


# The Translation Endeavours of Shes rab grags Revisited: An Investigation of Translations Done by Pu rang lo chung Shes rab grags and 'Bro lo tsā ba Shes rab grags

Orna Almogi (Hamburg)\*

## 1. Introductory Remarks

he present article is yet another part of my ongoing study of the formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in general, and of dBus pa blo gsal's catalogue to the Old sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* (forthcoming) in particular. One aspect of my studies surrounding the Tibetan Buddhist Canon has naturally been identifying the persons involved in its making, including not only editors and patrons, but also authors, *lo tsā bas*, and *paṇḍitas* who collaborated on the translations. More specifically, the wish to explore the Buddhist intellectual networks behind the formation of the individual works and the canonical corpora active both within and outside the Indic cultural sphere, and the ensuing collaborative BuddhaNexus project, increased the need for a further investigation concerning the persons involved in the formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in general, and the Tibetan translators and their collaborating *paṇḍitas* in particular. For this purpose, the Authors and Translators Identification Initiative (ATII) was launched at the beginning of 2021, which involves collaboration among several institutions and individuals.<sup>1</sup> In the

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<sup>1</sup> ATII consists of a group of students and scholars based at the Universität Hamburg—including Nicola Bajetta, Ryan Conlon, Sebastian Nehrdich, Marco Hummel, and myself—and Élie Roux, a software developer at the Buddhist Digital Resource Center (BDRC), whose support of the project in various ways has been indispensable. In addition, further assistance and input have been provided by

course of these joint efforts, our attention was drawn to the intriguing case of the Tibetan translator(s) named Shes rab grags. Ulrich Timme Kragh published in 2010 an article titled “On the Making of the Tibetan Translation of Lakṣmī’s *\*Sahaḥasiddhipaddhati*: ‘Bro Lotsā ba Shes rab Grags and His Translation Endeavors. (Materials for the Study of the Female Tantric Master Lakṣmī of Uḍḍiyāna, part I),”<sup>2</sup> in which, as made clear by the title, he has attempted to identify ‘Bro Shes rab grags’s translations alongside a discussion of his *paṇḍita* collaborators and some of the circumstances under which these translations were done, including the hitherto undetermined places in which the translations were made and a chronology of the translations. Since a number of Kragh’s identifications, as some of the methods employed by him, were ostensibly doubtful, it seemed that in order to either corroborate or disprove his identifications, a systematic investigation was called for. This task was taken up, the result being the present article.

In his article, Kragh identifies thirty-one works as having been translated or revised by ‘Bro Shes rab grags—twenty-eight in collaboration with various *paṇḍitas* (thirteen altogether), one in collaboration with another Tibetan translator, and two alone. Moreover, basing himself on the form of the name provided in the colophons, Kragh also suggests a chronology of the translations, namely, first those with the simplest form, Bod kyi lo tsā ba Shes rab grags, then those where the name includes the clan name ‘Bro, then those that include the title *dge slong* (“fully ordained monk”), followed by those with both the clan name and the title *dge slong*, and finally what Kragh considers the “most elaborate epithet,” containing all elements of the name just mentioned, namely, Bod kyi lo tsā ba ‘Bro dge slong Shes rab grags.<sup>3</sup> It is not the proper occasion to discuss this suggested chronology, but two points should be perhaps stated here in this regard: (i) Kragh’s assumption that the colophons were authored by ‘Bro Shes rab grags himself remains unproven (and seems indeed unfounded, as the colophons are often formulaic),<sup>4</sup> and (ii) the methodology suggested by him for determining the chronology is highly questionable, for the only element that could suggest a chronology, would be the designation *dge slong*, but also in this case the underlying assumptions, namely, that the colophons were authored by ‘Bro

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Bruno Laine of the Resources for Kangyur and Tengyur Studies (rKTs) project, University of Vienna. Moreover, for identifications in connection with the Chinese Buddhist Canon, ATII enjoys collaboration with Michael Radich and Jamie Norrish of the Chinese Buddhist Canonical Attributions database (CBC@). Special thanks are due to Prof. Dorji Wangchuk and the Khyentse Center, Universität Hamburg for providing financial support.

<sup>2</sup> I thank Nicola Bajetta for drawing our attention to Kragh’s article.

<sup>3</sup> See Kragh 2010: 206–208.

<sup>4</sup> See Kragh 2010: 198 n. 9.

Shes rab grags himself and that the omission of *dge slong* necessarily means that the translations were done before his full ordination, are likewise questionable.

Another major methodological shortcoming is Kragh's assumption that since *shes rab grags* is a rendering of *prajñākīrti*, the translator Prajñākīrti must be 'Bro Shes rab grags. Moreover, in order to explain the employment of these two names, Kragh also assumes that Prajñākīrti is the form used by 'Bro Shes rab grags during his stay in Nepal. Based on this assumption, Kragh also suggests the location where 'Bro Shes rab grags did each of his translations: those in whose colophon the name Prajñākīrti is employed were, with some exceptions, done in Nepal, and those in whose colophon the name Shes rab grags is employed, likewise with some exceptions, were done in Tibet.<sup>5</sup> Kragh, however, does not corroborate these suppositions with any substantial evidence beyond the fact that *prajñākīrti* is what one would expect the Sanskrit for *shes rab grags* to be. Moreover, the practice of (systematically) employing one's Tibetan name while in Tibet and the Sanskrit equivalent while in one of the regions of the Indic cultural sphere seems, to the best of my knowledge, not to have been reported in the literature. As we shall see below, two main points have not been taken into consideration by Kragh, namely, (i) that the name Prajñākīrti was extensively employed by another Tibetan translator who was active at the same period as 'Bro Shes rab grags, and (ii) that it in fact reflects not only the Tibetan name Shes rab grags but also other semantic variants of it.

Before discussing each of the translations ascribed by Kragh to 'Bro Shes rab grags in detail, I shall first briefly present a list of the works in question, grouped according to the *paṇḍita* with whom the translations or revisions were done (as was outlined by Kragh, though occasionally in a slightly different order). Kragh's extensive discussions of each of the *paṇḍitas* will be considered below only if they are directly relevant to the present discussion. In the following brief presentation, the *paṇḍitas* will merely be mentioned along with their place of origin, and occasionally with their relation to each other whenever applicable (in both cases as indicated by Kragh). In order to avoid repetition, the works in question will be recorded in the following summary on the basis of their sDe dge (D) and Peking (P) catalogue numbers alone. The translations listed by Kragh may thus be presented in fifteen groups as follows:

(1) Ten works in collaboration with the Kashmiri **Somanātha**, namely, nine Kālacakra-related works, including D361/P3, D362/P4, D1347/P2064, D1353/P2070, D1355/P2072, D1357/P2074, D1371/P2087, D1372/P2088, DØ/P4609, and one non-Kālacakra

<sup>5</sup> See Kragh 2010: 210, 217 n. 57, and *passim*.

work, namely, D2260/P3107, the \**Sahajasiddhi* (referred to by Kragh as the "SS root-text," its commentary, the \**Sahajasiddhipaddhati*, being Kragh's point of departure for the article in question).

(2) Five works, called by Kragh "minor works," translated in collaboration with the Nepalese **Sumatikīrti**, including D1764/P2633, D3127/P3948, D3139/P3960, DØ/P4619, and D1536/P2247.<sup>6</sup> As noted by Kragh, the translator's name employed in the translation colophons of these works is Prajñākīrti, and thus, according to him, these translations were done in Nepal.

(3) One work in collaboration with the Kashmiri **Jñānavajra**, namely, D486/P118, assumed by Kragh to have been done before or after his stay in Nepal, given the employment of the Tibetan name in the colophon.<sup>7</sup>

(4) One work with the Indian **Mañjughoṣa**, namely, D1206/P2336, likewise assumed by Kragh to have been done before or after his stay in Nepal for the same reason.<sup>8</sup>

(5) One work in collaboration with the Nepalese **Kanakaśrīmitra**, namely, D3900/P5868. Following his above-mentioned suppositions and methodology, or what he called his "guiding principle," Kragh argues that the fact that the name employed in the colophon is Shes rab grags and not the Sanskritized name Prajñākīrti is a hint that 'Bro Shes rab grags's collaboration with Kanakaśrīmitra was one of the first he had in Nepal, and thus the translation in question was one of the first he did there. Kragh adds that although Shes rab grags has not yet started using his Sanskritized name at the early stage of his stay in Nepal, he nonetheless "changed his Tibetan epithet *dge slong* [...] to the corresponding Nepalese word *bande*." It is, however, unknown to me that employment of the term *bande* in the colophon has any significance in connection with the place in which the translation was done, and Kragh does not provide any himself.<sup>9</sup>

(6) One work in collaboration with the Nepalese **Jayākara**, namely, D4123/P5625, at a point, according to Kragh, where he was already using the name Prajñākīrti.<sup>10</sup>

(7) Two works in collaboration with the Nepalese **Varendraruci**, namely, D1903/P2767 and D1904/P2768, also at the stage when he had already started using the name Prajñākīrti.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See Kragh 2010: 213–214. Note that Kragh states in the main text that six minor works were translated by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with Sumatikīrti, but only five are actually listed by him (n. 49). Also note that Kragh erroneously has D1535 instead of D1536 (as the equivalent for P2247).

<sup>7</sup> See Kragh 2010: 208–209.

<sup>8</sup> See Kragh 2010: 208–209.

<sup>9</sup> See Kragh 2012: 211.

<sup>10</sup> See Kragh 2012: 211–212.

<sup>11</sup> See Kragh 2012: 212–213.

(8) A translation of the second instalment (chaps. 6–11 of the first *kalpa* and the whole of the second *kalpa*, which consists of chaps. 1–12) of Vajragarbha's Hevajra commentary, namely, D1180/P2310, after having studied it under **Maitrīpāda**. The name employed in the colophon is Bod kyi lo tsā ba 'Bro dge long Shes rab grags, and thus is unambiguous. The colophon explicitly names the place of translation as Tibet, which well suits Kragh's theory of the employment of the Tibetan versus the Sanskritized name. In addition, according to Kragh, he also revised the first part (chaps. 1–5 of the first *kalpa*), this time in collaboration with **Prince Śrī Abhayadeva** (with whom he collaborated on the translation of other works, for which see the following entry). As he goes by the name Prajñākīrti in the intermediate colophon (found after chap. 5 of the first *kalpa*) and in the report on the translation and two revisions of this first instalment, this revision was, according to Kragh, done in Nepal.<sup>12</sup>

(9) Apparently two works in collaboration with **Prince Śrī Abhayadeva**, namely, D1544/P2252 and very probably also D3703/P4527. In these cases, too, since the translator goes by the name Prajñākīrti, Kragh suggests that the place of translation is Nepal.<sup>13</sup> According to Kragh, these two translations are in addition to the collaboration on the revision of the first instalment of D1180/P2310 just mentioned.

(10) One work in collaboration with a student of Maitrīpāda known in Tibet as **The Indian Pāṇi** (i.e., **Vajrapāṇi**; 1017–ca. 1080), namely, D2139/P4838. As the name used in the colophon is Prajñākīrti, the translation was, according to Kragh, likely done in Nepal.<sup>14</sup>

(11) One work in collaboration with **Nālandāpāda** (spelt there Nālandapāda), namely, D2139/P4838. Nālandāpāda has been identified by Kragh as a minor student of Maitrīpāda, who, to judge from his name, was affiliated with Nālandā monastery in North India. The translator in this case likewise goes by the name Prajñākīrti.<sup>15</sup>

(12) One work in collaboration with one **\*Digīśānandana**, namely, D1908/P2770, likewise under the name Prajñākīrti.<sup>16</sup>

(13) One work in collaboration with (or, alternatively, after having studied it under) the Indian **\*Mānavihārāpa**, namely, D2261/P3108, the *\*Sahajasiddhipaddhati* (referred to by Kragh as SSP), which was, together with the above-mentioned *\*Sahajasiddhi* (translated in collaboration with Somanātha), Kragh's point of departure for the article

<sup>12</sup> See Kragh 2010: 218–222.

<sup>13</sup> See Kragh 2010: 218–219, particularly n. 63.

<sup>14</sup> See Kragh 2010: 222–223.

<sup>15</sup> See Kragh 2010: 223.

<sup>16</sup> See Kragh 2010: 223–224.

under discussion. This translation, too, done under the name *Prajñākīrti*, was, according to Kragh, probably done in Nepal.<sup>17</sup>

(14) One revision without any collaboration with a *paṇḍita*, but together with **Mar pa do ba Chos kyi dbang phyug** (1042–1136; BDRC: P3814), namely, D368/P16, where again the name *Prajñākīrti* is employed, and thus, according to Kragh, was more probably done in Nepal.<sup>18</sup>

(15) And finally, two **solo translations** (*rang 'gyur*), namely, D2121/P2972 and D1452/P2169, which, in the light of the Tibetan name *Shes rab grags* in the colophon, were, according to Kragh, done in Tibet.<sup>19</sup>

As I shall show in the following, a number of the works believed by Kragh to have been translated by 'Bro *Shes rab grags* were actually not translated by him, for there were several translators that went by the name *Shes rab grags* (or a semantically similar name), some of whom were confused with one another and thus conflated by Kragh into one person. What certainly added to the confusion is the fact that at least some of these translators employed several variants of their name. Moreover, all of them were active in the eleventh century, which offers no opportunity to eliminate certain cases on account of, for example, the floruit of the collaborating *paṇḍitas*. I shall begin the discussion with these other translators and the works translated by them, and shall conclude with 'Bro *Shes rab grags* and the works that were indeed translated by him. In those few cases in which the identity of the translator could not be determined with utmost certainty after taking all factors into consideration, the most plausible identification was opted for (such entries are marked by a ?).

## 2. Translations by **Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags**

**Pu rangs** (/rang/hrang) **lo chung Shes rab grags** was a translator from Southern sTod in mNga' ris who has been active in the second half of the eleventh to first half of the twelfth century and is known to have worked closely with **Mar pa do ba Chos kyi dbang phyug**. Most important for our discussion is the fact that, as we shall see from the cited sources below, he went under several Tibetan names, or more precisely several semantic variants of his Tibetan name, including *Shes rab grags* (pa), *Grag pa shes rab*, *Grag 'byor shes rab*, and *Grag mchog shes rab*,<sup>20</sup> and under the Sanskrit name *Prajñākīrti*,

<sup>17</sup> See Kragh 2010: 224–227.

<sup>18</sup> See Kragh 2010: 216–218.

<sup>19</sup> See Kragh 2010: 209 n. 38.

<sup>20</sup> It appears that the name variant *Grag mchog shes rab* was used less than *Grag 'byor shes rab*. For example, in *Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho's "chronology,"* where *Grag mchog she[s] r[ab]* is mentioned in the context of what is known as

which can in fact serve as the Sanskritized form for all the Tibetan name variants just mentioned. Due to the fact that both 'Bro lo tsā ba and Pu rangs lo chung went by the name Shes rab grags, a number of the works listed by Kragh as having been translated by 'Bro lo tsā ba are in fact translations by Pu rangs lo chung. Accordingly, the *paṇḍitas* who collaborated on these translations are to be associated with the latter and not with the former, as done by Kragh. Apart from the translator's name(s), two other important factors are to be taken into consideration in determining the identity of the translator: (i) the circle(s) in which the translator in question worked, that is, mainly the *paṇḍitas* under whom he studied and with whom he collaborated on the translations in question, but also his fellow Tibetan translators, and (ii) the literary-cum-doctrinal areas in which he specialized.

According to the *Blue Annals*, Pu rangs lo chung studied under the same Indian and Nepalese teachers as Mar pa do ba, and later under **Prince (Rājaputra) Bhīmadeva**.<sup>21</sup> Mar pa do ba's teachers in India are stated in the same source as being **Nāropa's** disciples **Manakaśrī**, **Prajñārakṣita**, the **Kashmiri Bodhibhadra**, and **Pramudavajra**, and in Nepal **Pham thing pa** (i.e., the second of the four Pham thing brothers who was known as A des pa chen po in Nepal and as 'Jigs byed grags pa in Tibet), the latter's younger brother (i.e., the third one) **Vāgīśvara(kīrti)**, **Kanakaśrī**, [**Vajra**]pāṇi, **Kṛṣṇapāda**, and **Sumatikīrti**.<sup>22</sup> A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597–

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sTod 'dul ba ("the Vinaya of sTod") tradition, the name is glossed as Grags 'byor shes rab. See the *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* (71.20–72.4): *stod 'dul ba'i gtso bo Zhang zhung rGyal she'i slob ma ni | dPal 'byor shes rab dang | Tshul khriims blo gros la sogs pa yin | dPal 'byor shes rab 'di ni Pu rangs lo chung Grags* <sup>(byor shes rab)</sup> *mchog sher dang | lo tsā ba gZhon nu mchog gi slob ma yin | Pu rang lo chung 'di ni | Shrī Khang dmar gyi gad logs su | sku lus 'di nyid kyis mkha' spyod du phebs | khong dang lo chen lo chung ngu sdebs pa'i lo chen ni | Mar pa do pa Chos kyi dbang phyug yin |*. Of relevance is also the mention of him as the assistant translator of Mar pa do ba, who are thus respectively considered *lo chung* and *lo chen*, and the mention of his death place as the cliff of **Shrī Khang dmar**. Both details are also reported (with some variation) in other sources (see, for example, the following note). See also Stearns 2001: 189–190 n. 227, where the story of his death ("ascending to Khecara") is told. Also note that Stearns equates Pu rangs lo chung with Pu rangs lo tsā ba gZhon nu shes rab, who, according to some Tibetan authors, studied under Gayadhara and was in fact responsible for one of his visits to Tibet (*ibid.*: 51–52).

<sup>21</sup> See the *Deb sngon* (469.8–14): **Mar pa do pa'i lo chung Grags pa shes rab kyis ni | Mar dos gsan pa'i bla ma rnam la yang rGya gar dang Bal por gsan pa mdzad la | phyi ni rGyal po'i sras Bhī ma de ba la yang mang du gsan pa mdzad de | chos Lo chen pas Lo chung che'o zhes grags pa des kyang | slob ma mang du bsdu nas bDe mchog gi bshad pa ring zhig tu mdzad pa'i 'phro de nyid la | Las stod lho'i Shrī'i phug par mtshams mdzad de | de'i mod la mkha' spyod du gshegs so |**. For an English translation, see Roerich 1947: 388.

<sup>22</sup> See the *Deb sngon* (465.5–14). For an English translation, see Roerich 1947: 383–384. The problems surrounding the identification of the Pham thing brothers have been discussed in Lo Bue 1997: 643–652. The present paper is not the suita-

1659/1660; BDRC: P791), in his history of Cakrasaṃvara, describes Pu rangs lo chung, called there Grags 'byor shes rab, as being the lone one from among numerous other Tibetan translators all of whom are known to have studied under **Sumatikīrti** (including Mar pa do ba, rNgog lo, Mal lo, and Klog skya) to receive the complete instructions from him. A mes zhabs adds that he is called Pu rangs lo chung because he accompanied Mar do to Nepal as his assistant. He further states that Pu rangs lo chung studied there under numerous masters—including the **Prince**, that is, obviously the Rājaputra Bhīmadeva mentioned in the *Blue Annals*, and the **White Haṅdu** (“White Māntrika”), who has been previously identified as **Varen-draruci**<sup>23</sup>—numerous Tantric doctrines such as Cakrasaṃvara, while on his way back to Tibet under **Bhadanta** he studied and then practised the Cakrasaṃvara, along with other doctrines associated with Nāropa. Of particular interests is A mes zhabs's identification of **Sumatikīrti** (Tib. Blo gros bzang por grags pa) with the Nepalese **Bhadanta**.<sup>24</sup>

The main area of specialization of Pu rangs lo chung in terms of doctrinal cycles and their related works was clearly the Cakrasaṃvara, but he is also reported to have studied and translated various works specifically associated with Nāropa's tradition and works of other doctrinal cycles including the Guhyasamāja and the Kālacakra. It is also to be noted that Pu rangs lo chung is mentioned in several lineages of the Sa skya school. He was a teacher of Sa chen Kun dga'

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ble occasion to readdress this issue, but it should be perhaps merely stated that A mes zhabs, in his history of Cakrasaṃvara, seems to have different identifications than those offered by Lo Bue and the *Blue Annals* (as interpreted/translated by Roerich). The identification offered here follows that of A mes zhabs, namely, Pham thing pa seems to be an epithet of the second of the four brothers who was known as A des pa chen po or \*Abhayakīrti ('Jigs med grags pa), while Vāgīśvara(kīrti) (Ngag gi dbang phyug (grags pa)) is identified as the third brother. See the 'Khor lo sdom pa'i chos byung (153.11ff.).

<sup>23</sup> See Lo Bue 1977: 635.

<sup>24</sup> See the 'Khor lo sdom pa'i chos byung (159.12–15): *de lta bu'i dpal Pham mthing pa chen po 'Jigs med grags pa zhes mtshan yongs su grags pa des dbang bskur zhing rgyud byin gyis brlabs pa'i slob ma'i tshogs mang du yod pa'i nang nas | bal po Bha danta ni | Su ma ti kirti ste Blo gros bzang por grags pa 'di gong du bstan pa ltar yongs rdzogs ste paṇḍi ta chen po | ...; and ibid. (159.13–20): de la Mar pa do pa | rNgog lo | Mal lo | Klog skya sogs bod kyi lo tsā ba'i slob ma mang yang | gdams pa rdzogs pa ni Pu hrangs lo tsā ba Grags 'byor shes rab yin la | 'dis dang po lho Bal du byon pa'i dus su Mar do dang dpon g.yog yin pas | Pu hrangs lo chung du grags | spyir 'dis rGyal po'i sras dang Ha ngu dkar po la sogs pa bla ma mang po la bDe mchog sogs gsang sngags mang du gsan | khyad par Bha danta la Bod du byon pa'i gTsang lam du bDe mchog gi chos skor gsan nas sgrub pa mdzad cing | khyad par Nā ro pa'i man ngag bskyed pa'i rim pa Phag mo mkha' spyod | rdzogs pa'i rim pa rTsa dbu ma | thun mong gi man ngag gNod sbyin mo dbang du bya ba la sogs pa sgrub pas grub ste | .... See Stearns 2001: 190 n. 227, where Bhadanta is likewise equated with Sumatikīrti.*



snying po (1092–1158; BDRC: P1615) through whom several of his teachings have been further transmitted within the school. In his Lam 'bras instruction notes, sNgags 'chang Grags pa blo gros (1367–1446?; BDRC: P3611), for example, reports that Sa chen studied various doctrines including those associated with Cakrasamvara, Guhyasamāja, and Kālacakra systems under Pu rangs lo chung, sKyu ra a skyabs,<sup>25</sup> the Nepalese Padmaśrī, Jñānavajra, and the Indian Bhoṭarāhula.<sup>26</sup> In the following, I shall discuss all works that could be located in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon that were translated by Pu rangs lo chung, grouping them according to the collaborating *paṇḍita*.

### (A) Translations and Revisions in Collaboration with Sumatikīrti

Sumatikīrti, also known simply as Sumati, was involved in the translation of numerous works in collaboration with several Tibetan translators active in the second half of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century, but as we shall see none of them was 'Bro Shes rab grags.<sup>27</sup> He, however, extensively collaborated with Pu rangs lo

<sup>25</sup> IDan sKyu ra a skyabs is, according to David Jackson, one of the greatest early Sa skya masters. See Jackson 2003: 528, 535, where he is briefly mentioned. He appears to have been active in the second half of the eleventh to first half of the twelfth century, and is mentioned in several transmission lineages of the Sa skya tradition. For a mention of him as one of Rwa lo tsā ba rDo rje grags's (1016–1128?; BDRC: P3143) disciples (including a reference to his mention in that master's biography), see Cuevas 2015: 61 n. 25.

<sup>26</sup> See the *Lam 'bras 'khrīd yig* (357.4–6) ... **IHo stod du Pu rang lo chung Grags 'byor shes rab | sKyu ra a skyabs | bal po'i slob dpon Padma shrī dang | Dznyā na badzra | rgya gar gyi rnal 'byor pa Bho ṭa ra hu la rnam las bDe mchog gSang 'dus | Dus 'khor sogs chos bsam gyis mi khyab pa gsan te |**

<sup>27</sup> Apart from Pu rangs lo chung, he is known to have collaborated with the following translators:

(1) Mar pa do ba Chos kyi dbang phyug: numerous works from the rGyud section: D1271/P2393, D1435/2152, D1437/P2154, D1441/P2158, D1443/P2160, DØ/P2164 (R), D1448/P2166, D1450/P2167 (R), D1482/P2199 (R), D1571/P2279, DØ/P2286, D1887/P2751 (together with gZhon nu 'bar), D1925/P2788, D2710/P3534 (together with rNgog Blo ldan shes rab), D3663/P4486, DØ/P4675, D3872/P5273 (chaps. 1–6; chaps. 7–11: by Dar ma grags). For a nearly identical list, see Kragh 2010: 2015 n. 51.

(2) Blo ldan shes rab: rGyud: D1433/P2150 (R), D1465/P2182, D1466/P2183, D1467/P2184, D1468/P2185, D2710/P3534 (together with Chos kyi dbang phyug), D1433/P4624 (R, explanation according to the lineage of Pham mthing pa), D1836/P4791 (in collaboration with the Nepalese Saudita; see Lo Bue 1997: 649, where Saudita is identified with Sumatikīrti); Sher phyin: D3795/P5193; dBu ma: D3871/P5272 (R), D3968/P5363 (dupl. D4493/P5406 (*JoCh*)); Tshad ma: D4226/P5723, D4231/P5730 (R), according to Kramer possibly also D1469/P2186. See Kramer 2007: 124 (and passim) for a detailed discussion of these translations. See also Kragh 2010: 216 n. 57.

(3) gNyan Dar ma grags, on one text from the rGyud section: D3872/P5273 (chaps. 7–11; chaps. 1–6: by Chos kyi dbang phyug). Cf. Kragh 2012: 216 n. 53,

chung, particularly on translations of Cakrasaṃvara related works. The following is a list of the works on whose translation or revision the two collaborated, along with their respective colophons, references to traditional catalogues, with an assessment of the information provided therein regarding the translation ascription, corroborated, whenever necessary, on the basis of further sources and discussions.

(1) D1579/P2290. Nāropa's *rDo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs* (*Vajrayoginīsādhana*). Colo: **Las dang po pa'i sgom pa mdor bsdus pa dpal Nā ro pa'i zhal gyi brgyud pa rjes su gnang ba rdzogs so | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal Su ma ti kīrti'i zhal snga nas dang | bod kyī lo tsā ba dge slong Pradnyā kīrtis bsgyur ba'o | |**. Tr: R-KC(Ø); *U-TK* (including dupl. in MS A), *BCh*, *Zh-TK*: Shes rab grags; *T-TK*, DP: Prajñākīrti.<sup>28</sup> For reasons that are unclear this work is not listed by Kragh.

(2) D1764/P2633: Piṇḍapātika's *dPal mgon po nag po bsgrub pa'i thabs* (*Śrīmahākālasādhana*). Colo: **dPal nag po chen po'i sgrub thabs byin rlabs dang bcas pa | slob dpon chen po bSod snyoms pas mdzad pa rdzogs so | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal Su mā ti kīrti dang | lo tsā ba dge**

where also the translation of D3124/P3945 is listed (see also point 6 below).

(4) Zha ma Seng ge rgyal mtshan (b. 11th cent.; BDRC: P4402): rGyud: DØ/P4620; dBu ma: D3943/P5339 (together with Klog skya gZhon nu 'bar). See also Kragh 2010: 216 n. 54.

(5) Klog skya gZhon nu 'bar: rGyud: D1887/P2751; dBu ma: D3943/P5339 (together with Zha ma seng rgyal). See also Kragh 2010: 216 n. 55.

(6) ? Dharmakīrti, one work from the rGyud section: D3124/P3945. Cf. Kragh 2012: 216 n. 53 (see also point 3 above). The identity of this Dharmakīrti will be discussed below. Kragh ascribes the translation of only two works to Pu rangs lo chung (referred to by him as Lo chung Grags mchog shes rab) in collaboration with Sumatikīrti, namely, D1411/P2127 and D1451/P2168. He rightly notes that in the latter case the translator goes by the name Grags pa shes rab, "which seems to refer to Grags mchog shes rab." See Kragh 2010: 215 n. 52. Also notable is that Kragh (2010: 216–217), besides falsely ascribing the revision of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra* (D368/P16) to 'Bro Shes rab grags (i.e., instead of to Pu rangs lo chung) in collaboration with Mar pa do ba, also wrongly considers the revision done by Mal gyo Blo gros grags (11th cent.; BDRC: P3088) and transmitted in the Phug brag *bKa' 'gyur* (F438), to have been undertaken in collaboration with Sumatikīrti, although there is no mention in the colophon of the latter (or of any other *paṇḍita* for that matter) having collaborated in either of the revisions. See Kragh 2010: 216 n. 56. For the colophon of F438, see below (§2.G.1) and Jampa Samten 1992: 159.

<sup>28</sup> See the *U-TK* (A, 15a3; B, 11a3 = *U*<sub>15</sub>237): **Las dang po pa'i bsgom** [bsgom A, sgom B] **pa mdor bsdus pa Shes rab grags kyī 'gyur |**; *ibid.* (dupl. A, 75b3; BØ): **Las dang po pa'i bsgom pa** [pa em.; ba Ms.] **mdor bsdus pa Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba ....** The record in the *BCh*: [Bc2473] is similar to those of the *U-TK*. *Zh-TK* (436.6–7): *rDo rje rnal 'byor ma'i las dang po pa'i sgom pa mdor bsdus pa zhes bya ba paṇḍi ta Su ma ti kīrti dang | lo tsa ba Shes rab grags kyī 'gyur 'di Nā ro mkha' spyod ma'i gzhung yin |*; *T-TK* (23a1–2): [T0456] **Las dang po pa'i bsgom pa mdor bsdus pa rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i bsgrub thabs Na ro pa'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa Pra dnyā kir ti'i 'gyur |**. T0456 is found in section II, Nyi(39), 289a2–b3. Its colophon is similar to those of the DP versions. The record in the *D-TK* (vol. 2: 360a6–7) reflects the D colophon.

slong **Pradznyā kīrtis** bsgyur ba'o | | . Tr: R-KC(Ø); *I*-TK, *BCh*: Shes rab grags; *T*-TK, *Zh*-TK, DP: Prajñākīrti.<sup>29</sup> This is one of the “minor works” whose translation Kragh erroneously ascribed to 'Bro Shes rab grags.

(3) ? D3124/P3945: Buddhajñāna/Sumatikīrti's *So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i bsrung ba* (*Mahāpratisarāraksā*). Colo: **So sor 'brang ma chen po'i**<sup>30</sup> **srung ba** | slob dpon **Sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyis mdzad pa** | gdams ngag dus da lta byed pa'i tshul paṅḍi ta **Su ma ti kī rti**<sup>31</sup> zhal snga nas gzhung du bsdebs pa rdzogs so | | | lag pa reg cing dza<sup>32</sup> zhes brjod pas gshegs su gsol lo | | lo tsā ba chen po **Dharma kīrtis** bsgyur ba'o | | . Tr: R-KC(Ø), *I*-TK(Ø); *BCh* (Bc1592): (1) Ba ri, (2) Nyi ma rgyal mtshan; (= ?) *Zh*-TK(viii), *Gl*-TK<sub>T</sub>(vii), DP: Dharmakīrti; *T*-TK (T1233): Prajñākīrti. As will be argued below (see the discussion in the following entry in general, and Bc1592 in particular) the translator's name Dharmakīrti provided in the *Zh*-TK, followed by the DP colophons, and probably also *Gl*-TK<sub>T</sub>(vii), may have slipped in erroneously for Prajñākīrti. Kragh identifies this Dharmakīrti with gNyan Dar ma grags, who, according to Kragh, “also wrote under the Sanskritized name Dharmakīrti.”<sup>33</sup> Nonetheless, it appears that most, if not all, translation ascriptions to a Tibetan translator called Dharmakīrti refer to Ba ri lo tsā ba, who is well known to have gone by this name. Whether gNyan Dar ma grags also did so is rather uncertain (for more on this issue, likewise see the discussion in the following entry, particularly under Bc1592). Indeed, in the case of the other work Kragh noted as having been translated by gNyan Dar ma grags in collaboration with Sumatikīrti (D3872/P5273) the name Dar ma grags is used. (For the Tibetan text of the catalogue records, see the following entry.)

(4) D3127/P3948. Jitāri's *So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i 'khor lo bri ba'i cho ga* (*Mahāpratisarācakralekhanavidhi*). Colo: **So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i 'khor lo bri ba'i cho ga** slob dpon **Dze ta ris mdzad pa rdzogs so** | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po **Su ma ti kī rti**<sup>31</sup> i zhal sngar dge slong **Pradznyā kī rti**s bsgyur ba'o | | . Tr: R-KC(Ø), *I*-TK(Ø); *BCh* (Bc1590): (1) Ba ri, (2) Nyi ma rgyal mtshan; *Gl*-TK<sub>T</sub>(xv): Ba ri; *Zh*-TK(xii): Shes rab grags; *T*-TK (T1232), DP: Prajñākīrti. To be noted is that the pertinent pas-

<sup>29</sup> See the *I*-TK (A, 64a1–2; B, 51b1–2 = *I*<sub>JS</sub>1367): slob dpon **bSod snyoms pas** <sup>(Piṅḍa ti ka)</sup> mdzad pa *Nag po chen po'i sgrub thabs* **Shes rab grags** kyi 'gyur | . The record in the *BCh*: [Bc2659] is similar to that of the *I*-TK. *T*-TK (68b2–3): [T2001] *Nag po chen po'i bsgrub thabs* slob dpon **bSod snyoms pas** mdzad pa *Pra dznyā kir ti*'i 'gyur | . Unfortunately, T2001 could not be accessed. *Zh*-TK (461.5): *mGon po nag po'i sgrub thabs* slob dpon **bSod snyoms pas** mdzad pa | paṅḍi ta **Su ma ti kirti dang** | lo tsā ba **Pra dznyā kirti**'i 'gyur | ; *D*-TK (vol. 2: 368a6–7).

<sup>30</sup> mo'i] P, po'i D

<sup>31</sup> rti'i] D, rti' P (one *i* vowel is erroneously missing)

<sup>32</sup> dza] P, ja D

<sup>33</sup> See Kragh 2010: 216 n. 53.

sages—that is, those recording works relating to the “five protectors” (*srung ba lnga*)—found in the various catalogues differ from each other in terms of both the titles listed and the respective translations, and occasionally also the authorship ascriptions. Since the pertinent passages, in addition to demonstrating various stages of the compilatory work towards the formation of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, concern two works directly relevant to the present discussion (the present and previous ones), I shall cite them here in their entirety in chronological order in order to allow better comparison between the bibliographical information included therein: first the *I-TK* (the first TG catalogue), then the *T-TK* followed by the *BCh*, both of which relied on the *I-TK* (i.e., on the revised and enlarged version as presented in MS A), and finally the *Zh-TK*, which in various ways presents a revision by Bu ston of the passage found in the Title Index included in the *BCh* and which also served as the basis for the mainstream TG editions (here represented by DP). In addition, I shall present the respective passage in the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*, whose first part is similar to the *Zh-TK* and second part records works that either are not found elsewhere or are possibly duplicates consisting in different translations. The cited passages will be followed by a discussion concerning the identification of the individual works recorded.

The *I-TK* merely records five such works, four successively, and the fifth after two other, unrelated records. Of interest is perhaps also the fact that the passage underwent a rather substantial revision in the later version (i.e., MS B vs. MS A), as follows (A, 29b4–30a1; B, 23b4–6):

[I<sub>JS</sub>618 = Bc1582; D3118/P3939] *slob dpon Shān*<sup>34</sup> *ti bas* <sup>{Rin chen 'byung gnas zhi ba}</sup> *mdzad pa*<sup>35</sup> *So sor*<sup>36</sup> *'brang ma'i 'khor lo bri thabs* | [BØ; I<sub>JS</sub>618.1 = Bc1583; D3125/P3946] *So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i rig pa'i cho ga Nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* | [BØ; I<sub>JS</sub>618.2; = Bc1584; DØ/PØ] *slob dpon Dze tā ris* <sup>{dGra las rgyal}</sup> *mdzad pa'i Grwa lnga'i sgrub thabs* | [I<sub>JS</sub>619 = Bc1594; D3126/P3947] *slob dpon Shān ti pas*<sup>37</sup> <sup>{Rin chen 'byung gnas zhi ba}</sup> *mdzad pa'i Srung*<sup>38</sup> *ba lnga'i cho ga bKra shis rgyal mtshan dang Chos rje dpal gyi 'gyur* | [...] [I<sub>JS</sub>622 = Bc1595; DØ/PØ] *So sor*<sup>39</sup> *'brang ma chen mo'i sgrub thabs* |

The bibliographical data can be summarized as follows:

<sup>34</sup> shān] A, shan B

<sup>35</sup> pa] A, pa'i B

<sup>36</sup> sor A, so B

<sup>37</sup> shān ti pas] A, dze tā ris B

<sup>38</sup> srung] A, bsrung B

<sup>39</sup> sor A, so B

	Author	Translator
I <sub>JS</sub> 618	Ratnākaraśānti	Ø
MS BØ I <sub>JS</sub> 618.1	Ø	Nyi ma rgyal mtshan
MS BØ I <sub>JS</sub> 618.2	Jitāri	Ø
I <sub>JS</sub> 619	MS B: Jitāri MS A: Ratnākaraśānti	bKra shis rgyal mtshan & Chos rje dpal
I <sub>JS</sub> 622	Ø	Ø

The *T-TK* records altogether eleven related titles (note, however, that Jampa Samten counts nineteen works due to what I believe to be false interpretation), of which eight are not recorded in the *I-TK*, while two of the titles recorded in the latter are omitted in the former. The passage reads as follows (MS 48b1–5):

[T1222–T1226 = I<sub>JS</sub>618.2] *bSrung ba lnga'i bsgrub thabs 'Dze ta ris mdzad pa Dar ma grags kyi 'gyur* | [T1227 = IØ] *sTong chen mo* | [T1228 = IØ] *rMa bya chen mo* | [T1229 = IØ] *gSang sngags rjes su 'brang ma* | [T1230 = IØ] *bSil ba'i tshal* | [T1231 = IØ] *So so 'brang ma rnamso so so'i bsgrub thabs 'Dze ta ris mdzad pa Dar ma grags kyis bsgyur ba la Chos kyi dbang phyug gis bcos pa* | [T1232 = IØ] *So so 'brang ma'i 'khor lo 'bri ba'i cho ga 'Dze ta ris mdzad pa Pra dznyā kir ti'i 'gyur* | [T1233 = IØ] *So so 'brang ma'i bsrung pa'i cho ga Sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyi gdams<sup>40</sup> ngag Pra dznya kir ti'i 'gyur* | [T1234 = I<sub>JS</sub>618] *So so 'brang ma'i 'khor lo bri ba'i thabs Shan ti bas mdzad pa* | [T1235–T1239 = I<sub>JS</sub>619] *bSrung pa lnga'i cho ga Shan ti bas mdzad pa Blo ldan shes rab kyi 'gyur* | [T1240 = IØ] *So so 'brang ma'i 'khor lo'i sems sbyang<sup>41</sup> Klu grub kyis mdzad pa Nam mkha' rdo rje'i 'gyur* |

The pertinent passage in the *BCh* records a total of fourteen titles, including all five recorded by the *I-TK*. Of the remaining nine records, seven are found in the *T-TK* and two are entirely new (while one record found in the *T-TK* is missing in both the *I-TK* and *BCh*). The passage in the *BCh* reads as follows:

[Bc1582] *slob dpon Shanti pas mdzad pa'i So sor 'brang ma'i 'khor lo bri thabs* | [Bc1583] *So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i rig pa'i cho ga Nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* | [Bc1584] *slob dpon Dzai*

<sup>40</sup> gdams] *em.*, gdam Ms

<sup>41</sup> sbyang] *em.*, byang Ms

tā ris mdzad pa'i (= Bc1584–Bc1591) *Grwa lnga'i spyi sgrub* |  
 [Bc1585–Bc1589] *IHa mo so so'i sgrub thabs lnga* | [Bc1590]  
 'Khor lo bri ba'i cho ga | [Bc1591] *IHa mo lnga la bstod pa* |  
 [Bc1592] **Su ma ti kīrtis mdzad pa'i Grwa lnga'i cho ga** | *gzhan*  
*yang* [Bc1593] *Mo gsham gyi srid sgrub* | *de rnam*s (= Bc1584–  
 Bc1593) *sngar Ba ri dang* | *phyis Nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* |  
 [Bc1594] *slob dpon Shānti pas mdzad pa'i Srung ba lnga'i cho ga*  
**bKra shis rgyal mtshan dang Chos rje dpal gyi 'gyur** | [Bc1595]  
*So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i sgrub thabs* |

As correctly noted by Nishioka, “*rnam*s” in the phrase ... *rnam*s *sngar Ba ri dang phyis Nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* refers to Bc1584–Bc1593, which means that all these ten works were translated twice, first by Ba ri [lo tsā ba] (1040–1112; BDRC: P3731) and later by [Thar pa lo tsā ba] Nyi ma rgyal mtshan (fl. 13th cent.; BDRC: P2147). It should be added that the name at the beginning of record Bc1584, namely Jitari, is the author of Bc1584–Bc1591.

