sup> though alleged to have been translated from Sanskrit in their respective colophons, more or less draw from pre-existing Chinese parallels. Conversely, another translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsaśūtra*, the version translated from Chinese in the Derge, Berlin, and Peking Kanjurs (Tib. IV),<sup>34</sup> partially refers to Sanskrit. This sort of hybridity in the source language(s) of Tibetan translations, however, has been largely ignored in studies on the history of Tibetan translation.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Li Channa, forthcoming; Ueyama 1990: 112–53.

<sup>28</sup> van Schaik 2012; van Schaik and Dalton 2004.

<sup>29</sup> van Schaik 2012: 16; Kapstein 2000: 75.

<sup>30</sup> Kapstein 2000: 76–78.

<sup>31</sup> Li Fang Kuei and Coblin 1987: 340–45; Wang Yao 1982: 189–93.

<sup>32</sup> Radich 2015.

<sup>33</sup> Li Channa 2016.

<sup>34</sup> Oetke 1977: 8.

<sup>35</sup> Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 303 has also noticed the blending of Chinese and Indian elements in some Tibetan translations: "Probably the revision [i.e., the standardisation project of translations in imperial Tibet] was the result of learned discussion among translators and teachers who consulted and collated all available extant translations. This could explain why some texts have a 'blending' of Indo-Tibetan and Sino-Tibetan terminology". In addition, Anne MacDonald 2003 has demonstrated that it was not uncommon for Tibetan translators of Buddhist

However, when weighing the Chinese Buddhist influence exerted upon the early Tibetan society against the Indian influence, it is difficult to absolutely determine which influence was earlier or greater, simply because of the lack of evidence in imperial (especially early imperial) Tibet. Nevertheless, as Skilling has observed (1997: 90), the imperial-sponsored standardisation project, which featured compositions such as the *Mahāvīyutpatti* and the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, and lasted from the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan to that of Khri Gtsug lde btsan (r. 815–841),<sup>36</sup> was linguistically and ideologically Indian-centred, and it is conceivable that many pre-existing non-standardised translations from Chinese were greatly revised or even retranslated by Indian and Tibetan scholars.

Several catalogues were compiled, under royal patronage, to catalogue the massive amount of texts produced or processed by the standardisation project. Three such imperial catalogues were consulted by Bu ston.<sup>37</sup> They are the *Dkar chag Lhan* (or *Ldan*) *dkar ma*, the *Dkar chag 'Phang thang ma*, and the *Dkar chag Mchims phu ma*. Of them, the *Dkar chag Lhan dkar ma*<sup>38</sup> is commonly believed to be the oldest. It is argued that the main body of this catalogue was completed in 812.<sup>39</sup> The LKK was first preserved at the Lhan/Ldan dkar Palace and has been passed down without interruption to today, as it is compiled in the Tanjurs.<sup>40</sup> As for the *Dkar chag 'Phang thang ma*,<sup>41</sup> scholars generally

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commentaries to borrow the previous translation of the cited passage(s), rather than to translate afresh, the practice of which is also confirmed by Wedemeyer (2006: 166) when studying Lo chen's translation of the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*.

<sup>36</sup> Basic information on the early imperial editorial activities is provided in Harrison 1996: 73; Skilling 1997: 90; Scherrer-Schaub 2002; and Hill 2015: 918–919. Scherrer-Schaub 2002 has offered a chronology among the three authoritative decisions on standardising translation terms in imperial Tibet. The first one, which was briefly mentioned in the Tabo manuscript of the *Sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, potentially refers to early revision activities related to the translation or revision of the *Ratnamegha* and the *Laṅkāvatara*, possibly dated to 763 or slightly later, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 314; the second or middle decision was possibly issued in the year 783, in the reign of Khri Srong lde btsan, during which period the *Sgra sbyor* was initially composed. The third decision was issued in the year 814, in which the *Mahāvīyutpatti* was finally fixed and the *Sgra sbyor* was enlarged, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002: 315–16. Hill also mentions some different dating systems created by ancient Tibetan scholars, see Hill 2015: 918.

<sup>37</sup> Skilling 1997: 91; Nishioka 1983: 119: *pho brang stong thang ldan dkar gyi dkar chag dang/ de'i rjes kyi bsam yas mchims phu'i dkar chag dang/ de'i rjes kyi 'phang thang ka med kyi dkar chag*.

<sup>38</sup> I mainly use Herrmann-Pfandt's edition. Other frequently consulted references are Yoshimura 1950; and Lalou 1953.

<sup>39</sup> Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: xxi.

<sup>40</sup> Tucci 1958: 46–47, n. 1.

<sup>41</sup> *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma dang sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (2003). I adopt the numeration in Halkias 2004.

agree that the *'Phang thang ma* postdates the *Lhan dkar ma*.<sup>42</sup> Yamaguchi, Halkias, and Dotson argue that this catalogue might have been initiated during the reign of Khri 'U'i dum brtan (r. c. 841–842) or his successor Khri 'Od srung (r. c. 846–c. 893).<sup>43</sup> It was long assumed to have been lost, until it was rediscovered in the Fifth Dalai Lama's library at 'Bras spungs Monastery and published in 2003.<sup>44</sup> The *Mchims phu ma*, which Bu ston has placed chronologically between the LKK and PTK, is said to have been compiled at the court of Mchims phu/bu, but is now lost.<sup>45</sup>

The existing versions of the LKK and PTK contain only 24 and 11 translations from Chinese, respectively, in their sections on "Mahāyāna Scriptures Translated from Chinese".<sup>46</sup> These numbers are not large in comparison to the total number of Mahāyāna scriptures collected in these two catalogues (270 in LKK [nos. 1–270]; 287 in PTK [nos. 1–239, 251–298]). It is conceivable that, at the time of the compilation of these early catalogues, a large proportion of translations from Chinese sources had already been excised and marginalized.<sup>47</sup> We must also be aware of the high probability that all of the early works were subject to revision in the course of later transmission.<sup>48</sup>

In addition, in section 27-5, *'Gyur byang las mi 'byung ba'i bzhugs pa'i mtshan* ("Present Titles Not Listed in Colophons"),<sup>49</sup> PTK711–715 are said to be translations from Sanskrit (*'di rnam srgya gar las bsgyur*),<sup>50</sup> and below entries PTK716–733, it reads "*mdo dang gzungs 'di rnam srgya*

<sup>42</sup> Skilling also notes that the Derge and Narthang Kanjur catalogues witness a different chronology among the three early imperial catalogues, in which the PTK is placed earlier than the LKK, see Skilling 1997: 91 as well as Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 56–57.

<sup>43</sup> Halkias 2004: 54–55; Yamaguchi 1996: 250; Dotson 2007: 4 argues that "the earliest possible date for the *'Phang thang ma*, compiled in a dog year, is 842". For the names and dates of the Tibetan kings, see Dotson 2015.

<sup>44</sup> Dotson 2007: 3.

<sup>45</sup> Herrmann-Pfandt (2008: xlix–l) reconstructs part of this catalogue based on the cross-references in the LKK, PTK, and *Bu ston Chos 'byung*.

<sup>46</sup> LKK: *Theg chen mdo rgya las bsgyur*; PTK: *Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde rgya las bsgyur ba*.

<sup>47</sup> The *Sba bzhed phyogs bsgrigs* 2009: 63, where it is based on the supplemented version, recounts how Emperor Khri Gtsug lde brtsan, when he realized that Tibetan translations drew upon multiple-language sources, ordered the codification of Sanskrit (*rgya dkar po'i skad*) as the standard language. A more detailed discussion can be found in Li Channa 2016: 208, n. 7.

<sup>48</sup> A related discussion of the LKK can be found in Tucci 1958: 48–50.

<sup>49</sup> The title of this section actually raises several questions concerning the general practice of editing texts in ancient Tibet: why is there a self-contained section for texts whose titles do not appear in their colophons? Was it imperative to indicate the title in the colophon? I am indebted to Prof. Leonard van der Kuijp for refining my understanding of the meaning of this section title, especially the suggestion of understanding *bzhugs* as "currently existing", as attested elsewhere in the PTK 2003: 65.

<sup>50</sup> PTK2003: 51.



*dang li las bsgyur*".<sup>51</sup> I argue that PTK716–733, from sections 27-5 and 27-6, are all translations from Chinese or Khotanese, although Kawagoe and Halkias only recognize PTK732 and 733 from the section 27-6 *Gzung*s as such.<sup>52</sup> There are indeed many entries that are confirmed cases of translation from Chinese among these entries (e.g., PTK716, 720, 725, 726, 727, 728, 731, 732, 733).<sup>53</sup> However, since it is not evident which translations were rendered from Chinese and which from Khotanese, I accept their Chinese origin only when there is further confirmation in the LKK, TGGNO, BC, or other sources. For translations (17.) *Rgyal bu don pa* (PTK727), (20.) *Dge bcu dang du blang pa'i mdo* (PTK716), and (23.) *Rgyal bu kun tu dge ba'i mdo* (PTK731) in Table 1 below, it is unclear to me why the PTK does not simply follow the LKK and place them in the dedicated section for translations rendered from Chinese. I surmise that the majority of PTK716–733 was completed after the composition of the LKK and newly added to the PTK. In total, I identify nine more entries—PTK716, 720, 725, 726, 727, 728, 731, 732, and 733—as translations from Chinese. Moreover, PTK48, titled *'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa*, is also recorded to have been translated from Chinese, which I will discuss in section 2.3.

As a matter of fact, neither imperial list covers all the known translations from Chinese (see Appendix I and II). Many translations from Chinese scriptures are indeed collected in Kanjurs but not registered in the imperial catalogues (e.g., D.174, 199, 241, 255, 352, 359a, Stog130, 266). Some early translations are recorded but not acknowledged by the PTK and LKK as having been rendered from Chinese (e.g., D.51, 57, 58, 61, 64, 84 [which are all *Ratnakūṭa sūtra*-chapters], and 239). Of course, in Dunhuang, we have discovered many scriptures translated from Chinese that were never recorded in these early catalogues, nor collected in Kanjurs (e.g., Pelliot tibétain [abbr. PT] 89, 557, 563, 758, IOL Tib J 213, etc.). That is to say, the imperial catalogues may have reflected merely a limited part of the panorama of early Tibetan translations from Chinese.

Moreover, as the forerunners of post-imperial canonical editorial works in Tibet, these imperial catalogues by and large shaped the canonical collections of *sūtra* translations from Chinese. For instance, the

<sup>51</sup> PTK2003: 52.

<sup>52</sup> Kawagoe and Halkias number the texts differently. Kawagoe lists PTK711–731 in the section 27-5 *Gyur byang las mi 'byung ba'i bzhugs pa'i mtshan* and nos. 732–733 in the section 27-4 *Gzung*. In comparison, Halkias categorizes nos. 712–732 (he reads [708] *Bzod pa'i phan yon* as a separate translation, while Kawagoe does not) under the section *'Gyur byang las mi 'byung ba'i bzhugs pa'i mtshan*, and nos. 733–767 under the section *Gzung*.