The identification of some of the works recorded in the three above-cited passages is at times rather complex. Nonetheless, although the passage in the *T-TK* is somewhat different from the one in the *BCh*, both in terms of the phrasing of titles and the translation ascriptions (and in one case of the authorship), its similarity in terms of the works and the order in which they are recorded cannot be ignored. This raises the question as to the connection between the *BCh* and the *T-TK*, for thus far no direct influence of the latter on the former has been known, and indeed Bu ston has not listed it among his sources.<sup>42</sup> In the table below, I shall first present the bibliographical information found in the three passages in comparison to one another, including an identification of what—despite discrepancies—are equivalent records. These identifications will be individually discussed in the following, along with an identification of each record with the respective versions in the D and P editions.

<b>Bc</b>	<b>I</b>	<b>T</b>
Bc1582 A: Ratnākaraśānti Tr: Ø	I <sub>JS</sub> 618 A: id. Tr: Ø	T1234 A: id. Tr: Ø
Bc1583 A: Ø Tr: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	I <sub>JS</sub> 618.1 A: Ø Tr: id.	TØ
Bc1584	I <sub>JS</sub> 618.2	T1222–T1226

<sup>42</sup> For the sources used by Bu ston for the Title Index in the *BCh*, see Almogi (forthcoming-a): n. 16.

A: Jitāri Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	A: id. Tr: Ø	A: id. Tr: Dar ma grags
Bc1585–Bc1589 A: Jitāri Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	IØ	T1227–T1231 A: id. Tr: Dar ma grags R: Chos kyi dbang phyugs
Bc1590 A: Jitāri Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	IØ	T1232 A: id. Tr: Prajñākīrti
Bc1591 A: Jitāri Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	IØ	TØ
Bc1592 A: Sumatikīrti Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	IØ	? T1233 A: Buddhajñānapāda Tr: Prajñākīrti
Bc1593 A: Ø Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	IØ	TØ
Bc1594 A: Ratnākaraśānti Tr: bKra shis rgyal mtshan & Chos rje dpal	I <sub>JS</sub> 619 A: Jitāri Tr: id.	T1235–T1239 A: Ratnākaraśānti Tr: Blo ldan shes rab
Bc1595 A: Ø Tr: Ø	I <sub>JS</sub> 622 A: Ø Tr: Ø	TØ
BcØ	IØ	T1240 A: Nāgārjuna Tr: Nam mkha' rdo rje

Of particular interest is the discrepancy between the *BCh* and the *Zh-TK*, for Bu ston considerably revised the passage, particularly the translation ascriptions in it. In the *Zh-TK* Bu ston records twelve titles altogether in the passage that he explicitly names “The Cycle of the

Five Protectors" (*Sprung ba lnga'i skor*), comprising what seem to be eleven out of the fourteen recorded in the *BCh* (two of the eleven are uncertain) and one additional title, which is equivalent to one recorded in the *T-TK* but missing in the other two sources (*I-TK* & *BCh*). Since the *Zh-TK* has not been edited thus far, the records are numbered (i)–(xii), while the catalogue numbers of the D equivalents—followed by those of the *BCh* as identified by me, that is, despite the discrepancies (on which, see below)—are provided within square brackets. The passage reads as follows (541.2–7):

**Sprung ba lnga'i skor** la | (i) [= D3117 = BcØ] **So sor 'brang ma'i 'khor lo'i sems sbyong slob dpon 'phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa | paṅḍi ta Chos kyī sde dang | lo tsā ba Nam mkha' rdo rje'i 'gyur** | (ii) [= D3118 = Bc1582] **So sor 'brang ma'i 'khor lo bri thabs Ratna ā ka ra shāntis mdzad pa |** (iii) [= D3119 = Bc1585] **So sor 'brang ma'i sgrub thabs |** (iv) [= D3120 = Bc1586] **rMa bya chen mo'i sgrub thabs |** (v) [= D3121 = Bc1587] **sTong chen rab tu 'joms pa'i sgrub thabs |** (vi) [= D3122 = Bc1588] **gSang sngags rjes su 'dzin ma'i sgrub thabs |** (vii) [= D3123 = Bc1589] **bSil ba'i tshal gyi sgrub thabs |** (viii) [= D3124 =? Bc1592] **So sor 'brang ma'i srung ba slob dpon Sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyī gdams ngag paṅḍi ta Su ma ti kirtis gzhung du bsdebs pa | paṅḍi ta de nyid dang | lo tsā ba Dharma kirti'i 'gyur** | (ix) [= D3125 = Bc1583] **So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i rig pa'i cho ga | paṅḍi ta Pu ru ṣotta ma dang | lo tsā ba Nyi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i 'gyur** | (x) [= D3126 = Bc1594] **Sprung ba lnga'i cho ga slob dpon Rin chen 'byung gnas zhi bas mdzad pa | paṅḍi ta Mu ti ta shrī dznyā na dang | lo tsā ba bKra shis rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba la | Chag Chos rje dpal gyis bcos pa |** (xi) [= DØ =? Bc1595] **Sprung ba lnga'i sgrub thabs dang | mdo klog pa'i cho ga mdzad byang med pa zhig bal po'i dpe las mNga' ris pa rDo rje dpal gyis bsgyur pa |** (xii) [= D3127 = Bc1590] **So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i 'khor lo bri ba'i cho ga slob dpon Dze ta ris mdzad pa | paṅḍi ta Su ma ti kirti dang | lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyī 'gyur |**

Interestingly, the catalogue to the Ngam ring TG edition, which is based on the Old sNar thang edition but arranged and supplemented according to Bu ston's Zhwa lu edition-cum-catalogue, reproduces the above-cited passage from the *Zh-TK* almost verbatim, except that it omits record no. (xi), which was excluded from later TG editions.<sup>43</sup> As pointed out earlier, the first part of the respective passage in the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* resembles the list in the *Zh-TK*, whereas the second part con-

<sup>43</sup> See the *Ng-TK* (103.16–104.3). See also the discussion of Bc1595 below.



tains either unknown works or what seems to be duplicates, as follows (265.17–266.10):

- (i) *So 'brang gi 'khor lo bri thabs Shānti pas mdzad pa* | = Zh-TK(ii)
- (ii) *So 'brang* | = Zh-TK(iii)
- (iii) *rMa bya chen mo* | = Zh-TK(iv)
- (iv) *sTong chen rab 'joms* | = Zh-TK(v)
- (v) *gSang sngags rjes 'dzin* | = Zh-TK(vi)
- (vi) *bSil ba'i tshal rnams kyi sgrub thabs chung ngu re re* | = Zh-TK(vii)
- (vii) *So 'brang gi cho ga Su ma ti kīrtis mdzad pa Dharmā kīrti'i 'gyur* | = Zh-TK(viii)
- (viii) *So 'brang gi 'khor lo bri tshul* | *paṇḍi ta Pu ru ṣotta ma las nyan te* | *Nyi ma rgyal mtshan gyis bsgyur ba* | = Zh-TK(ix)
- (ix = dupl. of x) *Srung ba lnga'i cho ga Shānti pas mdzad pa bKra shis rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* | = Zh-TK(x), with a revision by Chag Chos rje dpal
- (x = dupl. of ix) *Srung ba lnga'i cho ga Shānti pas mdzad pa Nam mkha' rdo rje'i 'gyur* | *'di dang gong ma gnyis 'gyur khyad tsam ma gtogs gcig par snang ngo* | |
- (xi + xii) *So 'brang gi cho ga gzungs las btus pa gong 'og gnyis* | = Zh-TK(∅) = T∅/D∅/P∅
- (xiii) *Srung ba lnga'i sgrub thabs Dze tā ris mdzad pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* | = Zh-TK(∅) = ? T1222–T1226, with a translation by Dar ma grags = D∅/P∅
- (xiv) *Srung ba lnga'i cho ga phyed dang nyis brgya pa Dze tā ris mdzad pa Seng ge rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* | = Zh-TK(∅) = T∅/D∅/P∅
- (xv) *So 'brang gi 'khor lo bri tshul Dze tā ris mdzad pa Ba ri ba'i 'gyur* | = Zh-TK(xii), with a translation by Shes rab grags
- (xvi =? dupl. of i) *So 'brang gi 'khor lo bri tshul Shānti pas mdzad pa* |
- (xvii) *So 'brang gi 'khor lo bri tshul Ye shes zhabs kyi mdzad pa Nam mkha' rdo rje'i 'gyur* | = Zh-TK(∅) = T∅/D∅/P∅

Now let us turn to the identification of the individual titles, for which I shall take, for various reasons, the records in the *BCh* as the point of departure:

Bc1582. The identification of this record with  $I_{JS}618$ , T1234, Zh-TK(ii), Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>(i), and D3118/P3939 is straightforward. All of them provide the same title, name Ratnākaraśānti as the author, and record no translator. Neither the T nor the DP versions have a translation

colophon.<sup>44</sup> The *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*(xvi) appears to be a duplicate, although no explicit statement in this regard has been made.

Bc1583. The identification of this record with *I<sub>JS</sub>*618.1, *Zh-TK*(ix), *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*(viii), and D3125/P3946 is likewise straightforward. The title and the name of the translator are identical in all three cases, and none names an author. No equivalent in the *T-TK* could be located. According to the translation colophon of D3125/P3946, [Thar pa] Nyi ma rgyal mtshan translated the text in the great Temple of Thar pa gling after having studied it under Puruṣottama in Vārāṇasī.<sup>45</sup>

Bc1584. The identification of this record with *I<sub>JS</sub>*618.2, T1222–T1226, and *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*(xiii) is rather certain, despite the fact that the title in both the *BCh* and *I-TK* reads *grwa lnga*, whereas that in the *T-TK* and *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* reads *bsrung ba lnga*, for both terms refer to what is known as the “Five Protectors” (Pañcarakṣā).<sup>46</sup> It is clearly omitted in the *Zh-TK*, and accordingly is not found in DP. Both Nishioka and Jampa Samten have interpreted the respective records as referring to five different works. Although Nishioka assigned the record only one catalogue number, he suggests a possible identification (marked by a ?) as P3940–P3944, while Jampa Samten, orienting himself by the titles of T1227–T1231, assigned it five catalogue numbers, and identifies the works in a similar fashion as P3942/D3121, P3941/D3120, P3943/D3122, P3944/D3123, P3940/D3119, respectively.<sup>47</sup> An examination of the text found in T, however, shows that it is certainly one single work and not five, which thus clearly neither corresponds to T1227–T1231 (on which see the following entry), as implied by Jampa Samten, nor is equivalent to D3119/P3940–D3123/P3944, as suggested by both him and Nishioka.<sup>48</sup> The work is clearly not found in DP, at least not this translation of it. As we have seen, while all three sources

<sup>44</sup> T1234 is found in section II, Tse(78), 156a1–157b6.

<sup>45</sup> D3125/P3946. Colo: **rGya gar yul Vā rā ṇa sīr paṇḍi ta Pu ru ṣotta ma'i zhal snga nas legs par mnyan te | lo tsā ba dge slong Nyi ma rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos | gtsug lag khang chen po Thar pa gling du bsgyur ba'o | |**

<sup>46</sup> The phrase *bsrung lnga*, as in *T-TK*, is indeed closely related to [gzungs] *grwa* (often *sde*) *lnga*, as in *BCh*, both referring to five protecting deities. See also Jampa Samten 2016: 109 n. 1, where the phrase *bsrung lnga* is understood as synonymous with *gzungs sde lnga*. For a list of these five deities (Skt & Tib), see the *Dharmasaṃgraha* (p. 3, §5).

<sup>47</sup> Jampa Samten (2016: 109 n. 1) holds that the *T-TK* records the same work, or more precisely the same five works, twice: one record for the translation by Dar ma grags comprising all five works jointly (and thus assigned five catalogue numbers, T1222–T1226), and five records, each listed separately (T1227–T1231), for their revision by Chos kyi dbang phyug.

<sup>48</sup> T1222–T1226 is found in section II, Tse(78), 137b1–143a6.

name Jitāri as the author, they vary regarding the information on the translation ascription: the *U-TK* names no translator, the *BCh* reports one translation by Ba ri lo tsā ba and another by Thar pa lo tsā ba, whereas the *T-TK* ascribes the translation to Dar ma grags and the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* to Seng ge rgyal mtshan. Unfortunately, since the T colophon discloses no further details regarding this Dar ma grags (e.g., his clan name or birthplace), and since it does not name the collaborating *paṇḍita* either, a decisive identification of the Tibetan translator is impossible. The first candidate that comes to mind is gNyan Dar ma grags (fl. 11th cent.; BDRC: P2614). However, we need perhaps to keep in mind that Ba ri lo tsā ba had several aliases—including Rin chen grags, Chos kyi grags (along with the Sanskritized and hybrid forms Dharmakīrti and Dharma (/Dar ma) grags) and simply Khams pa lo tsā ba—which makes one wonder whether there is here a confusion between two persons named Dar ma grags, gNyan and Ba ri; we shall return to this issue below.

Bc1585–Bc1589. The next five works, whose titles, unlike in the *BCh*, are spelt out in the *T-TK* (T1227–T1231), *Zh-TK*(iii–vii), and *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*(ii–vi), while being missing in the *U-TK* altogether, are clearly to be identified with D3119–D3123/P3940–P3944 (in a slightly different order in D & P), despite, that is, the bibliographical discrepancies: Both *BCh* and *T-TK* ascribe the authorship to Jitāri, whereas the *Zh-TK* and *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* mention no author. Moreover, the *BCh* records two translations, an earlier one by Ba ri and a later one by Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, whereas the *T-TK* names Dar ma grags as the translator and [Mar pa do ba] Chos kyi dbang phyug as the reviser. Both the *Zh-TK* and *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* name neither an author nor a translator. These discrepancies seem to have been the reason why these works could not be properly identified by previous cataloguers. Nishioka marks these titles as having no equivalents in P (the only edition he uses for his identification), whereas Jampa Samten directs the reader to compare the first four titles with D3253/P4076, D3252/P4075, D3254/P4077, D3255/P4078, respectively, and marks the fifth as having no equivalent in DP. However, as has already been pointed out, the equivalent five works are D3119–D3123/P3940–P3944. An examination of the works in the T TG shows that three of them have no colophons, whereas the fifth and last one (T1231) is the only one that has an authorship colophon naming Jitāri as the author, and the fourth one (T1230) is the only one that has a translation colophon naming Dar ma grags as the translator and Mar pa [do ba] Chos kyi dbang phyug as the

reviser.<sup>49</sup> While the authorship colophon can justifiably be regarded as a collective colophon for all five, the placement of the translation colophon at the end of the fourth work certainly raises a question, but considering how the work is recorded in the *T-TK*, its placement there appears to have been due to a transmissional error. As will be shown below, the five works are found elsewhere in the TG, where they are arranged in a slightly different order, which might offer an explanation for the unusual placement of what appears to be a collective translation colophon. As for the DP versions, only the fifth and last work has what could be considered as a collective authorship colophon, naming Jitāri, but unfortunately none of them has a translation colophon. Nonetheless, the translation contained in the DP versions is nearly identical with that of the T version, ascribed to Dar ma grags with a revision by Chos kyi dbang phyug. Now, particularly as Bu ston omits the name of the translator in his *Zh-TK*, could this again be possibly a confusion between the two translators named Dar ma grags, namely, Ba ri and gNyan? Of some relevance is perhaps also the fact that the translation of the following work in the mainstream TG editions, that is, D3124/P3945 (on which, see below), is ascribed to Lo tsā ba chen po Dharmakīrti, which is the full Sanskritized form of Dharma (/Dar ma) grags. Moreover, this set of five works is found in the TG four times (occasionally arranged in a slightly different order), each set being apparently a different translation of what seems to have been virtually the same (or a very similar) Sanskrit original. To be noted, however, is that some of the translations bear a partial resemblance to each other. None of the works in the other three sets has an authorship colophon. Apart from the set just discussed (T1227–T1231; D3119–D3123/P3940–P3944), a second set (T1323–T1327; P4197/D3376, P4199/D3378–P4202/D3381) is found within the *sādhana* collection known as the *Ba ri brgya rtsa*, which was translated by Ba ri lo tsā ba in collaboration with Amoghavajra.<sup>50</sup> A third set (T1575 (cf. T1577), T1578–T1581; D3583/P4405 (cf. D3585/P4407), D3586–D3589/P4408–P4411) is found within another *sādhana* collection known as the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*, which was translated by Yar lung (/lungs/klung) lo tsā ba Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1242–1346?; BDRC: P2637) after having received the transmission from Kīrticandra.<sup>51</sup> A fourth set (TØ; D3251–D3255/P4074–P4078) is found in yet another *sādhana* collection, the *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa* translated by Pa tshab Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan in collaboration with

<sup>49</sup> The five works are found in section II, Tse(78), 144a1–4; 144b1–6; 145a1–4; 145a5–b5; 146a1–b3.

<sup>50</sup> For the *Ba ri brgya rtsa*, see Almogi (forthcoming-a), §3.1.

<sup>51</sup> For the *sGrub thabs rgya mtsho*, see Almogi (forthcoming-a), §3.3.

Abhayākara Gupta (not included in the Tshal pa edition).<sup>52</sup> Although it is not entirely impossible that the *BCh* is referring in this passage to these translations (i.e., at any rate those by Ba ri, whereas the ones by Nyi ma rgyal mtshan still remain unidentified), this seems unlikely considering the parallel passage in the *Zh-TK* and the fact that these *sādhana* collections are recorded as separate units elsewhere, so that the possibility that there was a confusion between two Dar ma grags-s remains an option (at least regarding the reference to Ba ri).

Bc1590. The identification of this record with T1232, *Zh-TK*(xii), *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*(xv), and D3127/P3948 is likewise rather straightforward. Nonetheless, while all five name the author as Jitāri, there are some discrepancies regarding the name(s) of the translator(s). Again in the case of this title the *BCh* records two translations, one by Ba ri and one by Nyi ma rgyal mtshan (Nishioka, disregarding the discrepancies, correctly identifies the record with P3948). The translation by Ba ri is also recorded in the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*. The *T-TK* names Prajñākīrti, with (according to the colophon) Sumatikīrti as the collaborating *paṇḍita*.<sup>53</sup> The *Zh-TK* names Shes rab grags (as we have seen, one possible rendering of Prajñākīrti and one of Pu rangs lo chung's several Tibetan names), likewise in collaboration with Sumatikīrti. The colophons of D3127/P3948, the point of departure of the current entry, name Prajñākīrti and Sumatikīrti. This work, too, is one of the "minor works" whose translation Kragh erroneously ascribed to 'Bro Shes rab grags.

Bc1591. This record, which likewise names Jitāri as the author and a translation by Ba ri and another by Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, has no equivalent, neither in the *U-TK*, *T-TK*, *Zh-TK*, or *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*, nor in DP (as pointed out by Nishioka).

Bc1592. The identification of this record (indicated by Nishioka as not found in P) is somewhat complex. Nonetheless, despite the discrepancies, I would like to tentatively suggest identifying it with T1233, *Zh-TK*(viii), *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*(vii), and D3124/P3945. While the latter four are quite certainly the same, there are various discrepancies between them and Bc1592 regarding the bibliographical details, which, however, could be explained with the help of both the rec-

<sup>52</sup> For the *sGrub thabs brgya rtsa*, see Almogi (forthcoming-a), §3.4.

<sup>53</sup> T1232 is found in section II, Tse(78), 146b4–148b5. Colo: *So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i 'khor lo bri ba'i cho ga' slob dpon Dzai ta ris mdzad pa || rdzogs s.ho || || rgya gar gyi mkhan po Su ma ti kīr ti'i zhal sngar | dge slong Pra dznya kīr tis bsgyur ba'o ||*.

ord in the *Zh-TK* and the TDP colophons.<sup>54</sup> The first discrepancy concerns the title, which in the *BCh* is stated as *Grwa lnga'i cho ga*, and in the other four sources as *So sor 'brang ma'i* (/ *ma chen mo'i*) *bsrung ba / cho ga* (or the like). As has already been pointed out in the context of the titles of T1222–T1226 (*bSrung pa lnga'i (cho ga yi)* *bsgrub pa'i thabs*) and what seems to be its equivalent, Bc1584 (*Grwa lnga'i spyi sgrub*), the terms *grwa lnga* and *srung ba lnga* can be regarded as synonymous in the present context (while *So sor 'brang ba/ma (chen mo)* is one of the five, commonly named first in the list). Also notable is the homage in T1222–T1226, which reads *rig pa'i rgyal mo chen mo so sor 'brang ma la phyag 'tshal lo | |*, and the title found at the beginning of T1233, which, reading *Rig pa'i rgyal mo so sor 'brang ma chen mo'i chog ga*, differs from the title in the colophon, which reads *So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i bsrung ba'i chog ga*. Another discrepancy concerns the authorship, ascribed to Sumatikīrti by the *BCh* and *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* and Buddhajñānapāda by the other sources. Although they all have slightly different formulations, the cause of some ambiguity, they all (except the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*) seem to be saying that the text in question consists of instructions (*gdams ngag*) by Buddhajñānapāda that were compiled by Sumatikīrti into a work (*gzhung*) so as to, according to the colophons, make them suitable for “the present time” (i.e., 11th cent.). The T colophon, however, seems to suggest that Sumati did so in the course of the translation rather than actually first compiling a work for this purpose and only then collaborating on its translation. The situation regarding the identity of the translator is more complex. In this case, too, the *BCh* reports two different translations, by Ba ri and Nyi ma rgyal mtshan. In his *Zh-TK* Bu ston names the translator as Dharmakīrti in collaboration with Sumatikīrti.<sup>55</sup> The DP colophons are rather ambiguous in this regard. They refer to the translator as the “Great Translator Dharmakīrti,” but do not explicitly name Sumatikīrti as his collaborator (but only as the compiler of the work). Zhu chen Tshul khirms rin chen

<sup>54</sup> For the Tibetan text of the *Zh-TK*, see the passage cited above. T1233 is found in section II, Tse(78), 149a1–155b6; Colo: *So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i bsrung pa'i cho ga slob dpon chen po Sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyi gdams ngag dus da lta byed pa'i tshul paṇḍi* [erroneously *add. ti*] *ta Su ma ti kīr ti'i zhal snga nas dang dge slong Prad jñā kīr tis bsgyur ba | | rdzogs s.ho | |*. D3124/P3945. Colo: *So sor 'brang ma chen po'i* [po'i D, mo'i P] *srung ba | slob dpon Sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyi mdzad pa | | gdams ngag dus da lta byed pa'i tshul paṇḍi ta Su ma ti kīrti'i zhal snga nas gzhung du bsdebs pa rdzogs so | | lag pa reg cing dza* [dza P, ja D] *zhes brjod pas gshegs su gsol lo | | lo tsā ba chen po Dharma kīrtis bsgyur ba'o | |*. P has an additional passage, though it is not part of the colophon and has no relevance to our discussion.

<sup>55</sup> Note that the MS version of the *Zh-TK* (MS, 762.6) likewise reads Dharmakīrti, as do the *Ne-TK* (478.3–4) and the *Ng-TK* (103.20–23), which makes the possibility of a scribal transmissional error in this regard less likely.

(1697–1774; BDRC: P801) in his *D-TK*, however, explicitly states that the two collaborated on the translation (while omitting the statement regarding Sumati’s role in the compilation of the work).<sup>56</sup> The *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*, which also names Dharmakīrti as the translator, does not mention the collaborating *paṇḍita*. The T colophon, in contrast, explicitly ascribes the translation to Prajñākīrti in collaboration with Sumatikīrti. As already presented above, the information concerning the Tibetan translator can be summarized as follows: *R-KCØ*, *U-TK(Ø)*; *BCh* (Bc1592): (1) Ba ri, (2) Nyi ma rgyal mtshan; (= ?) *Zh-TK* (viii), *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>*(vii), DP: Dharmakīrti; *T-TK* (T1233): Prajñākīrti. A comparison of the T version with those of DP reveals that, apart from minor negligible differences, the translation is identical, so that one of the reports concerning the identity of the Tibetan translator must be erroneous. We have seen that the *BCh* names two translations, by Ba ri and by Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, and also that Dharmakīrti is one of the aliases of Ba ri, but we have also seen that there could have been a confusion on the part of Bu ston between Ba ri and gNyan lo tsā ba, as both are called Dar ma grags (= Dharmakīrti), so that the information provided by the *BCh* and *Zh-TK* in this regard is rather shaky. Moreover, since the respective DP colophons and catalogues are, as a whole, based on the *Zh-TK*, they cannot be seen as independent/additional evidence. Moreover, the similarity between the passage in the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* and the *Zh-TK* hints on a common source as well. The only thing that could assist us here is perhaps the identity of the members of the translation team. A collaboration between Sumatikīrti and a translator named Dharmakīrti is only known in connection of the work under discussion. As pointed out earlier, Sumatikīrti collaborated with various Tibetan translators of the eleventh/twelfth century, but none of them was Ba ri lo tsā ba, so that we can, with a high degree of certainty, eliminate the possibility that he is the Dharmakīrti we are looking for. Moreover, gNyan Dar ma grags is only known to have collaborated with Sumatikīrti on the translation of the second part of D3872/P5273 (i.e., chaps. 7–11, while chaps. 1–6 were translated by Mar pa do ba in collaboration with the same *paṇḍita*). This means that theoretically gNyan could be our translator, as was indeed understood by Kragh (see above, §2.A.3). It must be, however, noted that, unlike Ba ri, gNyan seems to have used neither the full Sanskritized form Dharmakīrti nor the full Tibetan form Chos kyi grags pa, but rather apparently always the hybrid Dar ma grags, which makes this theoretical possibility less likely. Nonetheless, in order to exclude

<sup>56</sup> See the *D-TK* (vol. 2: 414b7): *So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i srung ba slob dpon Sangs rgyas ye shes zhabs kyi mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Su ma ti kīrti dang | lo tsā ba chen po Dharma kīrti'i 'gyur |*.

with certainty that gNyan Dar ma grags also went by the name Dharmakīrti, all occurrences of this name in the colophons (and elsewhere) referring to the/a Tibetan translator should be systematically examined. In contrast, Pu rangs lo chung aka Prajñākīrti extensively collaborated with Sumatikīrti, which makes the credibility of the T colophon more likely. Moreover, the preceding work in the T edition (T1232), like its equivalent *Zh-TK*(xii) and its corresponding DP versions, has the same translator team (i.e., Prajñākīrti and Sumatikīrti), which demonstrates that this team collaborated on the translation of works related to the “Five Protectors.” Although no decisive conclusion can be drawn, taking the above presented evidence, it appears that the colophon of the T version, and the corresponding *T-TK* record, seems more likely to be the authentic/correct one, so that the translator of this work is Pu rangs lo chung aka Prajñākīrti, in collaboration with Sumatikīrti.

Bc1593. It appears that the work recorded under Bc1593, the last of the group stated in the *BCh* as having two translations, by Ba ri and by Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, was not included by Bu ston in his *Zh-TK*, and is thus not found in the DP TG editions either. Judging from the *T-TK* and *Gl-TK<sub>r</sub>*, it also seems not to have been included in either the T or Gl TG editions.

Bc1594. The identification of this record with D3126/P3947 is straightforward, all bibliographical details being in agreement in naming Ratnākaraśānti as the author, bKra shis rgyal mtshan as the translator in collaboration with Muditaśrījñāna, and a revision by Chag lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal (1197–1263/64; BDRC: P1025). The equivalent version in the T TG is clearly T1235–T1239 (Jampa Samten again erroneously interprets the record to be referring to five works and directs the reader to compare them with D3587/P4409, D3586/P4408, D3588/P4410, D3589/P4411, D3585/P4407, respectively), despite naming [rNgog] Blo ldan shes rab as the translator. An examination of the text of the T version,<sup>57</sup> whose colophon identifies rNgog’s collaborator as \*Amaragomin, with whom rNgog is known to have collaborated on the translation of several works, most significantly the *Abhisamayālamkāra*

<sup>57</sup> T1235–T1239 is found in section II, Tse(78), 158a1–162b2. Colo: *bSrung pa lnga’i cho ga zhes bya ba’i dkyil ’khor gyi bsgrub thabs | slob dpon Rin chen ’byung gnas zhi ba’i zhal snga nas mdzad pa’o | | rdzogs s.ho | | rgya gar gyi paṅ ṭi ta Go mi ’chi med dang | bod kyi lo tsha ba dge slong Blo ldan shes rab kyi bsgyur cing gtan la phab pa’o | |*.



(D3786/P5184) and related works,<sup>58</sup> shows that it is indeed a translation different from the DP versions (with merely minor overlaps). The *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* records the work twice and explicitly states that the two records refer to two different translations of the same work, *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>(ix)* records a translation by bKra shis rgyal mtshan (without a revision by Chag Chos rje dpal) and *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>(x)* one by Nam mkha' rdo rje.

Bc1595. The identification of this record with *Zh-TK(xi)* is uncertain, due to several discrepancies: the title in the *BCh* reads *So sor 'brang ma chen mo'i sgrub thabs*, and in the *Zh-TK* *Srung ba lnga'i sgrub thabs dang | mdo klog pa'i cho ga*. A possible equation/substitution of *srung ba lnga* and *so sor 'brang ma chen mo* in the title has been discussed above, but particularly remarkable in this case is the addition of a "sūtra recitation ritual" in the title provided in the *Zh-TK*. Neither the *BCh* nor the *Zh-TK* provides the name of the author, the latter explicitly stating that the work lacks an authorship colophon (*mdzad byang med pa*). While the *BCh* names no translator, the *Zh-TK* ascribes the translation to mNga' ris pa rDo rje dpal, who is said to have based himself on a Nepalese manuscript (*bal po'i dpe*).<sup>59</sup> The work is not included in the T TG edition, nor it is found in the DP TG editions. As has already been stated above, the *Ng-TK*, while reproducing the entire passage from the *Zh-TK*, omits this record. Zhu chen, in contrast, does reproduce the record from the *Zh-TK* in his catalogue to the D TG edition (between the records for D3127 and D3128), and inserts an annotation

<sup>58</sup> For a list of works on the translation of which rNgog collaborated with \*Amaragomin (Go mi 'chi med), see Kramer 2007: 124 and passim. For a short note on \*Amaragomin, see *ibid.*: 41.

<sup>59</sup> The identity of mNga' ris pa rDo rje dpal is unclear. Zhu chen lists (between the records of D2639 and D2640) another work said to have been translated by him, which, he goes on to say "not available/found." See the *D-TK* (vol. 2: 401b6): *Ngan song sbyong ba'i sgrub pa'i thabs zhes bya ba pañdi ta 'Gro kun bzang pos mdzad pa | dpal ldan Byang chub rtse mo'i bka' drin las lo tsā ba mNga' ris pa rDo rje dpal gyis bsgyur ba |* <sup>(ma byung)</sup>. This record, too, is based on the *Zh-TK*, which reads, however, slightly differently, most importantly the translator's name being given as mNga' ris pa rDo rje grags (i.e., *grags* instead of *dpal*), but again in this case no identification has been possible. See the *Zh-TK* (518.1–2): *Ngan song sbyong ba'i sgrub thabs zhes bya ba pañdi ta 'Gro Kun dga' ba bzang pos byas pa | dpal ldan Byang chub rtse mo'i bka' drin las brda sprod pa'i tshul la blo'i snang ba cung zad 'jug pa mNga' ris pa rDo rje grags kyi 'gyur |*. The apparent mention of Lo chen Byang chub rtse mo (1303–1380; BDRC: P2388), however, allows us to place him in the fourteenth century. Moreover, given that the *Zh-TK* was completed in 1335, the translation in question must have been done before 1335 (and his floruit can probably be narrowed down to approximately the first half to middle of the fourteenth century).

stating “not available/found (*ma byung*).”<sup>60</sup> Indeed, the work appears to have been excluded rather early, since already the *Ne-TK* merely notes (likewise after the record equivalent to D3127) the title in an annotation, including Bu ston’s remark, which is followed by the question “should this be added?”<sup>61</sup> The *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* seems not to have a record of the work.

Note that no certain identification of any of these works in the *R-KC* has been possible.<sup>62</sup> The above bibliographical details can be summarized in a tabular form as follows (of immediate relevance to our discussion are D3127/P3948 & D3124/P3945):

D3118/P3939. A: Ratnākaraśānti, Tr: Ø				
Bc1582 A: Ratnākara- śānti Tr: Ø	<i>Zh-TK</i> (ii) A: id. Tr: Ø	T1234 A: id. Tr: Ø	<i>Gl-TK<sub>T</sub></i> (i) A: id. Tr: Ø ? <i>Gl-TK<sub>T</sub></i> (xvi) A: id. Tr: Ø	U <sub>js</sub> 618 A: id. Tr: Ø
D3125/P3946. A: Ø, Tr: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan, Coll: Puruṣottama				
Bc1583 A: Ø Tr: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	<i>Zh-TK</i> (ix) A: Ø Tr: id. Coll: Puruṣot- tama	TØ	<i>Gl-TK<sub>T</sub></i> (viii) A: Ø Tr: id. Coll: id.	U <sub>js</sub> 618.1 A: Ø Tr: id.
DØ/PØ				
Bc1584 A: Jitāri Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	<i>Zh-TK</i> (Ø)	T1222– T1226 A: id. Tr: Dar ma grags	<i>Gl-TK<sub>T</sub></i> (xiii) A: id. Tr: Seng ge rgyal mtshan	U <sub>js</sub> 618.2 A: id. Tr: Ø
D3119–D3123/P3940–P3944. A: Jitāri, Tr: Ø				
Bc1585– Bc1589	<i>Zh-TK</i> (iii– vii)	T1227– T1231	<i>Gl-TK<sub>T</sub></i> (ii–vi)	UØ

<sup>60</sup> See the *D-TK* (vol. 2: 415a3): *Srung ba lnga’i sgrub thabs dang mdo klog pa’i cho ga bal po’i dpe las mNga’ ris pa rDo rje dpal gyis bsgyur ba* | <sup>[ma byung]</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> See the *Ne-TK* (478.5–6): [... ‘dī bśnan dgos sam |],

<sup>62</sup> Cf., however, the *R-KC*: [Rr18.136] *Dus mchod spyi’i sham* [sham R, bsham N] *thabs* | | [Rr18.137] *Pra ti sa ra’i mchod pa’i cho ga* <sup>[so sor ‘brang ma]</sup> | |, which could theoretically correspond to Bc1593 and Bc1583, respectively. To be noted, however, is that these records are found within the section of Early Translations, which makes such an identification less likely.

A: Jitāri Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	A: Ø Tr: Ø	A: id. Tr: Dar ma grags R: Chos kyi dbang phyugs	A: Ø Tr: Ø	
D3127/P3948. A: Jitāri, Tr: Prajñākīrti, Coll: Sumatikīrti				
Bc1590 A: Jitāri Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	Zh-TK(xii) A: id. Tr: Shes rab grags Coll: Su- matikīrti	T1232 A: id. Tr: Prajñākīrti	Gl-TK <sub>T</sub> (xv) A: id. Tr: Ba ri	∅
DØ/PØ				
Bc1591 A: Jitāri Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	Zh-TK(Ø)	TØ	Gl-TK <sub>T</sub> (Ø)	∅
D3124/P3945. A1: Buddhajñāna, A2 (compiler): Sumatikīrti, Tr: Dharmakīrti (apparently erroneous for Prajñākīrti), Coll: Sumatikīrti				
Bc1592 A: Sumatikīrti Tr1: Ba ri Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan	? Zh- TK(viii) A1: Bud- dhajñāna- pāda (gdams ngag) A2: Suma- tikīrti (gzhung du bsdebs pa) Tr: Dhar- makīrti (apparent- ly erro- neous for Prajñākīr- ti) Coll: Su- matikīrti	? T1233  A: Bud- dhajñānapā da  Tr: Prajñākīrti Coll: Su- matikīrti	Gl-TK <sub>T</sub> (vii)  A: Sumatikīr- ti  Tr: Dhar- makīrti (see the remark to Zh-TK(viii))	∅
DØ/PØ				
Bc1593 A: Ø Tr1: Ba ri	Zh-TK(Ø)	TØ	Gl-TK <sub>T</sub> (Ø)	∅

Tr2: Nyi ma rgyal mtshan				
D3126/P3947. A: Ratnākaraśānti, Tr: bKra shis rgyal mtshan, Coll: Muditāśrījñāna, R: Chag lo tsā ba Chos rje dpal				
Bc1594 A: Ratnākaraśānti Tr: bKra shis rgyal mtshan & Chos rje dpal	Zh-TK(x) A: id. Tr: bKra shis rgyal mtshan Coll: Muditāśrījñāna R: Chos rje dpal	T1235–T1239 A: id. Tr: Blo ldan shes rab	Gl-TK <sub>T</sub> (ix) A: id. Tr: bKra shis rgyal mtshan  Gl-TK <sub>T</sub> (x) A: id. Tr: Nam mkha' rdo rje	I <sub>JS</sub> 619 A: id. Tr: id. Bc
DØ/PØ (D-TK: <sup>ima 'byung!</sup> ) [A: Ø, Tr: mNga' ris pa rDo rje dpal]				
Bc1595 A: Ø Tr: Ø	? Zh-TK(xi) A: Ø Tr: mNga' ris pa rDo rje dpal	TØ	Gl-TK <sub>T</sub> (Ø)	I <sub>JS</sub> 622 A: Ø Tr: Ø
D3117/P3938				
BcØ	Zh-TK(i) A: Nāgārjuna Tr: Nam mkha' rdo rje Coll: Dharmasena	T1240 A: id. Tr: id.	Gl-TK <sub>T</sub> (Ø)	IØ

(5) D3139/P3960. Sumatikīrti's *Rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga* (*Pratiṣṭhāvidhi*). Colo: *Rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga thun mong pa paṇḍi ta dpal Su ma ti kīrtis mdzad pa rdzogs so | | mkhas pa de nyid dang lo tsā ba Pradznya kīrtis bsgyur ba'o | |*. The title as recorded in the various catalogues differs slightly: R-RC: [Rr27.120] *Su ma ti kir tis byas pa'i Rab gnas mdo' lugs*; I-TK (A30b5–6; B24b2–3 = I<sub>JS</sub>641) & BCh (Bc2852): *dpal Su ma ti kīrtis* <sup>(Blo bzang grags pa)</sup> *mdzad pa'i rTen 'brel rab gnas Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; Zh-TK (542.3): *Rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga'i tshul paṇḍi ta Su*

**ma ti kirtis mdzad pa | de nyid dang | lo tsā ba Pra dznyā kirti'i 'gyur....** While it seems rather certain that all the above-cited records refer to the work in question, the identification of the title in the T-TK as T0418 is unsure (on which see the following entry). The name of the translator is recorded as follows: R-KC: Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags; U-TK, BCh: Shes rab grags; Zh-TK, DP: Prajñākīrti. The translator is thus clearly Pu rangs lo chung, though also in this case Kragh identifies him as 'Bro Shes rab grags.

(6) DØ/P4619. Sundarīnanda's *dPal 'khor lo sdom pa'i rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga* (*Śrīcakrasaṃvarapratiṣṭhāvidhi*). Colo: *slob dpon mDzes dgas mdzad pa'i Rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga zhes bya ba rdzogs so | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po paṅ ti ta chen po | Su ma ti kir ti dang | bod kyi lo tsa ba dge slong Prad dznyā<sup>63</sup> kir tis bsgyur ba'o | |*. In this case, too, the identification of the title in the T-TK is uncertain. Notable is, however, the following record in the T-TK (21b4–5): [T0418] *'Khor lo sdom pa'i rab gnas kyi cho ga thun mong pa Su ma ti kir tis mdzad pa |*, which seems to be a conflation, apparently due to a skip of the eye, of two titles, the translation of both of which is ascribed to Prajñākīrti in collaboration with Sumatikīrti: the present item (which is associated with Cakrasaṃvara and ascribed to Sundarīnanda) and the previous one (which is characterized as *thun mong pa* or *mdo lugs* and ascribed to Sumatikīrti). Unfortunately, the pertinent volume in the T TG could not be examined, so that it could not be determined whether both texts are included therein. Although there are no other references (R-KC(Ø), U-TK(Ø), BCh(Ø), Zh-TK(Ø)) to the work in question that would allow a better identification of the Tibetan translator Prajñākīrti, since he translated this work in collaboration with Sumatikīrti, with whom Pu rangs lo chung widely collaborated under this name, it seem rather reasonable to assume that this Prajñākīrti is again to be identified with Pu rangs lo chung rather than 'Bro Shes rab grags, as understood by Kragh.