<sup>53</sup> See Silk 2019: 234, 235, 238, 235, 232, 237, 241, 236 and 238, respectively. In addition, the name of PTK718 itself, *Bsam gtan gyi mdo*, see Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 162, seems to be a translation from Chinese.

13th-century catalogue *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*—authored by Bcom ldan ral gri, one of the key figures historically associated with the compilation of the Old Narthang Kanjur<sup>54</sup>—inherited the overall textual taxonomy of the imperial catalogues. Just as its imperial precedents, the TGGNO lists the translations from Chinese separately. It contains a total of 17 *sūtra* translations from Chinese (TGGNO nos. 11.1–11.6, 11.8–11.18), and additionally includes one *dhāraṇī* text, *Spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug yid bzhin 'khor lo'i bsgyur ba'i gzungs*, in this section (no. 11.7). Furthermore, it includes all but one entry from PTK716–733,<sup>55</sup> although it claims that these were translations rendered from Khotanese (i.e., TGGNO nos. 11.34–11.51).<sup>56</sup> This inaccurate statement is plausibly due to misreading or corruption of the PTK's concluding remark “*mdo dang gzungs 'di rnams rgya dang li las bsgyur*”.

Later, the 14th-century *Bu ston chos grub* (abbr. BC),<sup>57</sup> though not precisely following the imperial practice of listing translations from Chinese in a separate section, still keeps a detailed record of 12 texts with a Chinese origin (Nishioka nos. 190,<sup>58</sup> 191, 198, 199, 210, 220, 319, 323, 337, 342, 345, 368). Apart from this, it records three *dhāraṇī* texts translated from Chinese (Nishioka nos. 1140, 1141, 1143). Notably, the BC inherits many mistakes made by the TGGNO, especially mischaracterising translations from Chinese as being from Khotanese. For instance, it states that PTK729/TGGNO11.45 and PTK730/TGGNO11.51 are translations from Khotanese.<sup>59</sup>

In the following, I will collect records of Tibetan *sūtra* translations from Chinese from the two imperial catalogues LKK and PTK, compare the testimony of the post-imperial canonical editorial projects represented by the TGGNO/BC, and try to associate the translations with Kanjur collections (Table 1). In compiling Table 1, I aim, first and foremost, to clarify the different circumstances of the transmission history of Tibetan *sūtra* translations rendered from Chinese.

Since we are confronted not with the actual texts but merely titles in the four catalogues, it was sometimes difficult to discern which entries

<sup>54</sup> The history of the compilation of the Old Narthang Kanjur is discussed in Eimer 1988: 64–68; Harrison 1994: 297–99; Harrison 1996: 75–80; Skilling 1997: 99–104; and Tauscher 2015: 107.

<sup>55</sup> The only exception is PTK722, *Lha mo dri ma med pa'i 'od kyis zhus pa'i lung bstan pa*.

<sup>56</sup> This section begins with the introductory words: *li ni chags so gang gyi brgyab nas yod pa tel de las bsgyur ba ni* / ... Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 161. However, the N manuscript of the TGGNO (BDRC no. W1CZ1041-I1CZ1398) reads: *li ni chags so gangs gyi rgyab na yod pa stel de las bsgyur ba ni* (26a7–8). The S manuscript (BDRC no. W1PD89084-I1KG13420) reads: *li ni chags po gangs gyi rgyab nas yod pa stel de las bsgyur ba ni* (p. 88, line 6).

<sup>57</sup> Nishioka 1980–1983.

<sup>58</sup> For a detailed discussion of this entry, see 2.4.

<sup>59</sup> For instance, Nishioka 1980: 78; Nishioka 1983: 62.

from the four catalogues refer to one and the same version of the translation. As can be noticed easily in Table 1, discrepancies often occur when I compare entries with the same title in the four catalogues, especially concerning the length of a specific text and whether that text was translated from Chinese or Sanskrit. The situation becomes even more complicated when I include records from Kanjurs and sometimes Kanjur catalogues. When such discrepancies occur (especially concerning the source language), scholars previously would assume that the imperial catalogues contained errors. However, there is another possibility, namely that the translation recorded in the imperial catalogues, despite its identical title, was not the same as the one collected in the Kanjurs. In other words, inconsistency among the four catalogues can possibly reveal that a version of the translation may have quietly been replaced with another translation; in this paper, such inconsistencies mainly denote that a translation from Chinese was replaced with the translation of the same *sūtra* from Sanskrit. By carefully examining the textual information in each entry of the four catalogues with the information contained in the Kanjurs, it is possible to judge how many different translations of the same text were produced in early Tibet, and whether the versions translated from Chinese in imperial Tibet were included in (or excluded from) the Kanjurs. Studies on the treatment of texts translated from Chinese raise issues concerning the textual history of individual texts and the history of Tibetan literature in general.

In this table, I follow the LKK's titles and particularly its sequence when possible,<sup>60</sup> as the LKK provides the basic model for later catalogues. Moreover, it also contains the largest number of *sūtra* translations from Chinese. When a specific text lacks an entry in the LKK, I follow the order in the TGGNO, which covers most of the remaining relevant translations. Considering the possibility that the same text may have existed in multiple versions over time, I explicitly mark in brackets the text's length in *bam pos* (abbr. "bp") and/or *ślokas* (abbr. "śl"), as recorded in different catalogues, to identify the same translation. Since the BC does not have a separate section for translations rendered from Chinese, I explicitly mark the entries the BC considers as translations from Chinese (abbr. "fr. Chin."). Moreover, when a translation from Chinese cannot be found in other catalogues but has a parallel translation from Sanskrit, I provide reference to the parallel translation from Sanskrit for comparison (abbr. "cp."). For the Tibetan translations that have been lost, I propose their Chinese sources purely on the basis of their length and title. Since this is only a tentative attempt, I add a question mark after the hypothesized Chinese sources. As for the Kanjur versions of a text, for practical reasons, I usually

<sup>60</sup> However, I always omit 'phags pa in the titles in Table 1 in order to save space.

provide only the text's Derge Kanjur number. However, when other Kanjur versions supply crucial details for ascertaining a text's Chinese origin, I add these Kanjur versions as well. Note that, in the title column, the reference to page numbers in Silk's 2019 publication appears in an abbreviated form: for instance, Silk 233 indicates that the text in question is also referred to in Silk's 2019 publication, on page 233.

Table 1. List of Tibetan *Sūtra* Translations from Chinese in the Imperial and Early Post-Imperial Catalogues

	1	2	3	4 (cp.33)	5	6
Title (with reference to Silk 2019)	<i>Yong su mya ngan las ' das pa chen po</i> (Silk 233)	' <i>Dzangs/M dzangs blun gyi mdo</i> (Silk 232)	<i>Gser ' od dam pa mchog tu rnam par rgyud pa mdo sde rgyud po</i> (Nobel Tib III: Silk 234)	<i>Lang kar gshegs pa rin po che ' i le ' u</i> (Silk 234–35)	<i>Thabs la mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyus kyis dzin la lan gyis bian pa ' i chos kyi yi ge</i> (Silk 231)	<i>Rdo rje ling nge ' dzin kyi chos kyi yi ge</i> (Silk 232)
LKK	249 (42bp) Cp.80 (13bp)	250 (13bp)	251 (10bp) Cp.48 (10bp)	252 (8bp)	253 (7bp)	254 (6bp)
PTK	229 (42bp) Cp.42 (13bp)	230 (12bp)	231 (10bp) 48 (10bp)	Ø	232 (7.5bp)	233 (6bp)
TGGNO	11.1 (56bp) Cp.6.10 (13bp)	7.6 (12bp)	11.4 (10bp, 2008f)	11.3 (Ø)	11.5 (7.5bp)	11.6 (6bp)
BC	368 (56bp) Fr. Chin. Cp.196 (13bp)	75 (13bp)	210 (10bp) Fr. Chin. Cp.221 (10bp)	191 (8bp) Fr. Chin.	62 (7bp)	220 (6bp) Fr. Chin.
Kanjur	D.119 (56bp) Stog.333 (42bp) Cp.D.120 (13bp)	D.341 (12bp)	D.555 (10bp) Cp.D.556 (10bp)	D.108 (8bp)	D.353 (7bp)	D.135 (2bp)
Translator	Wang phab zhun, Dge ba' i blo gros, Rgya	Chos grub	Chos grub	Chos grub based on Wen hvi' s comm.	Ø	Ø
Chin	374	202	665	670	156	273
Extant	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

7	<i>Sangse rgyas mdzod</i> (Silk 234)	<i>Gser 'od dam pa mdo sde' i dbang po lchung pa ts</i> included in BC 209' s[title] (Silk 0)	<i>Ma sbyes dgra' i 'gyod pa bsal pa</i> (Silk 240)	<i>Thar pa chen po phyogs su rgyas pa</i> (Silk 236)	<i>Byang chub sems dpa' i so sor thar pa chos bzhi bsgrub pa</i> (Silk 240)	<i>Gtsug tor chen po las bud kyī le' u bstan pa</i> (Silk 235)	<i>Tshangs pa' i dpa pa</i>	<i>Chos gyi rgya mo</i> (Silk 236)
255 (5bp) Cp.92 (7bp)	256 (5bp)	257 (5bp)	258 (712sl)	259 (700sl)	260 (2bp)	261 A (2bp)	261 B (2bp)	
234 (5bp)	0 Cp.69	0 Cp.74 (5bp)	235 (3.5bp)	0 Cp.115(700sl)	238 (2bp)	0 Cp.248 (2bp)	237 (2bp)	
11.7 (5bp)	0 Cp.6.34	11.8 (5bp)	11.9 (712sl)	11.10 (700sl)	11.12 (2bp)	0 Cp.7.4 (2bp)	11.13 <i>Chos kyī bgya</i> [v-rgyal mo	
199 (5bp) fr. Chin. Cp.300 (7bp)	0 Cp.209 (5bp)	0	345 (712sl) fr. Chin.	0 Cp.329 (700sl)	319 (2bp) fr. Chin.	0 Cp.10 (2bp)	337 (2bp) fr. Chin.	
D.123 (4bp)	0	0	D.264(712sl) H.266	0 Cp.D.248	D.237	0 Cp.D.352(2bp)	D.256 (2bp)	
Cp.D.220(7bp)	Cp.D.557(5bp)	Cp.D.216	0	0	0	0	0	
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
653	663?	627?	2871	?	945	21?	1484	
Yes	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	

15	<i>Yonggs su bsargo ba' t' khor lo</i> (Silk 235-36)	<i>Pha ma' t drin lan bstan pa</i> (Silk 240)	<i>Rgyal bu dan grub kyi mdo</i> (Silk 234)	<i>Sems can gyi sbye shi' t rtsa ba bstan pa</i> (Silk Ø)	<i>Dzans pas lung bstan pa</i> (Silk 241)	<i>Dge buu dang du blang pa' t mdo</i> (Silk 239)	<i>Chos nyid rang gi ngo bo nyid las mi gyo bar smang ba bstan pa</i> (Silk Ø)	<i>Yang dag pa' t legs pa' t yon tan bshad pa</i> (Silk Ø)
	262 (2bp) Cp.464 (1bp,200sl)	263 (1bp)	264 (1bp)	265A(1bp)	265B(110sl)	266(100sl)	267 (90sl)	268 (80sl)
	236 (2bp): 720(?) Cp.439 (1bp,200sl)	Ø	727 (1bp)	239 (1bp)	Ø Cp.273(100sl)	716 (100sl)	Ø	Ø
	11.11	11.45 (?)	11.41 (fr. Khol.)	11.14 (1bp)	Ø	11.47(100sl; fr. Khol.)	29.5(Hma- yāna section; lost)	Ø
	323 (2bp) fr. Chin. Cp.382(1bp, 200sl)	48 (1bp)	65 (1bp)	92 (1bp): lost	Ø	94 (100sl)	438 (lost)	431 (80sl; lost)
	D.242 Cp. D.810 (1bp, 200sl)	F.218(?)	D.351, IOL Tib J 76.1	Ø	Ø Cp.P.1011, N.329	Ø IOL Tib J 606?	Ø Cp. D.128	Ø
	Rnam par mi rlog pa (Cp. Newar Kan- jur 148; Chos grub)	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
	998	2887?	171	708?	454?	600?	?	?
	Yes	?	Yes	No	No	?	No	No

23	<i>Rgyal bu kun tu dge ba' i mdo</i> (Silk 241)	' Da' ka <i>ye shes kyé mdo</i> (Silk 238)	<i>Nam mkha' i mdog gis ' dal ba' i bzod pa</i> (Silk 239)	<i>Don rgyas pa' i chos gyi rnam grangs</i> (Silk 240)	<i>Shang bryad ces bya ba' i rigs srags</i> (Silk 238)	<i>Spyen ras gziges dbang phyig yid bzhiñ ' khor lo sgyur ba' i gzungs</i> (Silk 236)	<i>Knyad par can gyi zungs</i> (Silk Ø)	' Kha' sil <i>gyi mdo che chung gnyis</i> (Silk 235)	<i>Ting nge ' dzin mchog gi mdo</i> (Silk 238)
269 (40§)	270 (10§)	83 (11 bp)	206 (100§)	Ø	343	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø
731	Ø	45 (11 bp)	262 (100§)	733	Ø	Ø	Cp.336	725	726
1149 (fr. Khoc.)	Ø	11.2 (>11 bp)	11.15	11.16	11.17 (220§)	11.18 (75§)	11.38, 11.39	11.40	
Ø	198 (10§) fr. Chin.	342 (11 bp) fr. Chin.	52 (100§); <i>mjng ma tsha ba</i> )	1287 (fr. Khoc.)	1141 (240§) fr. Chin.	Ø	Cp.1270(75§)	31, 32	222
Stog268, F111	D.122 Stog201	D.263, Stog111, V.161.Z.142	D.318	D.1067	D.692=D.898; Stog647	Ø	Cp.D.542/872	D.335, 336, IOL Tib J 205	D.137
Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Chos grub	Ø	Chos grub	Ø	
?	?	?	97	2897	1082	?	785	ZW 10	
Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	

32	Dge ba dang mi dge ba' i las ky'i rnam par smin pa (Silk 237)	Spyan ras gzigs phyag stong spyan stong lhogs pa mi mnga' ba' i gzungs (Silk 236)	Zhal bcu gcig pa' i rig sngags kyi snying po (Silk 236)	gsar' od dam pa' imdo (Silk Ø)	Lang kar gshegs pa (Silk Ø)
Ø	Ø	Ø Possibly 338 (240sf)?	366	87 (8bp)?	84 (11bp)
728	732 Or. 322(?) (240sf)	349	Ø Cp.69 (5bp)	Ø Cp.49(9bp)?	
1148	11.50 (240sf)	8.46	Ø	Ø	
94	1140 fr. Chin.	1143 fr. Chin.	208 (8bp) Cp.209 (5bp)	190 (11bp) fr. Chin.	
D.355	D.691=897: Stog645(240sf) Cp.D.690 (250sf)	D.694, Stog643	Ø Cp.D.557 (5bp)	Ø Cp.107(9bp)?	
Ø	Chos grub	Chos grub	BC lists Knaam pa mi stog pa as the translator	Chos grub?	
2881	1060	1071	664?	672?	
Yes	Yes	Yes	No	?	

## 2. Analyses

Table 1 lists all 36 *sūtras* that are recorded as translations from Chinese by at least one of the four catalogues (LKK, PTK, TGGNO, BC).<sup>61</sup> The

<sup>61</sup> One of my criteria for selecting texts is that a translation must be recognized as having been translated from Chinese by at least one of the four catalogues. If a translation is actually translated from Chinese but none of the catalogues note this (e.g., D.199, 241, 255), or if a translation is recorded in these four catalogues but is not acknowledged as having been rendered from Chinese (e.g., D.51, 61, 64), I did not include it in Table 1.



identification of the entries in imperial records with the texts from the Kanjurs is based primarily on the agreement of the title and textual length, the corresponding witnesses across the different catalogues (especially the TGGNO and BC), and the colophons of the Kanjurs. Table 1 thus provides us with an overview of how each text was transmitted diachronically.

As an essential feature of my discussion, and differing from Herrmann-Pfandt and Silk, I do not easily deem the LKK's records as erroneous, even when it contradicts the textual details contained in the Kanjurs.<sup>62</sup> Instead, I understand the referent in the LKK to be different from the translation collected in the Kanjurs, based on the following grounds: usually, the LKK's divergent records are also attested in the TGGNO, BC,<sup>63</sup> or PT 1257;<sup>64</sup> and compared to the possibility of textual replacement, as I will later elaborate, it seems less likely that the LKK would mistake the source language of such a number of translations for no apparent reason.

It is seen that more than half of the records contained in the imperial catalogues (mainly the LKK) have been successfully transmitted to the Tibetan canonical tradition, while others were not. To be specific, 23 *sūtra* translations from Chinese recorded in the imperial catalogues are found in today's Kanjurs. They are nos. (1.)–(7.), (10.), (12.), (14.), (15.), (17.), (23.)–(28.), and (30.)–(34.), which can be found in at least one lineage of Kanjurs. Since Silk's 2019 publication has offered an extensive introduction to the textual history and modern studies of these texts, I will try not to replicate his work, but focus on how to interpret the inconsistent records among different sources, and how such inconsistency reveals the textual history of particular translations and the four catalogues themselves.

One type of noticeable inconsistency appears in the records of textual length in the different sources, which I will attempt to clarify in section 2.1. In addition, the four catalogues do not all contain the same

<sup>62</sup> For instance, for translations D.216, 248, and 352, Herrmann-Pfandt and Silk argue that, since the Kanjur versions are translations from Sanskrit, the LKK's corresponding entries are wrong (LKK257, 259, 261A).

<sup>63</sup> There is a possibility that the TGGNO and BC merely copied the information from the LKK in these cases. However, this hypothesis cannot answer the question why the TGGNO and BC chose to follow the LKK, instead of the PTK (generally speaking, the TGGNO and BC rely more heavily on the PTK).

<sup>64</sup> PT 1257 is a crucially important witness to the translation practices before the standardisation projects sponsored by the Tibetan Empire. As assessed by Apple and Apple (2017: 68–69), the bilingual lexicon contained in this manuscript was possibly used by Tibetans in Dunhuang to “learn the Chinese equivalents to Tibetan translation terminology that was already in use among Tibetans”. Furthermore, this manuscript also provides a list of Buddhist scriptures with both Chinese and Tibetan titles. It is highly possible that, some—if not the majority—of the scriptures listed here were translations from Chinese.

corpus of translations from Chinese: sometimes a translation from Chinese was recorded in the LKK, then later in the TGGNO and/or BC, but not in the PTK (i.e., nos. [4.], [17.], [20.], [23.], [24.]); there are also occasions in which the Chinese origin of a translation is recorded in the later TGGNO and/or BC, but not in the LKK or PTK (i.e., [25.], [26.], [28.], [34.]). Section 2.2 is thus devoted to how to approach and understand this sort of discrepancy. Moreover, two particular *sūtras*, the *Gser 'od dam pa* and the *Lang kar gshegs pa*, due to their complicated translation history, deserve separate treatment in sections 2.3 and 2.4. Section 2.5 is dedicated to the lost Tibetan *sūtra* translations rendered from Chinese.

### 2.1. Inconsistent Calculation System for Textual Length

As can easily be observed, the different sources often feature mutually inconsistent records of textual length of a particular version of a translation. For instance, (1.) *Yong su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po* contains 42 *bam po* (abbr. “bp”) according to the LKK, PTK, and Stog Kanjur, but the TGGNO, BC, and the majority of the other Kanjurs indicate that it has 56 bp. The same situation applies to (2.) *'Dzangs blun*, which has 13 bp according to the LKK and BC, but 12 bp according to the PTK and TGGNO. As a matter of fact, the divergent records of textual length do not reflect different versions of the translation. The discrepancy lies in the different methods of calculating textual length: some catalogues simply equate the number of Chinese fascicles with the number of *bam pos* (e.g., 42 bp and 13 bp), while others have converted the length of the translation according to the Tibetan method of calculating *bam pos* (e.g., 56 bp and 12 bp).<sup>65</sup>

For the length of translations such as (3.) *Gser 'od dam pa* (Nobel Tib III), (5.) *Thabs la mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas kyis drin la lan blan pa pa'i chos gyi yi ge*, (6.) *Rdo rje ting nge 'dzin kyi yi ge*, and (7.) *Sangs rgyas mdzod*, there is also noticeable discrepancy among the different

<sup>65</sup> Herrmann-Pfandt observes the inconsistent numbers of bp among the different catalogues, and argues that 42 bp and 13 bp should indicate the numbers of Chinese fascicles, while 56 bp and 12 bp should refer to the length of the translations in Tibetan, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 133–34 and 137. For the discussion of the length of the Tibetan unit *bam po* (generally, 1 bp=300 śl), see van der Kuijp 2009 and Scherrer-Schaub 1992. However, the TGGNO also claims that the length of a bp can vary, either because “[it contains] a variable number of syllables” (*tsheg bar gyi yi ge mang nyung ngam*), or because it is “a rough estimate [...] made on the basis of the number of pages when it was difficult to count the number of syllables” (*yang 'ga' zhiḡ tsheg bar grang ba dka' nas shog grangs kyi steng nas bam po tshad rtsis pas*; van der Kuijp 2009: 124; Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 116).

sources.<sup>66</sup> Although I could not find a satisfactory solution to explain the discrepancy, I tend to regard this sort of disagreement not as evidence of different versions of translations, but as a reflection of unfixed length calculation systems used for translation projects of rendering Chinese into Tibetan.