(7) D1411/P2127. Sumatikīrti's *sDom pa'i rgyud chung ngu'i mtshams sbyor* (*Laghusaṃvaratantrapāṭalābhisandhi*). Colo: *sDom pa'i rgyud chung ngu'i mtshams sbyor<sup>64</sup> dpal Nā ro ta pa'i rjes su 'brangs pa mkhas pa Su ma ti kīrti'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa rdzogs so | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po de nyid dang | lo tsā ba dge slong Grags mchog shes rab kyi bsgyur to | |*. Tr: BCh(Ø); U-TK, T-TK, BCh: Grags 'byor shes rab; TDP: Grags mchog shes rab.<sup>65</sup> As we have seen above, these are two further

<sup>63</sup> dznyā] *em.*, nydzā Ms

<sup>64</sup> sbyor] P, sbyor ba D

<sup>65</sup> U-TK (A, 65a1–2; B, 52a7 = U<sub>15</sub>1392): *slob dpon Su ma ti kīrtis* [<sup>Blo bzang grags pa</sup>] *mdzad pa sDom pa 'byung ba'i rgyud chung ngu'i mtshams sbyor Grags 'byor shes rab kyi 'gyur |*. The record in the BCh: [Bc2377] is virtually identical to that in the U-TK. T-TK (18a3): [T0326] *sDom pa'i rgyud chung ngu'i mtshams* [mtshams *em.*, mtsham Ms.] *sbyor Su ma ti kir tis mdzad pa Grags 'byor shes rab kyi 'gyur |*.

variants of Pu rangs lo chung's name, both of which are possible renderings into Tibetan of Prajñākīrti. To be noted, however, is that the colophons read Grags mchog shes rab in contrast to their respective catalogue entries, all of which read Grags 'byor shes rab. Since the Tibetan name used here is different from Shes rab grags, Kragh correctly identifies the translator of this work (to which he alludes in passing) as Pu rangs lo chung.<sup>66</sup>

(8) D1451/P2168. Kṛṣṇacārin's *Rim pa bzhi pa* (\**Ālicatuṣṭaya*). Colo: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsung rab chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong las bstan pa'i Rim pa bzhi po'i don 'di ni sPyod pa'i brtul zhugs pa slob dpon Nag pos mdzad pa'o* | | *Rim pa bzhi pa rdzogs so* | | | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal Su ma ti kīrti'i zhal snga nas dang* | *dge slong Grags pa shes rab kyi sbsgyur te* | *Yul dbus kyi dpe dang gtugs pa'o* | | (followed by a dedication verse). There have been at least two translations of this work, which is also known in the tradition under the title *O la pa ti* (a corruption of the Sanskrit title, which in Tibetan is phonetically transcribed as *O li tsa tu ṣṭa ya*, or similarly). The *R-KC* records it twice, in both cases with the title *Rim(s) pa bzhi pa*: under (i) Rr26.89 with a translation ascription to 'Gos Khug pa lhas btsas (fl. 11th cent.; BDRC: P3458; the author is mentioned under Rr26.88 as Nag po spyod pa), and (ii) Rr27.108 with a translation ascription to Mar pa do ba Chos kyi dbang phyug and Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags.<sup>67</sup> The *I-TK* records it three times (apparently overlooking that the title *O la pa ti* refers to the same work?), as follows: under (i) N<sub>JS</sub>163 (as *Rim pa bzhi pa*) and (ii) N<sub>JS</sub>208.2(BØ) (as *O la pa ti*), both with a translation ascription to Shākya ye shes, and (iii) N<sub>JS</sub>1412 (as *Rim pa bzhi pa*) with a translation ascription to Grags pa shes rab. The *BCh* records it only once, under Bc2409 (as *O la pa ti*), with a translation ascription to Shākya ye shes.<sup>68</sup> The *Zh-TK*, however, records it (as

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T0326 is found in section II, Khi(33), 326a3–327b6; its colophon is virtually identical to those of DP. *Zh-TK* (425.1–2): *sDom pa'i rgyud nyung ngu'i mtshams sbyor* | *paṇḍi ta Su ma ti kirtis mdzad pa* | *paṇḍi ta de nyis dang* | *lo tsā ba Grags 'byor shes rab kyi 'gyur* | ; 5th-TK (19a5); *D-TK* (vol. 2: 352b6).

<sup>66</sup> See Kragh 2010: 215 n. 52.

<sup>67</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr26.89] *Rims pa bzhi pa la sogs pa dang* | | ; *ibid.* [Rr27.108] *Rim pa bzhi pa ste* | | .

<sup>68</sup> See the *I-TK* (A, 11b5–6; B, 8a7 = N<sub>JS</sub>163) *slob dpon Nag po zhabs* <sup>[Kṛiṣṇa pā dal]</sup> *kyis mdzad pa'i Rim pa bzhi pa Shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur* | ; *ibid.* (A, 14a2; BØ = N<sub>JS</sub>208.2) *O la pa ti Shākya ye shes kyi 'gyur* | (the author is given on fol. 14a1 as *slob dpon Nag po pa*) ; *ibid.* (A, 65b5; B, 53a2 = N<sub>JS</sub>1412): *slob dpon Nag po pas mdzad pa'i Rim pa bzhi pa Grags pa shes rab* <sup>[gyis? kyang? yod]</sup> | | <sup>[\*]</sup> *kyi 'gyur* | <sup>[\*]</sup> A gloss in MS B (though not entirely clear) seems to indicate that the record in question is a duplicate. The record in the *BCh*: [Bc2409] resembles the second record in the *I-TK*.

*Rim pa bzhi pa*) with a translation ascription to Grags 'byor shes rab.<sup>69</sup> The T-TK records it under T0376 (as *Rim pa bzhi pa*) and presents it as a revision by Mar pa do ba to Shakyā ye shes's translation.<sup>70</sup> The colophon of the T version is of additional bibliographical value and is thus worth citing here: 'di ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsung rab chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong gis bskul pa | slob dpon sPyod pa'i brtul zhugs can Nag pos mtshon pa yin no | | **Rim pa bzhi pa** rdzogs s.ho | | | 'di ni rgya gar gyi mkhan po **Gha ya dha ra dang dge slong Sha kyā ye shes** kyis bsgyur ba las | slad nas bod kyi lo tsha mkhas pa chen po **Mar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug** gis bcos te gtan la phab pa yin no | | 'di la rgya dpe nyid kyang mi mthun pas<sup>71</sup> | | mang por snang yang som nyi mi bya ste | | 'di ni rNam par gnon pa'i ngang tshul gyi<sup>72</sup> | | mkhas pa chen po'i dpe' la gtugs pa yin | | .

According to the T colophon, Shākya ye shes's collaborator on the translation was the Indian Gayadhara, and Mar pa do ba apparently did the revision without any assistance. Moreover, it also curiously states that one should have no doubts regarding this translation, although it features numerous discrepancies with the Sanskrit manuscript (obviously referring to a manuscript other than the one used for the revision, perhaps one that was widely circulated in Tibet), for the revision was done by comparing the text with a manuscript belonging to the Great Scholar of Vikramaśīla (apparently a reference to Abhayākaragupta).

A brief examination of the T version shows that the translation contained therein is similar to that of the DP versions, though with some differences. Provided the colophons are authentic, this means that in contrast to the impression gained by the Rr27.108 record, Mar pa do ba and Pu rangs lo chung did not work on the translation of the text together but independently of one another. However, given the obvious similarity of the two translations, the colophon of Pu rangs lo chung's version cannot be entirely authentic; he either likewise revised Shākya ye shes's or Mar pa do ba's. One cannot of

<sup>69</sup> See the Zh-TK (429.1): *Rim pa bzhi pa Nag po spyod pa pas mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Su ma ti kīrti dang | lo tsā ba Grags 'byor shes rab kyi 'gyur te* | . Note that the D-TK (vol. 2: 355a7) erroneously (in contradiction to the colophon) appears to ascribe the translation of both the basic text and its auto-commentary to 'Bro Shes rab grags: [D1451] *Rim pa bzhi pa dang* | [1452] *Rim pa bzhi pa'i rnam par 'byed pa zhes bya ba ā tsārya Nag po nyid kyis mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Su ma ti kīrti dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur te Nag po chos drug tu grags so* | | .

<sup>70</sup> T-TK (20a3–4): [T0376] *Nag po pas mdzad pa'i Rim pa bzhi pa Shakyā ye shes kyis bsgyur ba las Mar dos gtan la phab pa* | . T0376 is found in section II, Ji(38), 253b1–257a3.

<sup>71</sup> pa] em., pas Ms

<sup>72</sup> gyi] em., gyis Ms

course completely dismiss the possibility that the colophon of the T version is the inauthentic one, though this scenario seems less likely. And indeed, Tāranātha, in his commentary on the *Rim pa bzhi pa*, states in this regard the following:<sup>73</sup>

... *Rim pa bzhi pa rdzogs so* || || *rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta Su ma ti kitti dang bod kyi lo tsa ba Pradnyā kritiḥ bsgyur zhing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o* || **Pradnyā kitti ni Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags te** | *mtshan gzhan Grags 'byor shes rab ces bya'o* || *'gyur byang la de tsam las med kyang gzhung 'di yang 'Brog 'Gos gyi 'gyur la 'gyur bcos pa yin no* || .

... [herewith] the *Rim pa bzhi pa* ends. [It] was translated, proof-read, and finalized by the Indian *paṇḍita* Sumatikīrti and the Tibetan translator Prajñākīrti. As for Prajñākīrti, [this is] Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags, [also known under his] other name Grags 'byor shes rab. Although there is no other [information] than that in the colophon, this [version of the] treatise is a revision of the translation(s) done by 'Brog [mi Shākya ye shes and] 'Gos [Khug pa lhas btsas].

It is unclear whether Tāranātha implies that 'Brog mi and 'Gos jointly translated the text, which was then revised by Pu rangs lo chung, or whether Pu rangs lo chung used two independent translations by these two *lo tsā bas* for his revision. A catalogue record for a joint translation of this work by 'Brog mi and 'Gos has, however, not been located. The information regarding the translator of the *Rim pa bzhi pa* can be thus summarized as follows: *R-KC(i)*: 'Gos Khug pa lhas btsas; *U-TK(i + ii)*, *BCh*: Shākya ye shes; *R-KC(ii)*: Mar pa do ba Chos kyi dbang phyug and Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags; *U-TK(iii)*, *DP*: Grags pa shes rab; *Zh-TK*: Grags 'byor shes rab; *T-TK*: Shakyā ye shes, *R*: Mar pa do ba. Regardless of the accuracy of the colophons, it is clear that the Shes rab grags reported to have done a translation of this work in collaboration with Sumatikīrti is Pu rangs lo chung. Kragh (who only alludes to it in passing together with the work discussed in the previous entry) suggests identifying the Grags pa shes rab mentioned in the DP colophons with Grags 'byor shes rab (i.e., Pu rangs lo chung).<sup>74</sup> There should be a number of extracanonical versions of this work, a thorough examination of which (going beyond the scope of the present article) might shed further light on the history of its translation and transmission. For the translation of Kṛṣṇacārin's autocommentary, see the section on 'Bro Shes rab grags below (§4.F.1).

<sup>73</sup> *Rim pa bzhi pa'i gzhung 'grel chen* (88.9–14).

<sup>74</sup> See Kragh 2010: 215 n. 52.



(9) D1536/P2247. Manakaśrī's *dPal 'khor lo sdom pa dpa' bo gcig pu'i sgrub thabs* (*Śrīcakrasaṃvaraikaṅtrasādhana*). Colo: *dPal 'khor lo sdom pa dpa' bo gcig pu'i*<sup>75</sup> *sgrub thabs paṇḍi ta dpal Ma na ka shrīs mdzad pa rdzogs so | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po mkhas pa Su ma ti'i spyan sngar dge slong Pradznyā kīrtis bsgyur ba'o | |. The *U-TK* records the work twice, once in chapter 19 (both MSS A & B) and once in chapter 21 (only MS A), both of which contain works from rare manuscripts that were obtained at a later point in time. Since the two records are similar (both ascribe the translation to Shes rab grags), the reason for the duplication is unclear. The record in the *BCh* is virtually identical.<sup>76</sup> It is notable that whereas the *Zh-TK* and 5<sup>th</sup>-*TK* also refer to the translator as Shes rab grags, the *D-TK* has Prajñākīrti as in the colophon.<sup>77</sup> Likewise notable is the revision by Mar pa do ba recorded by the *T-TK*.<sup>78</sup> According to the T colophon, the revision, too, was done in collaboration with Sumatikīrti. Colo: *dPal 'khor lo sdom pa dpa' bo cig pu'i bsgrub thabs | | paṇ ḍi ta*<sup>79</sup> *dpal Ma na ka shrīs mdzad pa rdzogs s.ho | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po Su ma ti'*<sup>80</sup> *spyan sngar | | dge slong Prad nya kir tis bsgyur ba | slad nas paṇ ḍi*<sup>81</sup> *ta Su ma ti kir ti'i zhal sngar | a tsa rya Mar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug gis zhus dag byas pa'o | | |*. A brief comparison of the two versions shows that they are quite similar, and the extent of Mar pa do ba's revision is yet to be determined. The information regarding the translator can be summarized as follows: *R-KC*(Ø), *U-TK*(i + ii), *BCh*, *Zh-TK*, 5<sup>th</sup>-*TK*: Shes rab grags; *D-TK*, *DP*: Prajñākīrti; *T-TK*: Prajñākīrti, R: [Mar pa do ba] Chos kyi dbang phyug. It has by now become clear that this Shes rab grags aka Prajñākīrti is none other than Pu rangs lo chung. Kragh erroneously identifies this work, too, as one of the five "minor works" translated by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with Sumatikīrti.*

<sup>75</sup> pu'i] D, pu P

<sup>76</sup> See the *U-TK* (A, 64b1; B, 51b7 = U<sub>js</sub>1380): *slob dpon Ma na ka shrīs* (Yid byed dpal) *mdzad pa 'Khor lo sdom pa dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; and *ibid.* (A, 73b4–5; BØ): *paṇ ḍi ta Ma na ka shrīs* (Nor bu dpal) *mdzad pa'i 'Khor lo sdom pa dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *BCh*: [Bc2426].

<sup>77</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (433.7–434.1): *'Khor lo sdom pa dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs paṇḍi ta Ma na ka shrīs mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Su ma ti kirti dang | lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; 5<sup>th</sup>-*TK* (23b3); *D-TK* (vol. 2: 358b4–5): *dPal 'khor lo sdom pa dpa' bo gcig pa'i sgrub thabs paṇḍi ta dpal Ma ni ka shrīs mdzad pa | rgya gar gyi mkhan po paṇḍi ta Su ma ti kīrti'i spyan sngar dge slong Pradznyā kīrti'i 'gyur |*.

<sup>78</sup> See the *T-TK* (21a6–7): [T0408] *'Khor lo sdom pa dpa' bo cig pa'i bsgrub thabs Ma na ka shrīs mdzad pa Pra dznyā dznyā na kir tis bsgyur ba la Chos kyi dbang phyug gis bcos pa |*. That the reading Pra dznyā dznyā na kir ti is erroneous is confirmed by the T colophon, which reads *Prad nya kir ti* (for the T colophon, see below). T0408 is found in section II, Nyi(39), 86b4–91b2.

<sup>79</sup> ḍi ta] *em.*, ṭi Ms

<sup>80</sup> su ma ti'i] *em.*, u ma di'i Ms

<sup>81</sup> ḍi] *em.*, ṭi Ms

To sum up this section, all five “minor works” identified by Kragh as having been translated by ‘Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with Sumatikīrti were in fact translated by Pu rangs lo chung, one of whose several aliases was indeed Shes rab grags.

### (B) Translations in Collaboration with Jayākara

There appears to be only one translation on which Pu rangs lo chung, going by the name Prajñākīrti, collaborated with Jayākara, and it was likewise considered by Kragh as a translation by ‘Bro Shes rab grags.

(1) D4123/P5625. Viśākhadeva’s ‘*Dul ba’i tshig le’ur byas pa* (*Vinayakārikā*). The translation is stated as having been later slightly revised by Rong ston Shes bya kun rig (1367–1449; BDRC: P431) in collaboration with Vānaratna. Colo: ‘*phags pa gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba’i ‘Dul ba tshig le’ur byas pa | me tog gi phreng rgyud ces bya ba | | ‘dul ba ‘dzin pa chen po ‘phags pa dGe ‘dun ‘bangs* (Samghadāsa) *kyi slob ma | dpal ‘phags pa Sa ga’i lhas* (Viśākhadeva) *mdzad pa rdzogs so | | bal po’i paṇḍi ta Dza yā ka ra dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba dge slong Pra dznyā kīrtis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa’o | | rgya gar shar phyogs Sa dan ga ra’i* (\*Sadhagara) *paṇḍi ta Ba na ratna ma hā sthi bī ra la gtugs te | sgra’i don la mkhas pa Rong ston Shes bya kun rig gis | ‘gyur cung zad bcos te gtan la phab pa’o | |*. The identification of the title in the R-KC is not obvious, but it is certainly the one recorded under Rr27.121: *dGe slong gi ka ri ka*, the translation of which is ascribed to Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags. This identification is supported not only by the work’s content, but also by a line of verse found toward the end of the work that alludes to the work’s title, as follows (D, 63a1–2; P, 67a2–3): *dge slong chos ‘dul thig ler byas mdzes me tog phreng rgyud legs brgyus las | |*. This identification is further supported by the *Blue Annals*, which likewise refer to the work as *dGe slong gi kā ri kā* and ascribe its translation to Prajñākīrti in collaboration with Jayākara.<sup>82</sup> The *U-TK* names no translator. The *BCh*, which correctly indicates that the text is 6 *bam po* long, names Byams pa’i dpal as the translator, which may refer to Khro phu lo tsā ba Byams pa dpal (1172/1173–1236; BDRC: P4007), whereas the *Zh-TK*, erroneously asserts that the text is 5 *bam po* long, names Prajñākīrti.<sup>83</sup> The *T-TK*

<sup>82</sup> See the *Deb sngon* (vol. 1: 116.11–13): *dGe slong gi ni kā ri kā | | ne pa la yi paṇḍi ta | | lung dang rtogs pa’i bdag nyid can | | mkhas pa Dza ya ā ka ra las | | dge slong Pradznyā kīrttis bsgyur | |*. For an English translation, see Roerich 1949: 87. See also Lo Bue 1997: 635, where this passage is referred to and where Lo Bue silently identifies Prajñākīrti as sNye’or Shes rab grags, an identification that we shall encounter again below in the context of yet another translation.

<sup>83</sup> See van der Kuijp 2013: 186–189 n. 156, where the translation colophon of the *Vinayakārikā* and some of the pertinent catalogue entries are discussed, including the discrepancy in the reports concerning the number of *bam pos*. See also my dis-

names Shes rab grags.<sup>84</sup> The translator-related information may thus be summarized as follows: *U-TK*: Ø; *BCh*: Byams pa'i dpal; *R-KC*: Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags; *T-TK*: Shes rab grags; *Zh-TK*, *DP*: Prajñākīrti. Given the record in the *R-KC* and the fact that Pu rangs lo chung often went by the name Prajñākīrti in the colophons, the identification of our translator seems rather certain. Kragh, however, identifies him with 'Bro Shes rab grags, again merely on the assumption that Prajñākīrti is the name 'Bro Shes rab grags used while in Nepal. As noted by Kragh, Jayākara is known to have collaborated with a translator referred to simply as Mar pa (who, Kragh suggests, is Mar pa do ba) on the translations of three works, all related to Vajrapānyanalajihva (Phyag na rdo rje lce dbab; D2185/P3029, D2186/P3030, D2188/P3031). This identification is supported by the fact that, as we have seen above, Mar pa do ba and Pu rangs lo chung studied under and worked with the same circles of *paṇḍitas*, but further research is certainly needed in this regard.

### (C) Translations in Collaboration with Varendraruci

Kragh lists two works translated by Prajñākīrti (whom he believed to be 'Bro Shes rab grags) in collaboration with Varendraruci, one in collaboration with \*Digīśanandana, and one in collaboration with \*Nālandāpāda. These four translations will be treated here together for two reasons, namely, (i) the translations of the two works done in collaboration with the Indian Varendra and one work done in collaboration with the Indian \*Digīśanandana, all related to Guhyasamāja, are listed in the *BCh* together, their translator undoubtedly being considered to be one and the same person, and (ii) as I shall argue below, **Varendra(ruci)**, \***Digīśanandana**, and \***Nālandāpāda** are likewise one and the same person.

Kragh suggests that the Indian Varendra with whom Prajñākīrti is said to have collaborated on these two translations “is highly likely” the “famous Nepalese scholar Varendraruci.” As already noted by Lo Bue, Varendraruci, also known as “White Hañdu” (Ha mu/ngu dkar po) or “White Māntrika,” is sometimes referred to as a Nepalese and

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cussion of the attribute sNyel cor (and its variants) below (§2.D.4), where the pertinent passage in van der Kuijp's discussion is readdressed.

<sup>84</sup> See the *U-TK* (A, 48a1–2; B, 38b2–3 = *I*<sub>s</sub>1037) *dgra bcom pa Sa ga'i lhas* <sup>[bi shā khā de wa]</sup> *mdzad pa'i 'Dul ba me tog gi phreng rgyud ...*; *BCh*: [Bc0460] *dgra bcom pa Sa ga'i lhas mdzad pa 'Dul ba me tog phreng brgyud 6 bp. Byams pa'i dpal gyi 'gyur* |; *Zh-TK* (612.4–5): *'Dul ba tshig le'ur byas pa me tog phreng rgyud dpal 'phags pa Sa ga lhas mdzad pa | bam po lnga pa | paṇḍi ta Dza ya ā ka ra dang | lo tsā ba Pra dznyā kirti'i 'gyur* |; *T-TK* (86b6): [T2462] *'Dul ba me tog gi phreng brgyud dgra bcom pa Sa ga'i lhas mdzad pa Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba...* T2462 could unfortunately not be accessed, so that the name of the translator found there remains unclear.

sometimes as an Indian (though it is unclear whether he was a Nepalese associated with India or the other way around).<sup>85</sup> Moreover, the attribute “Indian” is often used as a generic term for all scholars hailing from the Indic cultural sphere (including Kashmir and Nepal), so that the fact that our Varendra is referred to in the colophons as Indian should not pose much problem with Kragh’s suggested identification. I shall, however, return to the identity of our Varendra.

The identification of this Prajñākīrti with Pu rangs lo chung is supported by the fact that Pu rangs lo chung is well known to have worked with Varendraruci. Apart from the above-cited passage from the *Blue Annals*, one may add here a reference to Chos rgyal ’phags pa’s (1235–1280; BDRC: P1048) Records of Teachings Received, where Pu rangs lo chung is explicitly called (if in the context of another lineage) a disciple of Varendraruci, named there Ha ngu dkar po.<sup>86</sup>

(1) D1903/P2767. Bhānucandra’s *Argha’i cho ga* (*Arghavidhi*). Colo: **Argha’i cho ga snying po bsdus pa zhes bya ba slob dpon sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa rdzogs so | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal Ba rendra ba’i zhal snga nas dang | lo tsā ba dge slong Pradznyā kīrtis bsgyur ba’o | |**. The R-KC seems not to have a record of this work. Both the *I-TK* and *BCh* name Shes rab grags as the translator. The *T-TK* and the *Zh-TK*, followed by the *D-TK*, in agreement with the colophon, have Prajñākīrti. To be noted is that while the *Zh-TK* reads Wa rendra ka for the *paṇḍita*’s name, the *D-TK* has Wa rendra pa.<sup>87</sup> The colophon of the T version is virtually identical with those of DP and thus does not offer any different or additional information. The translator information can thus be summarized as follows: R-KC(Ø); *I-TK*, *BCh*: Shes rab grags; *T-TK*, *Zh-TK*, *D-TK*, DP: Prajñākīrti.

(2) D1904/P2768. Bhānucandra’s *Rab tu gnas pa’i cho ga* (*Pratiṣṭhāvidhi*). Colo: **Rab tu gnas pa’i cho ga ye shes snang ba zhes bya ba slob dpon sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa rdzogs so | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal Ba rendra pa’i zhal snga nas dang | lo tsā ba dge slong Pradznyā kīrtis bsgyur ba’o | |**. The R-KC seems not to have a record

<sup>85</sup> See Lo Bue 1977: 635. See also Kragh 2010: 212–213 n. 47, where works translated by various translators in collaboration with Varendraruci are listed, including their colophons.

<sup>86</sup> See the Chos rgyal ’phags pa’i gsan yig (529.3–4): yang bal po’i paṇḍi ta Ha ngu dkar po yan chad ni ’dra la | de’i slob ma Pu rangs lo chung Grags mchog shes rab | ....

<sup>87</sup> See the *I-TK* (A, 66b2–3; B, 53b4–5 = *I*<sub>JS</sub>1431): slob dpon sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa Arga’i cho ga snying po bsdus pa dang | [...] gnyis Shes rab grags kyi ’gyur |; *BCh*: [Bc2049] slob dpon sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa’i Arga’i cho ga snying po bsdus pa dang [...Bc2050 & Bc2051...] gsum Shes rab grags kyi ’gyur |; *T-TK* (12b5): [T0183] Arga’i cho ga sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa Pradznyā kir ti’i ’gyur |. T0183 is found in section II, Tsha(19), 440a1–449b2. *Zh-TK* (474.2–3): [= D1903] gSang ba ’dus pa’i rgyud la brten pa’i Arka’i cho ga snying po bsdus ba zhes bya ba dang | [= D1904] [...] dang gnyis slob dpon sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Wa rendra ka dang | lo tsā ba Pra dznyā kirti’i ’gyur |; *D-TK* (vol. 2: 375a4–5).

of this work. Both the *U-TK* and *BCh* name Shes rab grags as the translator. The *T-TK* and the *Zh-TK*, followed by the *D-TK*, in agreement with the colophon, have Prajñākīrti.<sup>88</sup> In this case, too, the colophon of the T version is virtually identical with those of DP and thus does not offer any different or additional information. The translator information can be summarized as follows: *R-KC*(Ø); *U-TK*, *BCh*: Shes rab grags; *T-TK*, *Zh-TK*, *D-TK*, DP: Prajñākīrti.

(3) D1908/P2770. [Śūnyatā]samādhivajra's *Tha ma'i mchod pa'i cho ga* (*Anteṣṭavidhi*). Colo: **Tha ma'i cho ga'i ming gi rnam grangs gshin po bde bar gshegs pa'i gnas la 'god pa zhes bya ba paṇḍi ta dpal Ting nge 'dzin rdo rjes mdzad pa rdzogs so | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal Phyogs dbang dga' byed kyi zhal snga nas dang | lo tsā ba dge slong Pradznyā kīrtis bsgyur ba'o | |**. The *R-KC* seems not to have a record of this work. Both the *U-TK* and *BCh* name Shes rab grags as the translator. The *T-TK* and the *Zh-TK*, followed by the *D-TK*, in agreement with the colophon, have Prajñākīrti.<sup>89</sup> The translator information can be summarized as follows: *R-KC*(Ø); *U-TK*, *BCh*: Shes rab grags; *T-TK*, *Zh-TK*, *D-TK*, DP: Prajñākīrti. To be noted is that the colophon of the T version is nearly identical with those of DP, the main difference being the spelling of the collaborating *paṇḍita*'s name as mChog dbyang dga' byed (i.e., *mchog* instead of *phyogs*). As for the identity of the collaborating *paṇḍita* \*Digīśanandana, it has been pointed out by Kragh that little is known about him. Kragh, considering the fact that the author Śūnyatāsamādhivajra (aka Divākaracandra) was a contemporary of Vajrapāṇi (both considered among the "four great disciples" of Maitrīpāda) and that he lived in Nepal,<sup>90</sup>

<sup>88</sup> *U-TK* (A, 66b2–3; B, 53b4–5): [I<sub>JS</sub>1431] *slob dpon sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa [...]* dang | [I<sub>JS</sub>1432] *Rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga Ye shes snang ba gnyis Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *BCh*: [Bc2049] *slob dpon sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa'i [...]* [Bc2050] *Rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga ye shes snang ba dang |* [Bc2051] [...] *gsum Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *T-TK* (12b6): [T0184] *Rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga ye shes snang ba slob dpon sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa Pradznyā kir ti'i 'gyur....* T0184 is found in section II, Tsha(19), 449b3–460b2. *Zh-TK* (474.2–3): [= D1903] [...] dang | [= D1904] *gSang ba 'dus pa'i rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga ye shes snang ba zhes bya ba dang gnyis slob dpon sNang byed zla bas mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Wa rendra ka dang | lo tsā ba Pradznyā kīrti'i 'gyur |*; *D-TK* (vol. 2: 375a4–5).

<sup>89</sup> See the *U-TK* (A, 66b4; B, 53b6 = I<sub>JS</sub>1434): *dpal Ting nge 'dzin rdo rjes* <sup>[shri Sa mā dhi badzra]</sup> *mdzad pa Tha ma'i cho ga gshin po bde bar gshegs pa'i gnas la 'god* [ 'god A, dgod B] *pa Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *BCh*: [Bc2051] *dpal Ting nge 'dzin gyi rdo rjes mdzad pa Dus tha ma'i cho ga gshin po bde bar gshegs pa'i gnas la 'god ba dang gsum* (= Bc2049–Bc2051) *Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *T-TK* (33b4–5): [T0753] *Tha ma'i cho ga gshin po bde bar gshegs pa'i gnas la 'god pa Ting nge 'dzin bzang po mdzad pa Pra dznyā kir ti'i 'gyur |*. T0753 is found in section II, Ce(66), 66a1–70a6. *Zh-TK* (474.4): *Dus tha ma'i cho ga gshin po bde bar gshegs pa'i gnas la 'god pa zhes bya ba dpal Ting nge 'dzin rdo rjes mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta dpal Phyogs dbang dga' byed dang | lo tsā ba Pradznyā kīrti'i 'gyur....*; *D-TK* (vol. 2: 375a7–b1).

<sup>90</sup> For a brief discussion of Śūnyatāsamādhivajra aka Divākaracandra, see Lo Bue 1997: 636, 637–638.

suggests that \*Digīsanandana must have been active no earlier than the mid eleventh century and possibly lived in Nepal. As we have seen, while the DP colophons give his name in Tibetan as Phyogs dbang dga' byed, reconstructed by previous cataloguers as \*Digīsanandana,<sup>91</sup> the T colophon has mChog dbang dga' byed. A confusion between *phyogs* and *mchog* could be easily explained as an error resulting from the two syllables being homophones, so that the actual question would be which is the preferable reading. I would like to suggest that *mchog* is the correct reading, with *mchog dbang* being the Tibetan rendering for *varendra* and *dga' byed* for *ruci* (though admittedly *dga' ba* would have probably been more adequate). It is worth noting that the name Varendraruci appears not to have usually been translated into Tibetan, except, it seems, in this present case. Notable in this regard, too, is the explanation of the name Varendraruci in the *Blue Annals* as meaning *mchog tu dbang po gsal ba* (where *mchog tu dbang po* stands for *varendra*, which very much tallies with the aforementioned *mchog dbang*, and *gsal ba* for *ruci* in the sense of radiant/bright).<sup>92</sup> Moreover, such an identification of the *paṇḍita* in question as Varendraruci makes sense not only from a linguistic point of view. The above three works are thematically related, and that Prajñākīrti translated them on the same occasion in collaboration with the same *paṇḍita* is a reasonable assumption. To be likewise noted is that no reference to a *paṇḍita* named \*Digīsanandana (or Phyogs dbyang dga' byed for that matter) seems to exist, except for the DP colophons (and their equivalents) and references to them in the respective catalogues, all of which appear to go back to Bu ston's Zhwa lu edition and its catalogue (while the reading mChog dbang dga' byed in the T version may go back to the Old sNar thang edition and thus be the original one).

(4) D1545/P2253. Indrabhūti's *Grub pa'i rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub pa'i thabs* (*Siddhivajrayoginīsādhana*). Colo: *dPal ldan rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang ba snyan nas snyan zhal nas zhal du brgyud pa'i rjes su gnang ba'i gzhung lugs* | | *slob dpon chen po dpal O dyan gyi mi dbang Indra bhū tis mdzad pa rdzogs so* | | | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal Na lendra pa dang* | *lo tsā ba dge slong Pradznyā kīrtis bsgyur ba'o* | |. The R-KC seems not to have a record of this work. The *I*-TK names Shes rab grags as the translator, as do both the *BCh* and the *Zh*-TK, followed by the *Ng*-TK and the *5th*-TK (i.e., unlike the respective colophon) as well. The *D*-TK, in agreement with the colophon, has Prajñākīrti.<sup>93</sup> Judging from its catalogue, the work seems not to have

<sup>91</sup> The reconstruction \*Digīsanandana was probably first suggested in Cordier 1909–1915, vol. 2: 157 no. 4 and adopted by later scholars.

<sup>92</sup> See Roerich 1947: 394.

<sup>93</sup> See the *I*-TK (A, 15a4; B, 11a4 = I<sub>js</sub>239): *In dra bhu tis* <sup>(dBang po 'byor pa)</sup> *mdzad pa'i Grub pa'i rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur* |; *BCh*:

been included in the T TG edition. The information regarding the translator can thus be summarized as follows: *R-KC*(Ø), *T-TK*(Ø); *U-TK*, *BCh*, *Zh-TK*, *Ng-TK*, *5th-TK*: Shes rab grags; *D-TK*, *DP*: Prajñākīrti.

One may ask why the T TG edition has not included the work despite the fact that it was included in the *U* TG edition, which served as its basis. The reason for this exclusion must have been the fact that it is a duplicate (if a different translation), the other version being transmitted under the editorial title *dPal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs* (*Śrīvajrayoginīśādhana*; D1550/P2258), whose translation is ascribed to rMa Chos 'bar (1044–1089; BDRC: P4CZ10557) in collaboration with the Indian \*Punṣākaraḥhadra, who appears to be none other than Varendraruci.<sup>94</sup> The colophons of this version do not, however, provide either the title nor the author's name, but merely mention that the teaching originated in Oḍḍiyāna and has been transmitted orally. Colo: *dpal dang ldan pa'i rab*<sup>95</sup> *tu sngags pa'i gnas O ḍyaṅ nas byung ba'i dgongs pa bla na med pa dpal rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i gsang chen rna ba nas rna ba ru*<sup>96</sup> *zhal nas zhal du*<sup>97</sup> *brgyud pa'i rim pa rdzogs so | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po* **sDod nams 'byung gnas bzang po'i zhal snga nas dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba rMa**<sup>98</sup> **ban Chos 'bar gyis bsgyur ba'o | |**.

This duplication has its origin in the *U-TK* and appears to have been retained in most other catalogues and TG editions, except for the T and the *Gl* (Mustang) editions and their respective catalogues, which excluded the equivalent of D1545/P2253 with which we are mainly concerned here. D1550/P2258 is often recorded together with D1551/P2259—*Śūnyatāsamādhi's dPal de kho na nyid ye shes grub pa* (*Śrītatvajñānasiddhi*), translated by rNgog Blo ldan shes rab in collaboration with Varendraruci—under their alternative titles *Zhal gnyis ma chung ba* and *Zhal gnyis ma che ba*.<sup>99</sup>

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[Bc2474] **I ndra bhū tis mdzad pa'i Grub pa'i rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |**; *Zh-TK* (434.3–4): **Grub pa'i rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs rgyal po Indra bo dhis mdzad pa | paṅḍi ta Na lendra pa dang | lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |**; *Ng-TK*: (25.8–9); *5th-TK* (23b7); *D-TK* (vol. 2: 359a2–3): **Grub pa'i rdo rje rnal 'byor ma'i sgrub thabs slob dpon chen po dpal Au ḍyaṅ gyi mi dbang Indra bhū tis mdzad pa | rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal Nā lendra pa dang | lo tsā ba dge slong Pradznya kīrti'i 'gyur |**.

<sup>94</sup> See Roerich 1947: 394, where \*Punṣākaraḥhadra is asserted to have been the real name of Varendraruci. See also Lo Bue 1997: 635.

<sup>95</sup> rab] P, rub D

<sup>96</sup> rna ba nas rna ba ru] D, rna ba ru P; testimonia: T Colo.

<sup>97</sup> zhal nas zhal du] D, zhal du P; testimonia: T Colo.

<sup>98</sup> rma] D, sma P

<sup>99</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr25.61] **Zhal gnyis ma chung ba dang | |**, with a translation ascription rMa Chos 'bar, and [Rr27.61] **Zhal gnyis ma chen mo dang | |**, with a translation ascription rNgog; *U-TK* (A, 14b1–2; B, 10b4–5 = *U*<sub>1s</sub>219 & *U*<sub>1s</sub>220): **Zhal gnyis ma che chung Chos 'bar gyi 'gyur |** (note the translation ascription Chos 'bar in both texts); *BCh*: [Bc2453] **slob dpon Sha wa ri la sogs pas mdzad par grags pa'i Zhal gnyis ma chung ba** rMa ban gyi 'gyur | [...] [Bc2457] **sTong nyid ting nge 'dzin gyis mdzad pa'i Zhal gnyis ma che ba dang |** [...] *lnga* (= Bc2455–Bc2459) rNgog

To return to the identity of our translator, the identity of \*Nālandāpāda (as reconstructed by Kragh) or \*Nālendrapā(da) (as reconstructed in the Tōhoku and Ōtani catalogues) is uncertain, and he is known to have collaborated only on this one translation (at least in the mainstream canonical editions). Kragh appears to consider two possibilities as to the identity of \*Nālandāpāda. Since my understanding of some of the sources referred to by Kragh in this regard slightly differs, I shall briefly discuss them here again. The *Blue Annals* refer to a *paṇḍita* with the name Nālandāpā(da) in two different contexts. In one context a scholar named Śrī Nālandāpa is listed as one of the “ten lesser disciples” of Maitrīpāda.<sup>100</sup> The other occasion on which a Nālandāpāda is referred to is in the context of the Kālacakra. There Nālandāpāda is asserted to be a disciple of Kālacakrapāda the Younger, and it is also said that there appear to be some accounts according to which, among other things, he once came to Tibet. Kālacakrapāda the Younger, in turn, is supposedly the son of Bhadrabodhi, who ‘Gos gZhon nu dpal (1392–1481; BDRC: P318) suggests is apparently the one to have collaborated with Gyi jo lo tsā ba (fl. 11th cent.; BDRC: P8129) on the translation of the *Kālacakratāntra*.<sup>101</sup> To be noted is also that several paragraphs earlier, while discussing Nāropa (also in the context of the *Kālacakratāntra*), the *Blue Annals* state that the father of Kālacakrapāda the Younger was an *upāsaka* called Bodhi, who in turn is said to have been the lineage holder of Kālacakrapāda [the Elder], under whom both Nāropa and Kālacakrapāda the Younger studied.<sup>102</sup> Tāranātha, in his History of

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‘gyur | (note the authorship ascription for Bc2453); T-TK (22b3–5): [T0446] *dPal rdo rje rnal ’byor ma’i bsgrub thabs dgongs pa bla na med pa Au rgyan nas byung ba rMa ban Chos ’bar gyi ’gyur* | [T0447] *rDo rje rnal ’byor ma’i bsgrub thabs de kho na nyid ye shes yang dag par grub pa sTong nyid ting nge ’dzin gyis mdzad pa Blo ldan shes rab kyi ’gyur* |. T0446 is found in section II, Nyi(39), 261b1–264a4, and T0447 in section II, Nyi(39), 264a5–268a5; their colophons are similar to those of the DP version. Zh-TK (434.5–7): [= D1550] *rDo rje rnal ’byor ma’i sgrub thabs zhal gnyis ma chung ba Ri khrod dbang phyug gis mdzad par grags pa | paṇḍi ta bSod nams ’byung gnas bzang po dang | lo tsā ba rMa ban Chos ’bar gyi ’gyur* | [= D1551] *Phag mo’i sgrub thabs de kho na nyid ye shes yang dag par grub pa zhes bya ba Zhal gnyis ma che bar grags pa paṇḍi ta sTong nyid ting nge ’dzin gyis mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Ba rendra ru tse dang | lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab kyi ’gyur* |. The bibliographical information provided by the D-TK (vol. 2: 359a5–6; the translators of the second title are named in 359a7–b1) is similar to that found in the Zh-TK.

<sup>100</sup> See Roerich 1949: 843.

<sup>101</sup> See the *Deb sngon* (899.7–10): *de la Dus zhabs pa chung ba’i yab shri Bha dra bo dhi ni Gyi jo dang lhan du Dus ’khor bsgyur ba po nyid yin pa ’dra la | Dus zhabs pa chung ba’i slob ma Nā lendra pa zhes bya bas Bod du yang yug cig byon zhes bya ba la sogs pa’i gtam snang ngo |* |. For an English translation, see Roerich 1949: 766.

<sup>102</sup> *Deb sngon* (890.5–10): *des (= Nāropa) slob dpon Dus zhabs pa la chos gsan pas thams cad kyang lan res ’dzin nus par gyur te | de’i brgyud pa ’dzin pa ni dge bsnyen Byang chub ces bya ba ste | ’di la sras paṇḍi ta shin tu che ba zhig yod pa las | des ni yab kyi*



Kālacakra Literature, to which Kragh refers as well, depicts a slightly different picture, however: The real name of Kālacakrapāda the Elder, he claims, is Mañjuśrīvajra; that of Kālacakrapāda the Younger, Śrībhadrā (and he himself is said to have hailed from the Vaiśya class, and to have been an *upāsaka*); and \*Nālandāpa is said to have been the son of Kālacakrapāda the Younger (and his real name to have been Bodhibhadra).<sup>103</sup> At any rate, as this is the only colophon where \*Nālandāpāda is mentioned as having collaborated on a translation, it is practically impossible to determine his intellectual milieu (or the identity of the Tibetan translator in question) and thus to be able to judge whether he is either of these two Nālandāpāda-s or whether he is some other person who shared the same epithet (referring to someone associated with the monastery of Nālandā).

On the one hand, the two aforementioned Nālandāpāda-s are not known to have collaborated on any translation. On the other hand, both the duplicate of D1545/P2253 (i.e., D1550/P2258) and the other work related to it (i.e., D1551/P2259) appear to have been translated in collaboration with Varendraruci. The works in question belong to the Vārāhī cycle, whose main transmitter to Tibet was Varendraruci. Moreover, the Vārāhī cycle is related to the Cakrasaṃvara, which was one of Pu rangs lo chung's main areas of specialization. Now, could our \*Nālandāpāda be Varendraruci? The first question to be asked in this regard is whether \*Nālandāpāda is indeed the Sanskrit epithet behind the Tibetan transliteration *na/nā lendra pa*, as suggested by Kragh? I believe that the answer is no. One option that comes to mind is that *na/nā lendra* is a corruption of Narendra, but there seems to be no *paṇḍita* with this name that would fit our context. I believe that *na/nā lendra* is, rather, a corruption of Varendra, which is the short form of Varendraruci that we have already encountered in other colophons. As an additional support for this hypothesis I may

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*mched po dGon pa ba la yang zhus shing | Nā ro pa dang stabs shig tu Dus zhabs pa chen po la mnyan pas Dus zhabs chung ngu zhes kyang grags te |* For an English translation, see Roerich 1949: 758.