## 2.2. *The Inconsistent Identification of Translations Rendered from Chinese in the Four Catalogues*

Among the 24 translations registered in the LKK's section on Mahāyāna scriptures translated from Chinese, the PTK omits ten translations ([4.], [8.], [9.], [11.], [13.], [16.], [19.], [21.], [22.], [24.]), even though the PTK was composed not long after the LKK. The omission of translations from the PTK, in most cases, is not due to a failure of textual transmission, since the same translations are sometimes attested in the later catalogues TGGNO and BC (e.g., [4.], [11.], [16.], [21.], [24.]). Two such noticeable cases are (4.) *Lang kar gshegs pa* and (24.) *'Da' ka ye shes kyi mdo*, whose Chinese origins are recognized in the LKK, then later in the TGGNO and BC, and finally in the Kanjurs,<sup>67</sup> but not in the PTK.

In addition, five translations out of the LKK's 24 entries on Tibetan *sūtras* rendered from Chinese are recorded in the PTK's sections on non-Chinese translations, from which I deduce that the PTK takes them to be translations from Sanskrit: (8.) the 5-bp *Gser 'od dam pa*, (9.) *Ma skyes dgra'i 'gyod pa bsal pa*, (11.) *Byang chub sems dpa'i so sor thar pa chos bzhi bsgrub pa*, (13.) *Tshang pa'i dra pa*, and (19.) *Byams pas lung bstan pa*. For each of these five translations, the PTK's claim of the text's Sanskrit origin is confirmed by the Kanjur version of the translation of the same title,<sup>68</sup> and is also frequently supported by the BC (less frequently

<sup>66</sup> For instance, for (5.) *Thabs la mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas kyi drin la lan blan pa pa'i chos gyi yi ge*, PTK232 and TGGNO11.5 both record the number of *bam pos* as 7.5, disagreeing with the claim of 7 bp in LKK253 and BC 62. All four catalogues record that (6.) *Rdo rje ting nge 'dzin kyi yi ge* has 6 bp, but in the Kanjurs, it has only 2 bp. The TGGNO records that (3.) *Gser 'od dam pa* has 10 bp and 200 śl, differing from all the other catalogues' records of 10 bp. The work (7.) *Sangs rgyas mdzod* is said to have 5 bp in these catalogues, but only has 2 bp in the Kanjurs.

<sup>67</sup> E.g., D.351: *'phags pa rgyal bu don grub kyi mdo zhes bya ba bam po gcig pa rdzogs sol sngon rgya las 'gyur ba'i brda rnying par 'dug*. Stog201: *'phags pa 'da' ka ye shes zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs sol/ dkar chag rnying par rgya las 'gyur bar bshad*.

<sup>68</sup> The Sanskrit origin of the PTK's parallel items to (8.), (9.), (11.) are discussed in Nobel 1937: xviii; Miyazaki 2007; and Fujita 1988, respectively. Although there seems no strong evidence to question the Sanskrit origin of PTK's parallels to (13.) *Tshang pa'i dra pa* and (19.) *Byams pas lung bstan pa*, which are numbered D.352 and P.1011, respectively, in Kanjurs, more detailed studies are needed to validate it. For

by the TGGNO). In the transmission of the five cases, a distinctive pattern can be perceived: whenever the LKK claims that a translation has been rendered from Chinese—which the TGGNO and PT 1257 also sometimes bear out—the (colophon of the) text of the same title in the Kanjurs agrees with the PTK's (and usually also the BC's) claim that it was rendered from Sanskrit. If we believe that the LKK's records (and TGGNO's attestation) are not meaningless mistakes (which I will assess case by case in 2.5), we must conclude that the LKK's records do not refer to the same translations as those inscribed in the PTK. While the PTK's referents have been preserved in the Kanjurs, those recorded in the LKK are most likely lost. The pattern can be visualized as follows (Figure 1):

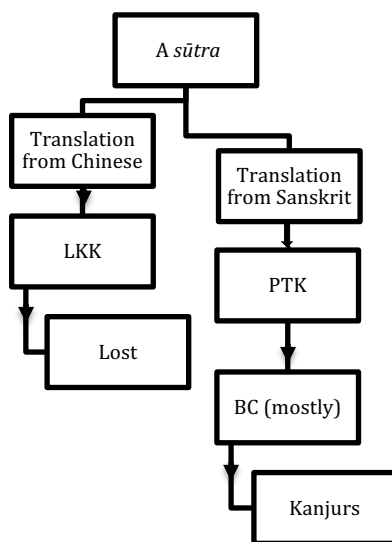


Figure 1 The Hypothesized Transmission Process

As revealed above, the PTK plays a vital role in the transmission history of these translations: with the composition of the PTK, the officially catalogued version was changed from the translation from Chinese to that from Sanskrit. In one possible scenario, Tibetan Buddhists of the early imperial era first gained access to the Chinese translation of a *sūtra*, and thereupon translated it into Tibetan. Later, when they had the chance to obtain the Sanskrit version of the same *sūtra*, they retranslated the text from Sanskrit and officialised the new translation when composing the PTK. Later in history, the Chinese version was

the studies of the *Byams pas lung bstan pa*, see Lévi 1932; Schopen 1982: 228ff.; Skilling 1993: 76–77.

almost forgotten (though sporadically attested in the TGGNO and BC), and the Kanjurs included the version rendered from Sanskrit.

In order to strengthen the above hypothesis, we should also explain why not all of the translations from Chinese were replaced with their parallel versions rendered from Sanskrit. As far as I am aware, there are six *sūtras* in Tibetan whose translations from Chinese and the corresponding translations from Sanskrit are both available in the Kanjurs.<sup>69</sup> In these six cases, the Chinese translations are mostly based on a different Sanskrit version (the only exception is the *Mahākaruṇīkacittadhāraṇī*). Ancient Tibetan Buddhists probably realized that the translations rendered from Chinese were ultimately based on Indic versions unavailable to them, and therefore preserved both translations in the Kanjurs.

I would speculate that the overall situation of the PTK's records of translations from Chinese, especially the hypothesized replacement of translations from Chinese with those from Sanskrit, reflects the conservative standpoint of the PTK's compilers, in hesitating to acknowledge the Chinese origin of Tibetan *sūtra* translations. In this line of thought, the PTK's compilers' reluctance to accept the translations from China would have been responsible, directly or indirectly, for the historical loss of many translations from Chinese.

In addition, six transmitted translations from Chinese are not catalogued (or their Chinese origins are not recognized) in the LKK or PTK, but are acknowledged in the TGGNO and/or BC. As a possible explanation for this situation, the TGGNO and BC, despite relying extensively on the two imperial catalogues, may have had other sources of knowledge (perhaps the *Mchims phu ma*, or a contemporary but more up-to-date source?).<sup>70</sup> It is also likely that the TGGNO and BC are

<sup>69</sup> (1.) *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, from Chinese: LKK249, PTK229, TGGNO11.1, D.119 (56 bp); versus LKK80, PTK42, TGGNO6.10, BC196, D.120 (13 bp), from Sanskrit.  
 (3.) *Suvarṇaprabhāṣasūtra*, from Chinese: LKK251, PTK231, TGGNO11.4, BC210, D.555 (10 bp); versus PTK48, BC211, D556 (10 bp), from Sanskrit.  
 (4.) *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, from Chinese: LKK252, TGGNO11.3, BC191, D.108 (8 bp); versus LKK84, PTK49, BC190, D.107 (9 bp) from Sanskrit;  
 (7.) *Sangs rgyas kyi mdzod*, from Chinese: LKK255, PTK234, TGGNO11.7, BC 199, D.123 (4 bp); versus LKK92, BC300, D.220 (7 bp) from Sanskrit.  
 (15.) *Pariṇātacakra* [or *Pariṇāmacakra*; see Silk 2019: 235], from Chinese: LKK262, PTK236, TGGNO11.11, BC323, D.242 (2 bp); versus LKK464, PTK439, BC382, D.810 (1 bp, 200 śl), from Sanskrit.  
 (33.) *Mahākaruṇīkacittadhāraṇī*, from Chinese: PTK732, BC1140, D.691–897 (240 śl); versus D.690 from Sanskrit (250 śl; this Kanjur text lacks the initial Sanskrit title, which is abnormal, and my preliminary comparison between D.690 and 691 reveals that they are very similar in content).

<sup>70</sup> As for the main sources of reference for the TGGNO, Schaeffer and van der Kuijp (2009: 56–58) note that, apart from the LKK and PTK, Bcom ldan ral gri also used catalogues compiled by “Rin chen bzang po (968–1055), Nag tsho Lo tsa ba Tshul

based on older versions of the LKK or PTK that may have admitted more translations from Chinese. These six translations include:

(25.) *Nam mkha'i mdog gis 'dul ba'i bzod pa* (TGGNO11.2). Its Chinese origin is further confirmed in BC342<sup>71</sup> and the colophons of the *Thems spang ma* lineage of Kanjurs (e.g., Stog111, V.161 and Z.142).<sup>72</sup>

(26.) *Don rgyas pa'i chos kyi rnam grangs*. Its Chinese origin is confirmed only in TGGNO11.15. It is not found in the LKK or PTK's sections on Mahāyāna translations from Chinese, but in the LKK's Mahāyāna section (*Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde*, LKK206) and PTK's Dharmaparyāya section (*Chos kyi rnam grangs*, PTK262). Its supposed Chinese source, T.97 *Guangyi famen jing* 廣義法門經, is part of the *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經 (*Madhyamāgama*).<sup>73</sup>

(27.) *Snang brgyad ces bya ba'i rigs sngags* (TGGNO11.16).<sup>74</sup> It is only found in the *Tshal pa* lineage of Kanjurs (D.1067). The Chinese source can safely be identified as T.2897, although the Kanjur version is not a word-for-word translation. BC1287 states that this Tibetan version was translated from Khotanese (*li*) based on the PTK's corresponding record. However, as I have mentioned, the PTK only states that the source languages of the whole section (PTK716–733) are Chinese (*rgya*) and Khotanese (*li*). It is possible that the BC was either referring to an old version of the PTK, in which the texts in this section were stated to have been translations only from Khotanese, or that the BC's editors misunderstood the PTK's record. As another alternative, the BC may have based its identification directly on the TGGNO's corresponding records, as I have previously surmised.

(28.) *Spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug yid bzhin 'khor lo sgyur ba'i gzungs* (TGGNO11.17); (33.) *Spyan ras gzigs phyag stong spyan stong thogs pa mi mnga' ba'i gzungs* (BC1140); (34.) *Zhal bcu gcig pa'i rig ngags kyi snying po* (BC1143). All three of these texts were translated by Chos grub, and their Chinese origin is easily confirmed. However, (28.) *Spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug yid bzhin 'khor lo sgyur ba'i gzungs* and

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khriims rgyal ba (?1011–ca.1170) and Rngog Lo tsa ba Blo ldan shes rab (?1059–?1109)", Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 57. The BC's source of knowledge on translations may have comprised the three imperial catalogues, *Snar thang gi bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag*, see Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 75ff., and many catalogues compiled by great translators, see Nishioka 1983: 119.

<sup>71</sup> Nishioka 1980: 75: *yang dag pa'i spyod pa'i tshul nam mkha'i mdog gi 'dul ba'i bzod pa 11 bp. rgya las hgyur ba*.

<sup>72</sup> The colophon of Stog111 states: *yang dag par spyod pa'i tshul nam mkha'i mdog gis 'dul ba'i bzod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo rdzogs soll bam po bcu gcig/ rgya las 'gyur/ 'gyur rnying pa skad gsar cad kyis bcos par snang ngo*. See Silk 2019: 239.

<sup>73</sup> See Silk 2019: 240.

<sup>74</sup> Its Chinese origin is discussed in Oda 2015: 57ff. See Silk 2019: 238.

(34.) *Zhal bcu gcig pa'i rig ngags kyi snying po* are listed in the LKK's section on "*dhāraṇīs* of various lengths" (*Gzungs che phra sna tshogs*). As for (33.) *Spyan ras gzigs phyag stong spyan stong thogs pa mi mnga' ba'i gzungs*, it was possibly translated after the composition of the LKK, and therefore was not recorded in the LKK but indeed in the PTK.<sup>75</sup> The PTK does not register (28.) and does not recognize the Chinese origin of (34.). However, it indeed accepts (33.) as a translation from Chinese, in its section on *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs* translated from Chinese and Khotanese (PTK716–733). Considering the possibility that (33.) was translated after the conclusion of the LKK's editorial activities, this case adds credibility to my abovementioned conjecture that the section PTK716–733 was created in the editorial phase, later than the section on Mahāyāna scriptures translated from Chinese, and was used to update PTK's collection by adding more newly translated texts.<sup>76</sup>

### 2.3. Questions Concerning the Two 10-bp Versions of *Gser 'od dam pa*

A more intricate Gordian knot is found in the records of various versions of the *Gser 'od dam pa*. The LKK contains one 10-bp version of the *Gser 'od dam pa* translated from Chinese (LKK251), which can easily be identified with D.555 (Nobel Tib III).<sup>77</sup> However, according to the PTK, two 10-bp versions of this *sūtra* are translated from Chinese: PTK48, titled *Gser 'od dam pa*, was then a new translation (*gsar 'gyur*), while PTK231 was an old translation (*rnying*). It is not absolutely certain whether the record of PTK48 was simply an error (for instance, the typographical mistake of writing *rgya* for *rgya gar*), or if it indeed attested

<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, Herrmann-Pfandt recognizes another entry, LKK338, titled *'Phags pa snying rje chen po'i rang bzhin gyi gzungs* (LKK338, PTK322), as possibly the first of the three *bam pos* of D.691, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 187. According to her supposition, the translation of D.691 underwent at least two stages: first, the section of the *Mahākāruṇika-dhāraṇī* was completed and inscribed in the LKK, and the rest of the *bam pos* were finished later. In this sense, the work (8.) *'Phags pa spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug phyag stong spyan stong thogs pa mi mnga' ba'i gzungs* should have been completed between 812 and 842.

<sup>76</sup> Of the 18 entries (PTK716–733), only three can be found in the LKK: PTK721, *Ri glang ru lung bstan pa'i mdo* (LKK281); PTK727, *Rgyal bu don grub kyi mdo* (LKK264); and PTK731, *Rgyal bu kun du dge ba'i mdo* (LKK269). It is thus possible that all the rest may have been completed after the composition of the LKK.

<sup>77</sup> Nobel's studies of the different versions of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* have laid a solid foundation for later scholars. Nobel Tib I refers to D.557, the shortest version translated from Sanskrit, Nobel 1937: xviii; Tib II refers to D.556, in 10 bp, Nobel 1944; and Nobel Tib III refers to the Tibetan translation from Yijing's Chinese translation, Nobel 1958.

to the existence of a second 10-bp translation from Chinese. Although it is not a common practice for a catalogue to point out the source language of a translation from Sanskrit, it was likely that the source language (presumably Sanskrit) was indicated because of the existence of PTK231, with the same length and a similar title.

Regardless of whether PTK48 contains an error or not, we must be fully aware that the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣasūtra* had a very complex textual history of translations into Tibetan. There are two versions claimed to have been translated from Sanskrit (i.e., the 5-bp Tib I [=D.557, Nobel Tib I], based purely on Sanskrit, and the 10-bp Tib II [=D.556, Nobel Tib II], with a hybrid source). According to Radich's studies,<sup>78</sup> Tib II, especially its *Trikāya* chapter, was translated from Chinese. In addition, the Kanjurs also contain a 10-bp translation from Yijing's Chinese. As noticed by Oetke, the Tibetan canonical translation of Yijing's Chinese version can be divided into two major traditions:<sup>79</sup>

- 1). one is found in the Narthang Kanjur and known as Tib III; and
- 2). the second is found in the Berlin Kanjur manuscript, the Peking Kanjur, and the Derge Kanjur, and is by and large identical to Tib III except for two parts:
  - 2-1). from the middle of chapter 6 until the end of chapter 8 (known as Tib IV, based on Sanskrit); and
  - 2-2). from the first verse to the 14th verse of the first chapter (Tib V, based on Chinese and Sanskrit).

In the Dunhuang manuscripts, there are several more fragments that are based partially on Yijing's Chinese and partially on Sanskrit.

If PTK48 attests to the existence of a 10-bp translation from Sanskrit, it is possible that Tib II is the text indicated here. The Indian origin of PTK48 is favoured by the evidence adduced from its adjacent *sūtra*, the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The *Laṅkāvatāra* also appears twice (PTK49, PTK252), always as the text next to the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣasūtra* in the PTK. PTK49 is a translation from Sanskrit, while PTK252 is from Chinese. It is plausible that the organization of the two versions of the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣasūtra* follows the same pattern. However, if PTK48 is indeed a translation from Chinese, could it still refer to the 10-bp Tib II, which was possibly a translation from Chinese, but later considerably revised by Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi, and Ye shes sde based on Tib I?

<sup>78</sup> Radich 2015: 248–50.

<sup>79</sup> Oetke 1977: 12–16, 24, etc.; Simonsson 1957: 206ff.



### 2.4 Questions Concerning the 11-bp Version of Lang kar gshegs pa

While there is no controversy concerning the Chinese origin of the 8-bp translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (LKK252/TGGNO11.3/BC191/D.108, which was translated from T.670),<sup>80</sup> there are indeed lingering doubts about the source language of the 11-bp version of the *Lang kar gshegs pa* catalogued in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* (BC190: *Lang kar gshegs pa rgya las bsgyur pa 11 bp*). The reading of *rgya* is actually only attested in the Lhasa version of the BC, while the other three versions read *rgya gar* instead.<sup>81</sup> In the LKK, this 11-bp version is not explicitly claimed to be a translation from Chinese (LKK84). Therefore, I assume the Lhasa edition of the BC simply contains a mistake.<sup>82</sup> However, the situation seems to have been more complicated, based on statements from other catalogues and Kanjurs.

In today's Kanjurs, there is no version in 11 bp. Apart from the above-mentioned 8-bp version (LKK252/TGGNO11.3/BC191/D.108), though there is one more translation in 9 bp, namely PTK49/D.107. Its translation, from Chinese, is attributed to Chos grub, based on Kanjur colophons.<sup>83</sup> However, the *Catalogue of the Derge Kanjur* (abbr. DKK) rather states that the 9-bp version (D.107) was translated from Sanskrit.<sup>84</sup> How should we then understand the contradictory statements of the diverse sources? Should we identify PTK49/D.107 with LKK84/BC190?

Ueyama observes that the language of D.107 is closer to that of the Tibetan sentences inserted into the Dunhuang manuscript Or.8210/S.5603, Wenhui's Chinese commentary on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.<sup>85</sup> However, he argues that D.107 was rendered from Sanskrit, as it corresponds well to the Sanskrit version and differs from D.108.<sup>86</sup> Indeed, D.107 shows a high level of parallelism with the

<sup>80</sup> Is it likely that the PTK omitted this translation because it was produced mainly based on the Chinese commentary? As demonstrated by Ueyama, Chos grub probably first translated Wenhui's commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra*, then extracted the root text from the commentary to compose the translation of the *sutra*, see Ueyama 1990: 115.

<sup>81</sup> Nishioka 1980: 71, n. 119.

<sup>82</sup> This is actually already suggested by Kawagoe 2005: 9, n. 33.

<sup>83</sup> Colophons of the Derge, Stog, Narthang, Lhasa, Shey, Urga and Lithang Kanjurs, with variations, read: *'phags pa lang kar gshegs pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo ji snyed pa rdzogs so/ bcom ldan 'das kyi ring lugs pa 'gos chos grub kyi rgya'i dpe las bsgyur te gtan la phab pa'o*. See the information on the rKTs website: <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/verif/verif2.php?id=107> (accessed on November 29, 2020).

<sup>84</sup> *'Phags pa lang kar gshegs pa bam po dgu le'u nyer brgyad pa rgya gar nas 'gyur bar grags kyang sgyur mkhan gyi gsal ka ma byung*, DKK 124a5 (BDRC no. W22084).

<sup>85</sup> Ueyama 1990: 113–14.

<sup>86</sup> Ueyama 1990: 113.

Sanskrit version.<sup>87</sup> It should also be noted that T.672, a longer version of the Chinese translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (T.672, in 7 fascicles) by Śikṣānanda, also displays a close similarity with both D.107 and the Sanskrit version. A preliminary comparison of the trilingual versions shows that D.107 indeed corresponds better to the Sanskrit than to the Chinese version. Therefore, before a thorough study of the textual relationship between D.107, T.672, and the Sanskrit version is carried out, there is no substantial evidence to reject the Sanskrit origin of D.107, although the Tibetan canonical tradition describes it as a translation from Chinese by Chos grub (possibly caused by the error contained in the Lhasa edition of the BC).

The question then remains whether LKK84/BC190 should be viewed as the same translation as D.107. In fact, the *Catalogue of the Narthang Kanjur* (abbr. NKK) also attempts to link the 11-bp version LKK84/BC190 with the 9-bp PTK49/D.107.<sup>88</sup> If these entries refer to the same translation, it is possible that D.107's erroneous colophon originated from BC190's miswriting of *rgya* (in place of *rgya ga*). Alternatively, if these entries actually refer to different texts, it is also not impossible that there once existed a Tibetan translation from Chinese (possibly based on T.672), which was later replaced by the present D.107.

### 2.5. Lost Tibetan Sūtra Translations from Chinese

There are 12 entries in the imperial catalogues that are not found in today's Kanjurs. They include (8.), (9.), (11.), (13.), (16.), (18.), (19.), (20.), (21.), (22.), (29.), and (35.). However, different motives drive their failure to circulate. One major (hypothesized) reason for not being included in the Kanjurs is that a specific Chinese translation was replaced by its parallel translation rendered from Sanskrit, as I have already discussed above. This explanation applies to (8.), (9.), (11.), (13.), and (19.)