<sup>103</sup> *Dus 'khor gyi 'byung khungs* (336.6–8) '**Phags pa'i yul du gShin rje gshed kyi rnal 'byor pa zhig gi sras | Dus 'khor zhabs chen por grags pa de ni | mtshan dngos Manydzu badzra | ...**; *ibid.* (336.20–337.1): **Dus zhabs pa chung pa kho nas chos 'di dar bar mdzad de | mtshan dngos ni Shrī bha dra | rigs ni rje rigs | rten dge bsnyen |**; *ibid.* (337.11–12): **Dus zhabs pa chung ba de nyid kyi sras Nā len dra pa ni | mtshan dngos Bo dhi bha tra | Nā lendra zhes bya ba'i gnas gzhi'i bdag po mdzad | ...** Cf. Kragh (2010: 200 n. 17), who, referring to the last passage, understands "Bodhibhadra (a.k.a. Nālandapāda), i.e., Kālacakrapāda the Younger, who in turn is presented as a student of Kālacakrapāda Senior." Note that several other Tibetan sources appear to present an understanding of these figures and the relationship between them that are yet different from the two sources presented here. In particular, it appears that some sources seem to imply that there were several masters with the epithet Kālacakrapāda the Younger, but this issue requires a further discussion, which cannot be undertaken here.

draw attention to the transliteration of the name Varendraruci in the translation colophon of T0447 (the equivalent of D1551/P2259), which reads: *bal po'i a rtsar rya Bha len tra ru rtse*,<sup>104</sup> where we observe a confusion between the consonants *r* and *l*. In fact, we also find the same transliteration in the colophons of the following three works.<sup>105</sup> It does not need much imagination to see how a scribe or, in this case more likely, an editor “corrected” *bha len tra* to *na len dra*, particularly when it stands alone (i.e., without *ru tse/tsi*). Provided the hypothesis that our *paṇḍita* is none other than Varendraruci, with whom we now know that Pu rangs lo chung has collaborated on several translations, and given that the work under discussion belongs to the Cakrasaṃvara cycle, I would like to suggest that our Prajñākīrti is none other than Pu rangs lo chung and not 'Bro Shes rab grags as suggested by Kragh.

#### (D) Translations and Revisions in Collaboration with Prince Bhīmadeva

Kragh records one work translated by Prajñākīrti (identified by him as 'Bro Shes rab grags) in collaboration with **Prince Śrī Abhayadeva**, and adds one more that was possibly translated by the same team. He also notes one revision undertaken by the team. In accordance with his “name–place correspondence theory” Kragh suggests that the place of translation was either in India or Nepal. He also briefly discusses the identity of the Abhayadeva in question, maintaining that he is unlikely to be either Abhayākaragupta or Abhayakīrti (i.e., one of the Pham thing pa brothers mentioned above) since none of them seems to have been referred to as Avadhūtipa (an epithet attached to Abhayadeva in one of the colophons).<sup>106</sup> Nonetheless, as I shall argue below, this “Prince Abhayadeva” is most likely none other than Prince (Rājaputra) Bhīmadeva, under whom, as pointed out earlier, Pu rangs lo chung is reported to have studied. In the following, I shall discuss altogether four works (i.e., the three pointed out by Kragh and an additional one that was overlooked by him), focusing on the identities of both the Tibetan translator and his collaborating *paṇḍita*. I shall first present the four works along with bibliographical information relating to them, which will serve as the basis for the discussion.

<sup>104</sup> T0447 is found in section II, Nyi(39), 264a5–268a5.

<sup>105</sup> T0448 (= D1552/P2260) is found in section II, Nyi(39), 268a5–269a6; T0449 (= D1553/P2261) in section II, Nyi(39), 269b1–272a6; and T0450 (= D1554/P2262) in section II, Nyi(39), 272b1–273b6, all translated by rNgog Blo ldan shes rab in collaboration with Varendraruci.

<sup>106</sup> Kragh 2010: 218–219.

(1) D1534/P2245. Prince \*Bhīmadeva's *Lam gyi dbang bskur ba'i rab tu bya ba* (\*Mārgābhīṣekaprakaraṇa). Colo: *grong khyer Sum bha ri'i rGyal po'i sras* | *dpal 'Jigs byed lha'i zhal snga nas bstan pa* | *rGyal po Seng ge gdan gyi nam par dag pa'i lam gyi dbang bskur ba'i rab tu bya ba rdzogs so* | | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po de nyid kyi spyang sngar* | *bod kyi lo tsā ba shākya'i dge slong Grags 'byor shes rab kyi bsgyur ba'o* | | . Notable is the specification of \*Bhīmadeva ('Jigs byed lha) as the son of the king of the city of \*Sumbhari(?). The Tibetan name 'Jigs byed lha was reconstructed in previous catalogues as \*Bhairavadeva. Nonetheless, I suggest identifying this Prince 'Jigs byed lha with Prince Bhīmadeva ('*jigs byed* being a possible rendering of both *bhīma* and *bhairava*), who is said to have been a teacher of Pu rangs lo chung (as shown in the citation above, the name is provided in the *Blue Annals* in its transliterated Sanskrit form). This reported master–disciple relationship between Prince Bhīmadeva and Pu rangs lo chen already offers a rather certain identification of our Grags 'byor shes rab (which, as we shall see below, was also the name of yet another translator) as Pu rangs lo chung. But, as will be shown, if one considers all four works, there are several other pieces of evidence for this identification. Moreover, the epithet rGyal po Seng ge gdan (“Lion-Throned King”) appearing in the title as recorded in the colophon (but omitted in those recorded in modern catalogues) is apparently—that is, if one considers its occurrence in the colophon of the work discussed in the following entry—a reference to Viṣṇugupta, the seventh of the twenty-five Kalki kings of Śambhala known to have sat on a “lion-throne” (\**simhāsana*). At any rate, the mention of this rGyal po Seng ge gdan here and in the colophon of the work discussed in the following entry is particularly relevant to the identification of the “prince” mentioned there as the collaborating *paṇḍita*. The T-TK names the translator as Prajñākīrti instead of Grags 'byor shes rab,<sup>107</sup> in accordance with the T colophon, which features several other differences (underlined) as follows: *grong khyer Sam ba ra'i rGyal po'i sras* | *dpal 'Jigs med lha'i zhal snga nas bstan pa* | *rGyal po Seng ge'i gdan gyi nam par dag pa'i lam gyi dbang gyi bya ba rdzogs s.ho* | | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po mkhas pa de nyid kyi spyang sngar* | *dge slong Prad nya kir tis bsgyur ba'o* | | . Most notable is the reading 'Jigs med lha (\*Abhayadeva) instead of 'Jigs byed lha (\*Bhīmadeva / \*Bhairavadeva), an issue to which we shall return, and perhaps also the name of the city as \*Sambara / \*Saṃvara instead of \*Sumbhari, which, however, cannot be discussed further in the present article.<sup>108</sup> The work seems to be recorded neither in the *M-*

<sup>107</sup> See the T-TK (18b5–6): [T0339=P2245] *rGyal po seng ge'i gdan gyi nam par dag pa'i lam gyi dbang gi bya ba Pradnyā kir tis bsgyur* [bsgyur em., sgyur Ms] ba | . T0339 is found in section II, Chi(37), 172a5–181a1.

<sup>108</sup> The variant reading *dbang gi bya ba* instead of *dbang bskur ba'i rab tu bya ba* in the title is of no significance.

TK nor in the *BCh*. It is, however, recorded by the *R-KC*: [Rr27.117] under the title *dKyil chog rgyal sras ma* (whereas *rgyal sras* is obviously a reference to its author) with a translation ascription to Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags, and in the *Zh-TK*, followed by the *Ng-TK*, under the title *bDe mchog gi dkyil chog*, with a translation ascription to Grags 'byor shes rab.<sup>109</sup> The information regarding the translator team can be thus summarized as follows: *I-TK*(Ø), *BCh*(Ø); *R-KC*: Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags; *T-TK*: rGyal po'i sras 'Jigs med lha (Rājaputra \*Abhayadeva), Prajñākīrti; *Zh-TK*, *Ng-TK*, *D-TK*, *DP*: rGyal po'i sras 'Jigs byed lha (Rājaputra \*Bhīmadeva), Grags 'byor shes rab. To be also noted is that the Fourth Zhwa dmar pa Chos grags ye shes (1453–1524; *BDRC*: P317), in his *Dus 'khor dkyil chog rnam bshad* in the context of discussing the empowerment articles/substances (*dbang rdzas*), also refers to the author as rGyal po'i sras 'Jigs byed lha.<sup>110</sup>

(2) D1544/P2252. The Lion-Throned King (\**simhāsana*; previously reconstructed as \**Simhamukha*/*Simhānana* based on the erroneous reading *gdong*) Viṣṇugupta's *dPal rdo rje phag mo sgrub pa'i thabs* (*Śrīvajravārahīsādhana*). Colo: *dpal rgya nag byang phyogs lam gyi rim pa | rje btsun rdo rje phag mo sgrub pa'i thabs byang chub sems dpa' rGyal po Seng ge'i gdan*<sup>111</sup> *can Khyab 'jug sbas*<sup>112</sup> *pas nges par sbyar ba rdzogs so | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal A wa dhū tī pa*<sup>113</sup> *chen po | rGyal po'i sras*<sup>114</sup> *'Jigs med lha'i zhal sngar shākya'i dge slong rje btsun Pradnyā kīrtis bsgyur ba'o | |*. The title does not seem to be recorded in either the *R-KC* or the *I-TK*. It is, however, recorded in the *BCh* with no mention of the translator.<sup>115</sup> The *T-TK* ascribes the translation to Prajñākīrti.<sup>116</sup> Apart from the two variant readings in the *DP* colophons mentioned in the apparatus, the colophon of the *T*

<sup>109</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (433.6): *bDe mchog gi dkyil chog rGyal po'i sras dPal 'Jigs byed lha'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa | pañdi ta de nyid dang | lo tsā ba Grags 'byor shes rab kyi 'gyur |*; *Ng-TK* (24.20–22). The *D-TK* (vol. 2: 358b3) has a record with a similar bibliographical information, following the colophon more closely though.

<sup>110</sup> *Dus 'khor dkyil chog rnam bshad* (314.9–11): *grong khyer Sum pa ri'i rGyal po'i sras 'Jigs byed lha'i zhal snga nas bstan pa | rGyal po Seng ge'i gdan gyi rnam par dag pa'i lam gyi dbang bskur ba'i rab tu bya ba las | ...*

<sup>111</sup> *gdan*] *em.*, *gdong DP*. The reading *gdan* is supported by the *T* colophon, by the colophon of the work discussed in §2.D.1, and other sources, such as the *Zh-TK* (434.3) and the *Ng-TK* (25.6–8).

<sup>112</sup> *sbas*] *P*, *spangs D*. The reading *sbas* is supported by the sources mentioned in the previous footnote.

<sup>113</sup> *pa*] *D*, *P om.*

<sup>114</sup> *rgyal po'i sras*] *D*, *rgyal sras P*

<sup>115</sup> See the *BCh*: [Bc2389] *Khyab 'jug sbas pas mdzad pa'i Phag mo lha bcu*<sup>[1]</sup> *gsum ma'i sgrub thabs |*. [1] Note that Nishioka erroneously reads *gcu* instead of *bcu*.

<sup>116</sup> See the *T-TK* (23a2–3): [T0458] *rDo rje phag mo'i bsgrub thabs byang chub sems dpa' rGyal po seng ge'i gdan Khyab 'jug sbas pas nges par sbyar pa Prad dnyā kir ti'i 'gyur |*. T0458 is found in section II, Nyi(39), 314a5–323b2.

version features a couple more variant readings, but they do not appear to be of much significance to our discussion.<sup>117</sup> The *Zh-TK*, followed by the *Tg-TK*, names the translator Shes rab grags.<sup>118</sup> The *D-TK*, whose record is similar to that of the *Zh-TK*, names the translator Prajñākīrti and attaches the syllable *zhabs* to the collaborating *paṇḍita*'s name.<sup>119</sup> The reports regarding the translator team can be thus summarized as follows: *R-KC*(Ø), *M-TK*(Ø); *BCh*: Ø; *Zh-TK*, *Tg-TK*: Paṇḍita 'Jigs med lha (\*Abhayadeva =? \*Bhīmadeva), Shes rab grags; *TDP*: Mahāvadhūtipa rGyal po'i sras 'Jigs med lha (Rājabputra \*Abhayadeva =? \*Bhīmadeva), Prajñākīrti.

(3) ? D3703/P4527. Śaṅku's *mKha' lding grub pa'i bstan bcos* (*Siddhagaruḍāśāstra*). Colo: *dPal mkha' lding grub pa'i bstan bcos*<sup>120</sup> *bram ze Shang kus mdzad pa rdzogs so | | [...] rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal bram ze A ba dhū ti pa*<sup>121</sup> *chen po dPe med kyi zhal sngar | lo tsā ba bande Pradnyā kīrtis bsgyur ba'o | | [...]*. The title does not seem to have been recorded in the early catalogues, including the *R-KC*(Ø), *M-TK*(Ø), *T-TK*(Ø), and *BCh*(Ø), the earliest record appearing to be the one in the *Zh-TK*, where the collaborating *paṇḍita* is merely named \*Anupamakīrti (*dPe med grags*)—or perhaps better “one known as \*Anupama (*dPe med*; the Matchless One)”, which seems to be supported by both the colophons and later bibliographical sources—and the Tibetan translator as Shes rab grags. A similar record is found in the *Ng-TK*.<sup>122</sup> It appears that the record in the *Ne-TK* is the first to refer to the collaborating *paṇḍita* as the “Brahmin Mahāvadhūtipa \*Anupama” (or, “the Matchless One”) and to the Tibetan translator as Prajñākīrti, in agreement with the colophons of the DP versions and the catalogue records in the *D-TK* and *5th-TK*.<sup>123</sup> Unfortunately, the work is not recorded in the *Gl-TK*<sub>T</sub> either. The information can

<sup>117</sup> The T colophon has some variants in the phrase referring to the collaborating *paṇḍita*, reading as follows (variants underlined): *rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal dang A ba 'dus ti pa chen po* | | rGyal po'i sras 'Jigs med lha'i zhal sngar. Whereas *dang* seems not to pose particular problems (though unusual), the ergative in *chen po* is clearly infelicitous.

<sup>118</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (434.3): *dPal rdo rje phag mo'i sgrub thabs | rGyal po sengge'i gdan can | khyab 'jug sbas pas mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta 'Jigs med lha dang | lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *Tg-TK* (25.6–8).

<sup>119</sup> See the *D-TK* (vol. 2: 359a2): *dPal rdo rje phag mo'i sgrub thabs byang chub sems dpa' rGyal po seng ge'i gdan can Khyab 'jug sbas pas mdzad pa | 'Jigs med lha'i zhabs dang | lo tsā ba rje btsun Pradnyā kīrti 'gyur |*.

<sup>120</sup> *bstan bcos* | D, om. P

<sup>121</sup> pa | P, om. D

<sup>122</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (563.5): *mKha' lding grub pa'i bstan bcos bram ze Shangkus mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta dPe med grags* (or: *dPe med grags*) *dang | lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur...*; *Ng-TK* (120.9–11), which adds a gloss “this is incomplete” {*di ma tshang*}.

<sup>123</sup> See the *Ne-TK* (498.5–6): ... *rgya gar gyi mkhan po dpal bram ze A ba dhū ti pa chen po dPe med kyi zhal sngar lo tsā ba bande Pradnyā kīrti 'gyur |*; *5th-TK* (86a8–b1), *D-TK* (vol. 2: 426b6).

thus be summarized as follows: *R-KC(Ø)*, *U-TK(Ø)*, *T-TK(Ø)*, *BCh(Ø)*, *Gl-TK<sub>1</sub>(Ø)*; *Zh-TK*, *Ng-TK*: \*Anupama(kīrti), Shes rab grags; *Ne-TK*, *DP*: Brahmin Mahāvadhūtipa \*Anupama, Prajñākīrti. I have not been able to locate any reference testifying to a collaboration (or any other connection) between a *paṇḍita* having this name/epithet with Pu rangs lo chung. While Kragh's suggestion that this Mahāvadhūtipa is the Mahāvadhūtipa from the colophon of D1544/P2252 (discussed in the previous entry)—in other words, our Prince \*Bhīmadeva (/ \*Abhayadeva / \*Bhairavadeva)—cannot be entirely rejected, for lack of strong evidence it cannot be entirely endorsed either. The identity of this Prajñākīrti therefore remains uncertain, but the employment of the name Prajñākīrti generally hints at our Pu rangs lo chung rather than 'Bro Shes rab grags. Nor can an identification of the Brahmin Mahāvadhūtipa \*Anupama with Maitrīpa be entirely rejected either. Such an identification would support an identification of our Prajñākīrti as 'Bro Shes rab grags, who certainly studied under Maitrīpa (see the following entry and §4). In that case the name Prajñākīrti in the colophons could be explained as a miscorrection by later editors of the Canon. Unless more evidence comes to light, this latter option seems less likely.

(4) D1180/P2310. Vajragarbha's *Kye'i rdo rje bsdus pa'i don gyi rgya cher 'grel pa* (*Hevajrapaṇḍārthaṭīkā*). The work was translated in two instalments. The first instalment consists of chapters 1–5, commenting on the respective chapters of the first *kalpa*, and is reported to have been revised three times. The second instalment consists of chapters 6–11, commenting on the corresponding chapters of the first *kalpa*, and chapters 1–12, commenting on the second *kalpa*. Accordingly, there are two translation colophons, one at the end of each of the two instalments.<sup>124</sup> As pointed out earlier, Kragh considers 'Bro Shes rab grags to have done one of the revisions (i.e., the second one) of the first instalment and the translation of the second instalment. Kragh, who considers this undertaking as “one of the most significant transmissions that ['Bro] Shes rab grags received in Nepal,” discusses it at length, including offering an English translation of the second colophon.<sup>125</sup> As I shall show in the following, however, whereas Kragh is correct regarding 'Bro Shes rab grags translating the second instalment, the second revision of the first instalment was done by Pu rangs lo chung in collaboration with Prince \*Bhīmadeva.

Colo. I (1st *kalpa*, chaps. 1–5; D, 46a4–7; P, 52b5–53a3): *dPal kye'i rdo rje*<sup>126</sup> *bsdus pa'i don gyi*<sup>127</sup> *'grel pa rdzogs so | | rje btsun byang chub*

<sup>124</sup> Note that whereas P continues with chapter 6 right after the colophon, D inserts an editorial title: *rDo rje snying po'i 'grel pa bzhugs | |*.

<sup>125</sup> See Kragh 2010: 218–222.

<sup>126</sup> rje D, rje'i P

<sup>127</sup> gyi] D, gyis P

sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po **rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa'o** | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po **Dā na shī la dang** | lo tsā ba 'Bro Seng dkar Shākya 'od kyis bsgyur ba | slad kyis<sup>128</sup> rgya gar gyi mkhan po Su bhū ti shrī shānti dang | lo tsā ba **Cog gru Ting nge 'dzin bzang pos zhus so** | | yang slad kyis<sup>129</sup> rgya gar gyi mkhan po **rGyal po'i sras** | **dPal 'Jigs<sup>130</sup> med lha'i zhal sngar lo tsā ba sNyel<sup>131</sup> cor dge slong Pradnyā kīrtis Yul dBus 'gyur gyi dpes gtan la phab pa** | slar yang dpal ldan Shong ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan gyis legs par bshad pa la sogs pa'i mthu las | brda sprod pa'i tshul rig pa'i **dPang lo tsā ba dpal ldan Blo gros brtan pas** | Byang chub sems dpa'i 'grel pa skor<sup>132</sup> gsum gyi tshul la shin tu dad cing blo'i<sup>133</sup> snang ba rgyas pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen Ra lung pa Chos grags dpal bzang pos | slob dpon chen po Zhi ba 'tsho'i zhabs dpon slob kyis mdzad pa'i | dbu ma'i gzhung lugs chen po De kho na nyid bsdus pa rtsa 'grel gyi glegs bam bris te yon du gnang nas yang dang yang du bskul ba'i ngor<sup>134</sup> legs par bcos te bsgyur cing zhus nas gtan la<sup>135</sup> phab pa'i yi ge pa ni mDzad ston Kun dga' rgyal mtshan zhes bya'o | | | 'dis sems can mang po dpag tu med pa la phan par gyur cig | |.<sup>136</sup>

The details regarding the translation and revisions provided in the DP colophons (1st kalpa, chaps. 1–5) can be summarized as follows: Tr: Dānaśīla, 'Bro Seng dkar Shākya 'od (11th cent.; BDRC: P2554); R1: Subhūtiśrīśānti, Cog gru Ting nge 'dzin bzang po (11th cent.; BDRC: P4CZ10524); R2: rGyal po'i sras dPal 'Jigs med lha (Rājaputra Śrī \*Abhayadeva =? Bhīmadeva), sNyel cor Prajñākīrti; R3: dPang Blo

<sup>128</sup> kyis] P, kyi D

<sup>129</sup> kyis] P, kyi D

<sup>130</sup> 'Jigs] D, 'jig P

<sup>131</sup> sNyel] *em.*, sNyal D, sNyol P (the vowel *e* in D is missing, apparently due to damage in the block)

<sup>132</sup> skor] D, bskor P

<sup>133</sup> blo'i] P, blo' D (the vowel *i* in D is missing, apparently due to damage in the block)

<sup>134</sup> ngor] P, dor D

<sup>135</sup> la] D, las P

<sup>136</sup> Note that the passage (underlined) reporting on the revision by dPang Blo gros brtan pa, including the dedication, is virtually identical with the passage reporting the revision of Nāropa's *rDo rje'i tshig gi snying po bsdud pa'i dka' 'grel* (*Vajrapadasārasaṃgrahaṇajikā*). D1186/P2316. Colo: *kha che'i pañdi ta chen po Shākya shrī bzang po'i zhal snga nas* | *bod kyi lo tsā ba dPyal Chos kyi bzang pos dpal bKra shis gser sdings kyi gtsug lag khang du legs par zhus shing bsgyur te gtan la phab pa'o* | | | *slar yang dpal ldan Shong ston* [ston D, om. P] **rDo rje rgyal mtshan** *gyi legs bshad la sogs pa'i mthu las* | *brda sprod pa'i tshul rig pa'i dPang lo tsā ba dpal ldan Blo gros brtan pas byang chub sems dpa'i 'grel pa skor* [skor D, bskor P] *gsum gyi tshul la shin tu dad cing blo'i snang ba rgyas pa'i dge ba'i bshes gnyen Ra lung pa Chos grags dpal bzang pos* | *slob dpon Zhi ba'i tsho'i zhabs dpon slob kyis mdzad pa'i dbu ma'i gzhung lugs chen po De kho na nyid bsdus pa rtsa 'grel gyi glegs bam bris te yon du gnang nas* | *yang yang du bskul ba'i ngor legs par bcos te bsgyur cing zhus nas gtan la phab pa'i yi ge pa ni mDzad ston Kun dga' rgyal mtshan zhes bya'o* | | | 'dis sems can mang po dpag tu med pa la phan par gyur cig. [doubled underlined passage] P, pa'o D] | |.

gros brtan pa (1276–1342; BDRC: P2085). Of some interest are perhaps the specific terms used for each of these undertakings. For the initial translation merely the verb “translated” (*bsgyur ba*) is used, for the first revision the term “proofread” (*zhus pa*), for the second one “finalized” (*gtan la phab pa*), and for the third one a longer phrase that includes several terms and reads “[it] was [re]translated after having been properly corrected, and finalized after having been proofread” (*legs par bcos te bsgyur cing zhus nas gtan la phab pa*). As already discussed on a previous occasion, the phrase *bcos te bsgyur* appears to hint at a (perhaps major) revision rather than an entirely new translation.<sup>137</sup> The terms and formulations employed give the impression that the revisions were not done independently of one another but rather that the second revision was based on the first, and the third on the second. To be also noted is that while the initial translation and the first two revisions were done in close succession to one another, the third revision was carried out about two decades later. The fact that the passage reporting on this (major?) revision by dPang Blo gros brtan pa (and on the dedication) is identical with the passage reporting the revision of Nāropa’s *rDo rje’i tshig gi snying po bsdud pa’i dka’ ’grel* (*Vajrapadasārasaṃgrahapañjikā*) is certainly of significance for our understanding of this colophon. One wonders whether the passage found in the colophon of D1180/P2310 was mechanically copied (by an editor?) from the colophon of D1186/P2316 (the other way around is also a possibility, but seems less likely), and whether the fact that D omits the sentence regarding the scribe and the dedication is an attempt to make the passage look authentic (and not a mere mechanical copying). Our main concern is, however, the identity of the team responsible for the second revision, Prince \*Abhayadeva (= ? Bhīmadeva) and sNyel cor Prajñākīrti, who are said to have finalized the translation with the help of a manuscript from Magadha,<sup>138</sup> an issue we shall return to below.

Colo II (1st *kalpa*, chaps. 6–11 & 2nd *kalpa*, chaps. 1–12; D, 126a5–7; P, 139b2–6): *rgya gar gyi mkhan po bla ma chen po Mai tri zhabs la | bod kyi lo tsā ba ‘Bro dge slong Shes rab grags pas mang du gsol ba btab nas | legs par mnyan<sup>139</sup> te bsgyur ba’o | | | Kye’i rdo rje’i bsdus pa’i rgyud kyi rgya cher bshad pa | Byang chub sems dpa’ rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa | rnyed par dka’ ba ‘di sngon De kho na nyid kyi le’u yan chad kyi ’grel pa las ma ’gyur ba las | slad kyi Bal po’i yul gyi grong khyer chen po rol pa zhes bya ba nas | ‘Bro dge slong lo tsā bas | pa*

<sup>137</sup> See Almogi 2020: 211.

<sup>138</sup> Note that Kragh understands Yul dBus ’gyur as Madhyadeśa. Nonetheless, while Yul dbus is indeed Madhyadeśa (the “Middle Region”), dBus ’gyur is the Tibetan rendering of Magadha.

<sup>139</sup> mnyan] D, bsnyen P



*ṅḍi ta Mai tri zhabs las*<sup>140</sup> *rnyed de | Bod yul du dpe spyan drangs nas | dge slong rNal 'byor spyod pa*<sup>141</sup> *dBang phyug grags pas gsol ba btab ste bsgyur ba'o | | | rGya gar yul du dka' las cher mdzad | dge bshes*<sup>142</sup> *lo tsā ba la | Yul dbus su byon nas | bdag gis gsol ba btab nas | dka' las bgyis te Byang chub sems dpa'i 'grel pa bsgyur | zhal ngo che nas nyid la brdzangs pa lags te dgyes par dgongs | | |*<sup>143</sup>

This colophon consists of three parts: (i) A mere translation colophon of the second instalment, stating that 'Bro Shes rab grags translated it, after having thoroughly studied (lit. "listened to") it under the great Indian master, the *upādhyāya* Maitrīpāda, from whom he had repeatedly requested the teachings.<sup>144</sup> (ii) A passage explaining why the translation of the work was done in two instalments. It states that a Sanskrit manuscript (of the entire work) was previously hard to obtain, so that at first only the portion up to the *Tattva* chapter was translated. Later on 'Bro Shes rab grags obtained it (i.e., a complete manuscript? one containing the missing portion?) in \*Lalitapura/paṭṭana (i.e., today's Lalitpur/Pattan) from Maitrīpāda and brought it to Tibet, where he translated the second instalment upon the request of the fully ordained monk Yogin dBang phyug grags pa (whose identity remains unclear, but see below, §4.B.3). (iii) A passage that is found only in P (and equivalents), one presenting itself as having been authored by the petitioner dBang phyug grags pa himself. Since my understanding of this third passage somewhat differs from Kragh's, I offer here a translation: "The *kalyāṇamitra*-translator (i.e., 'Bro Shes rab grags), who underwent great hardship in the Land of India, upon my (i.e., dBang phyug grags pa) request to him after

<sup>140</sup> las] D, la P

<sup>141</sup> pa] D, pa dang P

<sup>142</sup> bshes] *em.*, shes P

<sup>143</sup> underlined text] P, *om.* D

<sup>144</sup> Kragh, while translating the phrase *gsol ba btab pa* as "to make a request," in the context of discussing the plausibility of 'Bro Shes rab grags meeting Maitrīpāda in Nepal, also offers the alternative translation "to pray," which would mean that 'Bro Shes rab grags "only prayed to Maitrīpāda, without meeting him in person." This translation-cum-interpretation seems, however, unlikely in my view. To be remarked is that, as noted by Kragh, there seems to be no other mention in the literature of Maitrīpāda having ever visited Patan. See Kragh 2010: 220, 221 nn. 70, 71. According to Iain Sinclair (email communication, April 8, 2022), it is plausible that Maitrīpāda stayed in the Mānavihāra in Patan, probably in the 1040s–1050s (there appears to be some unpublished material that might corroborate this). Nonetheless, the Mānavihāra being a Nepalese royal monastery, he must have stayed there as a guest rather than as a resident, and his stay might have possibly been financed by giving teaching to disciples such as 'Bro Shes rab grags. Moreover, although the Mānavihāra was not founded as a Tantric monastery, there is evidence that by the second half of the eleventh century, it adopted some Tantric praxis (Sinclair 2016: 223–224). I thank Iain Sinclair for sharing with me his thoughts in this regard and also the passage from his unpublished PhD thesis that concerns the Mānadevavihāra.

his return to Central Tibet translated, with great effort, Bodhisattva's (i.e., Vajragarbha's) commentary. The esteemed one (*zhal ngo che*,<sup>145</sup> i.e., 'Bro Shes rab grags), having sent [me the translation], was well disposed towards me."<sup>146</sup> The details regarding the translation and revisions provided in these DP colophons (1st *kalpa*, chaps. 6–11 & 2nd *kalpa*, chaps. 1–12) can be summarized as follows: Tr: 'Bro Shes rab grags pa (in Tibet) after receiving the teaching from Maitrīpāda (in Nepal); Petitioner: dBang phyug grags pa.

Of great interest is the T version, recorded in the T-TK with a translation ascription of the first instalment to Shākya brtson 'grus (11th cent.; BDRC: P4243), and the remaining portion to Shes rab grags.<sup>147</sup> This accords with the respective colophons, which are much shorter than their DP counterparts. Colo I (1st *kalpa*, chaps. 1–5; 233a2): **rGyang gtsug lag khang gi khang mar sngags kyi chos grwar**<sup>148</sup> | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po rGyal ba mchog gi zhal snga dang* | *bod kyi lo tsha ba dge slong Shag kya brtson 'grus kyi bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa* | | |. According to this colophon, Shākya brtson 'grus translated the first instalment in collaboration with the Indian master \*Jinavara (with whom he is known to have collaborated on the translation of two other works found in the mainstream canonical editions<sup>149</sup>). The team Shākya brtson 'grus and \*Jinavara are not men-

<sup>145</sup> My translation of *zhal ngo che* as “the esteemed one” is tentative and is based on the meaning of *zhal ngo* as referring to a “head/ chief” of some sort. Another option would be perhaps to understand it as “he himself” (i.e., “this great [master] himself, having sent...”). At any rate, the subject of the sentence in question appears to be 'Bro Shes rab grags and not dBang phyug grags pa, as understood by Kragh (see also the following note).

<sup>146</sup> For Kragh's translation, see Kragh 2010: 221 n. 69: “When I had requested the Kalyāṇamitra Lotsā ba, who had accomplished difficult things in the land of India and who had come to Central [Tibet] (*yl dbus*, or is the Indian Madhyadeśa meant?), [the Lotsā ba] did what is difficult to do and translated [this] commentary by the bodhisattva [Vajragarbha]. Letting go of my bashfulness, I think [of it] with joy.” Note that Kragh erroneously reads *zhal ngo tsha nas nyid brdzangs pa lags te* instead of *zhal ngo che nas nyid la brdzangs pa lags te*, resulting in his translation “Letting go of my bashfulness....” Moreover, his translation of the phrase *dgyes par dgongs* as “I think [of it] with joy” is problematic since using the honorific (*dgongs*) in the first person is highly unlikely. Although rather insignificant for our discussion, it might be added that Kragh's suggested intended pun in this last phrase—*dgyes* also being a part of the Tibetan name for Hevajra, *dgyes pa rdo rje*, and hence the last phrase could also be translated as “I intend it for He[vajra]”—seems somewhat farfetched.

<sup>147</sup> See the T-TK (24b2–3): [T0502] *dPal kye'i rdo rje nges pa'i don gyi rgya cher bshad pa* | **Byang chub sems dpa' rDo rje rnying pos mdzad pa le'u lnga pa yan chad Shakya brtson 'grus kyi 'gyur** | *gzhan rnam* **Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur** |. T0502 is found in section II, Ti(40), 171a!–342b6.

<sup>148</sup> *grwar* | *em.*, *drar Ms*

<sup>149</sup> Shākya brtson 'grus also collaborated with \*Jinavara on the translation of Bhavyakīrti's *Rim pa lnga pa'i dka' 'grel* (*Pañcakramapañjikā*; D1838/P2696) and

tioned in the DP colophons. A comparison of the translation with that transmitted in DP shows that these are indeed two different translations. However, since the DP translation of this portion has undergone three revisions (the extent of which is unclear) it is hard to tell how different the initial translation by 'Bro Seng dkar Shākya 'od in collaboration with Dānaśīla was from that of Shākya brtson 'grus in collaboration with \*Jinavara. The place of translation is specified as the Tantric Religious Seminary of Khang mar of the rGyang temple. I was unable to identify the exact location of this seminary, but one wonders whether this is the same Khang dmar near which Pu rangs lo chung is said to have died (see above, n. 20), and if so, whether there is any connection between Shākya 'od's translation and Pu rangs lo chung's revision of this text. Colo II (1st *kalpa*, chaps. 6–11 & 2nd *kalpa*, chaps. 1–12; 342b5–6): *Kye'i rdo rje'i nges pa'i don kyī rgya cher bshad pa* | *sa bcu'i dbang phyug chen po Byang chub sems dpa' rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa* | *rdzogs so* | | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po bla ma chen po Me tri pa'i zhabs la bod kyī lo tsha ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyis mang du gsol nas* | *legs par mnyan te bsgyur ba'o* | |. This colophon of the second instalment is a combination of the first sentence of the second part of the corresponding DP colophons (naming the work's title and the author) and the "basic" translation colophon that constitutes the first part of the DP colophons, ascribing the translation to 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with Maitrīpāda. A brief comparison of the translation of this portion with that transmitted in DP confirms that these are indeed identical. However, it appears that the DP colophons of the second instalment have been reworked and enlarged (particularly that of the larger TG editions, here represented by P). Moreover, as we have seen earlier, the DP colophons of the first instalment also appear to have been subjected to editorial scrutiny, which mainly concerned the report regarding the revisions (particularly that of R3).

Now let us turn to the pertinent records found in the various catalogues. The R-KC appear to have three records in total: (i) a translation of the first instalment (*stod*) ascribed to 'Bro (there 'Brom) Seng dkar Shākya 'od, which corresponds with the DP colophons of the first instalment; (ii) a translation (with no notation of a specific instalment) ascribed to rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, which has no correspondence in either the DP or the T colophons; and (iii) a translation (with no notation of a specific instalment) ascribed to 'Bro Shes rab grags, which corresponds with the DP and the T colophons of the

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\*Bhāviveka's *sGron ma gsal bar byed pa'i dka' ba btus pa'i 'grel pa* (*Pradīpodyotanav-iṣamapadapañjikā*; D1792/P2657).

second instalment.<sup>150</sup> The *U-TK* identifies the translator simply as Shes rab grags and with no reference to a specific instalment.<sup>151</sup> The *BCh* names the translator as 'Bro.<sup>152</sup> The record in the *Zh-TK* basically offers a summary of the two colophons as reflected in the DP versions.<sup>153</sup> In fact, considering the records in the *U-TK* and the *BCh*, and the T colophons as well, it appears that Bu ston was the first to formulate these detailed DP colophons. The references to the translator as Shes rab grags or as 'Bro must be based on the second colophon alone, which probably was originally formulated as in the T version. This formulation gives the impression that it refers to the entire work, which is likely why Bu ston saw a reformulation necessary. He was obviously also the one to formulate the colophon of the first instalment (though the origin of the third part of the colophon found only in the larger TG editions remains unclear). To be also noted is that the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* names the translator as 'Brog, but this might be an error for 'Bro.<sup>154</sup>

Interestingly, the *Ng-TG* edition contained, as attested by its catalogue, the first instalment twice: It was written once in gold in a cluster of altogether six works (stretched over four volumes)—including the *Laghukālacakratantra* (D362/P4), *Hevajratantra* (D417/P10), the first chapter of the *Laghusaṃvaratantra* (i.e., *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*; D368/P16; translated by Shong lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa and revised by Blo gros rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po<sup>155</sup>), and what is known as the “three Bodhisattva commentaries.”<sup>156</sup> The bibliographical details regarding the translation provided here by the *Ng-TK* are identical with those provided by the *Zh-TK* for the first instalment, and

<sup>150</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr25.100] **rDo rje snying po'i dGes rdor stod 'grel dang | |**; *ibid.* [Rr27.64] **dGes rdor 'grel pa rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa dang | |**; *ibid.* [Rr28.40] **rDo rje snying po'i dGes rdor 'grel pa dang | |**.

<sup>151</sup> See the *U-TK* (A, 10a3–4; B, 6b6 = U<sub>js</sub>109): **rNal 'byor ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal kye'i rdo rje'i 'grel pa rDo rje snying pos** <sup>[Badzra garbha]</sup> **mdzad pa Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |**.

<sup>152</sup> See the *BCh*: [Bc2250] **rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa** <sup>(i Kye'i rdo rje'i rgyud kyi 'grel pa |</sup> **'Bro 'gyur |**.

<sup>153</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (438.3–4): **Kye rdo rje'i 'grel pa Byang chub sems dpa' rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa'i le'u lnga pa yan chad | paṅḍi ta Dā na shī la dang | lo tsā ba 'Bro Seng dkar Shākya 'od kyi 'gyur la | paṅḍi ta Su bhū ti shrī shānti dang | lo tsā ba Cog gru Ting nge 'dzin bzang pos zhus te gtan la phab pa las | slad kyi paṅḍi ta 'Jigs med lha dang | lo tsā ba sNyel cor Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur la | dPang Blo gros brtan pas bcos pa dang | le'u drug pa man chad 'Bro'i 'gyur |**. The *D-TK* (vol. 2: 341b1–5) has a longer entry, reproducing the two colophons nearly verbatim.

<sup>154</sup> See the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* (242.3–5): **brTag gnyis kyi 'grel pa Byang chub sems dpa' rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa yongs su rdzogs pa 'Brog gi 'gyur |**.

<sup>155</sup> Note that the canonical version is asserted to have been translated by Rin chen bzang po in collaboration with Padmākara and revised by the Tibetan translators Prajñākīrti and Mar do Chos kyi dbang phyug (on which, see below).

<sup>156</sup> For a brief note on the “three Bodhisattva commentaries,” along with further references, see Almogi 2021: 41 n. 42.

thus apparently only this part was included.<sup>157</sup> It was written down a second time together with the second instalment (obviously in a plain style) for the sake of completeness, as explicitly stated in the catalogue (lit. “in order to have [it from] top (‘head’) [to] bottom (‘foot’) in one place”). The bibliographical details provided here are rather brief, merely mentioning that the first instalment was revised by dPang Blo gros brtan pa and the second one translated by ‘Bro.<sup>158</sup>

The information regarding the translators and revisers provided above can be summarized as follows: R-KC: (i) ‘Bro Seng dkar Shākya ‘od, first instalment, (ii) rNgog Blo ldan shes rab, (iii) ‘Bro Shes rab grags; U-TK: Shes rab grags; BCh: ‘Bro; T-TK: Shākya brtson ‘grus, first instalment & (‘Bro) Shes rab grags (pa), second instalment; Gl-TK<sub>r</sub>: ‘Bro (= ? ‘Bro); Zh-TK, DP: ‘Bro Seng dkar Shākya ‘od, R1: Cog gru Ting nge ‘dzin bzang po, R2: sNyel cor Prajñākīrti, R3: dPang Blo gros brtan pa, first instalment & ‘Bro Shes rab grags pa, second instalment. What concerns us here most is the identity of sNyel cor Prajñākīrti, who, it is stated, did the second revision of the first instalment in collaboration with Prince \*Abhayadeva (= ? Bhīmadeva), whom we have already encountered as a teacher of Pu rangs lo chung and collaborator with him on several translations. Kragh identifies him as ‘Bro Shes rab grags (ignoring the attribute sNyel cor), again merely based on the assumption that Prajñākīrti is the Sanskritized name of ‘Bro Shes rab grags, an assumption that, as we have already seen, is entirely unfounded. I suggested above that Prince ‘Jigs med lha is most probably none other than Prince Bhīmadeva (‘Jigs med being a corruption for ‘Jigs byed). This collaboration with the Prince (whether his name is Abhayadeva, Bhairavadeva, or Bhīmadeva) clearly supports an identification of sNyel cor Prajñākīrti as Pu rangs lo chung, but the attribute sNyel cor needs nonetheless to be addressed, if only briefly. A translator called sNyel cor Shes rab grags is, to the best of my knowledge, mentioned only in this colophon, and nearly all occurrences of the name in the Tibetan literature appear to be in this very same context (apparently relying, directly or indirectly, on the colophon or the pertinent catalogue records). I was

<sup>157</sup> See the Ng-TK (13.12–14.4): Ka Kha Ga Nga bzhi la [...] *Kye’i rdo rje’i ‘grel pa Byang chub sems dpa’ rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa’i le’u lnga pa yan chad paṅḍi ta Dā na shī la* [dang] lo tsā ba ‘Bro Seng dkar Shākya ‘od kyi ‘gyur la | paṅḍi ta Su bhū ti shrī shānti dang lo tsā ba Cog gru Ting nge ‘dzin bzang pos zhus te gtan la phab pa las | slad kyi paṅḍi ta ‘Jigs med lha dang | lo tsā ba sNyel cor Shes rab grags kyi ‘gyur la | dPang Blo gros brtan pas bcos pas dang | ... rnam sger las bzheng pa bzhugs so | |.