The translations (18.) *Sems can gyi skye shi'i rtsa ba bstan pa*, (21.) *Chos nyid rang gi ngo bo nyid las mi g.yo bar snang ba bstan pa*, and (22.) *Yang dag pa'i legs pa'i yon tan bshad pa* are already listed as lost texts in Bu

<sup>87</sup> Nanjō 1923.

<sup>88</sup> The *Catalogue of the Narthang Kanjur* (NKK, BDRC no. W22703) states that the text in contemporary circulation had nine *bam pos*, but according to the old catalogues, it had 11 *bam pos* (*lang kar gshegs pa'i mdo bam po dgu dang/ le'u brgyad pa/ rdo rje gdan pa dang sman lung pas le'u drug ces gsung/ dkar chag rnying pa rnam nas bam po bcu gcig pa zhes 'byung*, 92b1–2). If we identify these entries as one and the same version, the difference in the number of bp should then probably be explained by the different length calculation system in translating from Chinese, as I have mentioned above.

ston's *Chos 'byung* for unknown reasons, but definitely not due to textual replacement. The two remaining translations, (16.) *Pha ma'i drin lan bstan pa* and (20.) *Dge bcu dang du blang pa'i mdo*, present knotty problems, because I am not quite sure whether they have been transmitted to the present. Since Silk 2019 does not include any discussion of most of these missing texts, I provide a brief introduction to the textual history of these entries as a supplement to Silk 2019.

(8.) *'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po* (LKK256) & (35) *'Phags pa gser od dam po'i mdo* (LKK87): LKK256 is a 5-bp Tibetan translation from Chinese, according to the LKK. This translation, with identical textual information, is not recorded in the PTK, TGGNO, or BC, nor is it compiled in the Kanjurs. Instead, the Kanjurs include the translation *'Phags pa gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po chung pa* (PTK69/TGGNO6.34/BC209/D.557, Nobel Tib I) of the same length. D.557 was translated from Sanskrit by Mūlāśoka and Jñānakumāra, possibly posterior to LKK256, as it was not included in the LKK. In the process of compiling the PTK, ancient Tibetan editors possibly made a selection from the two translations of the same length of 5 bp, and chose to include the translation D.557, with an Indic origin. LKK256 was therefore lost. However, since LKK256 lacks a corroborating witness, some scholars tend to view it as erroneously listed in the section "Translations from Chinese".<sup>89</sup>

LKK87 is regarded as a translation from Chinese only in BC208.<sup>90</sup> The translation was ascribed to Rnam par mi rtog, who is known to have translated several texts from Chinese.<sup>91</sup> However, since the LKK does not confirm the Chinese origin of this translation, I am not quite sure of the source of Bu ston's information.

(9.) *'Phags pa ma skyes dgra'i 'gyod pa bsal pa* (LKK257): This translation has not been transmitted to the present, but TGGNO11.8 further attests to its existence. Its Chinese origin is unclear, as its source

<sup>89</sup> Based on the possibility that LKK87 was a translation from Chinese (see the following discussion), Herrmann-Pfandt proposes the hypothesis that LKK87 and 256 were misplaced in the LKK: while LKK87 should be listed in the section on translations from Chinese, LKK256 should be placed in the section on *Mahāyānasūtras*, and therefore was not a translation from Chinese, see Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 50. However, the LKK does not place all translations from Chinese in its "Translations from Chinese" section (e.g., LKK82, 83), so it does not necessarily follow that LKK87 must have been placed where LKK256 is located.

<sup>90</sup> Nishioka 1980: 32: *Gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po che ba 8 bp. Rnam par mi rtog pa'i 'gyur.*

<sup>91</sup> D.239 *'Dus pa chen po las sa'i snying po'i 'khor lo bcu pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, D.242 *'Phags pa yongs su bsngo ba'i 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, and D.3932 *Ting nge 'dzin gyi mi mthun pa'i phyogs rnam par gzhaq pa*. See Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 50.

was already lost in China. In contrast, the PTK, BC, and Kanjurs omit LKK257 but include a translation of the same title and same length (PTK74/BC296/D.216), which makes Silk question the Chinese origin of this entry.<sup>92</sup> The latter version is rendered from the Sanskrit text *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodana* by Mañjuśrīgarbha and Ratnarakṣita. This serves as another example of the pattern in which the translation from Sanskrit was preserved in the canons and replaced the translation rendered from Chinese. In PT 1257, a similar bilingual title is recorded (*Asheshi wang shoujue jing* 阿闍世王受決經, *Ma skyes dgra'i the tsoṃ bstsal pa'i mdo*).<sup>93</sup> I suspect that the title provided in PT 1257 refers to the lost version translated from Chinese, while the current title refers to the revised version based on the Kanjur collection.

(11.) *Byang chub sems dpa'i so sor thar pa chos bzhi bsgrub pa* (LKK259). This translation is again witnessed in TGGNO11.10. Its Chinese source is lost. Like the previous two cases (LKK256, 257), the PTK and Kanjurs register a parallel translation rendered from Sanskrit, namely PTK117/BC329/D.248. This translation from Sanskrit contains the same number of 700 *ślokas* and is translated by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna, Śākya blo gro, and Dge ba'i blo gros.

(13.) *Tshangs pa'i dra pa* (LKK261A): LKK261A is described as a 2-bp translation from Chinese, possibly T.21 *Fanwang liushier jian jing* 梵網六十二見經 (\**Brahmajāla-sūtra*). PT 1257 attests to the Chinese title 梵網經 side by side with the Tibetan title *Tshangs lha dra pha* (Apple and Apple 2017: 115, no. 21). Silk questions the Chinese origin of this entry.<sup>94</sup> However, it should be noted that the circulating version of the *Tshang pa'i dra pa*, though of the same length, is a translation from Sanskrit by Ye shes sde (PTK248/TGGNO7.4/BC10/D.352); it is not the same translation as LKK265A. Again, the hypothesized textual replacement may have taken place.

(16.) *Pha ma'i drin lan bstan pha* (LKK263): The PTK ignores this entry and the TGGNO also fails to record it. BC48, however, affirms its existence, albeit without mentioning its Chinese origin. Its corresponding title in Chinese, *Fumu enzhong jing* 父母恩重經, is attested in the bilingual Dunhuang manuscript PT 1257 (Apple and Apple 2017: 122, no. 86). This seems to confirm Stein's conjecture that the Chinese source for this Tibetan translation is T.2887 *Fumu enzhong*

<sup>92</sup> Silk 2019: 240.

<sup>93</sup> Apple and Apple 2017: 119.

<sup>94</sup> Silk 2019: 239.

*jing* 父母恩重經.<sup>95</sup> However, it is difficult to identify its Chinese source for the moment, mainly due to our ignorance of the content of LKK263. Berounský, in his elaboration on various versions of the story of Maudgalyāyana rescuing his mother from hell, has noted the existence of Phug brag Kanjur F.218.<sup>96</sup> According to him, Maudgalyāyana also features in the second part of F.218, titled *Pha ma'i drin lan bsab pa'i mdo*. However, this part of F.218 is not a translation from the Chinese T.2887. If LKK263 is identical to the second part of F.218, its Chinese source needs to be reconsidered. Is TGGNO11.45 *Le'u* [*>Me'u*] *gal ma mtsho ba'i mdo'* possibly a witness of LKK263?<sup>97</sup>

(18.) *Sems can gyi skye shi'i rtsa ba bstan pa* (LKK265A): This translation is witnessed by PTK239 and TGGNO11.14. However, it had already been lost by Bu ston's time, as it is listed in the section on "Old Translations That Are Now Inaccessible (*Sngar 'gyur nges pa da lta ma rnyed pa*; BC92)" in the *Chos 'byung*. Purely in view of its title and length (1 bp), I tentatively identify its Chinese origin as T.708 *Liaoben shengsi jing* 了本生死經, a translation of the *Śālistambasūtra*.<sup>98</sup> In contrast, another translation, titled *'Phags pa sA lu'i ljang pa* of the *Śālistambasūtra* (LKK180/PTK167/TGGNO6.122/BC292), is included in the Kanjurs (D.210). It contains 226 *ślokas* and was translated from Sanskrit by Ye shes sde. The loss of LKK265 (A) against the preservation of LKK180 again echoes the paradigm I propose above, in which translations from Chinese were frequently replaced with their corresponding versions translated from Sanskrit, especially when they were of approximately the same length, in the process of Tibetan canonization.

(19.) *Byams pas lung bstan pa* (LKK265B): This entry, in 110 *ślokas*, is not attested in the other catalogues. Could it be a translation of one version of the Chinese "descent *sūtras*" (*Xiasheng jing* 下生經)?<sup>99</sup> On the other hand, PTK273 records another translation with the same title, but in only 100 *ślokas*. This translation is now preserved in several Kanjurs, for instance in Peking Kanjur P.1011 and Narthang Kanjur N.329. According to the colophon of the Narthang Kanjur,

<sup>95</sup> Stein 2010: 89.

<sup>96</sup> Berounský 2012: 89–99. As he also notices, Stein also seems to have known of this Phug brag version, see Berounský 2012: 94

<sup>97</sup> Berounský 2012: 91.

<sup>98</sup> Note that *Sa ru ljang pa* commonly appears as one of the three Chinese texts that Sang shi brought back to Tibet in early Tibetan historiographies. See the discussion in note 22.

<sup>99</sup> See Bowring et al. 2019: 303.

the existing translation was translated from Sanskrit by Jinamitra and Dpal brtsegs Rakṣita.

(20.) *Dge bcu dang du blang pa'i mdo* (LKK266). This is attested in TGGNO11.47, though as a translation from Khotanese. BC94 merely informs us of its length without confirming its Chinese origin: “*dge ba bcu yi dam du blangs ba'i cho ga shu lo ka brgya*”. The PTK lists it under the section “Present Titles That Do Not Appear in the Colophons” (PTK717, ‘*Gyur byang las mi 'byung ba'i bzhugs pa'i mtshan*). It seems that this translation had been successfully transmitted until Bu ston's time; nevertheless, we do not find it in the Kanjurs. Herrmann-Pfandt observes that Dunhuang manuscript IOL Tib J 606 discusses a similar topic related to the ten meritorious deeds.<sup>100</sup> The possible Chinese source is T.1486 *Shou shishan jie jing* 受十善戒經.

(21.) *Chos nyid rang gi ngo bo nyid las mi g.yo bar snang ba bstan pa* (LKK267). This 90-*śloka* translation is not recorded in the PTK and was already lost by Bcom ldan ral gri's time. Both TGGNO29.5 (located in the Hīnayāna section, however) and BC438 list it as one of the old translations that had gone missing. Its supposed Chinese original seems to have been lost as well. Today's Kanjurs, however, preserve the version of the *Dharmatāsvabhāvācalasūtra* translated from Sanskrit by Dānaśīla and Ye shes sde (confirmed in the colophons of D.128 and Stog193, among many others). In fact, the sudden appearance of D.128 is puzzling, as the available previous catalogues do not contain a single mention of it, although this translation is claimed to have been rendered during the imperial era. Herrmann-Pfandt, however, tends to identify LKK267 with D.128, and denies the Chinese origin of LKK267.<sup>101</sup> Nonetheless, this cannot solve the problem of why D.128 was either ignored or claimed to have been lost in the PTK, TGGNO, and BC.

(22.) *Yang dag pa'i legs pa'i yon tan bshad pa* (LKK268). This translation is not included in the PTK or TGGNO. However, in Bu ston's *Chos byung* (BC431), it is listed as one of the ancient translations that have been lost. Its Chinese source is also unidentified and has most probably been lost.

(29.) *Khyad par can gyi zung*s (TGGNO11.18). This text, as a translation from Chinese, is witnessed only in the TGGNO. In contrast,

<sup>100</sup> Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 147.

<sup>101</sup> Herrmann-Pfandt 2008: 148.

LKK358/361, PTK336, and BC1270, though listed under the same title, are identified with D.542/872, the translation from Sanskrit by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla, and Ye shes sde. Is TGGNO11.18 here a mistake?

### 3. Conclusion

In this paper, I attempted to map a textual history of Tibetan *sūtra* translations rendered from Chinese, by tracing the different records in four early Tibetan catalogues (LKK, PTK, TGGNO, and BC) and associating these records with texts in the present-day Kanjur collections. This yielded a diachronic overview of how each translation was transmitted: specifically, whether a translation has been transmitted uninterrupted to the present, or was lost or replaced in the course of transmission. Of the total number of 36 entries reported as translations from Chinese in the four catalogues, 23 translations can safely be identified in today's Kanjurs, while another two translations ([16.] and [20.]) can tentatively be associated with the available texts of a local Kanjur or from Dunhuang. One entry ([36.]) can be treated with relative certainty as mistake (its text was not translated from Chinese, but from Sanskrit). The remaining ten translations were lost in the course of transmission. In addition, there are at least 16 imperial-era (or early post-imperial) translations from Chinese that were never acknowledged as such by these early catalogues (Appendix). That is to say, the imperial catalogues do not reflect the full picture of translations from Chinese in late-imperial Tibet. The neglect or marginalisation of Chinese elements in late- or post-imperial Tibetan editorial projects (the TGGNO somehow being an exception) is also reflected in the textual-replacement pattern that I demonstrated in section 2.2: when one *sūtra* has translations from both Sanskrit and Chinese sources, the one from Sanskrit is usually preserved and included in the canons, while the translation from Chinese is excluded from the Kanjurs (e.g., [8.], [9.], [11.], [13.], [19.]). From another perspective, a large proportion of the extant Tibetan *sūtra* translations from Chinese are possibly included in Kanjurs because they do not have a version of translation from Sanskrit (e.g., [1.], [2.], [5.], [6.],<sup>102</sup> [10.],<sup>103</sup> [12.],<sup>104</sup> [13.],<sup>105</sup> [27.]<sup>106</sup>): since they were created or reworked in China (or by Chinese monks), they do not have a direct Indic origin and therefore have no Sanskrit parallels. Of the

<sup>102</sup> Obata 1975: 170.

<sup>103</sup> Obata 1975: 170.

<sup>104</sup> Obata 1975: 170.

<sup>105</sup> Obata 1975: 170.

<sup>106</sup> Oda 2015: 51.

corpus of Tibetan *sūtra* translations from Chinese, only (1.), (3.), (4.), (7.), (15.), and (33.) have been included in Kanjurs when their parallel translations from Sanskrit are also available. In these cases, the Tibetan compilers probably recognized the disparity between the versions translated from Chinese and from Sanskrit and therefore preserved both translations, which to them represented different but equally legitimate transmissions of the Buddha's word. In brief, the evidence is enough to conclude that the influence of Chinese *sūtras* upon the Tibetan Buddhist translation enterprise was already on the wane from the time of the imperial standardisation projects onwards, a circumstance that was further reflected in the later process of the compilation of the Tibetan canons.

Moreover, the four early catalogues adopt different policies in recording translations from Chinese. The LKK, the earliest official catalogue from imperial Tibet, introduced the model of including translations rendered from Chinese in a separate section. Although the LKK contains the largest number of translations rendered from Chinese compared to the later three catalogues, it is hard to say how receptive its compilers were to translations from Chinese, as we know only the number of translations that were included, but have no idea how many were excluded. At any rate, we know there are more than 16 early translations from Chinese that were not recorded or recognized in the LKK. Moreover, many of the LKK's entries seem to have been quite antique, as their Chinese sources have since been lost. Authoritative as the LKK is, later editorial projects did not completely follow its lead: the PTK replaced many of its entries with translations rendered from Sanskrit, which is by and large followed by the BC and Kanjurs.

The PTK is comparatively more reluctant to record translations from Chinese than the LKK: in its particular section on translations from Chinese, it includes only 11 texts, though many of the excluded translations from Chinese should have been available at the time of the PTK's composition. Although the PTK sets up a new section for *sūtras* and *dhāraṇīs* translated from Chinese and Khotanese, which may have been designed primarily to accommodate newly completed translations, it does not make any effort to distinguish Chinese sources from Khotanese ones. Its Indic-centered orientation is further reflected in its replacing of the five translations from Chinese with ones from Sanskrit. Since these five translations from Chinese were thereafter excluded from official editorial projects, the PTK must be responsible for the loss of them.

The TGGNO seems to be more liberal than the PTK in admitting the Chinese origin of Tibetan translations, as it records 18 translations in its specific section on scriptures translated from Chinese. Although the TGGNO closely follows the PTK in its cataloguing overall, it does not



totally agree with the PTK concerning translations from Chinese. For instance, in the cases of (4.), (9.), and (11.), while the PTK states otherwise, the TGGNO agrees with the LKK in recognizing the Chinese origin of these texts. However, the TGGNO also directly borrows records from the PTK, especially PTK716 to 733, which were possibly misread by the TGGNO compilers to contain translations from Khotanese (unless the TGGNO based this on a different reading of the manuscript). In the aforementioned five cases of textual replacement, the TGGNO sometimes agrees with the LKK's statements that the texts were rendered from Chinese ([9.], [11.]), but on other occasions, it supports the PTK's claim that they were translations from Sanskrit ([8.], [13.]). In addition, it includes new translations from Chinese that are not recorded in the LKK or PTK. All these observations suggest that the TGGNO based its knowledge of translations from Chinese on more than just these two imperial catalogues. Either the compilers had actual holdings of more translations from Chinese, or they consulted sources no longer available to us.

The BC chiefly follows the previous three catalogues, especially the TGGNO, in recording translations rendered from Chinese. Among the 15 recognized translations from Chinese acknowledged by BC, only one entry (36.) does not appear in any of the other three catalogues, and, as I mentioned above, this single entry possibly contains a typographical error. In 12 of the other 14 entries, the BC closely follows the TGGNO's record, although some of these translations are not recognized as being rendered from Chinese by the LKK and PTK. It seems that Bu ston also checked the texts that were available to him, since he sometimes noticed that certain translations were lost (e.g., [18.], [21.], and [22.]), and he attributed translators to many works, even when previous catalogues omitted such information. The BC's records more directly influenced the Kanjurs' collection of translations from Chinese: all of the translations Bu ston recognized as rendered from Chinese were successfully transmitted to Kanjurs.

In a nutshell, the investigation of the transmission situation of the Tibetan scriptures rendered from Chinese in imperial and early post-imperial Tibet sheds light on the under-researched history of source languages in Tibetan translation practices. The source languages of early Tibetan translations were probably much more diversified than those presented in today's Kanjurs. Unlike Sanskrit, the dominant source language that was constantly highly valued and sanctified in the Tibetan canonisation process, Chinese as the source language was gradually marginalised in the imperial standardization and later canonization projects: the very short transition period from LKK to PTK possibly already witnessed the textual replacement of five *sūtra* translations from Chinese by those rendered from Sanskrit; some

translations from Chinese, especially those Chinese Chan works, although still recorded in the early post-imperial catalogue TGGNO (Appendix II no. 11–15, 23), were excluded by BC and thereafter forgotten by the Kanjurs' compilers; Many more translations from Chinese that have now been rediscovered in Dunhuang even had no opportunity to be transmitted to a wider audience before getting sealed in Dunhuang, plausibly because there already existed parallel translations from Sanskrit in circulation. The choice between different source languages, the decision to preserve which translation versions, and so forth, no doubt reflect how ancient Tibetan Buddhists privileged different sources in building their culture and the identity of their religion.

### Appendix I: *Sūtra* Translations Rendered from Chinese but not Recorded or Recognized in the Four Early Catalogues<sup>107</sup>

1. D.51: *Go cha'i bkod pa bstan pa* (LKK31/PTK685). It is noted that the PTK lists this entry in the section on “*Sūtras* and *Vinayas*, the translations of which are not complete” (*Mdo sde dang 'dul ba'i bsgyur 'phro*), but the LKK already adds it in its *Ratnakūṭa* section. It is plausible that LKK31 was added to the LKK at a later time.<sup>108</sup> None of the four early catalogues recognize its Chinese origin. It is translated from the Chinese T.310 (7) *Pijia zhuangyan hui* 被甲莊嚴會.

2. D.57: *Dga' bo mngal na gnas pa bstan pa* (LKK37/PTK684). Same scenario as D.51. It is translated from the Chinese T.310 (14) *Foshuo ru taizang hui* 佛說入胎藏會.

3. D.58: *Tshe dang ldan pa dga' bo mngal du 'jug pa bstan pa*. (LKK38/PTK683). Same scenario as D.51. It is translated from the Chinese T.310 (13) *Fo wei a'nan shuo chu taizang hui* 佛為阿難說處胎會.

4. D.61: *Gang pos zhus pa* (LKK41), in 6 bp. It is translated from T.310 (17) *Fulouna hui* 富樓那會. Note that PTK713, which is stated to be translated from Sanskrit (*'di rnam srgya gar las bsgyur*), possibly refers

<sup>107</sup> I base the corpus of Tibetan *sūtra* translations on Silk 2019. The identification of the Chinese sources and the location of the text in Kanjurs or Dunhuang are also based on Silk's article. Note that, of these 21 translations, no. 13 (D.359a) was translated in 19th century, and no. 21 is an undated translation. Based on current knowledge, it is relatively safe to judge 16 translations were rendered in Tibetan imperial or early post-imperial era: D.51, 57, 58, 61, 64, 84, 239, 241, 255, 354, Stog266, Stog130, PT 89 (no. 16), PT 89 (no. 17), PT 557 (et. al.) and PT 758.