<sup>158</sup> See the Ng-TK (28.9–13): *Kye rdo rje’i ‘grel pa Byang chub sems dpa’ rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa’i le’u lnga pa yan chad ‘gyur rnying la dPang Blo gros brtan pas bcos pa dang | le’u drug pa man chad ‘Bro’i ‘gyur | le’u lnga pa yan chad kyi ‘grel pa ‘di gong du rin po che gser las bzhengs pa yod na’ang ‘grel pa dbu zhabs tshang ba phyogs gcig tu sdeb pa’i phyir ‘di yang bris so | |.*

not able to determine the exact reference of the attribute sNyel cor, and it is unclear whether it refers to a clan or a place name. To be noted is that various spellings of this attribute are found in the literature, including mainly *mnyel*, *gnyel*, or *bsnyel* for the first syllable, and *tsor*, *tser*, or *'or* for the second one. There is only one more translator who has this attribute attached to his name, namely, mNyel cor dge slong dByig gi rin chen, but he is rather unknown and is mentioned in the canonical colophons only once as a reviser, so that unfortunately this does not help us any further with our investigation.<sup>159</sup>

My impression is that the identity of sNyel cor Shes rab grags has been a cause for confusion within the tradition as well. He has been (implicitly) identified by several authors as Pu rangs lo chung, but several sources (again only implicitly) give the impression that this is not the case. One of the sources that undoubtedly supports an identification of him as Pu rangs lo chung is the *Blo gsal mig thur*, which is a text consisting of a collation and edition made by A mes zhabs of notes written by Chos rje dPal gyi rgyal mtshan (= ? 'U yug dpal, 13th cent; BDRC: P3940), which represent a supplement to the *rGyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag* (genre?) primarily focusing on the *Hevajratantra*. The passage in question deals with the controversy surrounding the authorship of the *rDo rje snying 'grel*, which is not really our concern, but I shall nonetheless cite it here in full for the sake of completeness:<sup>160</sup>

*dang po la Byang chub sems dpa'i rDo rje snying po'i 'grel pa  
sogs bcu gnyis tsam byung ba las | rDo rje snying 'grel la | sTod  
'grel dang | sMad 'grel gnyis su grags pa las | dang po ni le'u lnga  
pa yan te rDo rje snying pos mdzad pa yin no | | gnyis pa ni le'u  
drug pa man chad kyi 'grel pa'o | | dang po ni | Dus 'khor rGyal  
bas gsungs pa'i bka' ma yin zhing | Sems 'grel skor gsum Byang  
sems kyis byas pa min zer ba ma gtogs gzhan phal che bas tshad mar  
khas len no | | gnyis pa ni | snga rabs pa rnam na re | gang phyir  
bcu drug cha med pas | | 'bad pas kun gyi lhag ma spangs | | zhes pa'i  
bshad pa Dus 'khor dang mi mthun pa'i phyir | rDo rje snying pos  
byas pa min zer ba ni don la gnas te | sMad 'grel mdzad mkhan de  
nyid rDo rje snying po dang mtshan gcig pa yin nam | gang ltar  
yang rtsa rgyud gzigs pa'i pañdi ta gcig yin gyis | sTod 'grel mdzad  
mkhan dang mi gcig ste | de dang grub mtha' mi mthun pa du ma*

<sup>159</sup> See the colophon to Vāgbhāṭa's *Yan lag brgyad pa'i snying po zhes bya ba'i sman dpyad kyi bshad pa* (*Aṣṭāṅghrdayabhāṣya*; D4311/P5799), according to which the work was translated by Shākya blo gros in collaboration with Dharmasrīvarman, and revised-cum-finalized (*tshad la phab pa*; lit. "brought to the standard") by Shākya blo gros, Mar lo dge slong Rig pa gzhon nu, and mNyel/sNyel cor dge slong dByig gi rin chen.

<sup>160</sup> *Blo gsal mig thur* (3.4–5.4).

snang zhing | **sTod 'grel** du rtsa rgyud 'bum phrag lnga pa'i don de nyid le'u lnga pa yan chad du bsdus nas 'chad ces dam bcas kyis | le'u drug pa man chad kyi 'grel pa byed ces ma gsungs pa'i phyir ro | | de la **sTod 'grel** la | **Pu hrang lo chung Grags 'byor shes rab dang** | **sMad 'grel** la '**Bro dge slong Shes rab grags** kyi 'gyur yod do | | **sTod 'grel** gyi bshad srol rje btsun gong ma rnams la **Pu hrang lo chung** nas brgyud pa yin zhing | **Dus 'khor** gyi bshad srol yang de nas brgyud pa yin te | rje **Sa chen gyis Pu hrang lo chung dang** | des **mDzod kyi 'grel bshad mdzad mkhan slob dpon rGyal po'i**<sup>161</sup> **sras dang** | des **Dus zhabs pa chung ba** la gsan pa yin no | |

With regard to the first point (i.e., “[works concerning] the ‘content-aspect’ (*arthāṃśa*) of the *Hevajra[tantra]*”; *kyai rdo rje'i tshig don gyi cha rnams*), approximately twelve [works], such as Bodhisattva Vajragarbha's commentary (i.e. the *rDo rje snying 'grel*), arose. Of these, the *rDo rje snying 'grel* is known to [have two parts], the *sTod 'grel* (“commentary on the upper part”) and the *sMad 'grel* (“commentary on the lower part”). Of these, the first is up to chapter five, and is composed by Vajragarbha. The second is the commentary from chapter six onwards. Regarding the first, except that [some] allege that the *Kālacakra[tantra]* is not the Word spoken by the Victorious One and the “three Bodhisattva commentaries” were not composed by [the three] Bodhisattvas, most other [scholars] accept [it] as authoritative. Regarding the second one, scholars of the past objected as follows: “The claim that [it] was not composed by Vajragarbha is correct because the explanation of [the verse] ‘because there is no sixteenth phase, the one that is left over (i.e., the sixteenth) should be diligently abandoned’<sup>162</sup> is not in agreement with the *Kālacakra[tantra]*. The author of the *sMad 'grel* is either a namesake of [Bodhisattva] Vajragarbha or [he] must have at any rate been a *paṇḍita* who had access to the *mūlatantra* (i.e., the 500,000-verse-long Urtantra of the *Hevajratantra*), but [he] is not the same person who composed the *sTod 'grel*, for many [elements in it] do not conform to the [*sTod 'grel*'s] philosophical position. Moreover, while it is pledged in the *sTod 'grel* that the 500,000-[verse]-long *mūlatantra* will be expounded by condensing its meaning/content into five chapters, it does not state that it will be commented upon in chapter six onwards.” In this regard, for the *sTod 'grel* there is a translation by Pu hrang lo chung Grags 'byor shes rab, and for the *sMad 'grel* one by 'Bro

<sup>161</sup> po'i] *em.*, pos Print

<sup>162</sup> See *Hevajratantra* II.iv.25cd: *sarvaśeṣāṃ tyajed yatnāt ṣoḍaśī na kalā yataḥ* | |; Snellgrove 1959, Part 1: 104 (annotated English translation), Part 2: 64 (Sanskrit), 65 (Tibetan); Tib.: D, 20a7; P, 251a3.

dge slong Shes rab grags. The expositional transmission of the *sTod 'grel* was passed on to the [Sa skya] patriarchs by Pu hrang lo chung, and the expositional tradition of the *Kālacakra[tantra]* was also passed on [to them] through him. The lord Sa chen Kun dga' snying po studied [it] under Pu hrang lo chung, the latter under the master Prince, the author of the commentary on the [*Abhidharma*]kośa(!), and the latter under Kālacakrapāda the Younger.

Of particular interest is the lineage of this teaching provided in the last passage. The identification of the prince in question as the author of an *Abhidharmakośa* commentary is based on a clearly erroneous confusion with Yaśomitra, who is likewise referred to as a “prince,” and who indeed composed the *Abhidharmakośaṭīkā* (*Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel bshad*; D4092/P5593). The prince meant here is no doubt Prince Bhīmadeva. Of further interest is the statement that the prince studied the teachings under Kālacakrapāda the Younger. The identity of this Kālacakrapāda the Younger is unclear, for, as pointed out earlier, several sources seem to indicate the existence of more than one master with this epithet. One nonetheless wonders whether there is some connection between the Kashmiri Bodhibhadra, under whom both Mar pa do ba and Pu rangs lo chung are reported in the *Blue Annals* to have studied, and the Bodhibhadra who according to Tāranātha is Nālandāpāda, the son of Kālacakrapāda the Younger. As we have just seen, however, the historicity and/or accuracy of these reports are at times doubtful, so that a thorough study of all relevant sources would be needed before a conclusion could be arrived at.

Yet another source that implicitly identifies sNyel cor Shes rab grags with Pu rangs lo chung is Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India*, where sNyel tsor [= cor] Shes rab grags is mentioned as the translator of the *Vinayakārikā*.<sup>163</sup> The identity of its translator has been discussed above and was securely concluded to be Pu rangs lo chung. However, as has already been noted by van der Kuijp, Rong ston Shes bya kun rig's commentary on the *Vinayakārikā*, when discussing the identity of its translators toward the end of it, states the following:<sup>164</sup>

<sup>163</sup> See the *rGya gar chos 'byung* (143.4–7): 'phags pa **Sa ga lha yang 'di dus byung bar mngon tel** **Me tog phreng brgyud lo tsā ba sNyel tsor** [= cor] **Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur ba na** | 'phags pa **dGe 'dun 'bangs kyi slob ma 'phags pa Sa ga lhas mdzad pa zhes 'byung bas so** | |. For an English translation, see Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya 1970: 197.

<sup>164</sup> See the *Me tog phreng rgyud kyi rnam 'grel* (749.9–15). Cf. the translation (only of the verses) in van der Kuijp 2013: 188:

“By which translators and paṇḍitas the text was translated:  
I translated the text after I was petitioned,



*lo paṅ gang gis bsgyur ba ni |*  
*'phaḡs pa'i pho brang byang phyogs su | |*  
**IHa rgyal bla ma Zhi ba 'od | |**  
*dam chos skyong mdzad sku ring<sup>165</sup> la | |*  
**Chos dbyings gtsug lag khang chen du | |**  
*mkhas pa Dza yā a ka ra | |*  
*snyegs tshul Pra dznyā kīrti yis | |*  
*gsol ba btab nas dag bdag gis bsgyur | |*  
*dges des thub bstan rgyas par shog | |*

By the scholar Jayākara and Snyegs tshul Prajñākīrti.  
 In the great Chos dbyings [Dharmadhātu] temple,  
 During the lifetime of the divine king, Bla ma Zhi ba 'od,  
 The pretector (sic) of the holy religion,  
 In the citadel of the Noble Avalokiteśvara, in the northern region,  
 May the Sage's Teaching spread by the virtue engendered through this work."  
 In regard to his translation, van der Kuijp comments the following:  
 "Obviously, there is something awry here. We probably have to read *sku ring la*  
 instead of *sku drin la* and I have translated this line accordingly. The notion that  
 Jayākara and Snyegs Prajñākīrti had requested this translation is contradicted by  
 all the entires (sic) of this translation in the early catalogs and the identity of 'me'  
 rests quite obscure. In short, I am not in the position to suggest a solution to this  
 problem. The verse is then followed by a statement in prose to the effect that the  
 text was first translated by the Indian Mūlasarvāstivādin monk-*paṇḍita* Jayākara-  
 gupta and Lo tsā ba Bsnyel 'or Prajñākīrti — note the variant clan affiliation of  
 the Prajñākīrti in the verse! Then, the Nepalese *paṇḍita* Jayākara and the Tibetan  
 translator Prajñākīrti subsequently revised the earlier translation. The colophon  
 of the Sde dge print suggested that Rong ston and Vanaratna later revised the re-  
 vised translation." The passage, particularly the versified part, is indeed prob-  
 lematic in various ways. As suggested in my translation, I understand *bdag* ("I")  
 to be referring to Rong ston, who apparently claims to have actually translated  
 the text anew rather than having only revised it, as suggested by the canonical  
 colophons. (A careful comparison of the basic text imbedded in the commentary  
 and the existing canonical versions might shed light on this matter, but this un-  
 dertaking clearly goes beyond the scope of the present paper.) This understand-  
 ing is not only logical in terms of the wording, but it is also supported by the  
 dedication of merit in the following line (unless of course one understands the  
 verse to be a citation—as implied by van der Kuijp's translation—but there is no  
 linguistic evidence for this). We would have indeed liked to have the verb *bsgyur*  
 in connection with Prajñākīrti as well, but the text merely has the ergative *yis*.  
 This, however, could be interpreted as an elliptical answer to the introductory  
 question *lo paṅ gang gis bsgyur ba* ("by which translator and *paṇḍita* [the *Vina-*  
*yakārikā*] was translated"), namely, "by Prajñākīrti in collaboration with Jayāka-  
 ra" (this formulation might have been opted for for metrical reasons). Another  
 major difference in my translation is that I do not understand *snyegs tshul* to be  
 Prajñākīrt's clan name—the clan (or place) name, as pointed out by van der  
 Kuijp, being given in the following prose passage as *bsNyel 'or*—but rather as  
 "following," and thus I see no discrepancy in the attribute referring to the clan or  
 place name. I also take the introductory question to be prose (which is also sup-  
 ported by the version I used, and other versions that have been silently consulted  
 for that matter, all of which have a single *shad* at the end of this phrase), but this  
 has no real impact on the translation.

<sup>165</sup> ring] *em.*, *drin* Text

rgya gar gyi mkhan po 'phags pa gzhi thams cad yod par smra ba'i  
 dge slong paṇḍi ta **Dza yā a ka ra gupa ta'i** zhal snga nas dang |  
 sgra sgyur gyi lo tsā ba **bsNyel 'or Pra dznyā kīrtis** bsgyur | slar  
 yang bal po'i paṇḍi ta **Dza yā a ka ra dang** | bod kyi lo tsā ba dge  
 slong **Pra dznyā kīrtis** bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o | | |

As regards [the question of] which translator and *paṇḍita* [the *Vinayakārikā*] was translated by:

[It was translated] by Prajñākīrti, following  
 The learned Jayākara (i.e., in collaboration with him)  
 In the great Chos dbyings temple  
 In the northern palace (i.e., Tibet) of the Noble One (i.e.,  
 Avalokiteśvara)  
 During the time of lHa rgyal bla ma Zhi ba 'od,  
 The protector of the Sublime Doctrine.  
 Having been requested, I (i.e., Rong ston) translated [it  
 again].

May the Sage's Teaching spread by the virtue [brought  
 about by my translation].

The Indian *upādhyāya paṇḍita* Jayākaragupta, [who is] a *bhikṣu*  
 of the Ārya-Mūlasarvāstivāda, and the "ad verbum translator"<sup>166</sup>  
 bsNyel 'or Prajñākīrti translated [the work]. In addition, [it]  
 was translated, proofread, and finalized by the Nepalese  
*paṇḍita* Jayākara and the Tibetan translator, the fully ordained  
 monk Prajñākīrti.

Leaving aside the question whether Rong ston actually translated the text anew or merely revised it, what is remarkable in this passage is that, whereas in the verse the translators are named as Prajñākīrti in collaboration with Jayākara, in the prose Rong ston records two translations, namely, one by the Indian Jayākaragupta and bsNyel 'or Prajñākīrti and a second by the Nepalese Jayākara and Prajñākīrti. This seems very unlikely for two main reasons: firstly, no other source records such two translations, and secondly, it is hard to believe that the members of the two teams had nearly identical names. It is in my view an attempt on the part of Rong ston to deal with the attribute bsNyel 'or (= cor) attached to the name Prajñākīrti in some of the sources, which he then so interprets as implying that there were two Tibetan translators called Prajñākīrti who were responsible for two different translations.

The impression that sNyel cor Prajñākīrti and Pu rangs lo chung are two different persons is given (implicitly) by several sources. One of them is the *Blue Annals*, which in one and the same passage list Pu

<sup>166</sup> On the term "ad verbum translator," see Almogi 2020: 50.

hrangs lo chung as one of the translators of the *dBang mdor bstan pa* (*Sekoddeśa*)<sup>167</sup> and gNyel cor Shes rab grags as one of the translators of the *rDo rje snying po'i 'grel pa*,<sup>168</sup> which may simply be a result of mechanically reproducing the names provided in the respective catalogue records. This passage in the *Blue Annals* might have been the source for several similar passages found in the literature. One such passage is found in sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho's (1653–1705; BDRC: P421) *Baidūrya g.ya' sel*.<sup>169</sup> Another one is found in the recent history of the Kālacakra by Na lendra'i mkhan po Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan (1933–2002; BDRC: P6677).<sup>170</sup> One more instance that should be mentioned here is a passage by Tāranātha, in which he combines the attributes gNyel tser (= sNyel cor) and 'Bro, resulting in the name 'Bro lo tsā ba gNyel tser Shes rab grags, whereas further down in the list he mentions Pu rangs lo chung Grags 'byor shes rab. This seems, however, to be based on an error, for as we have seen, elsewhere Tāranātha names sNyel cor Shes rab grags as the translator of the *Vinayakārikā*, who is undoubtedly to be identified as Pu rangs lo chung. Moreover, as far as I can see, this is the only occasion where a combination of these two attributes is found.<sup>171</sup> To sum up, despite some remaining ambiguity and some conflicting records and confusion found in Tibetan sources, it appears that there is sufficient evidence to support the assumption that sNyel cor Prajñākīrti is Pu rangs lo chung, at least so long as no new evidence proving otherwise comes to light.

<sup>167</sup> Pu rangs lo chung's translation of the *Sekoddeśa* (*dBang mdor bstan pa*), called by him *dBang nyer bstan*, has not been transmitted in the mainstream *bKa' 'gyur* editions (cf. D361/P3), and seems not to have survived. It is, however, recorded in various sources. For more details, see below §2.1.1.

<sup>168</sup> See the *Deb sngon* (978.18–979.4): *dBang mdor bstan la 'Bro | Rwa | Man lung pa | sGra tshad pa Rin rgyal | dPang lo tsā ba | Yar klungs lo tsā ba rnam kyī 'gyur yod cing | Pu hrangs lo chung gis bsgyur ba la mtshan *dBang nyer bstan zer ro | | rDo rje snying po'i 'grel pa ni Cog gru ting 'dzin bzang po | gNyel cor Shes rab grags | Khyung po chos brtson | Yar klungs lo tsā ba | dPang Blo gros brtan pa rnam kyis bsgyur ro | |*. For an English translation, see Roerich 1949: 838.*

<sup>169</sup> For this passage from the *Baidūrya g.ya' sel*, see below, note 213.

<sup>170</sup> See the *Dus 'khor lo rgyus* (67.21–24): *dBang mdor bstan la | 'Bro | Rā | Man lung pa | Lo grags pa | dPang lo | sGra tshad pa Rin rgyal rnam kyī 'gyur | Pu hrang lo chung gis bsgyur ba la mtshan *dBang nyer* [nyer em., mdor Text] *bstan zhes zer | rDo rje snying 'grel ni | Cog gru Ting 'dzin bzang po | gNyer cor Shes rab grags | Khyung po Chos brtson | Lo grags pa | dPang rnam kyis bsgyur to | |*.*

<sup>171</sup> See the *Dus 'khor bskyed rim rnam bshad* (13.18–14.4): *de nas rMa dGe ba'i blo gros | 'Bro lo tsā ba gNyel tser Shes rab grags | gNyan lo tsā ba Dar ma grags | Mang 'or Byang chub shes rab | 'A zha rGya gar brtsegs | Rwa lo tsā ba Chos rab | sTeng pa lo tsā [ba] Ga rong Tshul khriims 'byung gnas | Pu rang lo chung Grags 'byor shes rab | *grags pa'i ming gi mtha' can bzhi ni | Tsa mi Sangs rgyas grags | sPong zho gSal ba grags | Kher rgang 'Khor lo grags | lDing ri chos grags so | |*.*

**(E) Translations in Collaboration  
with Vajrapāṇi aka The Indian Pāṇi**

Kragh lists one work he believes to have been translated by 'Bro Shes rab grags pa in collaboration with Vajrapāṇi—known in Tibet as The Indian Pāṇi—which I would likewise suggest is a translation by Pu rangs lo chung.

(1) D2139/P4838. Jālaṃdhara's *dPal thugs rje chen po'i dbang bskur ba'i man ngag rab tu byed pa* (\*Śrīmahākāruṇikābhīṣekaprakaraṇopadeśa). Colo: *sPyan ras gzigs kyi rgyud padma zab pa dang | padma rgyal po'i dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur pa'i rab tu byed pa 'di | dpal Dzā landha ra pas mdzad pa'o | | mnga' bdag Mai tri pa'i phyag dpe las | rGya gar Phyag na'i zhal snga nas dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba Pradnyā kīrtis bsgyur zhing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o | |*. The work seems to have been missing in practically all earlier editions and catalogues, so that the only evidence we have is the colophons of the work as transmitted in the mainstream TG editions and the respective catalogue records. Since it is contained in both D and P TG editions, the work must have been admitted into the collection in one of the later editions that, on the one hand, was based on the Zh TG edition and, on the other hand, was included in the lines of transmission of both the D and P editions. To be noted, however, is that the records in the 5th-TK and D-TK differ in their formulation.<sup>172</sup> Of interest is perhaps also the information that the translation was done on the basis of a manuscript belonging to Maitrīpa. The information regarding the translation team can be summarized as follows: R-KC(Ø), U-TK(Ø), T-TK(Ø), BCh(Ø), Zh-TK(Ø), Ne-TK(Ø), Ng-TK(Ø), Gl-TK<sub>1</sub>(Ø); 5th-TK, D-TK, DP: The Indian Pāṇi, Prajñākīrti. Although the bibliographical evidence is scarce, we know that Vajrapāṇi is said to have been one of the teachers under whom Pu rangs lo chung studied, and as it seems that he, not 'Bro Shes rab grags, was the one to often go under the name Prajñākīrti, I suggest identifying the translator of the work under discussion as Pu rangs lo chung.

**(F) Translations in Collaboration with Kanakaśrī(mitra)**

Kragh lists one work as translated by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collabo-

<sup>172</sup> See the 5th-TK (98a8–b1): *Thugs rje chen po'i rgyud padma zab pa dang padma rgyal po'i dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba'i rab byed*<sup>[1]</sup> *Dza landha ras mdzad pa | rGya gar Phyag na dang | Pradnyā kīrti'i 'gyur |* <sup>[1]</sup> The vowel *e* is missing, apparently due to damage in the block; D-TK (383b2–3): *dPal thugs rje chen po'i dbang bskur ba'i man ngag gi rab tu byed ba zhes bya ba'am | Padma zab pa dang padma rgyal po gnyis kyi dbang chog sbyin sreg dpal Dzā landha ras mdzad pa | mnga' bdag Mai tri pa'i phyag dpe las rGya gar Phyag na'i zhal snga nas dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba Pradnyā kīrti'i 'gyur | |*

ration with Kanakaśrīmitra, which he believes to have been done at the beginning of his stay in Nepal, for he is still using the name Shes rab grags and not Prajñākīrti. As we shall see, the bibliographical information regarding the work in question is rather scanty, but the little evidence we have hints at Pu rangs lo tsā ba rather than 'Bro Shes rab grags.

(1) D3900/PØ; DØ/P5868. Jitāri's *bDe bar gshegs pa'i gzhung rnam par 'byed pa'i bshad pa* (*Sugatamatavibhaṅgabhāṣya*). Colo: **bDe bar gshegs pa'i gzhung rnam par 'byed pa'i bshad pa** | *byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la gcig tu gzhol ba'i slob dpon dGra las rgyal bas mdzad pa rdzogs so* | | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po Ka na ka shrī mi tra dang* | *bod kyi lo tsā ba ban de Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur cing zhus pa'o*<sup>173</sup> | | | |. This work is considered to be an autocommentary by Jitāri on his versified work *bDe bar gshegs pa'i gzhung rnam par 'byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa* (*Sugatamatavibhaṅgakārikā*), which was translated by Shākya 'od in collaboration with Śāntibhadra. As has already become clear from the respective catalogue numbers provided above, in the smaller TG editions the autocommentary is found in the dBu ma section (D3900), whereas in the larger editions it is found, notably, in the section of Newly Added [Translated Works] (P5868).<sup>174</sup> The basic text is found once in the dBu ma section (D3899/P5296), a second time as a duplicate in the *JoCh* (D4547/P5461), and in the larger TG editions a third time together with the autocommentary in the Newly Added [Translated Works] section (P5867). This state of affairs is a clear indication that the basic text and the autocommentary had a different history of transmission.

The *R-KC* seems to record both the basic texts and its autocommentary under Rr25.102 and Rr25.103: 'Dze ta ri'i *bDe gshegs*

<sup>173</sup> zhus pa'o] P, zhus te gtan la phab pa'o D

<sup>174</sup> Note that the Ötani catalogue labels several sections, from P5832 up until P5962, as Ngo mtshar. However, the Ngo mtshar section, which includes works by early Tibetan masters, starts from P5832 and ends with P5863 (i.e., the end of vol. Jo). As explicitly stated by the *5th-TK*, volumes Nyo (starting with P5864) to Bo (ending with P5915) contain the section Newly Added [Translated Works]. See the *5th-TK* (139a1): *da ni gsar bcug mdo dang rig gnas la sog pa'i bstan bcos sna tshogs kyi skor la* | ...; and *ibid.* (140b2–3): ... *gsar bcug mdo dang rig gnas la sog pa'i bstan bcos sna tshogs kyi skabs lnga pa'o* | | | |. The following section contains Newly Added Works by Early Tibetan Masters (P5916–P5923). See the *5th-TK* (140b3): *da ni gsar bcug bod snga rab pas mdzad pa'i bstan bcos kyi skor la* | ...; and *ibid.* (141a3): ... *gsar bcug bod snga rab pas mdzad pa'i bstan bcos kyi bskor te skabs drug pa'o* | | | |. The very last section contains the Dedications, Aspirational Prayers, and Maṅgala (P5924–P5962). See the *5th-TK* (141a3–4): *da ni las byas pa don yod par bya ba'i phyir* | *bsngo ba dang* | *smon lam dang* | *bkra shis kyi skor la* | ...; and *ibid.* (142a2): ... *thun mong du bsngo ba smon lam gyi skabs te bdun pa'o* | | | |. The equivalent section in the D TG edition, which goes under the header *sNa tshogs*, has similar subdivisions (or their contents), but they occasionally differ from the above described subsections in the P TG in terms of both the texts contained therein and their order.

*gzhung*<sup>175</sup> *gi nam par dbye ba che chung*,<sup>176</sup> where *chung* refers to the versified basic text and *che* to the autocommentary. The records are found there in the section listing works translated by 'Brom (= 'Bro) Seng dkar Shākya 'od. Both the *I-TK* and the *BCh* are somewhat ambiguous as to whether they are merely referring to one of the two works or to both of them, but like the *R-KC* they ascribe the translation(s) to Shākya 'od.<sup>177</sup> The record in the *Zh-TK* undoubtedly refers to the versified basic text, and makes no mention of the autocommentary (which is a sign that this was probably also the case with the *I-TK* and the *BCh*).<sup>178</sup> The *Ne-TK* and *Ng-TK* followed suit.<sup>179</sup> It appears that neither the basic text nor its autocommentary was included in the Glo bo (Mustang) TG edition, as testified to by the *GI-TK<sub>s</sub>* (Ngor chen's catalogue to its non-Tantric part). In contrast, however, the T TG edition, as is clear from its catalogue, contained both the basic text, with a translation ascription to Shākya 'od, and the autocommentary, with a translation ascription to Shes rab grags.<sup>180</sup> Unfortunately, the T versions remain inaccessible, so that the colophons cannot be examined for possibly additional information.

It is unknown when the autocommentary entered the mainstream TG editions. Nonetheless, the fact that in the larger editions it is included in the Newly Added [Translated Works] section (with a third duplicate of the basic text preceding it) may be a sign that the Fifth Dalai Lama edition was the first to include it, probably via the T TG edition. Its inclusion in the smaller TG editions in the dBu ma section (following the basic text) may well have been an editorial decision made by Zhu chen while editing the D TG edition. To be also noted is that whereas the records of both works in the *D-TK* tally with the respective colophons,<sup>181</sup> the records in the *5th-TK* refer to them collec-

<sup>175</sup> *gzhung*] *em.*, *bzhung* NR (as recorded by van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009)

<sup>176</sup> Note that, as reported by van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009 nn. 68 and 69, R omits *bde gshegs* and adds *gnyis dang* at the end of the phrase.

<sup>177</sup> See the *I-TK* (A, 43a1–2; B, 34a4 = *I<sub>JS</sub>921*) *slob dpon Dzai tā ris* [<sup>dGra las rgyal</sup>] *mdzad pa'i bDe gshegs gzhung gi rab dbye Shākya 'od kyi 'gyur* |; *BCh*: [Bc589] *slob dpon Dze ta ris mdzad pa'i gZhung gi rab byed Shākya 'od kyi 'gyur* |.

<sup>178</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (582.1): *bDe bar gshegs pa'i gzhung rnam par 'byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa slob dpon Dze ta ris mdzad pa | pañḍi ta Zhi ba bzang po dang | lo tsā ba Shākya 'od kyi 'gyur* |.

<sup>179</sup> See the *Ne-TK* (515.5); and the *Ng-TK* (130.20–21), which, however, does not mention a translator.

<sup>180</sup> See the *T-TK* (74b7–75a1): [T2167] *bDe gshegs gzhung gi rab dbye'i tshig le'ur byas pa shu lo ka bryad pa 'Dze ta ri dGra las rgyal bas mdzad pa Shākya 'od kyi 'gyur* | [T2168] *de'i rang 'grel Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur ba* |.

<sup>181</sup> See the *D-TK* (vol. 2: 438b4–6): *bDe bar gshegs pa'i gzhung rnam par 'byed pa'i tshig le'ur byas pa Bhangga lar 'khrungs pa'i mkhas pa chen po Dzai tā ri pas mdzad pa | pañḍi ta Shānti bha dra dang | lo tsā ba Shākya 'od kyi 'gyur* | *bDe bar gshegs pa'i gzhung rnam par 'byed pa'i bshad pa byang chub sems dpa'i spyod pa la gcig tu gzhol ba'i slob dpon dGra las rgyal bas mdzad pa | rgya gar gyi mkhas pa chen po Ka na ka shrī mi tra dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur* |.

tively as *rtsa bshad* and ascribe the translation of both to Shes rab grags in collaboration with Kanakaśrīmitra (i.e., in contradiction to the colophon of the basic text (P5867)).<sup>182</sup> The information regarding the translator of the autocommentary can be summarized as follows: R-KC: 'Bro Seng dkar Shākya 'od; U-TK(?) BCh(?): Shākya 'od(?); Zh-TK(Ø), Ne-TK(Ø), Ng-TK(Ø), Gl-TK<sub>s</sub>(Ø); T-TK, 5th-TK, D-TK, DP: Shes rab grags.

Now let us return to our main concern, the identity of this Shes rab grags. As we have seen, the sources provide us with very little evidence as to his exact identity. The only hint we have is that, as already pointed out, Pu rangs lo chung is known to have been a disciple of Kanakaśrī, who in turn is said to have mastered the Cakrasaṃvara doctrine, a topic that was probably among the main teachings Pu rangs lo chung (together with Mar pa do ba) received from him.<sup>183</sup> To the best of my knowledge, there is no evidence for such a master–disciple relationship between Kanakaśrī and 'Bro Shes rab grags. We have indeed no evidence that Pu rangs lo chung also studied Madhyamaka-related topics under Kanakaśrī, but we do know that he was involved in the translation of a minor work of Jitāri (§2.A.4) in collaboration with Sumatikīrti.

### (G) Revisions in Collaboration with Mar pa do ba Chos kyi dbang phyug

Kragh ascribes to 'Bro Shes rab grags one revision in collaboration with Mar pa do ba Chos kyi dbang phyug, namely, that of the *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*. This too, however, is a false ascription as the translator in question is undoubtedly Pu rangs lo chung.

(1) D368/P16. *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal bde mchog nyung ngu* (*Tantrarājaśrīlaghusaṃbara*). Colo: *dPal he ru ka'i nges par brjod pa zhes bya ba mnal 'byor ma chen mo'i rgyud kyi rgyal po las le'u lnga bcu rtsa*<sup>184</sup> *gcig pa rdzogs so | | grags pa yid 'ong rgyal mtshan mtho*<sup>185</sup> *ldan pa'i | | rin chen dang mtshungs Rin chen bzang po yis | | mkhas pa Padmā ka ra'i zhal sngar ni | | rig pa'i 'byung gnas kha che'i dpe las bsgyur*<sup>186</sup> *| | lhag pa'i tshul khrims dri yis bsgos gyur cing | | dri med bka' don 'thad pa dang bcas par | | rtogs*<sup>187</sup> *pa dang ldan grags pa'i zhal sngar ni | | sgra sgyur dge slong Pradnyā kīrti dang | | Mar pa sgra bsgyur Chos*

<sup>182</sup> See the 5th-TK (139a2–3): *bDe bar gshegs pa'i gzhung rnam par 'byed pa'i rtsa bshad | slob dpon dGra las rnam par rgyal bas mdzad pa paṇḍi ta Ka na ka shrī mi dra dang lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*.

<sup>183</sup> On Kanakaśrī, see Templeman 1995: 22–23; Lo Bue 1997: 652.

<sup>184</sup> rtsa] D, om. P

<sup>185</sup> mtho] D, mthong P

<sup>186</sup> bsgyur D, sgyur P

<sup>187</sup> rtogs D, rtog P

**kyi dbang phyug** *gis* | | *mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas Yul dbus dpe dang gtugs*<sup>188</sup> | |. Tr: Padmākara, Rin chen bzang po; R: Prajñākīrti, Chos kyi dbang phyug.

The *R-KC* clearly records a revision by the team Mar pa Chos kyi dbang phyugs and Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags. The *BCh* merely mentions Rin chen bzang po as the reviser.<sup>189</sup> Of particular interest are the colophons of the two versions found in the Phug brag KG edition. The first version (F437) is identified in its colophon as a translation by Rin chen bzang po in collaboration with Padmākara, which was later revised by Blo gros grags in collaboration with Sumatikīrti. The colophon then adds that the present volume (i.e., rGyud, vol. Nga (102)) contains a second version, which is a revision of the translation by Padmākara and Rin chen bzang po done by *paṇḍita* Prajñākīrti (obviously thought to be the collaborating Indian scholar) and Mar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug. It employs the verb *sgyur* also for the revision, appearing to imply a retranslation done on the basis of the earlier one. There is indeed an editorial remark that there are considerable differences between the two versions, both having felicitous and infelicitous formulations. As noted by Jampa Samten, this version is not transmitted in the mainstream KG editions. Colo: *rgya gar gyi mkhan po Pad ma kā ra bar ma dang* | *zhu chen gyi lo tstsha ba ban de Rin chen bzang pos bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab bo* | | *slad kyi pan ti ta chen po Su ma ti ka ri ti dang* | *lo tstsha ba ban de Blo gros grags kyis zhus te gtan la phab pa'o* | | *po ti 'dir* | *'gyur 'di dang lo chen Rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur la pan tri ta Prad dznyā kirti dang* | *Mar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug gis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa dang* | *'dir bris pa'i 'gyur gnyis ka bris yod cing* | *don gcig nyid la tshig phan tshun brjod pa bde mi bde ba'i khyad par snang ngo* | |.

The second version (F438) is, as noted by Jampa Samten, the one transmitted in the mainstream KG editions. Its colophon is similar to those of the DP versions, and it contains in addition an editorial remark similar to one found in the colophon of F437, the main difference being a specification of the reviser of the first version as Ma (= Mal) lo Blo gros grags (11th cent.; BDRC: P3088). Colo: [...as in DP...] *po ti 'dir* | *lo chen Rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur la* | *Ma lo Blo gros grags kyis zhus te gtan la phab pa dang* | *'dir bris pa'i 'gyur gnyis ka bris yod cing* | *don gcig la* | *tshig phan tshun brjod pa bde mi bde'i khyad par snang ngo* | |.

The identification of our Prajñākīrti as Pu rangs lo chung is certain. In addition to the fact that he is known to have intensively engaged with the Cakrasaṃvara literature and teachings, he is known

<sup>188</sup> gtugs D, btugs P

<sup>189</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr27.100] *rtsa rgyud kyi 'gyur bcos* | | (*rtsa rgyud* refers to *bDe mchog* mentioned in the previous record); *BCh*: [Bc1477] *bDe mchog rtsa rgyud Rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur* | |.



to have worked with Mar pa do ba extensively. Moreover, the *R-KC* unmistakably ascribes to the duo the revision of the *Cakrasaṃvara*. Additional evidence is provided by Ngor chen, who names Pu rangs lo chung in this very context as Grags 'byor shes rab. Interesting is also his specification of the manuscript used by the duo for the revision as belonging to Nāropa.<sup>190</sup>

(2) There appear to have been numerous translations and revisions jointly done by Mar pa do ba and Pu rangs lo chung, the latter having been at the beginning of his career an assistant of the former. Most of these joint translations seems to have been lost. It is possible, however, that the name of the mere assistant Pu rangs lo chung was omitted from the colophons. The list of their joint translations provided by the *R-KC* will be discussed below (§2.I.2).

### (H) Translations Transmitted Only in the Tshal pa TG

There are five works recorded in the *T-TK* that are of interest for the present investigation concerning the translation activities of the translators under discussion. These works were either not transmitted at all in the mainstream TG editions or were transmitted therein with a different translation ascription, and these I shall briefly discuss here as well for the sake of completeness. Of these five, two translations are ascribed to Shes rab grags and will be discussed below under the section dealing with the translations of 'Bro Shes rab grags (§4.E.1 & §4.G.2). The remaining three translations, which are recorded successively in the *T-TK*, all deal with “cardinal transgressions” (*rtsa ba'i ltung ba; mūlāpatti*) or “gross transgressions” (*sbom po'i ltung ba; sthūlāpatti*), are ascribed to Prajñākīrti, who I suggest is Pu rangs lo chung.

- (1) *T-TK* (67a7): [T1970] *rDo rje theg pa'i rtsa ba'i ltung pa'i dka' 'grel Pra dznya kir ti'i 'gyur* |
- (2) *T-TK* (67a7–b1): [T1971] *rTsa ba'i ltung pa dang sbom po gnyis ka'i mtshan nyid Pra dznya kir ti'i 'gyur* |
- (3) *T-TK* (67b1): [T1972] *lTung pa sbom po rTa dbyangs kyis mdzad pa Pra dznya kir ti'i 'gyur* |.

The *U-TK* appears to record merely the first and the second of these, with what seems to be an authorship ascription to Aśvagoṣa, but

<sup>190</sup> See the *mKhan chen gyi rang myong rtogs brjod* (184.10–14): *bDe mchog rtsa rgyud 'bum pa chen po las btus pa rtsa ba'i rgyud bDe mchog nyung ngu'i rgyud du grags pa le'u lnga bcu rtsa gcig pa | pañdi ta Padmā ka ra dang lo tsā ba Rin chen bzang po'i 'gyur | phyis lo tsā ba Grags 'byor shes rab dang | Mar pa do pa Chos kyi dbang phyug gis bla ma Nā ro pa'i phyag dpe la gtugs nas dag par bcos pa gnyis* |.

with no translation ascription.<sup>191</sup> The *BCh* records the same two titles with neither an authorship nor translation ascription, whereas the *Zh-TK* names Aśvaghōṣa as the author of both, but still with no specification of the translator.<sup>192</sup> The *R-KC*, notably, has among the translations of Pu rangs lo chung one relevant entry, namely, Rr27.119: *sBom po'i ltung ba dang* | |. It is, however, not entirely clear whether this entry refers to one single work (perhaps equivalent to the third title) or is rather a collective description for several works on the topic. Regrettably, I have not been able to gain access to the respective three works in the T TG, and thus an examination of the texts has not been possible. Nonetheless, based on the parallel records in the *U-TK*, *BCh*, and *Zh-TK*, an identification of the first and the third seems rather certain. The first record (T1970) corresponds to D2478/P3303, namely, Aśvaghōṣa's *rDo rje theg pa rtsa ba'i ltung ba bsdus pa* (*Vajrayānamūlāpattisaṃgraha*), which has no translation colophon, and the third record (T1972) to D2479/P3304, namely, Aśvaghōṣa's *lTung ba sbom po* (*Sthūlāpatti*), which has likewise no translation colophon. Whether the DP versions contain the same translations as those transmitted in the T TG edition remains unclear. Unfortunately, I am not able to make any informed suggestion for the second record (T1971). Since no examination of the T colophons has been possible, the identity of the collaborating *paṇḍita* remains unknown. Nonetheless, apart from the fact that, as we have by now seen numerous times, the name Prajñākīrti nearly always refers to Pu rangs lo chung, the record in the *R-KC* also supports an identification of the Prajñākīrti in question as Pu rangs lo chung.

### (I) Lost Translations

Several other translations that are ascribed to Pu rangs lo chung in the Tibetan literature appear to have been lost, and I shall briefly mention them here for the sake of completeness.