<sup>108</sup> For a discussion of the archaism of the PTK (compared to the LKK) in the organization of the *Ratnakūṭa* section, see Li Channa, forthcoming. To briefly summarise its findings, the LKK, which seems to have undergone later editorial revision, contains a full-fledged *Ratnakūṭa* section with all 49 *sūtra* chapters. However, the PTK only contains nine *sūtra*-chapters in its *Ratnakūṭa* section, and most of the other *sūtra*-chapters are found in other sections of the PTK.

to a different version of the translation, as its length should be shorter than 6 bp.<sup>109</sup>

5. D.64: *Glog thob kyis zhus pa* (LKK44/BC147), in 2 bp. It is translated from T.310 (20): *Wujin fuzang hui* 無盡伏藏會. Note that PTK714 is stated to be translated from Sanskrit ('*di rnams rgya gar las bsgyur*).

6. D.84: *Bu mo rnam dag dad pas zhus pa* (LKK64/PTK185). It is translated from T.310 (40) *Jingxin tongnü hui* 淨信童女會.

7. D.174: '*Phags pa 'jig rten 'dzin gyis yongs su dris pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*. BC257. Translated from T.482 *Chishi jing* 持世經.

8. D.199: *Byang chub sems dpa' byams pa dga' ldan gnam du skye ba blangs pa'i mdo*. Translated from T.452 *Foshuo guan mile pusa shangsheng doushuaitian jing* 佛說觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經.

9. D.239: '*Dus pa chen po las sa'i snying po'i 'khor lo bcu pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo* (LKK82/PTK40). Translated from T.411 *Dasheng daji dizang shilun jing* 大乘大集地藏十輪經.

10. D.241: *Ting nge 'dzin gyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*. Translated from T.356 *Foshuo baoji sanmei wenshushili pusa wen fashen jing* 佛說寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經 (?).<sup>110</sup>

11. D.255: *Theg pa chen po'i mdo chos rgya mtsho zhes bya ba*. Chinese not identified.

12. D.354: *Legs nyes kyi rgyu dang 'bras bu bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*. IOL Tib J 220, 221, 298, 335.2–3. Translated from T.2881 *Shan'e yinguo jing* 善惡因果經.

13.D.359a: '*Spho bsho zi shī il tāng kying, Dum bu zhe gnyis pa zhes bya ba'i mdo*. Translated from T.784 *Sishier zhang jing* 四十二章經 during the Qianlong era.<sup>111</sup>

14. Stog266: *Yongs su skyob pa'i snod ces bya ba'i mdo*. Translated from T.685 *Foshuo yulanpen jing* 佛說盂蘭盆經.

15. Stog130, Gondhla 30.09: *Sangs rgyas rjes su dran pa'i ting nge 'dzin gyi rgya mtsho*.

16. PT 89: *Dge bsnyen ma gang ga'i mchog gi 'dus pa*. Translated from T.310 (31) *Hengheshang youpoyi hui* 恒河上優婆夷會.

17. PT 89: *Byangs chub sems dpa' byams pas zhus pa'i 'dus pa*. Translated from T.310 (42) *Mile pusa suowen hui* 彌勒菩薩所問會.

18. PT 557, 563, 562, 561, 556, 96, 564: '*Od dpag med kyi bkod pa*. Translated from T.310 (5) *Wuliangshou rulai hui* 無量壽如來會.

<sup>109</sup> Although the record of its textual length is incomplete, PTK, Mi rig dpe skrun khang 2003: 51, this entry should be shorter than the first entry (4 bp) in the same section, if the criterion of descending order of length, generally adopted elsewhere in the PTK, is applicable.

<sup>110</sup> Saerji 2011: 190.

<sup>111</sup> Martin 2014, s.v. "Forty-two Section Sūtra".

19. PT 758: *Snang ba mtha' yas kyī mdo*. Translated from T.366 *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經.

20. IOL J Tib 213: *Dus dang dus ma yin pa bstan pa*. T.794 *Shi feishi jing* 時非時經.

21. *Bcom ldan 'das kyī gzhin rje la lung bstan pa dang/ 'khor rnams la bshos ston bdun tshings bya ba dang/ sangs rgyas kyī zhing du skye ba dang/ lha'i pho nya bstan pa zhes pa'i mdo*. Translated from *Shiwang jing* 十王經. Translation date unclear. Berounský 2012:141ff.

## Appendix II: Tibetan *Sūtra* Commentaries Translated from Chinese, According to the Four Early Catalogues<sup>112</sup>

1. *Dgongs 'grel gyī 'grel pa* (LKK565/PTK773/TGGNO11.19/BC676/D.4016). 74 bp. Translated by Chos grub based on Wen tsheg's commentary.

2. *Dgongs pa nyes par 'grel pa'i tīkā* (LKK566/PTK521/TGGNO11.20/BC671). 9 bp.

3. *Dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa'i rgya cher bshad pa* (LKK531/PTK522/BC654/D.4358). 40 bp. Translated by Klu'i rgyal mtshan. The PTK alone lists it as translations from Chinese.

4. *Puṇḍa rī ka'i* (TGGNO: *Dam pa'i chos pad ma dkar po'i*) *'grel pa* (LKK567/PTK520/TGGNO11.21/BC656/D.4017). 20 bp. Based on the commentary composed by Sa'i rtsa lag from Sri Lanka.

5. *Lang gshegs kyī 'grel pa chen po* (LKK568/PTK517/TGGNO11.24/BC672) 40 bp.

6. *Lang dkar gshegs pa'i 'grel pa* (LKK569/BC673). 760 śl. Should it be identified with TGGGO11.54 (*Lang kar gshegs pa'i ti ka*) in 3 bp?

7. *Lang dkar gshegs pa'i bsdus don* (LKK570/PTK519/TGGNO11.23/BC674). 3 bp. The composer was Bin tar ta li la (Rathalīla).

8. *Lang kar gshegs pa'i 'grel pa* (TGGNO11.25/BC657/D.4018). The composer is Ye shes dpal bzang po. The length is measured as 240 "arrow-size" (*mda' tshal*) in TGGNO, which contains roughly 262 folios in the Derge Tanjur version.

9. *Rdo rje gcod pa'i 'grel pa* (LKK571/PTK518/TGGNO11.22/BC534/PT 606). 5 bp.

10. *Chos kyī rgyal mo'i bshad pa* (LKK572/PTK523/TGGNO11.26/BC675). 4 bp.

11. *Chos dkon mchog la gcig bar dun 'jug pa'i sgo mkhan po bdun rgyud*

<sup>112</sup> The names and sequences of these *sūtra* commentaries mainly follow the LKK version when possible. Items that are not contained in LKK but in other catalogues are added thematically. From Item 11 onwards, I follow TGGNO's sequence.

*lyi mdo'* (TGGNO11.27). 2 bp.

12. *Bsam gtan gyi yi ge* (LKK613/PTK657/TGGNO11.28/BC876). 3bp. Composed by Dharmadhara.

13. *Bsam gtan nyal ba'i 'khor sems la lta ba'i chos* (TGGNO11.29). Composed by Ha shang Ma ha ya na.

14. *Bsam gtan chu'i sems bde' bar zhag pa'i chos* (TGGNO11.30).

15. *Bsam gtan bdud 'dul ba'i snying po* (TGGNO11.31).

16. *Ting nge 'dzin gyi mthun phyogs bzhag pa* (TGGNO11.32; BC858; D3932/4934?).

17. *Mdo sde brgya bcu'i khungs* (PTK831/TGGNO11.33 / PT 818 and IOL Tib J 705 / Go 17.2). 4 bp. Tauscher 2021. This text, containing 88 chapters of questions and citations from 80 treatises, is perhaps not a translation from Chinese, but a genuine Tibetan composition, but containing many Chinese material.

(The entries below are listed as “Translations from Khotanese” in the TGGNO. However, as I have argued above, many of these translations, which overlap with PTK716–733, seem to have been mistaken as translations from Khotanese by TGGNO, due to misreading or corruption of the PTK's concluding remark “*mdo dang gzungs 'di rnams rgya dang li las bsgyur*”. Therefore, I list them in the appendix, although some of the translations are plausibly not translated from Chinese).

18. *Ma skyes dgra'i bu mo dri ma med pa'i 'od kyis zhus pa'i lung bstan* (PTK722/TGGNO11.34). 4 bp. Comp LKK107/BC252/D.168 in 6 bp.

19. *Ri glang ru lung bstan pa* (TGGNO11.35). 4 bp. Comp. LKK281/BC79/D.357 in 1 bp.

20. *Sbyangs pa'i yon tan bshad pa* (PTK723/TGGNO11.36). 1 bp. Comp. BC98/D.306.

21. *Zas kyi 'tsho ba rnam dag gi mdo'* (PTK724/TGGNO11.37/BC288/D.206). 38 śl.

22. *Rta skad byang chub sems dpa'i mdo'* (TGGNO11.42).

23. *Bsam gtan gyi mdo'* (TGGNO11.43).

24. *Smon lam gyi mdo'* (11.44/BC99).

25. *Le'u [ >Me'u ] gal ma mtshol ba'i mdo'* (LKK263?/PTK729/TGGNO11.45).

26. *Rta 'grin gnam sa bkod pa'i mdo'* (PTK730/TGGNO11.46).

27. *Snang brgyad rigs bzhi* (TGGNO11.51). Perhaps from Khotanese? Comp. TGGNO11.16 which is from Chinese.

28. *Dbyig gnyen gyi rten 'brel* (TGGNO11.52/BC649/D.395). 4 bp.

29. *de'i (=Dbyig gnyen gyi rten 'brel) ti ka* (TGGNO11.53/BC650/D.396). 11 bp. Composed by Yon tan blo gro.

### Abbreviations

BC	Bu ston's <i>Chos 'byung</i> . Numeration follows Nishioka 1980–1983.
bp	<i>bam po</i>
cp	compare (with the following Sanskrit translation)
D.	Derge Kanjur
DKK	<i>Sde dge'i bka' 'gyur dkar chag</i> . BDRC no. W22084, vol. 103, 3–344
F.	Phugbrag Kanjur
IOL Tib J	Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts previously preserved in the India Office Library, now in the British Library
LKK	<i>Lhan dkar ma</i> . Numeration follows Herrmann-Pfandt 2008
NKK	<i>Catalogue of the Narthang Kanjur</i> . BDRC no. W22703, vol.102
Or.8210/S.	Dunhuang Chinese scroll manuscripts now held in the British Library
PT	“Pelliot tibétain”, Dunhuang Tibetan manuscripts preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France
PTK	<i>'Phang thang ma</i> . Numeration follows Kawagoe 2005
śl	<i>śloka</i>
Stog	Stog Kanjur
T.	<i>Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō</i>
TA	<i>Tang Annals (Tangshu 唐書)</i>
TGGNO	<i>Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od</i> . Numeration follows Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009
V.	Ulaanbaatar Kanjur
ZW	<i>Zangwai fojiao wenxian 藏外佛教文獻</i> Edited by Fang Guangchang, 1995–2003

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