(1) We have thus far discussed four of the five titles recorded in the *R-KC* as translations by Pu rangs lo chung (i.e., Rr27.117–Rr27.121; Rig ral, however, signals that his list is not exhaustive with the phrase *la sogs pa*). The record still missing is the one concerning his translation of the *Sekoddeśa* (*dBang mdor bstan pa*; D361/P3), listed under Rr27.118: *dBang nyer bstan dang* | |, which is probably the

<sup>191</sup> See the *U-TK* (A, 32b4–5; B, 26a3–4); [I<sub>js</sub>686] *slob dpon rTa dbyangs* <sup>[A shwa gho sha]</sup> *la sogs pas mdzad par grags pa'i* [...] [I<sub>js</sub>687] *rTsa ba'i ltung ba bsdus pa* | [I<sub>js</sub>688] *lTung ba sbom po* | [...].

<sup>192</sup> See the *BCh*: [Bc2835] *rTsa ba'i ltung ba bsdus pa* | [Bc2836] *lTung ba sbom po* |; *Zh-TK* (505.4–5): *rDo rje theg pa'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba bsdus pa dang* | *lTung ba sbom po bsdus pa gnyis slob dpon rTa dbyangs kyis mdzad pa* |.

most important among his lost translations. The translation of the *Sekoddeśa* that has been transmitted in the mainstream KG editions is the one by 'Bro Shes rab grags, which will be discussed below. Here, I should perhaps draw attention again to Pu rangs lo chung's peculiar translation of the title, *dBang nyer bstan*, which is often pointed out in traditional literature.<sup>193</sup>

(2) The R-KC lists twelve items under the heading "Translations by Mar pa do ba Chos kyi dbang phyug and Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags" (i.e., Rr27.99–Rr27.111,<sup>194</sup> whereas here, too, the list is not exhaustive, as made clear again by the phrase *la sogs pa* in item no. 4 and by the phrase in item no. 12, which reads "numerous small doctrinal works of the *yab* and *yum* categories of the *Cakrasamvara*"). It is, however, unclear whether these are translations jointly done by the two or whether each of them was responsible for independently translating these texts on his own, or whether the list is a mixture of both:

*de dag dang dus mnyam par* | **Mar pa chos kyi dbang phyug dang** | **Pu rangs lo chung Shes rab grags** *gnyis rim pa bzhin dpon slob yin te* | *de gnyis kyiis*

- (1) Rr27.99: *bDe mchog rdo rje mkha' 'gro'i 'grel pa dang* | | [= D?/P?].
- (2) Rr27.100: *rTsa rgyud kyi 'gyur bcos* | | [= D368/P16; Tr: Rin chen bzang po, Padmākara; R: Prajñākīrti, Chos kyi dbang phyug (see §2.G.1)].
- (3) Rr27.101: **Lu'i pa'a dang** | | [= D1443/P2160 & D1444/P2161; Tr: Chos kyi dbang phyug, Sumatikīrti].
- (4) Rr27.102: **mTsho bskyes** *la sogs pa'i sGrub thabs dang* | | [= D?/P?].
- (5) Rr27.103: **Nag po spyod pa ba'i bDe mchog gi bskyed rim dang** | | [= D1445/P2162; Tr∅].
- (6) Rr27.104: **dKyil chog**<sup>195</sup> *dang* | | [= (1) D1446/P2163; Tr: Rin chen bzang po, Buddhaśrīśānti, R: lHa btsas, Gayadhara.; (2) dupl. D∅/P2164]; Tr: Rin chen bzang po, Dharmasrībhadrā, R: Chos kyi dbang phyug, Sumatikīrti].

<sup>193</sup> See, for example, the passage from the *Blue Annals* cited above under note 168.

<sup>194</sup> Note that the assignment of a catalogue number (Rr27.109) to the descriptor *Nag po'i chos drug dang* is erroneous, for it merely offers a collective designation for the six titles just recorded (i.e., Rr27.103–Rr27.108). This is also supported syntactically by the preceding semi-final particle, and hence my counting of merely twelve items. This descriptor is also found at the end of the list of these six works in other catalogues, including for example the *Zh-TK* (429.1–2), and hence my identification of the six works in question as D1445–D1451.

<sup>195</sup> *chog*] *em.*, *mchog* Text

- (7) Rr27.105: *sByin bsreg dang* | | [= D1447/P2165; Tr: Rig pa gzhon nu, Dharmabhadra; T0373: Tr: Chos kyi dbang phyug, Vāgīśvarakīrti<sup>196</sup>].
- (8) Rr27.106: *rDzogs rim dbyid kyi thig le dang* | | [= D1448/P2166; Tr: Chos kyi dbang phyug, Sumatikīrti].
- (9) Rr27.107: *gSang ba'i de nyid gsal ba dang* | | [= D1450/P2167; Tr: lHa btsas, Gayadhara, R: Chos kyi dbang phyug, Sumatikīrti].<sup>197</sup>
- (10) Rr27.108: *Rim pa bzhi pa ste* | | [= D1451/P2168; Tr: Grags pa shes rab, Sumatikīrti (see §2.A.8)].
- Rr27.109: *Nag po'i chos drug* (= Rr27.103–Rr27.108) *dang* | | (see note 194).
- (11) Rr27.110: *Byang chub sems 'grel dang* | | [= D1800/P2665; dupl. D4556/P5470 (*JoCh*); on which, see the following discussion].
- (12) Rr27.111: *bDe mchog yab yum gyi chos phran mang po dang* | | [= various].

Of the above twelve items, merely two (nos. 2 & 10) were transmitted with a translation or revision ascription to Pu rangs lo chung, both of which have been discussed above. Item no. 11, Nāgārjuna's (ascribed) *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (*Byang chub kyi sems kyi rnam par bshad pa*), is an interesting case, for it was transmitted as a conflation of various translations including one by Pu rangs lo chung. The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* is found in the TG twice, one time in the rGyud 'grel section (D1800/P2665) and another within the *JoCh* (D4556/P5470). The colophons of D1800/P2665 read as follows: *Byang chub sems kyi 'grel pa slob dpon bdag nyid chen po 'phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so* | | | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po Gu ṅa a ka ra dang* | *lo tsā ba Rab zhi bshes ngyen gyis bsgyur cing zhus* | *slad kyi rgya gar gyi mkhan po Ka na ka warma dang* | *bod kyi lo tsā ba Pa tshab Nyi ma grags kyis bcos pa'o* | | ; Tr: Rab zhi bshes ngyen, Guṅākara; R: Pa tshab Nyi ma grags, Kanakavarman. The colophon of the *JoCh* duplicate found in the P

<sup>196</sup> T0373 is found in section II, Ji(38), 226a5–232b4.

<sup>197</sup> Note that at the end of his commentary on Kṛṣṇapāda's *Guhyatattoaprakāśa* (*gSang ba'i de nyid gsal ba*), Tāranātha, after citing the translation colophon, comments that although there were many revisers to the translation by 'Gos Khug pa lha btsas and Gayadhara, including among others Grags 'byor shes rab, obviously referring to our Pu rangs lo chung, their revisions do not seem to greatly differ from 'Gos's translation, but that there seems to be a big difference between the first translation by 'Brog mi and the one by 'Gos and its revisions. See the *gSang ba'i de kho na nyid rab tu gsal ba'i 'grel pa* (357.3–8): *'di la lo tsā ba Shes rab brtsegs dang* | *Rwa lo rDo rje grags pa dang* | *Mal gyo Blo gros grags pa dang* | *rje btsun Grags 'byor shes rab la sogs pa* | *'Gos 'gyur la 'gyur bcos mdzad pa po mi 'dra ba byung* [byung em., ma byung Text] *yang* | *'Gos 'gyur nyid las 'gyur khyad cher mi snang la* | *gzhung de thog mar bsgyur ba po 'Brog mi'i 'gyur dang* | *'Gos sogs kyi 'gyur gzhan rnam la 'gyur khyad cher snang ngo* | | .

TG (P5470)<sup>198</sup> reads as follows: *Byang chub sems kyi nmam par bshad pa slob dpon 'phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so | | | | chos 'di mdzad pa po che ba dang | brjod bya bzang ba dang | rjod byed dbyings su gyur pa'i stobs kyis rtsal phyung zhing bsgyur ba mang du snang ba las lo tsā ba Rab zhi Chos kyi bshes gnyen gyi la gzhi byas te | Gu rub<sup>199</sup> Chos kyi shes rab dang | Seng dkar Shākya 'od dang | Shes rab grags dang | Mar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug dang | Pa tshab Nyi ma grags dang | Mang nad Grags 'byor shes rab kyis 'gyur bdun las | don gang bzang ba rnam bris pa yin no | |*. This version is stated by the colophon as being a conflation of seven translations, namely, ones by Rab zhi Chos kyi bshes gnyen, Gu rub Chos kyi shes rab, Seng dkar Shākya 'od, Shes rab grags, Mar pa Chos kyi dbang phyug, Pa tshab Nyi ma grags, and Mang nang<sup>200</sup> Grags 'byor shes rab, whereas the one by Rab zhi Chos kyi bshes gnyen was taken as the basis, whatever readings that made “good sense” (*don bzang ba*) in the other translations being adopted. It is notable that the colophon counts Pu rangs lo chung's and Mar pa do ba's as two translations rather than one done jointly. The *R-KC* also records all other five translations mentioned in the colophon of the *JoCh* duplicate, namely, by Rab zhi bshes gnyen (Rr23.53), Gu rub Chos kyi shes rab (Rr25.83), Seng dkar Shākya 'od (Rr25.111), Ma snang Grags 'byor shes rab (Rr25.118), and Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (Rr28.6).<sup>201</sup> The *U-TK* merely records one translation and names both Rab zhi bshes gnyen and Pa tshab as the translators, which means, according to the *U-TK* convention, that the former is the translator and the latter a reviser. The *T-TK* likewise records only one translation, with a translation ascription to Rab zhi bshes gnyen and a revision by Pa tshab. The *T* colophon, though, only names Rab zhi bshes gnyen. A thorough comparison of the text would be needed to determine whether it differs from D1800/P2665. The *BCh* ascribes the translation to Pa tshab alone, whereas the pertinent *Zh-TK* has a record similar to the colophons of D1800/P2665, ascribing the translation to Rab zhi bshes gnyen and the revision to Pa tshab, and this is followed by the *5th-TK* and *D-TK*. The records for the *JoCh* duplicate (D4556/P5470) in both the *Zh-TK* and *5th-TK* tally with the pertinent *P* colophon just cited, presenting it as a conflation of the above-mentioned seven translations. The *D-TK* has no

<sup>198</sup> I was not able to view the colophon of D4556 before the paper went to the press, but it is expected to read like that of its counterpart P5470.

<sup>199</sup> rub] *em.*, rug P

<sup>200</sup> For variants of the attribute Ma snang, see below (§2.J).

<sup>201</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr23.53] *Byang chub sems 'grel la sogs pa'ang bsgyur ro | |*; [Rr25.83] *Klu sgrub kyi<sup>[1]</sup> Byang chub sems 'grel | |*; [Rr25.111] *Klu sgrub kyi<sup>[1]</sup> Byang chub sems 'grel dang | |*; [Rr25.118] *Klu sgrub kyi<sup>[1]</sup> Byang chub sems 'grel | |*; [Rr28.6] *Byang chub sems 'grel dang | |* <sup>[1]</sup> Text reads *gyi*.

records for the *JoCh*.<sup>202</sup> To sum up, although Pu rangs lo chung's translation is said to have flowed into the version transmitted within the *JoCh* (if unclear to what extent), his actual translation seems to have been lost (as have the other reported independent translations; the T version is yet to be examined in this regard).

### (J) Possible Confusion with Ma nang Grags 'byor shes rab

In conclusion of this section, I would also like to briefly refer to another translator who likewise shares Pu rangs lo chung's name and with whom it appears that there has occasionally been a confusion in Tibetan literature, namely, Ma nang Grags 'byor shes rab. (Note that the attribute to his name has several variants, including Ma nang, Mang snang, Mang sna, Ma snang, Mang nad, among other variants.) As such, there should not have been much ground for confusion between the two, for Ma nang Grags 'byor shes rab mostly translated Madhyamaka- and Pramāṇa-related works, and his intellectual milieu (i.e., comprising both collaborating *paṇḍitas* and Tibetan colleagues) was palpably different. Indeed, given that he served as an assistant translator for Rin chen bzang po (958–1055; BDRC: P753), his floruit must have been earlier (at least half a century, if not more) than that of Pu rangs lo chung, who was Mar pa do ba's (1042–1136) assistant. Nonetheless, the fact that he shares Pu rangs lo chung's name and probably also the fact that, having served as an assistant translator for Rin chen bzang po, he was also referred to as *lo chung*, have been sufficient reasons for occasional confusion even among renowned scholars like Bu ston, as the following passage from the *BCh* demonstrates:<sup>203</sup>

*de'i* (i.e., Rin chen bzang po'i) **Lo chung Grags 'byor shes rab**  
*kyis kyang bDe mchog dang Phag mo dang Tshad ma la sogs pa*  
*bsgyur zhing mkha' spyod du gshegs so | | .*

Any description of Ma snang Grags 'byor shes rab as one who was an assistant translator for Rin chen bzang po along with being a transla-

<sup>202</sup> See the *ITK* (A, 17a5; B, 13a2–3 = *I*<sub>JS</sub>280): *Byang chub sems kyi 'grel pa tshigs bcad ma Rab zhi bshes gnyen dang Pa tshab*<sup>202</sup> *kyi 'gyur |*; *T-TK* (10b1–2): [T0126] *Byang chub sems 'grel Klu grub kyis mdzad pa Rab zhi bshes gnyen gyis bsgyur zhing Nyi ma grags kyis gtan la phab pa |*. T0126 is found in section II, Ta(10), 228a1–234a3. Colo: *Byang chub sems kyi 'grel pa | | slob dpon bdag [bdag em.; dbag Ms (pc!)] nyid chen po 'phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa | | rdzogs s.ho | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po 'Gu na a ka ra shri bha tra dang | lo tsha ba Rab zhi bshes gnyen gyis bsgyur cing zhus | |*; *BCh*: [Bc1986] *Byang chub sems kyi 'grel pa tshigs bcad ma Pa tshab kyi 'gyur |*; *Zh-TK* (464.4–5); *5th-TK* (37b5–6); *D-TK* (vol. 2: 370a3–4); dupl. *Zh-TK* (595.4–6); *5th-TK* (120a2–4); *D-TK* (∅).

<sup>203</sup> See the *BCh* (202.6–7).

tor of Pramāṇa-related works represents a proper identification. Any mention of him as a translator of works related to Cakrasaṃvara and Vārāhī clearly signals that he is being confused with Pu rangs lo chung. Further confusion may have been caused by the fact that in many of the colophons the translator is simply called Grags 'byor shes rab, that is, without the attribute Ma snang. In order to eliminate any doubts, I shall provide below a tentative list of the works whose translation or revision is ascribed to Ma snang Grags 'byor shes rab. I shall confine the list to such works as are found in the DP TG editions, without, that is, further discussing or consulting other sources. In some cases, a further investigation indeed appears necessary, but this will be undertaken elsewhere (Almogi forthcoming-b). For a better orientation, I shall group the works according to the collaborating *paṇḍita*, and also specify the section they belong to.

- (I) Translations and Revisions by Ma snang Grags 'byor shes rab in Collaboration with Ānanda
- (i) D3826/P5226 (dBu ma). Nāgārjuna's *Zhib mo rnam par 'thag pa zhes bya ba'i mdo* (*Vaidalyasūtra*).
  - (ii) D3834/P5234 (dBu ma). Nāgārjuna's *Yi ge brgya pa* (*Akṣaraśā-taka*). Revision. No colophon, but see the pertinent record in the *Zh-TK*.<sup>204</sup>
  - (iii) D3835/P5235 (dBu ma). Nāgārjuna's *Yi ge brgya pa zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa* (*Akṣaraśātakavṛtti*). Revision.
  - (iv) D3838/P5238 (dBu ma). Nāgārjuna's *Ma rtogs pa rtogs par byed pa zhes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa* (*Abodhabodhakaprakaraṇa*).
  - (v) D4551/P5465 (JoCh). Nāgārjuna's *Theg pa chen po nyi shu pa* (*Mahāyānaviṃśaka*). Cf. D3833/P5233 (dBu ma); Tr: Shākya 'od, Candrakumāra.

Note that the Tōhoku catalogue names this team as being also responsible for the translation of D3837, but this must be based on the *D-TK*, which adds the plural *rnam*s to the record of D3838, which, being missing in the respective record of the *Zh-TK*, seems erroneous.<sup>205</sup>

<sup>204</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (576.4–5): [= D3834] *dBu ma yi ge brgya pa 'phags pa Klu sgrub kyis*<sup>[1]</sup> *mdzad pa dang* | [= D3835] *de'i Rang 'grel gnyis* | *gZhon nu shes rab kyis bsg-yur ba la* | *paṇḍi ta Ā nanta dang* | *lo tsā ba Grags 'byor shes rab kyis bcos pa* | <sup>[1]</sup> The vowel *i* is missing, apparently due to damage in the block.

<sup>205</sup> See the *D-TK* (435a2–3): [D3836; dupl. D4553 (JoCh)] *rTen cing 'brel par 'byung ba'i snying po'i tshig le'ur byas pa* | [D3837; dupl. D4554 (JoCh)] *rTen cing 'brel par 'byung ba'i snying po'i rnam par bshad pa* | [D3838] *Ma rtogs pa rtogs par byed pa zhes bya ba'i rab tu byed pa rnam*s slob dpon 'phags pa *Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa* | *paṇḍi ta Ā nanda dang* | *lo tsā ba Grags 'byor shes rab kyi 'gyur* | . Cf. the *Zh-TK* (576.5–6), which does not have *rnam*s. The plural *rnam*s in the *D-TK* actually also refers to D3836, for which the Tōhoku catalogue does not record any

- (II) Translations by Ma snang Grags 'byor shes rab in Collaboration with Śrīratha
- (i) D4160/P5660 (sPring yig); dupl. D4555/P5469 (JoCh). Nāgārjuna's *rMi lam yid bzhin nor bu'i gtam* (*Svapnacintāmaṇiparikathā*).
  - (ii) D4161/P5661 (sPring yig). Nāgārjuna's *sByin pa'i gtam* (*Dānaparikathā*); no colophon, but see the record in the Zh-TK.<sup>206</sup>
  - (iii) D4162/P5662 (sPring yig); dupl. D4558/P5472 (JoCh). Nāgārjuna's *Srid pa las 'das pa'i gtam* (*Bhavasamkrāntiparikathā*). Cf. D3840/P5240 (dBu ma); different translation, no colophon.
- (III) Translations by Ma snang Grags 'byor shes rab in Collaboration with Vināyaka
- (i) D4174/P5674 (sPring yig). Rāmendra's *Mi rtag pa'i don gyi gtam* (*Anityārthaparikathā*).
  - (ii) D4254/P5752 (Tshad ma). Muktākalaśa's *sKad cig ma 'jig pa grub pa'i rnam par 'grel pa* (*Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhivivaraṇa*).
- (IV) Translations by Ma snang Grags 'byor shes rab in Collaboration with Devendrabhadra
- (i) D4267/P5765 (Tshad ma). Kamalaśīla's *De kho na nyid bsdu pa'i dka' 'grel* (*Tattvasaṃgrahaṇāṅjikā*).
- (V) Lost Translations by Ma snang Grags 'byor shes rab
- (i) Cf. D1800/P2665 (rGyud 'grel); dupl. D4556/P5470 (JoCh). Nāgārjuna's (ascribed) *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*. See above (§2.I.2).

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translators. The Ōtani catalogue does not record a translator for P5236 either, but does record Ye shes sde, Dānaśīla, Jinamitra, and Śilendrabodhi as the translators of P5237. Indeed, both D3836/P5236 and D3837/P5237 are Ancient Translations recorded in both the *IDan/IDhan dkar ma* and *'Phang thang ma*. See L596A/K548 and L596B/K549, respectively. However, both D3836/P5236 and D3837/P5237 should be compared with their respective duplicates (D4553/P5467 and D4554/P5468) found in the *JoCh*, which commonly contains New Translations, in order to exclude that they are identical. If it turns out that they are identical, the ascription to Ma snang Grags 'byor shes rab might be correct (i.e., at least as one responsible for a revision if not for a new translation). To be noted is that according to the pertinent records in the *T-TK*, the T edition has contained the Ancient Translation. See the *T-TK* (73b3–4): [T2125 & T2126] *dBu ma rten 'brel snying po rtsa 'grel Klu grub kyis mdzad pa Ye shes sde la sogs pa'i 'gyur* |. Unfortunately, the T version could not be accessed, so that a comparison of it with the DP versions has not been possible.

<sup>206</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (616.4–5): [= D4161] *sByin pa'i gtam 'phags pa Klu sgrub gyis mdzad pa dang* | [= D4162] *Srid pa las 'das pa'i gtam slob dpon 'phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa | paṅḍi ta Shri ra tha dang | lo tsā ba Grags 'byor shes rab kyi 'gyur* |.



### 3. Translations by 'Bro lo tsā ba \*Dharmābhi

Kragh lists two works as solo translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags, namely, D2121/P2972 and D1452/P2169. The identity of the translator of the latter will be discussed below under 'Bro Shes rab grags (§4.F.1), but that of the former Kragh undoubtedly confused with another translator of the 'Bro clan, one with the unusual name \*Dharmābhi (/ \*Dharmapa). D2121/P2972 is the last of a group of thirteen/fourteen works found in the section of “the *Nāmasaṅgīti* according to the Yoganiruttaratantra system” (*mTshan yang dag par brjod pa rNal 'byor bla med kyi lugs*); their authorship is ascribed by cataloguers to Saṃvarabhadrā, and their translation to 'Bro lo tsā ba \*Dharmābhi. Not much is known about either Saṃvarabhadrā or 'Bro lo tsā ba \*Dharmābhi, and these works are the only ones in the TG that are associated with either of them. Saṃvarabhadrā is asserted by some sources to be a disciple of Dārika and a teacher of \*Adhīśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna. Padma dkar po (1527–1592; BDR: P825), for example, in his Records of Teachings Received, within the section on “records of teachings received concerning various works of the cycle relating to *siddhis* associated with Cakrasaṃvara, one of the five *sādhana* cycles of the glorious 'Brug pa school” (*dpal 'brug pa'i sgrub thabs skor lnga las bde mchog dngos grub kyi skor kyi yig sna'i gsan yig*)—refers to the “Jo bo tradition” as based on works composed by \*Adhīśa, who studied the topics treated in it under the Brahmin Saṃvarabhadrā, who in turn was a disciple of Dārika.<sup>207</sup> The Fifth Dalai Lama, in his Records of Teachings Received, presents the same relationship between the three in the context of another lineage.<sup>208</sup> Of greater significance to our discussion is another lineage recorded by the Fifth Dalai Lama, namely, that of “special instructions recorded by the *rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma rlung gi 'khor lo,*” which he states came down from Saṃvarabhadrā to 'Bro lo tsā ba Shes rab grags. The numerous works listed there are yet to be identified, but of most relevance for our discussion, apart from the fact that the teachings came down from Saṃvarabhadrā, is the phrase towards the end of the list: “[works] ending with 'translated by 'Bro lo'” (**'Bro los bsgyur ba'i mtha' can**), which, as we shall see below, is indeed how the last in the above-mentioned list of thirteen/fourteen works (i.e., D2121/P2972) ends.<sup>209</sup>

<sup>207</sup> See the *Pad dkar gsan yig* (314.2–3): **Jo bo A ti shas mdzad pa'i gzhung | des Dha ri ka'i slob ma bram ze sDom pa bzang po la gsan pa Jo bo lugs |**. See also TPNI, s.v.

<sup>208</sup> See the *lNga pa chen po'i thob yig* (vol. 1: 251.10–14) **bka' babs brgyad pa sbal spang sna lugs kyi brgyud pa ni | [...] Dha ri ka pa | bram ze sDom pa bzang po | Jo bo rje A ti sha | de la lo chen Rin cen bzang po dang Nag tsho lo tsā ba gnyis kyiis gsan |**....

<sup>209</sup> See the *lNga pa chen po'i thob yig* (vol. 2: 326.14–327.21) **rdo rje mkha' 'gro ma rlung gi 'khor lo'i man ngag khyad par can bram ze sDom pa bzang po nas 'Bro lo tsā ba Shes rab grags la bka' babs pa'i gdams skor la | [...] dang bcas pa 'Bro los bsgyur ba'i**

Not all works in question have colophons naming Saṃvarabhadra as the author and 'Bro lo tsā ba \*Dharmābhi as the translator. As can be seen in the list provided below, eight of them have an authorship colophon naming Saṃvarabhadra as the author (nos. 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13), three have no authorship colophon but connect the work to Saṃvarabhadra (nos. 1, 2, 6), and the remaining three have no authorship colophon (nos. 5, 7, 14). Similarly, four have a translation colophon naming \*Dharmābhi (nos. 1, 2, 6, 8), one a translation colophon naming 'Bro lo tsā ba, that is, without specifying his personal name (no. 14), and eight have no translation colophon (nos. 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13):

- (1) D2108/P2959. *'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa'i sgrub thabs* (Āryamañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītisādhana); author colophon: X (sDom pa bzang po'i *thugs dam*); translation colophon: ✓ ('Bro lo tsā ba Dar ma bhi).
- (2) D2109/P2960. *'Jam dpal khro bo'i sgrub thabs* (Mañjuśrīkrodhasādhana); author colophon: X (sDom pa bzang po'i *thugs dam*); translation colophon: ✓ (P: Bla ma lo tsā ba Dar ma (D: Dharmā bhi).
- (3) D2110/P2961. *rGyud kyi rgyal po 'jam dpal gyi dkyil 'khor gyi cho ga* (\*Mañjuśrītantrarājamaṇḍalavidhi); authorship colophon: ✓; translation colophon: X.
- (4) D2111/P2962. *sKyabs 'gro sems bskyed dbang bzhi'i gdams pa* (\*Śāraṇagatacittotpādacatuḥsekāvavāda); authorship colophon: ✓; translation colophon: X.
- (5) D2112/P2963. *rDo rje glu'i gdams ngag* (\*Vajragītāvavāda); authorship colophon: X; translation colophon: X.
- (6) D2113/P2964. *Khrus kyi cho ga* (\*Snānavidhi); author colophon X (sDom pa bzang po'i *lugs*); translation colophon: ✓ ('Bro lo tsā ba Dharmā bhi).
- (7) D2114/P2965. *gTor ma'i cho ga* (\*Balividhi); authorship colophon: X; translation colophon: X.
- (8) D2115/P2966. *bDun tshigs kyi cho ga* (\*Saptaparvavidhi); authorship colophon: ✓; translation colophon: ✓ ('Bro lo tsā ba Dharmā bhi).
- (9) D2116/P2967. *Ro sreg pa'i cho ga* (\*Śmaśānavidhi); authorship colophon: ✓; translation colophon: X.

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*mtha' can* | 'Khor lo btsugs nas dngos grub myur du bskul ba dang bcas pa rnams kyi phyag len zhal shes dmar 'khrid du thob pa'i brgyud pa ni | [...] 'phags pa **Klu sgrub snying po** | bram ze sDom pa bzang po | 'Bro lo tsā ba Shes rab grags | ....

- (10) D2117/P2968. *Tsha tsha gdab pa'i rim pa* (\**Sācchanirovapaṇakrama*); authorship colophon: ✓; translation colophon: X.
- (11) D2118/P2969. *Rab tu gnas pa'i cho ga* (\**Pratiṣṭhāvidhi*); authorship colophon: ✓; translation colophon: X.
- (12) D2119/P2970. *sByin sreg gi cho ga* (\**Homavidhi*); authorship colophon: ✓; translation colophon: X.
- (13) D2120/P2971. *Thun mong gi dngos grub sgrub pa'i thabs kyi man ngag* (\**Sāmānyasiddhisādhanopadeśa*); authorship colophon: ✓; translation colophon: X.
- (14) D2121/P2972. *Bla ma'i maṅḍal yi dam gyi cho ga* (\**Gurumaṅḍalasamādānavidhi*); authorship colophon: X; translation colophon: ✓ ('Bro lo tsā ba).

To be noted is that the translation colophon of the last work is quite probably a collective colophon for the last six very short works (nos. 9–14), as can be expected when authored and/or translated by the same person. The same applies to the authorship colophon of the previous work (no. 13), which probably pertains to five works (nos. 9–13). This group of works is found in nearly none of the earlier catalogues (*R-KC*(Ø), *U-TK*(Ø), *T-TK*(Ø), *BCh*(Ø), *Gl-TK*<sub>7</sub>(Ø)). The first catalogue to record them is the *Zh-TK*, which merely lists thirteen works (i.e., omitting no. 3: D2110/P2961). The number thirteen is also explicitly written at the end of the list, so that a transmissional error is unlikely. What is particularly interesting is Bu ston's concluding comment, which states the following:<sup>210</sup>

... *bcu gsum po rnams ni | bram ze sDom pa bzang pos mdzad cing | 'Bro lo tsā ba Dharma pa'i 'gyur | 'di dag la the tshom za bar snang yang rgya gar mar byed kyi 'dug pas bris so | |*

... These thirteen [works] were composed by Saṃvarabhadra and translated by 'Bro lo tsā ba \*Dharmapa. Although there seem to be doubts in regard to these [works], [they are] considered [by others] to be Indian, and [I] have thus written [them down].

The reason for Bu ston's doubts is not entirely clear, but it appears that he questions either the authorship or the translation ascriptions (or both). This is in a way not surprising, since, as already pointed out, no other works or translations associated with either of the two have been transmitted in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. The *Ng-TK* reproduces the same list together with Bu ston's remark, the main difference being that whereas the *Zh-TK* calls the translator Dhar-

<sup>210</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (486.6–487.2, including the list).

mapa, the *Ng-TK* has Dharmā.<sup>211</sup> Both the *D-TK* and *5<sup>th</sup>-TK* list fourteen works (in line with the *D* and *P* editions, as listed above), but they reproduce the concluding remark from the *Zh-TK* which includes the number thirteen. And whereas the *5<sup>th</sup>-TK* calls the translator \*Dharmapa (spelt there Dharmma pa), and thus following the *Zh-TK*, the *D-TK* refers to him as \*Dharmābhi, following the colophons.<sup>212</sup>

Now, it has become clear that the 'Bro lo tsā ba in question is not 'Bro Shes rab grags. One could argue that \*Dharmābhi is an epithet used for him (which Kragh does not do); there seems, however, to be no evidence for this thus far. The only source that might be hinting in this direction is the passage from the Fifth Dalai Lama's Records of Teachings Received reported above. Although there is no certainty that it refers to the works under discussion here, it seems to indicate that the translation colophon(s) identify merely 'Bro lo as the translator, whereas the actual name "Shes rab grags" is supplemented by the author himself, which would be then a misidentification on his part. This question, however, requires an investigation of the lineage and the works transmitted therein, which goes beyond the scope of the present paper.

#### 4. Translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags

Finally, I shall briefly present and discuss the works whose translation was undertaken by 'Bro Shes rab grags, which was Kragh's actual concern. As is well known, 'Bro Shes rab grags was instrumental in the transmission of the Kālacakra teachings in Tibet as received by him from his Kashmiri teacher, Somanātha. The transmissions associated with him form a distinct tradition known as the 'Bro Tradition ('Bro lugs). I do not wish to discuss 'Bro Shes rab grags's contribution in this regard, but would nonetheless like to refer to a passage by sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho (1653–1705; BDRC: P421) found in his *Baidūrya g.ya' sel* (alluded to above). There, in discussing the transmission of the Kālacakra system in Tibet he provides lists of the translators involved in the translation of Kālacakra-related works. After reporting on the invitation of Somanātha to Tibet and the subsequent translation of the *Laghukālacakratantra* and the *Vimalaprabhā*, Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho lists the twenty-five Tibetan translators involved in the twenty-four translations that followed ('gyur 'og) these initial two translations, a list that includes, needless to say, 'Bro Shes rab grags. Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho continues with another list of some of the translators involved in other Kālacakra-related works

<sup>211</sup> See the *Ng-TK* (62.22–63.6).

<sup>212</sup> See the *D-TK* (vol. 2: 382b2–4) and the *5th-TK* (48a1–4).

(*dum bu gzhan*), among them, notably, Pu rangs lo chung and gNyel cor Shes rab grags, whom he clearly considers to be two different persons (on which issue, see above §2.D.4). He then concludes with a clarification regarding what is known as the 'Bro Tradition, stating that one should not mistakenly believe that this tradition started from the very first translations, for this designation only refers to the translations done during Somanātha's second visit.<sup>213</sup> The questions as to where 'Bro Shes rab grags learnt Sanskrit and during which visit of Somanātha he collaborated with him on which translations cannot be addressed within the framework of the present article. I wish nonetheless to merely point out that Kragh's conclusion, based on a passage from Bu ston's History of the Kālacakra he has (only partially) cited, that "[t]his passage may indicate that 'Bro Shes rab grags learnt the craft of translating Sanskrit in Tibet under Somanātha at this time, if the expression 'had become a translator' (*lo tstsha byas*) can be taken as carrying this implication and if it does not simply mean 'hired as a translator,'" is rather unfounded, for the expression *lo tsā ba byed pa* simply means "acting as a translator/interpreter" (usually for someone, in this passage for Somanātha) and not 'had become a translator' (*lo tstsha byas*) and certainly not "hired as a translator." With "at this time" Kragh is referring to Somanātha's first visit to Tibet, but again, that this was the time and occasion on which 'Bro Shes rab grags "learnt the craft of translating Sanskrit" is not necessarily a natural conclusion from this passage.<sup>214</sup> The passage, which is concerned with the translation of the *Vimalaprabhā*, will be briefly readdressed below (see §4.A.3).

### (A) Translations in Collaboration with Somanātha

Kragh identifies ten works translated by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with Somanātha: nine Kālacakra-related works and one non-Kālacakra work (the latter being what he refers to as the "SS root-text"). Kragh's identifications in this case are mostly correct. I shall nonetheless list all translations (eleven altogether) for the sake of completeness, and whenever possible provide some additional relevant information.

<sup>213</sup> See the *Baidūrya g.ya' sel* (88b5–89a4): ... 'gyur 'og nyi shu rtsa bzhi lo tsā ba nyi shu rtsa lnga byung ba yin te rjes su 'gyur 'go dang lo tsā ba ni | [...] (89a1) **'Bro shes rab grags** | [...] *dum bu gzhan tsam bsgyur pa'i lo tsā ba'i rnam grangs ni de bas kyang mang zhing* | [...] (89a2–3) **Pu hrang lo chung** | [...] **gNyel cor Shes rab grags** | [...] (89a3–4) **'Bro lugs kyi brgyud par Zla ba mgon po nas** | **'Bro lo Shes rab grags zhes 'byung bas thog ma'i lo tsā bar dogs pa mi bya ste** | **Zla mgon Bod du phyi ma byon dus** | **'Bro los 'gyur phyi ma mdzad pa'i brgyud lugs yin pa'i phyir zhes bya'o** | |.

<sup>214</sup> See Kragh 2010: 204 n. 26.

(1) D361/P3. *dBang mdor bstan pa* (*Sekoddeśa*). Colo: ... *'Jig rten khams kyi le'ur le'u lnga pa'i mchog tu mi 'gyur ba'i dbang gi sgrub thabs mdor bstan pa rdzogs so | | | 'di ni kha che'i paṇḍi ta So ma nā tha dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags pas bsgyur zhing zhus te gtan la phab pa las | slar yang sGra tshad pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan gyis dpal Nā ro pa'i 'grel bshad dang mthun par bsgyur zhing zhus te dag par byas pa'o |* . Revised by sGra tshad pa Rin chen rgyal mtshan (fl. 13th cent.; BDRC: P4284) in line with Nāropa's commentary. 'Bro Shes rab grags's translation is recorded in the *R-KC* under the section listing translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags. The *BCh* also ascribes the translation to him.<sup>215</sup>

The colophon of the Phug brag version (F412), notably, records two different revisions, neither of which is by sGra tshad pa, as follows: *'Jig rten gyi khams kyi le'u la sogs pa las | | le'u lnga pa mchog tu mi 'gyur ba'i dbang gi sgrub pa mdor bsdus pa'i le'u zhes bya ba rdzogs s.ho | | | rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta Zla ba mgon po dang | bod kyi lo tstsha ba dge slong Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur nas gtan la phab pa'o | | slad nas paṇḍi ta mkhas pa chen po Sa manṭe shi'i zhal snga<sup>216</sup> nas dang | | lo tstsha ba dge slong Chos rab kyi zhu chen legs par bgyis pa'o | | | yang phyi Puṇye śrī De shantras rgya dpe la btugs shing 'grel pa dang btun nas chad pa bsabs zur nyams<sup>217</sup> pa rnams bsos te dag par byas pa'o |* . R1: [Rwa] Chos rab (fl. 11th cent.; BDRC: P3146) in collaboration with Samantaśrī (BDRC: P8141); R2: Puṇyaśrī-*\*Deśāntara*(?), having consulted numerous Sanskrit manuscripts and in line with the commentary, restored the lacunas and emended the corrupt readings. Both the name and identity of Puṇyaśrī-*\*Deśāntara* is uncertain. It is also unclear whether he is a *paṇḍita*—in which case he could perhaps be Puṇyaśrī (BDRC: P3850)—or a *lo tsā ba* (in which case I can offer no learned suggestion). According to Jampa Samten, the Phug brag version differs considerably from the versions transmitted in the mainstream editions.<sup>218</sup> Note that the Phug brag edition contains a duplicate with a virtually identical colophon (F485). As has already been alluded to, several translations of the *Sekoddeśa* are reported by the *Blue Annals* to have existed (see above, note 168), including ones by 'Bro Shes rab grags, Rwa Chos rab (fl. 11th cent.; BDRC: P3146), Man lungs pa Shākya 'od (fl. 13th cent.; BDRC: P5197), sGra tshad pa Rin rgyal, dPang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa (1276–1342; BDRC: P2085), Yar klungs lo tsā ba, probably a reference to Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1242–1346?; BDRC: P2637), and Pu rangs lo chung. The one by Pu rangs lo chung has been discussed above. The one by Rwa lo tsā ba

<sup>215</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr28.38] *dBang mdor bstan |*; *BCh*: [Bc1546] *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi dum bu dbang mdor bstan pa 'Bro Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*.

<sup>216</sup> snga] *em.*, mnga' Ms

<sup>217</sup> nyams] *em.*, mnyam D

<sup>218</sup> See Jampa Samten 1982: xii no. 6, 148 n. 1.

seems to have survived (at least partly) in the Phug brag KG edition, while the one by sGra tshad pa Rin rgyal must be a reference to his revision, transmitted in the mainstream KG editions. Also to be noted is that the colophon of the gTsang rong version (Cx10.4) only records the translation by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with Somanātha, that is, with no reference to any revision. This latter, in any case, needs to be compared with the other extant versions in order to assess the degrees of the revisions reported in the colophons of the other versions.

(2) D362/P4 (dupl. TG D1346/PØ). *mChog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo* (Paramādibuddhod-dhritaśrīkālacakratantrarājā aka Laghukālacakratantra). Colo: *mChog gi dang po'i sangs rgyas las phyung ba rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba rdzogs so || || kha che'i paṇḍi ta So ma nā tha dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa las | dus phyis yon tan phul du byung ba dpag tu med pas spras pa'i Bla ma dam pa Chos kyi rgyal po'i bka' lung dang | dPon chen Shākya bzang po'i gsung bzhin du | mkhas pa chen po Zhang ston mDo sde dpal dang | Dus kyi 'khor lo'i tshul khong du chud pa'i dge slong Tshul khirms dar gyis don gyi cha la legs par dpyad cing bskul te | legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyi brda sprod pa'i bstan bcos rig pa'i dge slong Shong ston gyis | dPal Sa skya'i gtsug lag khang chen por Yul dbus kyi rgya dpe gnyis la gtugs shing legs par bcos te gtan la phab pa'o ||*. Revised by Shong ston [rDo rje rgyal mtshan] (b. 1235/1245?; BDRC: P1046) after consulting two Sanskrit manuscripts from Madhyadeśa in the Great Temple of Glorious Sa skya, at the behest of Zhang ston mDo sde dpal (b. 13th cent.; PORK1531) and Tshul khirms dar,<sup>219</sup> both of whom investigated the text upon the request of Chos rgyal [Phags pa] (1235–1280; BDRC: P1048) and dPon chen Shākya bzang po (d. 1270; BDRC: P2220). The identification of this Shong ston as rDo rje rgyal mtshan (and not as Blo gros rgyal mtshan, b. 13th cent.; BDRC: P1052) is based on several external sources.<sup>220</sup> 'Bro Shes rab grags's translation of the *Laghukālacakratantra*

<sup>219</sup> Cf. Kragh 2010: 206 n. 33, item no. (ii): "Later revised by Zhang ston Mdo sde Dpal, Tshul khirms dar, and the monk Shong ston."

<sup>220</sup> One such a source is the record in the *Zh-TK* cited below, note 223. Another source is the Fifth Dalai Lama's Records of Teachings Received. I shall cite it here despite the fact that it erroneously refers to the *Sekoddeśa* instead of the *Vimalaprabhā*—whose colophon indeed provides details regarding the first revision similar to those found in the colophon of the *Laghukālacakratantra*—for it sheds some more light on the circumstances of the first revision, stating that 'Phags pa was acting in accordance with Sa paṇ's final instructions. See the *INga pa chen po'i gsan yig* (vol. 4: 456.11–18): *dang po ni* (= gNyis su med pa'i rgyud) | **Ka pa la dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud stong phrag bcu gnyis pa las byung ba rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi dum bu dbang mдор bstan** (erroneous for the *Vimalaprabhā*) *zhes bya ba kha che'i paṇḍi ta So ma nā tha dang 'Bro lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur ba dus phyis 'jig rten gyi mig gcig pu Shong ston lo tsā ba rDo rje rgyal mtshan gyis*

is recorded in the *R-KC*, together with the *Vimalaprabhā*. The *BCh* ascribes the translation to Rwa Chos rab, and notes that in general there exist fourteen translations of this *tantra*!<sup>221</sup> It is notable that Ngor chen in his *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* ascribes the translation (and not merely the revision) to Shong ston.<sup>222</sup> He does so also in regard to the commentary (for which, see below).

The version of the *mūlatantra* found in the smaller editions of the TG (D1347) is identical with that transmitted in the DP KG editions, and its inclusion there goes back to Bu ston, who in his *Zh-TK* justifies its inclusion in the TG as follows: “[...] As for this (i.e., the *Laghukālacakratantra*), I wrote it down here because I thought that it would be of great merit to put together the basic text and the commentary in one place and that it would be of great benefit for the current propagation of [its] exposition and study, and it is not that I wrote this *tantrarāja* down [here] because it is classified as *śāstra*.”<sup>223</sup>

The colophon of the version contained in the Phug brag KG edition (F411) is virtually identical. It, however, adds an interesting remark at the end, namely, that this version was proofread on the basis of the block print prepared by U rgyan pa: *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud 'di grub chen U<sup>224</sup> rgyan pas dpar du mdzad pa las zhal zhus pa'o* | |. This early print, which according to Kawa Sherab Sangpo, was very likely made in 1293, is certainly one of the earliest existing witnesses of the *tantra* in Tibetan translation.<sup>225</sup> Also to be noted is that the *R-KC* records a revision of both the *Laghukālacakratantra* and its commentary (i.e., the *Vimalaprabhā*) by sTeng pa lo tā ba [Tshul khrim s 'byung gnas] (1107–1190; BDRC: P3849), Gro lung pa's (b.

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*dag par bcos pa* | *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba'i bsdus pa'i rgyud le'u lnga pa pañdi ta So ma nā tha dang lo tsā ba 'Bro lo Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba las dus phyis 'Jam mgon Sa skya pañ chen gyi mtha' ma'i gsung bzhin Chos kyi rgyal po 'Phags pa rin po che'i bdag rkyen la brten nas Shong lo tsā ba rDo rje rgyal mtshan gyis zhus pa | slar yang lo tsā ba Blo gros rgyal mtshan dang Blo gros dpal gnyis kyis rgyud dang 'grel ba'i rgya dpe mang po la gtugs nas dag par bcos pa* |.

<sup>221</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr28.31 & Rr28.32]: *Dus 'khor* ['khor em., mkhor NR] *rtsa 'grel dang* | |; *BCh*: [Bc1547] *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdus Rwa Chos rab kyi 'gyur* | *spyir 'di la 'gyur bcu bzhi yod* |.

<sup>222</sup> See the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* (245.15): *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdus pa'i rgyud Shong gi 'gyur* |.

<sup>223</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (419.2–4): *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo bsdus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po* | *kha che'i pañdi ta So ma nā tha dang* | *bod kyi lo tsā ba chen po 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba las* | *mkhas pa chen po Shong ston rDo rje rgyal mtshan gyis bcos shing gtan la phab pa'o* | | *'di ni* | *rtsa 'grel phyogs gcig tu bsdebs na bsod namis che zhing* | *deng sang bshad nyan dar ba'i phyir phan che ba la bsam nas 'dir bris pa yin gyi* | *rgyud kyi rgyal po 'di bstan bcos kyi khongs su gtogs nas bris pa ni ma yin no* | |. See also the *D-TK* (vol. 2: 348b6–349a1), where Bu ston's justification is reproduced.

<sup>224</sup> *u* | em., dbu Ms

<sup>225</sup> On this print, see Kawa Sherab Sangpo 2013: 205–207.



11th cent.; BDRC: P3465) student.<sup>226</sup> Both these versions are yet to be located.

(3) D1347/P2064 (dupl. KG D845/PØ). Puṇḍarīka's *bsDus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu pa bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od* (*Vimalaprabhā-mūlatantrānusārīṇīdōādaśasāhasrikālaghukālacakratantrārājaṭikā*). Colo: *bsDus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad*<sup>227</sup> *rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od ces bya ba rdzogs so | | | kha che'i paṇḍi ta chen po So ma nā tha dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba chen po 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa las | dus phyis yon tan phul du byung ba dpag tu med pas spras pa'i Bla ma dam pa Chos kyi rgyal ba'*<sup>228</sup> *bka' lung dang | dPon chen Shākya bzang po'i gsung bzhin du mkhas pa chen po Zhang ston mDo sde dpal dang | Dus kyi 'khor lo'i tshul khong du chud pa'i dge slong Tshul khriṃs dar gyis don gyi cha la dpyad cing*<sup>229</sup> *legs par bskul te legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyis brda sproḍ pa'i bstan bcos rig pa'i lo tsā ba dge slong Shong ston gyis | dPal Sa skya'i gtsug lag khang chen por Yul dbus kyi rgya dpe gnyis la gtugs shing legs par bcos te gtan la phab pa'o |*<sup>230</sup> *[...] slar yang dpal ldan bla ma dam pa chos kyi rje thams cad mkhyen pa dang | dPal ldan dus kyi 'khor lo pa chen po Dha rma kī rti shrī bha dras | 'di'i don rnam legs par dgongs shing bka' yis bskul nas de dag gi gsung bzhin du | paṇḍi ta chen po Sthi ra ma ti'i bka' drin las legs par sbyar ba'i tshul rig pa lo tsā ba shākya'i dge slong Blo gros rgyal mtshan dang | Blo gros dpal bzang pos | rgyud dang 'grel pa'i rgya dpe mang po la gtugs nas dag pa rnam dang mthun par bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o | | [...]*<sup>231</sup>

The first part of the colophon, which is found in both D and P and includes information regarding the translation and the first revision, is literally identical with that of the *Laghukālacakratantra* (see the previous item). This is confirmed by the *Zh-TK* record, though apparently only for two chapters.<sup>232</sup> The colophon of D adds a passage regarding a second revision done at the behest of the glorious sublime

<sup>226</sup> See the R-KC: [Rr28.68 & Rr2869] *Dus 'khor rtsa 'grel la sog pa la zhu dag byas | | .*

<sup>227</sup> 'grel bshad] P rgyas 'grel D

<sup>228</sup> ba'i] P, po'i D

<sup>229</sup> cing] D, shing P

<sup>230</sup> P has an editorial note regarding the proofreading (*lan gcig zhus | | bkra shis |*), but lacks the passage regarding the second revision (underlined), including the verses (which are not cited here).

<sup>231</sup> underlined passage] D, om. P

<sup>232</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (419.4–5): *bsDus pa'i rgyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel bshad rtsa ba'i rgyud kyi rjes su 'jug pa stong phrag bcu gnyis pa dri ma med pa'i 'od ces bya ba | 'phags pa sPyan ras gzigs dbang phyug gis mdzad pa'i phyi 'jig rten khams kyi le'u dang | nang sems can khams kyi le'u gnyis 'gyur rgyud dang 'dra ba.... Cf., however, the *Gl-TK*<sub>7</sub> (245.17), which refers to three chapters: *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdus pa'i rgyud Shong gi 'gyur | 'jig rten khams le'u 'grel pa | nang le'u 'grel pa | dbang gi le'u'i 'grel pa | Shong gi 'gyur |....**

teacher, the omniscient Lord of the Dharma and of the great [master] of the *Śrī-Kālacakra*[*tantra*] Dharmakīrti-Śrībhadrā by [Sa bzang ma ti paṅ chen] Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1294–1376; P151) and Blo gros dpal bzang po (1299–1354; BDRC: P153), thanks to the kindness of the great *paṇḍita* Sthiramati, on the basis of several Sanskrit manuscripts. While the identity of the translators seems rather clear, a few words should be said regarding the identity of the other three persons mentioned. Although at first glance it appears that “the great *paṇḍita* Sthiramati” is an Indic master, I suggest that this is a reference to dPang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa aka Sthiramati, who was the teacher of both Blo gros rgyal mtshan and Blo gros dpal bzang po. In this case, the word “kindness” should be understood as an expression of this teacher–disciple relationship. As for “the glorious sublime teacher, the omniscient Lord of the Dharma” and “the great [master] of the *Śrīkālacakra*[*tantra*] Dharmakīrti-Śrībhadrā,” I would like to suggest that this is a reference to Jo nang Phyogs las rnam rgyal (1306–1386; BDRC: P152) and his disciple Kun spangs Chos grags (dpal) bzang po (1283~1310–1363~1385; BDRC: P6861), respectively.<sup>233</sup> The fact that this second revision is not mentioned in the *Zh-TK* might suggest that it was done after 1335, the year in which the *Zhwa lu* edition was completed.

As has already been pointed out, 'Bro Shes rab grags's translation is recorded in the *R-KC* under the section listing his translations. The *I-TK*, in contrast, names [Rwa lo tsā ba] Chos rab. The *BCh* reports on the existence of more than ten different translations by Rwa [lo tsā ba Chos rab] and others.<sup>234</sup> The *T-TK* records the work with a translation ascription to Sangs rgyas grags, who is clearly rTsa mi lo tsā ba (fl. 11th/12th cent.; BDRC: P5169).<sup>235</sup> This identification is supported by the colophon, where it is stated that his birthplace is Mi nyag, that he stayed for a long time in India, and that the translation was done by him (referred to as bSod snyoms pa chen po) in the Tārā Temple of Nālandā: *byang phyogs Mi*<sup>236</sup> *nyag yul du skyes kyang ni | | yun ring 'Phags pa'i yul du gnas bcas nas | | bla ma dam pa sangs rgyas kun mchod*

<sup>233</sup> The suggestions made here regarding the identity of the three persons in question are tentative and need further corroboration, which goes beyond the present paper. Cf. Kragh 2010: 206 n. 33, item (iii): “Later, revised again by Dharmakīrti Śrībhadrā, the great *paṇḍita* Sthiramati, and the translators Blo gros Rgyal mtshan and Blo gros Dpal bzang po on the basis of several Indian manuscripts.”

<sup>234</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr28.32] (cited above, note 221); *I-TK* (A, 22a2; B, 17a4 = I<sub>js</sub>395): *dPal Dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgya cher 'grel pa dri ma med pa'i 'od stong phrag bcu gnyis pa Chos rab kyi bsgyur ba...*; *BCh*: [Bc2605] *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdus rgyud kyi 'grel pa dri med 'od Rwa la sogs pa'i 'gyur bcu lhag yod |*.

<sup>235</sup> See the *T-TK* (7a5–6): *KA pa la* [T0057] *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i 'grel pa sPyan ras gzigs kyi mdzad pa Dri ma med pa'i 'od stong phrag bcu gnyis pa'i stod bzhugs | KHA pa la de'i smad Sangs rgyas grags kyi bsgyur ba dang |*. T0057 is found in section II, Ka(2), 1b1–321a5 & Kha(3), 1b1–291b4.

<sup>236</sup> *mi] em., me Ms*

pa'i || dge slong **Sangs rgyas grags pa zhes bya ba** || rgyud rnams kyi ni rdo rje'i tshig bshad pa || **dPal ldan dang po'i sangs rgyas rgyud chen las** || bton pa **dPal ldan dus 'khor nyung rgyud kyi** || **rgyud dang rGyas 'grel Bod yig bris pa yis** || de yis bsod nams cung zhig skyes pa 'dis || 'jig rten gsum du gnas pa'i skye bo kun || mchog tu mi 'gyur bde chen po ni || myur ba nyid du de yis thob par shog || || rig pa'i 'byung gnas yul **Ma ga dha'i dPal Na len drar rje btsun ma sgröl ma'i lha khang du** | pan ñi ta chen po dge slong rdo rje 'dzin pa dpal **bSod snyoms pa chen pos** || skyes bu rnams kyi don du bsgyur ba'i **dPal dus kyi 'khor lo** || rdzogs s.ho || ||. As noted earlier (see the previous entry), the R-KC records a revision of the *Vimalaprabhā* by sTeng pa lo tā ba Tshul khriims 'byung gnas, which is yet to be located.

Of relevance is perhaps also the passage from Bu ston's History of Kālacakra found in the context of explaining the 'Bro Tradition, including the circumstances under which the *Vimalaprabhā* was translated. According to this passage, Somanātha came to Tibet and the teachings were first imparted to Kha rag gnyos (fl. 11th cent.; BDRC: PORK1047), with whom he seems to have begun to translate the *Vimalaprabhā*. Nonetheless, expecting a hundred gold coins more than what was actually offered, the *pañḍita* was displeased and thus only translated half of the commentary. Taking with him the remaining half, he went to 'Phan yul grab, where Zhang Pho chung appointed him as his teacher (which appears to imply his financial support). He then completed the translation, having 'Bro [Shes rab grags] acting as his *lo tsā ba*. This passage seems thus to entail that 'Bro Shes rab grags was involved in the translation of only the second half of the text.<sup>237</sup>

(4) D1353/P2070. Kālacakrapāda's *dBang mdor bstan pa'i rgya cher 'grel pa* (*Sekoddeśaṭikā*). Colo: **Dang po'i sangs rgyas kyi**<sup>238</sup> **rgyud las bkol ba** | **dBang mdor bstan pa zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa** | rnal 'byor pa **Dus kyi 'khor lo**<sup>239</sup> **zhabs kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so** || || **kha che'i pañḍi ta Zla ba'i mgon po dang** | **lo tsā ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba'o** || ||. The identification of the translator in this case is rather straightforward. 'Bro Shes rab grags's translation is unmistakably recorded in the R-KC under the section listing his translations. Both the *U-TK* and the *T-TK* name the translator as Shes rab grags (i.e., without the attribute 'Bro), whereas the *BCh* does offer a clear identi-

<sup>237</sup> See the *Dus 'khor chos 'byung* (31a2): **dang po ni** (i.e., '**Bro pa'i lugs**) | **de nas kha che Zla mgon Bod du byon Kha rag gnyos la babs** | '**grel pa Dri ma med pa'i 'od bsgyur** | **gser srang brgya rdzong bar chad** | **pañḍi ta ma ngu bar 'grel pa phyed las ma bsgyur** | '**gyur byed 'phro ba bsnam nas 'Phan yul grab tu byon** || **Zhang Pho chung bas bla mar bzung** | '**Bros lo tstsha ba byas nas yongs su rdzogs par bsgyur** |. Similar passages are found in other sources, all of which, however, cannot be recorded here.

<sup>238</sup> kyi] D, kyis P

<sup>239</sup> lo] P, lo'i D

fiction.<sup>240</sup> Interestingly, the colophon of the T version, which is generally similar to those of the DP versions, does not mention Somanātha as the collaborating *paṇḍita*: *Dang po'i sangs rgyas kyi rgyud las bka' s'tsal pa | dBang mdor bstan<sup>241</sup> pa zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa | rnal 'byor pa Dus kyi 'khor lo pa'i zhabs kyi mdzad pa rdzogs s.ho | | lo tshtsa ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur<sup>242</sup> ba'o | |*.

(5) D1357/P2074. *Kālacakrapāda's dPal ldan rgyu skar gyi dkyil 'khor gyi sgrub thabs yan lag bcu gcig pa (Śrī(mad)nakṣatramāṇḍalasādhana-ekādaśāṅga)*. Colo: *dKyil 'khor rgyas pa'i sgrub thabs | slob dpon Dus 'khor zhabs kyi mdzad pa rdzogs so | | | kha che'i paṇḍi ta So ma nā tha dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba dge slong Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur ba'o | |*. The R-KC includes this translation under the section listing translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags. The *I*-TK and *T*-TK name Shes rab grags as the translator, while the *BCh* simply has 'Bro. The *Zh*-TK (followed by later catalogues) has a record resembling the colophon.<sup>243</sup>

(6) D1371/P2087. *Mañjuśrīrājakīrti's rNal 'byor gsum gyi snying po gsal ba (Triyogahṛdayavyākaraṇa)*. Colo: *rNal 'byor gsum gyi snying po gsal ba zhes bya ba | byang chub sems dpa' 'Jam dpal rgyal po grags par gdul bya la dgongs nas skye ba bzhes nas mdzad pa rdzogs so | | | paṇḍi ta So ma nā tha dang | lo tsā ba 'Bro Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur ba'o | | |*. The work does not seem to have been recorded in the R-KC. The records in the *I*-TK, *BCh*, and *T*-TK mention no translator.<sup>244</sup> The *Zh*-TK appears to be the first to mention 'Bro Shes rab grags and Somanātha as the translation team, an ascription that was adopted by

<sup>240</sup> See the R-KC: [Rr28.39] *de'i* (i.e., *dBang mdor bstan gyi*) *'grel pa Dus zhabs kyi byas pa*; *I*-TK (A, 22a3; B, 17a5 = *I*<sub>JS</sub>396): *Dus 'khor zhabs* <sup>[Ka la tsakra pā da]</sup> *kyi dBang mdor bstan gyi rgya cher 'grel Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *T*-TK (7b1): [T0061] *dBang mdor bstan gyi rgya che 'grel pa slob dpon Dus zhabs kyi mdzad pa Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur | |*. T0061 is found in section II, Ga(4), 205a1–241b5. *BCh*: [Bc2608] *dBang mdor bstan gyi 'grel pa Dus 'khor zhabs kyi mdzad pa 'Bro Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*.

<sup>241</sup> *bstan*] *em.*, *stan Ms*

<sup>242</sup> *bsgyur*] *em.*, *sgyur Ms*

<sup>243</sup> See the R-KC: [Rr28.35] *Dus zhabs kyi byas pa'i sGrub thabs dang | |*; *I*-TK (A, 37b6–38a1; B, 30a2–3 = *I*<sub>JS</sub>820): *slob dpon Dus 'khor zhabs* <sup>[Ka la tsakra pā da]</sup> *kyi mdzad pa'i dPal ldan rgyu skar gyi dkyil 'khor gyi sgrub thabs yan lag bcu cig pa Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *T*-TK (7b4): [T0065] *dPal ldan rgyu skar gyi dkyil 'khor yan lag bcu cig pa Dus zhabs kyi mdzad pa le'u bcu cig pa Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*. T0065 is found in section II, Nga(5), 30a1–49b6. Its colophon resembles those of the DP versions. See also the *BCh*: [Bc2618] *slob dpon Dus 'khor zhabs kyi mdzad pa'i dPal ldan rgyu skar gyi dkyil 'khor gyi sgrub thabs yan lag bcu cig pa gnyis* (i.e., Bc2617 & Bc2618) *'Bro 'gyur |*; *Zh*-TK (420.4–5); *Ng*-TK (14.20–21); *Gl*-TK<sub>T</sub> (245.19–20). On Bc2617, see below (§4.H.1).

<sup>244</sup> R-KC(Ø); *I*-TK (A, 22a6–b1; B, 17b1–2 = *I*<sub>JS</sub>403): *'Jam dpal* <sup>[Madzñu śrī]</sup> *gyis mdzad pa'i rNal 'byor gsum gyi snying po gsal ba |*; *BCh*: [Bc2624] *'Jam dpal gyis mdzad pa'i rNal 'byor gsum gyi snying po gsal ba |*; *T*-TK (8a1): [T0073] *sNying po gsum gsal ba rGyal po grags pa bshes gnyen gyis mdzad pa dang |*. T0073 is found in section II, Nga(5), 108a1–109a3, and as expected has no translation colophon.

later cataloguers.<sup>245</sup> The *GI-TK<sub>T</sub>* seems not to have recorded the work at all.

(7) ? D1372/P2088. Kālacakrapāda's *sByor ba yan lag drug gi man ngag rje dus 'khor zhabs kyis mdzad pa'i snyan rgyud zhal gyi gdams pa* (*Ṣaḍaṅgayogopadeśa*). Colo: ***sByor ba yan lag drug gi man ngag rje***<sup>246</sup> **Dus 'khor zhabs kyis**<sup>247</sup> *mdzad pa'i snyan rgyud zhal gyi gdams pa*<sup>248</sup> *rdzogs so || || paṅḍi ta So ma nā tha dang | lo tsā ba 'Bro Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba'o | |*. The *R-KC* seems not to have a record of this work. The *I-TK* contained at first a record of the work with no translation ascription, as in both the earlier (MS B) and later (MS A) versions. The later version contains another record in chapter 21 (found only in MS A) with a solo translation (*rang 'gyur*) ascription to Vibhūticandra (fl. 12th/13th cent.). Both records are also found in the *BCh*.<sup>249</sup> The *T-TK* contains only the record with the translation ascription to Vibhūticandra, which is confirmed by the T colophon:<sup>250</sup> **Dus 'khor zhabs kyis gsungs pa'i sByor ba drug gi man ngag rdzogs s.ho | | | | shar phyogs Dzā ga ta la'i paṅḍi ta chen po Bi bhu ti tsan dras rang 'gyur du mdzad pa'o | | | |**. Nonetheless, a comparison of the T and DP versions reveals that they are practically identical. For his Zhwa lu edition, Bu ston has only one record with a translation ascription to 'Bro Shes rab grags and Somanātha. Later editions followed suit.<sup>251</sup> It is hard to tell what the reason for the conflicting information in the colophons was, and there seems to be no explanation either as to why Bu ston, who obviously recognized that the two versions were identical, ascribed it to 'Bro Shes rab grags and Somanātha and not to Vibhūticandra. For lack of further evidence, we shall for now follow Bu ston in this regard.

<sup>245</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (421.4–5): *rNaI 'byor gsum gyi snying po gsal bzhes bya ba 'Jam dbyangs grags pas mdzad pa | paṅḍi ta So ma nā tha dang | lo tsā ba 'Bro Shes rab grags kyī 'gyur |*. See also the *Ng-TK* (15.23–16.1); *D-TK* (vol. 2: 350b1–3).

<sup>246</sup> rje] P, om. D

<sup>247</sup> kyis] D, kyī P

<sup>248</sup> gdams pa] P, man ngag D

<sup>249</sup> *R-KC*(Ø); *I-TK* (A, 22b1; B, 17b2 = *I<sub>JS</sub>404*): **Dus 'khor zhabs** [<sup>Kā la tsakra pā da</sup>] *kyī sByor ba yan lag drug gi man ngag |*; *I-TK* (A, 75b1; BØ): *slob dpon Dus 'khor zhabs kyis gsungs pa'i sByor [drug] gi man ngag Bi bhu ta tsan tra'i rang 'gyur |*; *BCh*: [Bc2625] **Dus 'khor zhabs kyī sByor ba yan lag drug gi man ngag |**; *BCh*: [Bc2636] **Dus 'khor zhabs kyī sByor drug gi man ngag dang |** [...] *gnyis* (= Bc2636 & Bc2637) **Bi bhu ti tsandra'i rang 'gyur |**.

<sup>250</sup> See the *T-TK* (8a2–3): [T0077] *sByor ba drug gi man ngag Dus 'khor zhabs kyis gsungs pa Bhi bu ta tsantra'i 'gyur |*. T0077 is found in section II, Nga(5), 153a5–156a6.

<sup>251</sup> *Zh-TK* (421.5–6): *sByor ba yan lag drug gi man ngag dus zhabs snyan brgyud ces bya ba | paṅḍi ta So ma nā tha shrī dang | 'Bro Shes rab grags kyī 'gyur |*. See also the *Ng-TK* (16.2–3), which erroneously reads Samantaśrī instead of Somanātha śrī, and the *D-TK* (vol. 2: 350b2–3).

(8) DØ/P4609 (dupl. KG D365/P7). *dBang gi rab tu byed pa* (*Sekaprakriyā*). Colo: ***dBang gi rab 'byed pa*** *rdzogs so* | | | | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po* ***Zla ba dgon po dang*** | *bod kyi lo tsa ba* ***Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur te gtan la phab pa'o*** | |. This version bears annotations by an unknown author. The work is also found in the KG (D365/P7). This version bears the same title but its translation, which is indeed different, is ascribed to Rwa lo tsā ba Chos rab in collaboration with Samantaśrī. Moreover, the translation by 'Bro Shes rab grags has also been transmitted in the Phug brag KG edition (F413), where it has a slightly different title and lacks the annotations. Colo: ***dBang gi rab tu dbye ba*** *rdzogs s.ho* | | | | *kha che'i paṇḍi ta* ***So ma nā tha dang*** | *bod kyi lo tstsha ba* ***'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba'o*** | |. As pointed out by Jampa Samten, this version differs greatly from the one transmitted in the mainstream KG editions (D365/P7). Jampa Samten also points out that the catalogue of the Phug brag edition erroneously ascribes the translation to Rwa Chos rab, oblivious of the version actually transmitted in the edition.<sup>252</sup> There is still another version in the Phug brag edition (F486), one which lacks a translation colophon and which, according to Jampa Samten, is not recorded in the Phug brag catalogue. Nonetheless, Jampa Samten's claim that this version is the same as the one asserted to be by 'Bro Shes rab grags and Somanātha (i.e., F413) cannot be entirely endorsed, for although it resembles it, it is not entirely the same, some of the formulations found there being indeed noticeably different, so that further scrutiny of the text and a careful comparison of it with the other version are required.<sup>253</sup> The translation by 'Bro Shes rab grags is recorded in both the *R-KC* and the *BCh*.<sup>254</sup> It appears, however, not to be recorded in either the *U-TK* or the *T-TK*, possibly because it was regarded as a KG work.

(9) D2260/P3107. *IHan cig skyes grub* (*Sahajasiddhi*). Colo: ***IHan cig skyes grub*** *rdzogs so* | | *rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po* ***Zla ba mgon po***<sup>255</sup> *dang* | *bod kyi lo tsā ba* ***Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba'o*** | | | |. Neither the *R-KC* nor the *U-TK* nor the *BCh* seems to have a record of the work.<sup>256</sup> The *T-TK* records the work and its commentary together and names the translator of both as Prajñākīrti. To be noted, however, is

<sup>252</sup> See Jampa Samten 1992: xiii no. 7 & 148 n. 2. Note that Jampa Samten fails to identify the parallel version in the P TG edition.

<sup>253</sup> See Jampa Samten 1992: 179 n. 2.

<sup>254</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr28.36] ***dBang rab byed*** | |, under the section listing translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags; *BCh*: [Bc1449] ***dBang gi rab tu byed pa 'Bro 'gyur*** |. Note that Nishioka erroneously identifies Bc1449 as P7, while for P4609 no equivalent is given.

<sup>255</sup> po] D, om., P

<sup>256</sup> The possibility suggested by van der Kuijp & Schaeffer that the work is being referred to under Rr18.39/Rr18.39: ***rDo rje chos phyag na pad mo'i sgrub thabs gnyis*** | | is rather low.

that whereas the colophon of the commentary indeed calls the translator 'Bro dge slong Prajñākīrti—which, as we have seen by now, is a rather unusual combination of the name—the colophon of the basic text is very similar to those of the DP versions, and thus likewise provides the name Shes rab grags.<sup>257</sup> Later TG catalogues contain records that reflect the colophons.<sup>258</sup> Although we do not find any explicit identification of the translator as 'Bro Shes rab grags, it is to be assumed that this is the case, for the translation was done in collaboration with Somanātha. The identity of the translator of the commentary will be discussed below (see §4.B.3).

The R-KC records under the section of works translated by 'Bro Shes rab grags altogether eleven works, while indicating that the list is not exhaustive (by way of the phrase *la sogs pa* at the end of the list). Six of these could be identified as translations in collaboration with Somanātha and have been accordingly discussed above. Another three could be identified as translations done in collaborations with other *paṇḍitas* and will be discussed below. Here I would like to briefly consider the remaining two and suggest that, although they have been transmitted in the TG as solo translations by Somanātha, 'Bro Shes rab grags may have been involved alongside him in making them.

(10) ? D1348/P2065. Puṇḍarīka's *dPal don dam pa'i bsnyen pa* (*Śrīparamārthasevā*). Colo: *dpal 'jig rten dbang phyug gi*<sup>259</sup> *sprul pa'i sku Padma dkar pos mdzad pa rdzogs so* | | | *kha che'i paṇḍi ta Zla ba'i mgon pos bsgyur nas gtan la phab pa'o* | | *'di la 'gyur byang gcig kyang 'gyur mi 'dra ba gnyis yod pa las* | *'di nyid 'gyur cung bde bar snang ngo* | |<sup>260</sup> The colophons of both the DP versions state that it is a solo translation by Somanātha. Interestingly, the P colophon adds that there exist two translations of it, even though their translation colophons are identical. It concludes by stating that "this one" (i.e., the one included) is a slightly better translation. Another version has in fact been transmitted in the gTsang rong KG edition. This version (Cx10.6) is an entirely different translation, but it has no translation

<sup>257</sup> See the T-TK (63a3): [T1815] *IHan cig skyes grub slob dpon In tra bo dhis mdzad pa dang* [T1816] *de nyid kyi gzhung 'grel lHa lcam dPal mos mdzad pa Pra dznya kir ti yis 'gyur ba...* T1815 is found in section II, We(81), 346b1–349b1.

<sup>258</sup> See the Zh-TG (496.4–5): *IHan cig skyes grub rgyal po Indra bhū tis mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Zla ba'i mgon po dang | lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur* |; D-TK (vol. 2: 388a5). See also the Ng-TK (70.17–18), which adds an annotation, yielding the reading "[I wonder whether [it] is actually] a commentary of] the *IHan cig skyes grub* composed by Indrabhūti" (*IHan cig skyes grub* <sup>[kyi 'grel pa yin nam snyam]</sup> *rgyal po Indra bhūtis mdzad pa* |).

<sup>259</sup> gi] D, gis P

<sup>260</sup> underlined passage] P, om. D

colophon.<sup>261</sup> As already alluded to, the *R-KC* lists it under translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags.<sup>262</sup> The situation in the *U-TK* is more complex, for the earlier version (MS B) names 'Bro as the translator, whereas the later version (MS A) names Somanātha as a solo translator.<sup>263</sup> Both the *BCh* and *T-TK*, which, as already discussed elsewhere, are based on the later version of the *U-TK*, also ascribes the translation to Somanātha, as do later catalogues.<sup>264</sup>

(11) ? D1350/P2067. *Padma can zhes bya ba'i dka' 'grel* (*Padminī nāma prañjikā*). Colo: *rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i ye shes kyi le'u las mdor bsdus pa'i bshad pa | 'Grel bshad padma can zhes bya ba rdzogs so | | | kha che'i pañdi ta So ma nā thas bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o | | |*. The *R-KC* records the work under the section listing translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags. All later catalogues, however, name Somanātha as a solo translator, as does the colophon of the T version.<sup>265</sup>

### (B) Translations in Collaboration with Maitrīpāda

Kragh has recorded one translation by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with Maitrīpāda. Here I would like to suggest two more translations done by this team, namely, one which Kragh suggested was perhaps translated in collaboration with **Somanātha**, and another, which was listed by Kragh as having been done in collaboration with \***Mānavihārapa**.

<sup>261</sup> The duplicate Cx05.9 appears not to have a colophon either, but I have not been able to see the scans.

<sup>262</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr28.34] *Don dam bsnyen* [bsnyen *em.*; sten? N; bsnye R] *pa dang | |*.

<sup>263</sup> See the *U-TK* (B, 17a2–3 = I<sub>JS</sub>393): *rgyal po Pad ma dkar pos mdzad pa'i Don dam bsnyen* [bsnyen *em.*, snye Ms] *pa Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *ibid.* (A, 21b6–22a1): *rgyal po Pad ma dkar pos* <sup>[Puñda ri ka]</sup> *mdzad pa'i Don dam bsnyen pa Zla ba mgon po'i* <sup>[So ma nā tha]</sup> *rang 'gyur |*.

<sup>264</sup> See the *BCh*: [Bc2607] *rgyal po Pad ma dkar pos mdzad pa'i Don dam bsnyen pa Zla ba mgon po'i rang 'gyur |*; *T-TK* (7a6–7): [T0058] *Don dam pa'i bsnyen pa Pad ma dkar pos mdzad pa Zla ba mgon po'i 'gyur |*. T0058 is found in section II, Kha(3), 292a1–316b1. Its colophon resembles those of the DP versions. See also the *Zh-TK* (419.6–7); *Ng-TK* (14.12–14); *D-TK* (vol. 2: 349a4).

<sup>265</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr28.33] *'Grel chung padma can* [N: *'Grel pa pad dkar*] *dang | |*; *U-TK* (A, 21b5–6; B, 17a1–2 = I<sub>JS</sub>391) *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i bsdus rgyud kyi dka' 'grel pad ma can So ma nā tha'i* <sup>[Zla ba mgon po]</sup> *rang 'gyur |*; *T-TK* (7a7–b1): [T0060] *Pad ma can zhes bya ba'i 'grel pa So ma na tha'i 'gyur |*. T0060 is located in section II, Ga(4), 1b1–204b6. The colophon of the T version is similar to those of the DP versions. See also the *BCh*: [Bc2606] *de'i* (i.e., *Dri med 'od kyi*) *go sla'i 'grel pa Pad ma can So ma nā tha'i 'gyur |*; *Zh-TK* (419.7–420.1) *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i rgyud kyi rgyal po'i dka' 'grel padma can zhes bya ba | dpal Dus 'khor zhabs chen pos mdzad pa | kha che'i pañdi ta So ma nā thas bsgyur ba dang |*; *Ng-TK* (14.15–17); *D-TK* (vol. 2: 349a5); *Gl-TK*<sub>T</sub> (245.18–19).



(1) D1180/P2310. Vajragarbha's *Kye'i rdo rje bsdus pa'i don gyi rgya cher 'grel pa* (*Hevajrapañḍārthaṭīkā*). As has been discussed above in detail (§2.D.4), 'Bro Shes rab grags translated the second instalment of the work in collaboration with Maitrīpāda.

(2) In one case, the name of the collaborating *pañḍita* is not mentioned in the colophon, which merely states that 'Bro Shes rab grags translated the text after he had studied (lit. "listened to") it under "the teacher" (*bla ma*), who Kragh suggests is "probably" Somanātha.<sup>266</sup> Following a closer examination of the material and in the light of new evidence, I believe that this identification should be called into question.

D1355/P2072. *Dārika-pa's rGyud kyi rgyal po dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i dbang gi rab tu byed pa'i 'grel pa rdo rje'i tshig 'byed pa* (*Śrīkālacakratantrarājasyasekaprakriyāvṛitti-vajrapadodghaṭi*). Colo: **dBang gi rab tu byed pa'i 'grel pa | rdo rje'i tshig 'byed pa zhes bya ba | dge slong mkhas pa chen po Dā ri ka pas mdzad pa | bod kyi lo tsā ba 'Bro**<sup>267</sup> **dge slong Shes rab grags pas Bla ma las mnyan nas bsgyur pa rdzogs so | |**. Notable is the omission of the attribute 'Bro in the P version. The R-KC allows an accurate identification of the translator, for it records the work under the section listing translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags. The *U-TK*, followed by the *T-TK*, provides the mere name, Shes rab grags. The *BCh* only gives the attribute 'Bro, whereas the *Zh-TK*, followed by later catalogues, provides the full name, 'Bro Shes rab grags.<sup>268</sup>

None of the catalogues provides information as to the identity of the "teacher" (*bla ma*) under whom 'Bro Shes rab grags studied the work. Luckily, the colophon of the T version does provide the names of two *pañḍitas* who collaborated on the translation, namely, Maitrīpa, with whom, as we already know, 'Bro collaborated on the translation of the second instalment of Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapañḍārthaṭīkā* (D1180/P2310), and a Kashmiri named Vinayaśrī. Colo: **dPal dus kyi 'khor lo zhes bya ba bsdus pa'i rgyud byang chub sems dpa' 'Jam pa'i dbyangs kyi sprul par grags pa rgyal po grags pa zhes bya bas bsdus pa 'di la | de'i 'grel pa dge slong Dha ri ka pas mdzad pa rdzogs s.ho | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po Me tri zhabs dang | kha che'i slob dpon Bi na ya**

<sup>266</sup> See Kragh 2010: 207 n. 33, item (v).

<sup>267</sup> 'Bro] P, om. D

<sup>268</sup> See the R-KC: [Rr28.37] *de'i* (i.e., **dBang rab byed kyi 'grel pa dge slong Da ri ka pas byas | |**; *U-TK* (A, 22a1–2; B, 17a3 = *I*<sub>JS</sub>394): **dBang rab byed kyi 'grel pa slob dpon Dā ri ka pas** <sup>[Bud med can]</sup> *mdzad pa rDo rje'i tshig 'byed pa Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur ba...*; *T-TK* (7a7): [T0059] **dBang gi rab tu byed pa'i 'grel pa Dha ri ka pas mdzad pa Shes rab grags kyi bsgyur pa...; *BCh*: [Bc2611] **dBang rab byed kyi 'grel pa rdo rje'i tshig 'byed pa slob dpon Dā ri ka pas mdzad pa 'Bro 'gyur |**; *Zh-TK* (420.3–4): **dBang rab byed kyi 'grel pa rdo rje'i tshig 'byed pa zhes bya ba slob dpon Dā ri ka pas mdzad pa | 'Bro Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |**; *Ng-TK* (15.1–2); *D-TK* (vol. 2: 349b2–3). The *Gl-TK*<sub>T</sub> does not seem to have recorded this work.**

**shri dang | bod kyi lo tsha ba 'Bro Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur pa lags s.ho | |.**<sup>269</sup> I have not been able to locate information concerning the collaboration on this translation in other sources. The fact that Maitrīpāda is also referred to as *bla ma* (or more precisely *bla ma chen po*) in the colophon of the second instalment of Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapañḍārthaṭīkā*, whereas Somanātha seems not to have been designated thus in any of the colophons, may support the identification of the "teacher" in question as Maitrīpāda. Further evidence that supports this identification will be presented in the following entry. The exact identity of the second collaborator named in the T colophon, the Kashmiri Vinayaśrī, remains unclear.

(3) Kragh lists one work translated by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with \*Mānavihārapa. The work in question is the *Sahajasiddhipaddhati* (SSP), which is Kragh's point of departure for his article, and thus accordingly discussed by him in detail. This is the only work in the Tibetan Buddhist Canon stated as having been translated in collaboration with this *paṇḍita*, about whom practically nothing is known. Kragh, who discusses the issue extensively, including the reconstruction/meaning of the name, suggests that the name should be understood as referring to Mānavihāra, the ancient Nepalese monastery founded by the Licchavi king Mānadeva (5th/6th cent.) and identified by Sylvain Lévi with the present-day Cakravahāra in Patan. Kragh, having emended the original reading *la* to *pa*, proposes that \*Mānavihārapa means "the one from Mānavihāra." I shall return to Kragh's reconstruction-cum-proposition below.<sup>270</sup>

D2261/P3108. Lakṣmī(mṅkarā)'s *IHan cig skyes grub kyi gzhung 'grel* (*Sahajasiddhipaddhati*). Colo: *dpal U rgyan gyi yul du sku 'khrungs*<sup>271</sup> *pa'i rgyal po Indra buddhi zhes bya bas mdzad pa'i IHan cig skyes pa grub pa'i gzhung 'grel IHa lcam rje btsun ma dPal mos mdzad pa rdzogs so | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po Ma nā bi ha ra*<sup>272</sup> *la dang | bod kyi lo tsā ba dge slong Pradnyā kīrtis legs par mnyan nas bsgyur ba'o*<sup>273</sup> | |. Our main concern here is obviously the identity of the translator Prajñākīrti. Since \*Mānavihārapa, who according to Kragh (and the Ōtani and Tōhoku catalogues as well) is the collaborating *paṇḍita*, is not known otherwise, his collaboration is of little help in identifying our Prajñākīrti, so that we must resort to other sources. Nonetheless, before doing so, it should first be noted that there is a problem with the syntax of the translation colophon resulting from

<sup>269</sup> T0059 is found in section II, Kha(3), 316b2–360b1.

<sup>270</sup> See Kragh 2010: 224–225, where this reconstruction is discussed in detail, along with other possibilities.

<sup>271</sup> 'khrungs D, khrungs P

<sup>272</sup> ra] D la P

<sup>273</sup> ba'o] D, ba lags so P

the particle *dang* that follows the *paṇḍita's* name, on the one hand, and the verbal phrase *legs par mnyan nas* ("having thoroughly studied") that follows the *lo tsā ba's* name, on the other hand, because with the verb *mnyan* one expects the particle *la* (or *las*) and not *dang*, which does not yield any proper sense here. But we shall return to this problem below.

As has already been pointed out, the *R-KC* does not seem to record either the commentary or its basic text, the *Sahajāsiddhi* (SS), either under the section listing translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags or elsewhere. The *I-TK* and the *BCh*, in contrast, although they lack a record of the basic text, do record the commentary (in an identical fashion), naming Shes rab grags as the translator.<sup>274</sup> As already pointed out, the *T-TK* records the work and its commentary together and names the translator of both works as Prajñākīrti. To be noted is, however, that although the *T-TK* clearly considers the translator of the two works to be one and the same person, the colophon of the commentary names the translator as 'Bro dge slong Prajñākīrti, and that of the basic text names him as Shes rab grags.<sup>275</sup> Now, the name recorded in the colophon of the T version, 'Bro dge slong Prajñākīrti, consists of a rather unusual combination of the attribute 'Bro and the Sanskritized name Prajñākīrti, which we have thus far not encountered in connection with 'Bro Shes rab grags. Moreover, the translation colophon of the T version has several other variant reading that might shed some light on the syntactical problems in the DP colophons pointed out above, and it also contains an additional passage (marked below with an underline), which has no equivalent in the colophons of the DP versions and is of much significance for our discussion. Colo: *dpal Ur rgyan gyi yul du sku 'khrungs pa | rGyal po chen po In dra bu dhi zhes bya bas dPal dgyes pa rdo rje'i rgyud kyi gdams*<sup>276</sup> *ngag rgyud kyi don ji lta bar mdzad pa'i snyan rgyud rang grol Phyag rgya*<sup>277</sup> *chen po dngos kyi don*<sup>278</sup> *IHan cig skyes pa grub pa'i gzhung 'grel | IHa lcam rje btsun ma chen dPal mos mdzad pa rdzogs s.ho | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po Ma na bhi ha ra dpal las | bod kyi lo tsha ba 'Bro dge slong Prad dznya kir tis legs par mnyan nas bsgyur*<sup>279</sup> *ro | | IHo brag pa dGe slong gnas brtan chen po rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug 'Or ston Sangs rgyas grags pas bod kyi lo tsha ba dge*

<sup>274</sup> See the *I-TK* (A, 34b5–6; B, 27b7 = I<sub>JS</sub>750): *dPal mo'i* <sup>(La ksmi)</sup> *IHan cig skyes grub gzhung 'grel Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur |*; *BCh*: [Bc2748].

<sup>275</sup> *T-TK* (63a3): [T1815] *IHan cig skyes grub slob dpon In tra bo dhis mdzad pa dang* [T1816] *de nyid kyi gzhung 'grel IHa lcam dPal mos mdzad pa Pra dznya kir ti yis 'gyur ba...* T1815 is found in section II, We(81), 346b1–349b1 and T1816 in section II, We(81), 349b1–377b6.

<sup>276</sup> *gdams*] *em.*, *gdam* Ms

<sup>277</sup> *rgya*] *em.*, *brgya* Ms

<sup>278</sup> *don*] *conj.*, *de na* Ms

<sup>279</sup> *bsgyur*] *em.*, *rgyur* Ms

slong Shes rab grags pa la gus pas gsol ba btab nas bsgyur ba'i thugs dam gyi snying po'o | |.

Both the commentary and the basic text are also found in the dPal spungs xylograph edition of the *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya gzhung*,<sup>280</sup> where the colophons are similar to those found in the T versions, except for some slight variant readings (to which I shall refer whenever they are of relevance for the discussion). The first significant variant in the T colophon in comparison with the DP colophons is the reading **Ma na bhi ha ra dpal las** |, which undoubtedly makes better sense than **Ma nā bi ha ra/la la dang** | found in the DP versions. The colophon of the dPal spungs version reads **Ma na bi ha ra pa la dang** |, which likewise makes little sense syntactically. First, both the T and dPal spungs versions support the reading *ra* (as in D) rather than *la* (as in P), and we shall adopt it here. Now, among the readings *la dang* (DP), *pa la dang* (dPal spungs), and *dpal las* (T), which follow the *paṇḍita*'s name, T's seems to be the only one that makes sense, with *dpal* (*śrī*) as an attribute attached to the presumed *paṇḍita*'s name and *las* as the grammatical particle that goes along with the verb *mnyan* (even if *la* is more common). The reading *la dang* (DP) makes no sense, even if we accept Kragh's emendation of *la* to *pa*—or the alternative emendation of *la* to *lāla*, yielding \*Mānavihāralāla, which Kragh considers less likely—since the syntactical problem with the particle *dang* (which is not addressed by Kragh) still persists. The same is true in the case of the reading *pa la dang* (dPal spungs). While it is obvious that the T and dPal spungs versions are related to each other, it is unclear in what way, so it is hard to tell which of the two readings is earlier or which one better reflects the original reading. In any case, if we follow the reading in T and accept Kragh's suggestion regarding Mānavihāra, we would read "having thoroughly studied [the work] under the great Indian *upādhyāya* \*Mānavihāraśrī, the Tibetan *lo tsā ba* Prajñākīrti, the fully ordained monk of 'Bro, translated [it]." However, there is yet another way to read this passage, which I would like to suggest is not only the better option but in fact the correct one, namely, taking only the phrase "the great Indian *upādhyāya*" as referring to the *paṇḍita* and understanding Mānavihāraśrī—or better, Śrī-Mānavihāra, as the temple is occasionally referred to—to be the location and not the name/epithet of the *paṇḍita*, thus reading "having thoroughly studied [the work] under the great Indian *upādhyāya* at Śrī-Mānavihāra, the Tibetan *lo tsā ba* Prajñākīrti, the full ordained monk of 'Bro, translated [it]," with *las* ideally emended to *la*. The reading *la*, which is indeed found in all other colophons (in combination with *dang* though), would not only go better

<sup>280</sup> The basic text is found in the *Phyag rgya chen po'i rgya gzhung*, vol. 1: 108b4–112a1, and the commentary in *ibid.*: 112a1–140a2.

with the verb *mnyan* but would also serve here as a locative. The question that remains is who this “great Indian *upādhyāya*” is, a question that takes us to the additional passage found in the colophons of both the T and dPal spungs versions. The passage found in the T version can be translated as follows:

[This work], which was translated by the Tibetan *lo tsā ba*, the fully ordained monk Shes rab grags after having been respectfully requested by the fully ordained monk of lHo brag, the Mahāsthavira, Yogīśvara 'Or ston Sangs rgyas grags pa, is the quintessence of [the latter's] cherished objects.

What is most striking about this additional passage is its great similarity to a passage found in the colophon of the second instalment of Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapinḍārthaṭīkā* (D1180/P2310) discussed above (see §2.D.4). Of significance in this regard are some of the variant readings found in the equivalent passage in the dPal spungs version, which include the omission of the attribute lHo brag pa and the reading rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug dBang phyug grags pa instead of rNal 'byor gyi dbang phyug 'Or ston Sangs rgyas grags pa as in the T version, thus yielding a reading that is even more similar to the ones found in the colophons of D1180/P2310. This seems, by the way, to be a sign that the reading of the dPal spungs version is closer to the original one, whereas that of the T version is the result of some editorial reworking. At any rate, what is likewise of relevance for our discussion is the actual translation colophon of the second instalment of D1180/P2310, which reads (as edited above): *rgya gar gyi mkhan po bla ma chen po Mai tri zhabs la | bod kyī lo tsā ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags pas mang du gsol ba btab nas | legs par mnyan te bsgyur ba'o | | |*, where the reference to Maitrīpa as *rgya gar gyi mkhan po bla ma chen po* and the phrase *legs par mnyan te bsgyur ba'o* are to be noted. To be kept in mind is also that, according to the additional passage found in that colophon, 'Bro Shes rab grags obtained the Sanskrit manuscript from Maitrīpa in \*Lalita-pura/paṭṭana and brought it to Tibet, where he translated the second instalment upon the request of the aforementioned dBang phyug grags pa. We may also be reminded of the above-discussed Dārika-pa's *Sekaparakriyāṅgīti* (D1355/P2072; see the previous entry), where the translation colophons of the DP versions read *bod kyī lo tsā ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags pas Bla ma las mnyan nas bsgyur pa rdzogs so | |*, whereas the T version's colophon, which is significantly different, reads *rgya gar gyi mkhan po chen po Me tri zhabs dang |*, identifying the collaborating *paṇḍita* simply referred to in the DP version as “the teacher” (*bla ma*), as Maitrīpāda. In short, we witness a striking similarity in the reference to Maitrīpa as “the great *upādhyāya*/teacher” or simply as “the teacher,” the re-

curing phrase *mnyan nas bsgyur* in all three cases, and a reference to the same petitioner in two cases. It is likewise notable that the location where 'Bro studied the work under Maitrīpa is revealed in the colophons of D1180/P2310 to be \*Lalita-pura/paṭṭana (i.e., today's Patan) and in the colophons of the work under discussion (D2261/P3108) as Śrī-Mānavihāra, which, as already noted by Kragh, was identified by Sylvain Lévi as the present-day Cakravahāra in Patan. These four bits of evidence clearly support the purport of the colophon as: "having thoroughly studied [the work] under the great Indian *upādhyāya* [Maitrīpāda] at Śrī-Mānavihāra, ...." The opacity of the Tibetan formulation obviously caused problems for Tibetan editors and cataloguers alike, which explains the discrepancies in the reading of the phrase *ma na bi/bhi ha ra/la la dang / pa la dang / dPal las*. It may also be that Tibetan editors and cataloguers of the TG, judging from the pertinent records, understood the translator of the basic text (Shes rab grags) and that of the commentary (Prajñākīrti) to be two different persons. Somewhat confusing is also the record in the Zh-TK (followed by later catalogues such as the Ng-TK and the D-TK), which describes Prajñākīrti's translation as a "solo translation" (*rang 'gyur*), a description that does not fit the overall formulation of the Zh-TK record (which in turn reflects the colophon).<sup>281</sup> One possible explanation for the expression *rang 'gyur* in this case would be that, as in that of Vajragarbha's *Hevajrapinḍārthaṭīkā*, 'Bro Shes rab grags first studied the work under Maitrīpa in Nepal and did the actual translation, by himself, only later back in Tibet. This scenario could also be read out of the translation colophon of D1355/P2072 discussed in the previous entry. To be emphasized is that the colophons of the work under discussion seem to be the only case in which 'Bro Shes rab grags is referred to as Prajñākīrti, and one wonders whether this is the result of an editorial intervention rather than that it was the name used by the translator himself. As already noted, both the *I-TK* and *BCh* name the translator as Shes rab grags. This is also the case with the *GI-TK*.<sup>282</sup>

### (C) Translations in Collaboration with Jñānavajra

As noted by Kragh, 'Bro Shes rab grags did one translation in collaboration with the Kashmiri Jñānavajra.

<sup>281</sup> See the Zh-TG (496.4–5): *IHan cig skyes grub rgyal po Indra bhū tis mdzad pa | paṅḍi ta Zla ba'i mgon po dang | lo tsā ba Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur | IHan cig skyes grub kyi gzhung 'grel lHa lcam btsun ma dPal mos mdzad pa | paṅḍi ta Ma nā bi ha la la dang | lo tsā ba Pra dznyā kirti'i rang 'gyur |*; Ng-TK (70.17–20); D-TK (vol. 2: 388a5–6).

<sup>282</sup> See the *GI-TK* (261.4–5): *IHan cig skyes grub kyi gzhung 'grel lCam dPal mos mdzad pa Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur....*

(1) D486/P118. *Rab tu gnas pa mdor bsdus pa'i rgyud* (*Supratīṣṭhātān-trasaṅgraha*). Colo: **Rab tu gnas pa mdor bsdus pa'i cho ga'i rgyud**<sup>283</sup> rdzogs so | | | | kha che'i paṅḍi ta chen po **Dznyiā na badzra dang** | lo tsā ba **'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags pas bsgyur ba'o** | | . There seems to be no conflicting information regarding the translation team. Of some interest perhaps is that some of the versions, including sNar thang (N437), sTog (S444), and Shel dkar (Z457), have no translation colophon (the translation, however, is the same). To be noted here in passing is also that in the Phug brag version (F483) there is a remark after the translation colophon discussing the classification of the *tantra*, but this should not concern us here.<sup>284</sup> Early catalogues, such as the *R-KC* and *BCh*, likewise name 'Bro Shes grags as the translator.<sup>285</sup>

#### (D) Translations in Collaboration with Mañjuḥoṣa

Kragh lists one translation by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with the Indian Mañjuḥoṣa, which he says was done before or after his stay in Nepal. At any rate, as pointed out by Kragh, the colophon explicitly states the translation site was the secluded locale Yer pa.

(1) D1206/P2336. Nāgārjuna's (ascribed) *dGongs pa'i skad kyi 'grel pa* (*Samdhibhāṣāṭīkā*). Colo: **rDo rje mkha' 'gro ma nam kyis bshad pa nam grangs bdun gyi le'u slob dpon 'phags pa Klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so** | | | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po **Manydzu gho ṣa dang** | bod kyi lo tsā ba **'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyis Yer pa'i dben gnas su bsgyur ba'o** | | . The work, which is classified as belonging to the Hevajra section, does not seem to have been recorded in the *R-KC*. It is, however, recorded in the *I-TK*, which names the translator as Shes rab grags. The *I-TK* is followed by the *T-TK* and *BCh* with identical records. The colophon of the *T* version is identical with those of the *DP* versions, which, as we have seen, offer a clear identification of the translator as 'Bro Shes rab grags.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>283</sup> rgyud] D, mdo P. Note that also the gTsang rong version (Cx09.4) reads *mdo*. This variant reading is, however, of no great significance.

<sup>284</sup> See F487. Colo: **Rab gnas kyis cho ga rdzogs so** | | | | kha che'i paṅḍi ta **Dznyiā na badzra dang** | **'Bro lo tstsha ba'i 'gyur** | | 'di ni phyi yis de nyid bcu'i bar du byas pa'i phyir rNal **'byor gyi rgyud bskor du gtoḡs so zhes mkhas pa 'ga' zhiḡ gsung ba ltar bris so** | | **rGyud 'bum phal che ba las ni Rab gnas kyis rgyud 'di** [rgyud 'di em., 'di rgyud Ms] **Bya rgyud kyis nang du bris 'dug go** | | .... The passage continues with a discussion regarding the classification of other *tantras* in the volume (i.e., rGyud, vol. Da (109)).

<sup>285</sup> See the *R-KC*: [Rr28.41] **Rab gnas mdor bsdus kyis rgyud...**; *BCh*: [Bc1249] **Rab gnas mdor bsdus pa'i rgyud 'Bro Shes rab grags kyis 'gyur** | .

<sup>286</sup> See the *I-TK* (A, 11a6; B, 8a1-2 = I<sub>js</sub>149): **dGongs pa'i skad kyi 'grel pa slob dpon Klu sgrub** <sup>[Nā gā rdzu na]</sup> **kyis mdzad pa Shes rab grags kyis 'gyur** | ; *BCh*: [Bc2305]; *T-TK* (25b7-26a1 = T0533). T0533 is found in section II, Mi(47), 250a4-256a2.

## (E) Translations in Collaboration with Samantabhadra

I have been able to locate one translation by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with the Indian Samantabhadra, which is found only in the T TG.

(1) T1963. *rNam pa lnga mngon par rdzogs par byang chub pa*. Colo: *rNam pa lnga mngon par byang chub pa'i rim pa rdzogs s.ho | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po shri Sa man ta bā tra dang bod kyi lo tsa ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur*<sup>287</sup> | |.<sup>288</sup> Neither the colophon nor the record in the *T-TK* mentions the name of the author.<sup>289</sup> I was not able to locate this work in the DP TG editions, and it appears that it has not been recorded in any of the catalogues except for the *T-TK*. The colophon explicitly identifies the translator as 'Bro Shes rab grags, and Samantabhadra could well be the same *paṇḍita* who collaborated with Nag tsho lo tsā ba on the translation of two works (D1264/P2420 & D2253/P3098), but there is no concrete evidence to support this assumption.

## (F) Solo Translations

Kragh lists two cases of solo translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags. One of them I have discussed above (see §3), showing that it is actually a translation by 'Bro lo tsā ba \*Dharmābhi, who was misidentified by Kragh as 'Bro Shes rab grags. The other translation does not seem to be an entirely straightforward case, and the work itself appears to be somewhat doubtful. Nonetheless, in want of decisive evidence to prove otherwise, it will be discussed here as a possible solo translation by 'Bro Shes rab grags.

(1) ? D1452/P2169. Kṛṣṇa(cārin)'s *Rim pa bzhi'i rnam par 'byed pa (Ālicatuṣṭayavibhaṅga)*. Colo: *dPal rim pa bzhi pa'i 'grel pa ā tsārya Nag po nyid kyis mdzad pa rdzogs so | | | bod kyi lo tsā ba 'Bro dge slong Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba'o | |*. There are several particulars that raise questions regarding the origin (and thus authenticity) of this work. First, the work does not seem to have been recorded in most of the early catalogues consulted for the present investigation (i.e., *R-KC(Ø)*, *U-TK(Ø)*, *BCh(Ø)*, *Zh-TK(Ø)*<sup>290</sup>), the only exception

<sup>287</sup> *kyis bsgyur*] *em.*, *kyi sgyur* ? Ms (The post- and prescribed °s and b° may have been added by the scribe as a correction, but due to excess of ink the spot is illegible.)

<sup>288</sup> T1963 is found in section II, Ye(85), 346a1–351a6.

<sup>289</sup> See the *T-TK* (67a3): [T1963] *rNam pa lnga mngon par rdzogs par byang chub pa Shes rab grags kyis bsgyur ba...*

<sup>290</sup> Notable, too, is that it is not found in the catalogue to the sNe'u gdong TG edition composed several decades after the *Zh-TK*. See the *Ne-TK* (369.1–2), where one would expect the record to be found. The *Ng-TK* does not record it either. See the *Ng-TK* (21.2–4), where the record would be expected. It also seems to be missing



being the *T-TK*, which likewise ascribes the translation to 'Bro Shes rab grags. The colophon of the T version is identical with those of the DP versions,<sup>291</sup> and it is very likely that the work found its way into the mainstream TG editions via the T TG edition (or one akin to it). Second, the colophons do not mention any *paṇḍita* as having collaborated with 'Bro Shes rab grags on the translation, which is not impossible but certainly noteworthy. Third, Tāranātha, in his commentary on the *Rim pa bzhi pa*, mentions its three Indian commentaries, referring to the work under discussion as being falsely regarded as an autocommentary, though it is not entirely clear whether he actually considered it to be a pseudepigraph of Indic or Tibetic origin.<sup>292</sup> Moreover, provided that the work was indeed translated from Sanskrit, then given that Pu rangs lo chung is known to have specialized in the translation (and transmission) of Cakrasaṃvara-related works, including the basic text *Rim pa bzhi pa*, one wonders whether he was the Shes rab grags who translated this presumed autocommentary (this scenario would also partly explain a solo translation without the collaboration of a *paṇḍita*). If this is the case, the ascription of the translation to 'Bro Shes rab grags should be regarded as a confusion between the two translators. For lack of further evidence, however, we must for now follow the colophons, which name 'Bro Shes rab grags as the translator.

### (G) Ambiguous Translation Ascriptions

There are two works the identity of whose translator is uncertain. I shall nonetheless tentatively list them here as possible translations by 'Bro Shes rab grags.

(1) ? D3703/P4527. Śaṅku's *mKha' lding grub pa'i bstan bcos* (*Siddhagaruḍaśāstra*). Among the works Kragh lists as translated by 'Bro Shes rab grags in collaboration with Prince Abhayadeva (all these translations have been discussed in §2.D., under the section discussing translations by Pu rangs lo chung in collaboration with Prince \*Bhīmadeva), he includes one work that was possibly likewise translated by this team. Due to the uncertain identity of both the Tibetan translator and his collaborating *paṇḍita*, it is listed here as well. As already pointed out above (§2.D.3), regardless of the identity of the collaborating *paṇḍita* (who may well have again been Maitrīpa), a

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from the *GI-TK*. It is further striking that the *5th-TK* (like the *Zh-TK*) omits the record corresponding to P2169, although the work was quite likely contained therein. See the *5th-TK* (21a3–4), where the record would be expected.

<sup>291</sup> See the *T-TK* (20a4): [T0377] *Rim pa bzhi pa'i 'grel pa Nag po pa nyid kyis mdzad pa 'Bro Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur*! . T0377 is found in section II, Ji(38), 257a3–269a3.

<sup>292</sup> See the *Rim pa bzhi pa'i gzhung 'grel chen* (89.11–12): *gzhan rang 'grel du kha 'phangs pa'i bsdus pa zhig dang*!....

decisive identification of the translator, Prajñākīrti, has not been possible, but we cannot entirely exclude that he is to be identified with 'Bro Shes rab grags.

(2) ? T0607. Durjayacandra's *mKha' 'gro lnga'i bsgrub thabs*. Colo: ... **Mi thub zla bas spras pas gyur pa'i ngag** | | [...] **mKha' 'gro'i lnga'i bsgrub thabs rnam spyod pa** | rdzogs s.hyo | | rgya gar gyi mkhan po paṇḍi ta **Nī la badzra dang** | bod gyi lo tsha ba dge slong **Shes rab grags pas** bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o | | **mKha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur gyi rigs bsdu pa'i bsgrub pa'i thabs** zhes bya ba | rdzogs s.ho | | |.<sup>293</sup> According to the colophon, this translation, which has been transmitted only in the T TG, was done by Shes rab grags (with no exact identification) in collaboration with Nīlavajra. The record in the T-TK does not provide any further information that could help in identifying this Shes rab grags.<sup>294</sup>

The work in question, which belongs to the genre of "spiritual songs" (*gur*) and is associated with the Hevajra literature, has also been transmitted in the mainstream TG edition under the title *mKha' 'gro ma rdo rje gur gyi mkha' 'gro rnam pa lnga'i sgrub pa'i thabs* (*Dākinīvajrapañjarapañcaḍākasādhana*; D1321/P2453) with a translation ascription to Se rtsa/tsha bSod nams rgyal mtshan (b. 11th cent.; BDR: P4180)<sup>295</sup> in collaboration with Līlavajra. Colo: **Mi thub zla bas rnam par spras pa'i mKha' 'gro lnga'i sgrub**<sup>296</sup> **pa'i thabs zhes bya ba** rdzogs so | | | rgya gar gyi<sup>297</sup> mkhan po **Li la badzra dang** | bod kyi lo tsā ba<sup>298</sup> **bSod nams rgyal mtshan gyis** | rang gi dam chos gsal bar byed pas na | rang dang gzhan gyi don du legs par bsgyur | |. The version transmitted in the DP TG editions is indeed a different translation from the one transmitted in the T TG edition, which is ascribed to Shes rab grags. No *paṇḍita* named Nīlavajra (T version) is known to have collaborated on any other translation. Could this be a corruption of the name Līlavajra, the *paṇḍita* who collaborated with Se rtsa/tsha bSod nams rgyal mtshan on the translation of the DP version? Or could it be a corruption of the name Anīlavajra, a *paṇḍita* stated as having collaborated with 'Gos Khug pa lhas btsas (b. 11th cent.; BDR: 3458) on the translation of one work (D1629/P2501)? At any rate, none of these options brings us any closer to identifying the Shes rab grags in question.

Of relevance for our discussion is that the work is recorded in the

<sup>293</sup> T0607 is found in section II, Tshi(49), 102b5–110b4.

<sup>294</sup> See the T-TK (28a5): [T0607] *mKha' 'gro lnga'i bsgrub thabs Mi thub zla bas mdzad pa Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur* |.

<sup>295</sup> See the Zh-TK (448.1–2) cited below (note 299), where an exact identification of the translator as Se rtsa pa bSod nams rgyal mtshan is provided.

<sup>296</sup> sgrub] D, bsgrub P

<sup>297</sup> gyi] P, om. D

<sup>298</sup> ba] P, om. D

*U-TK* twice, one time in the Hevajra section with a translation ascription to bSod nams rgyal mtshan and another time in chapter 19—which contains rare works that thematically belong to various sections and that were located and added to the *U* TG edition at a later stage (found in both MSS A & B)—with no mention of the translator. This latter record is probably a reference to the version that was admitted into the T TG edition, where it is ascribed to Shes rab grags, whose exact identity remains unclear. The *BCh* merely includes the former record, and so does the *Zh-TK*, followed by later catalogues.<sup>299</sup> Notable is that the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* ascribes the translation of this and four other works by Durjayacandra to 'Brog mi [Shākya ye shes].<sup>300</sup>

### (H) Erroneously Ascribed Translations

One work recorded by both the *U-TK* and *BCh* as having been translated by 'Bro Shes rab grags at first glance seems to have been lost. As I shall, however, argue below, this translation ascription appears to be erroneous.

(1) The translation in question is recorded in the *U-TK* with the title *sGrub thabs kyi cho ga rim par phye ba*, whose authorship is ascribed to Sādhuputra and the translation of which to Shes rab grags (i.e., with no further attributes that would allow an exact identification). The record, which has no equivalent in the *R-KC*, is also found in the *BCh* with no authorship ascription and a translation ascription to 'Bro, which is clearly a reference to 'Bro Shes rab grags.<sup>301</sup> At first

<sup>299</sup> See the *U-TK* (A, 12a3–4; B, 8b4 = *U*<sub>JS</sub>172): *slob dpon Mi thub zla bas* (Dham ka da sha) *mdzad pa'i Gur gyi mkha' 'gro lnga'i sgrub thabs bSod nams rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* |; *ibid.* (A, 63a6; B, 51a1 = *U*<sub>JS</sub>1354): *slob dpon Mi thub zla bas* (A dzi ta tsandra) *mdzad pa Gur gyi mkha' 'gro lnga'i sgrub thabs* |; *BCh*: [Bc2321]; *Zh-TK* (448.1–2): *gur rigs bsdus [pa?] mkha' 'gro lnga'i sgrub thabs Mi thub zla bas mdzad pa* | *Li la badzra dang* | *Se rtsa ba bSod nams rgyal mtshan gyi 'gyur* |; *Ng-TK* (35.6–7); *D-TK* (vol. 2: 347b4–5). On the different Sanskrit reconstructions of the name Mi thub zla ba offered by the glosses found in MS A of the *U-TK*, see Almogi 2020: 191.

<sup>300</sup> See the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* (243.13–17): *Kye rdo rje'i dkyil mchog bzang po yongs bzung* (= D1240/P2369) *dang* | *Yan lag drug pa'i sgrub thabs* (= D1239/P2369) *dang* | *bDag med ma'i sgrub thabs* (= D1306/P2436) *dang* | *rDo rje gur mkha' 'gro lnga'i sgrub thabs* (= D1321/P2453) *dang* | *'Byung po thams cad pa'i gtor ma'i cho ga* (= D1241/P2370) *rnams slob dpon Mi thub zla bas mdzad pa 'Brog mi'i 'gyur* |. Indeed, all translations but the one of the work under discussion (underlined) have been transmitted in the mainstream TG editions with a translation ascription to 'Brog mi Shākya ye shes.

<sup>301</sup> See the *U-TK* (A, 38a2; B, 30a3–4): *paṇḍi ta Sā dhu pu tras* (Legs pa mdo sde) *mdzad pa'i* [... *U*<sub>JS</sub>821...]| [*U*<sub>JS</sub>822] *sGrub thabs kyi cho ga rim par phye ba Shes rab grags kyi 'gyur* |. That the authorship ascription to Sādhuputra refers to both *U*<sub>JS</sub>821 and *U*<sub>JS</sub>822, as suggested here, is not obvious from the formulation in the *U-TK* and is based on the corresponding entries in later TG catalogues and the respective col-

glance, the record seems to be missing from the *Zh-TK* and from later TG catalogues. Accordingly, the work also seems to be missing from the TG. Nonetheless, it is undoubtedly to be identified with D1358/P2075, namely, Sādhuputra's *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i sgrub pa'i thabs* (*Śrīkālacakrasādhana*), whose translation is ascribed to [Rwa lo tsā ba] Chos rab (fl. 11th cent.; BDRC: P4136) in collaboration with Vāgīśvaragupta. This identification is supported by the DP colophons, which provide the same title as recorded in the *I-TK* and *BCh* (which is different from the title found at the beginning of the text, and thus also in modern catalogues): *bCom ldan 'das dpal dus kyi 'khor lo'i sgrub thabs kyi cho ga'i rim par phye ba rdzogs so || || Dus kyi 'khor lo pa chen po paṇḍi ta Sā dhu pu tra yis*<sup>302</sup> *paṇḍi ta chen po Dharma ā ka ra*<sup>303</sup> *shānti'i don du mdzad pa | rgya gar gyi paṇḍi ta chen po Wā gī shwa ra gupta pa dang | sgra bsgyur gyi lo tsā ba dge slong Chos rab bdag gis bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o | .* The confusion in the *T-TK* (followed by the *BCh*) may have arisen due to the syllable *bdag* attached to the translator's name in the DP colophons, which makes little sense, but it may have well been the reading in the colophon of the *I* TG edition. This could have led to the erroneous reading *Shes rab grags* in the *I-TK* (i.e., a miscorrection). This error has been corrected in both the *T-TK* and in the respective T colophon, both of which read *Chos rab* (i.e., without the syllable *bdag*).<sup>304</sup> The collaboration of *Chos rab* with Vāgīśvaragupta is known from other translations, whereas such a collaboration is not attested in the case of 'Bro *Shes rab grags*. Bu ston has likewise corrected the translation ascription in the *Zh-TK*, which was followed by later catalogues.<sup>305</sup>

### 5. Concluding Remarks

The above investigation has aimed at identifying translations done by a translator (or translators) named *Shes rab grags*, *Prajñākīrti*, and

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ophons. See also the *BCh*: [Bc2617] *sGrub thabs kyi cho ga rim par phye ba dang |* [...] *gnyis* (= Bc2617 & Bc2618) 'Bro 'gyur |. For Bc2618, see above (§4.A.5).

<sup>302</sup> tra yis] tras D

<sup>303</sup> dharma ā ka ra] dharmā ka P

<sup>304</sup> See the *T-TK* (7b6–7): [T0070] *Dus kyi 'khor lo'i sku gsung thugs yongs su rdzogs pa'i bsgrub thabs Sā dhu pu tras mdzad pa Chos rab kyi 'gyur |*. T0070 is found in section II, Nga(5), 66b1–100a5. The colophon is virtually identical to those of the DP versions, the main variant being the omission of the syllable *bdag*.

<sup>305</sup> See the *Zh-TK* (420.5–6): [= D1358] *dPal dus kyi 'khor lo'i sgrub pa'i thabs dang |* [= D1359] *dKyiil 'khor gyi cho ga gnyis slob dpon Sā dhu pu tras mdzad pa | paṇḍi ta Wā ge shwa ra gupta dang | lo tsā ba Rwa Chos rab kyi 'gyur |*; Ng-TK (15.6–9); D-TK (vol. 2: 349b4–5). The *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* appears to record only the latter work (= D1359). See the *Gl-TK<sub>T</sub>* (246.4–5): *Dus 'khor gyi dkyil chog Sa dhu pu tras mdzad pa Chos rab kyi 'gyur |*.

other similar names, the point of departure having been an article by Ulrich Timme Kragh published in 2010, which discusses the “translation endeavors” of ‘Bro Shes rab grags. I have shown that many (if not most) of the translations claimed by Kragh to be by ‘Bro Shes rab grags are actually translations by Pu rangs lo chung, while one of them is by a rather unknown translator named ‘Bro \*Dharmābhi. In addition, I attempted to identify, hopefully accurately and convincingly, some of the *paṇḍitas* listed by Kragh as having collaborated on the translations in question, but whose identity has thus far not been entirely clear. Moreover, I also attempted to locate works that were not discussed by Kragh but have been (possibly) translated by either ‘Bro Shes rab grags or Pu rangs lo chung in order to offer a comprehensive overview of the translation activities of the two translators so that similar confusion might be avoided in the future. Despite my attempts to be as comprehensive as possible, I am aware that there may be further sources that could shed more light on some of the remaining unclear cases, and it is hoped that this gap will be closed in the future. I have likewise pointed out that there has been some confusion concerning the identity of the translators ‘Bro Shes rab grags and Pu rangs lo chung in the traditional sources as well, and similarly also between ‘Bro Shes rab grags and ‘Bro \*Dharmābhi, on the one hand, and between Pu rangs lo chung and Ma snang Grags ‘byor shes rab, on the other hand, all of which made the investigation even more complex. Nonetheless, I have the impression that Tibetan scholars have been aware of this problem, and I suspect that editors and cataloguers of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon in particular attempted to reduce the risk of confusing ‘Bro Shes rab grags and Pu rangs lo chung as much as possible by replacing the name Shes rab grags with Prajñākīrti whenever it referred to Pu rangs lo chung. I believe that the catalogue records and the colophons presented above support this hypothesis. One issue that I have not discussed at all is Kragh’s attempt to determine the dates of some of the *paṇḍitas* involved in the translations and of ‘Bro Shes rab grags’s travels. In the light of the fact that many of the translations Kragh suggests are by ‘Bro Shes rab grags turn out not to be by him, and considering the suggested identification of some of the *paṇḍitas* in the present study, Kragh’s proposed dates are clearly questionable and must therefore be entirely reconsidered.

### Technical Note

Efforts have been made to critically edit all Tibetan texts provided in the present article. To be noted, however, is that accidental variants in the Tibetan texts, such as those concerning segmentation marks, orthographic variants (such as *pa/ba*, *lo tsā/tsha/tshtsha*), and the like

have not been recorded unless they are of significance. Orthographic abbreviations (*skung yig*) have been commonly silently expanded. Unless of particular significance, scribal or editorial corrections found in the cited manuscripts and xylographs have, as a rule, not been reported, the corrected reading being silently adopted. No attempt has been made to correct/emend Sanskrit names/words in Tibetan transliterations unless this had implications for the reading. Moreover, variants of transliterated Sanskrit names/words have not been recorded, the reading closest to the Sanskrit having generally been opted for. The correct or reconstructed Sanskrit names or terms are offered in the respective English translation or discussion. Moreover, apart from a few exceptions, the Sanskrit titles of Indic works in Tibetan translation are given in accordance with the modern catalogues of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon. Only in some obviously doubtful cases they have been marked as reconstructions by way of an asterisk. Sanskrit and Tibetan short titles are employed without an asterisk.

Colophons have been cited without verses of dedication and the like unless these were relevant to the discussion. Glosses and inter-linear or marginal notes found in the cited sources are recorded only if they are of relevance, and are given within raised curly brackets <sup>[...]</sup> (those found in MS B of the *U-TK* within double ones <sup>[[...]]</sup>). Passages cited from the Title Index of the *BCh* follow as a rule Nishioka's reading (L). In cases in which variant readings provided by him in the apparatus (DTS) appeared preferable, they have been in most cases silently adopted. The same practice has been applied in the case of the *R-KC* (van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009). Also note that for the *R-KC*, *BCh*, *U-TK*, and *T-TK* records, references have been made to the catalogue numbers assigned in van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009, Nishioka 1980–1983, Jampa Samten 2015, and Jampa Samten 2016, respectively, also in cases where the identifications given are different from those offered by these catalogues.

An attempt has been made to take all relevant traditional catalogues (*dkar chag*) of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon into consideration, whereas the two smaller "mainstream *bsTan 'gyur* editions—sDe dge (D) and Co ne (C)—are represented by sDe dge in terms of both edition and catalogue, and the three larger ones—Peking (P), sNar thang (N), and Golden (G)—are represented by Peking in terms of the edition and by the catalogue to what I refer to as the Fifth Dalai Lama's edition (i.e., the one prepared to make it seem that the Fifth Dalai Lama was still alive, the compilership of whose catalogue was likewise disingenuously ascribed to him), because it served (as did the edition itself) as the basis for all three. (I refrain from referring to this edition as the 'Phyong rgyas or Phying bar stag rtse edition in order to differentiate it from another edition prepared there earlier.) An

overview of the catalogues employed in the current study is found in Almogi 2020: 112ff. Note that Jampa Samten's edition of *dBus pa blo gsal's* catalogue of the Old sNar thang *bsTan 'gyur* (M) is solely based on MS B, which contains considerably fewer records and in fact lacks the whole of chapter 21 (for more on this issue, see Almogi 2021), and that as a result records found only in MS A currently lack catalogue numbers (an edition based on both MSS is currently under preparation). Whenever such a record was cited, it was assigned a number by taking the preceding catalogue number assigned by Jampa Samten ( $I_{JS}$ ) and adding a serial number to it, for example,  $I_{JS}618.1$  and  $I_{JS}618.2$  for two additional records following record  $I_{JS}618$ . Records cited from chapter 21 have been cited without a catalogue number.

### Abbreviations & Special Signs

A = author.

*add.* = adds.

Coll = collaborator (i.e., *paṇḍita* collaborating on the translation).

Colo = colophon.

*conj.* = conjecture.

dupl. = duplicate.

*em.* = emendation.

id. = idem/identical.

*JoCh* = *Jo bo chos chung*.

KG = *bKa' 'gyur*.

∅ = no record.

*om.* = omits.

R = reviser, revision.

TG = *bsTan 'gyur*.

Tr = translator.

! = title page (i.e., when following a page/folio number)

### Sigla

Bc = See *BCh*; Nishioka 1980–1983.

Cx = gTsang rong (Charang, Mustang) Golden Manuscript Edition. 97 vols. [rKTs; BDRC: W3CN1302]. Catalogue nos. according to rKTs.

D = sDe dge KG & TG Xylograph Edition. KG: 102+1 vols. [BDRC: W22084]; TG: 212+1 vols. [BDRC: W23703]. Catalogue nos. according to Ui et al. 1934.

F = Phug brag KG Manuscript Edition. 119+1 vols. [BDRC: W1KG13607]. Catalogue nos. according to Jampa Samten 1992.

- H = IHa sa Xylograph Edition. 99+1 vols. [BDRC: W26071]. Catalogue nos. according to Members of Staff 1998.
- K = See *'Phang thang ma*; Kawagoe 2005.
- L = See *lDan/lHan dkar ma*; Lalou 1953.
- N = sNar thang KG Xylograph Edition. 101+1 vols. [BDRC: W22703]. Catalogue nos. according to Members of Staff 1998.
- P = Peking KG & TG Xylograph Edition. KG: 107+1 vols. [BDRC: W1KG26108]; TG: 224+1 vols. [BDRC: W1KG13126]. Catalogue nos. according to Suzuki 1961.
- Rr = See *R-KC*; van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009.
- S = sTog Manuscript KG Edition. 108+1 vols. [BDRC: W22083]. Catalogue nos. according to Skorupski 1985.
- T = Tshal pa TG Manuscript Edition. 240 vols. [Could be viewed only in part]. Catalogue nos. according to Jampa Samten 2016.
- Z = Shel dkar (= Shey) KG Manuscript Edition. 105 vol. [rKTs; BDRC: WA1PD127393 (4 vol. missing)]. Catalogue nos. according to rKTs.
- II = Old sNar thang TG edition (not available); see *II-TK*.
- II<sub>js</sub> = Old sNar thang TG edition (not available). Catalogue nos. according to Jampa Samten 2015 (Ms B); see *II-TK*.

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### 1. Tibetan Language Catalogues

- 5th-TK* = *lNga pa chen po bstan dkar* = Dalai Lama V Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (disingenuously ascribed), *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag 'jig rten gsum gyi bde skyid pad tshal bzhad pa'i nyin byed*. In *The Tibetan Tripitaka. Peking Edition*. Ōtani University, Tokyo–Kyoto, 1955–1961, vol. 151, 61-4–119-1 (fols. 1–144).
- BCh* = *Bu ston chos 'byung* = Bu ston Rin chen grub, *bDe bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod*. (On the cover: *Bu ston chos 'byung*). Beijing: Krung go'i bod kyi shes rig dpe skrun khang, 1991 (second edition); Title Index part as edited in Nishioka 1980–1983 (= Bc).
- D-TK* = *sDe dge bstan dkar* = Zhu chen Tshul khriims rin chen, *Thams cad mkhyen pa chen po nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung spyi dang bye brag gi dgongs don rnam par 'grel pa'i bstan bcos gangs can pa'i skad du 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi chos sbyin rgyun mi 'chad pa'i ngo mtshar 'phrul gyi phyi mo rdzogs ldan bskal pa'i bsod nams kyi sprin phung rgyas par dkrigs pa'i tshul las brtsams pa'i gtam ngo mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gsar ba*. 2 vols. D4569. [BDRC: W1KG10093] (= D).
- GI-TK<sub>s</sub>* = *Glo bo bstan dkar (Sūtra Section)* = Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag thub bstan rgyas pa'i nyi*



- 'od. In *E waṃ bka' 'bum*. 20 vols. Mes po'i shul bzhag 132–151. Compiled by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009–2010, vol. 7: 270–304. [BDRC: W1KG8320].
- Gl-TK<sub>T</sub> = *Glo bo bstan dkar (Tantra Section)* = Ngor chen Kun dga' bzang po, *rDo rje theg pa'i bstan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag*. In *E waṃ bka' 'bum* = *E waṃ bka' 'bum*. 20 vols. Mes po'i shul bzhag 132–151. Compiled by dPal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib 'jug khang. Beijing: Krung go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2009–2010, vol. 7: 241–269. [BDRC: W1KG8320].
- Ne-TK = *sNe'u gdong bstan dkar* = bSod nams dpal bzang po, Shākya 'od pa, Byang chub rgyal mtshan (wrongly ascribed to sGra tshad pa Rin chen rnam rgyal), *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che'i za ma tog*. In *The Collected Works of Bu-ston (zhol par ma)*. Edited by Lokesh Chandra from the collections of Raghu Vira. 28 vols. Śata-piṭaka Series Indo Asian Literatures 41–68. New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1965–1971, vol. 28 (Sa), 343–573. [BDRC: W22106].
- Ng-TK = *Ngam ring bstan dkar* = Jo nang Phyogs las rnam rgyal, *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag dri med 'od kyi phreng ba*. In *bsTan bcos 'gyur ro 'tshal gyi dkar chag dang dus 'khor sgrub thabs sogs*. (On the cover: *bsTan 'gyur dkar chag*). Jo nang dpe tshogs 23. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2010, 1–177. [BDRC: W1KG9028].
- R-KC = *Rig ral dkar chag* = bCom ldan rig pa'i ral gri, *bsTan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*. In van der Kuijp & Schaeffer 2009: 101–277 (= Rr).
- T-TK = *Tshal pa bstan dkar* = dGe ba'i bshes gnyen dGe 'dun rin chen, *bsTan 'gyur gyi dkar chag sna tshogs nor bu'i phung po*. dBu med Ms. 99 fols. [scans]. (= T, see also Jampa Samten 2016).
- Zh-TK = *Zhwa lu bstan dkar* = Bu ston Rin chen grub, *bsTan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba*. In *Bu ston gsung 'bum*, A: vol. 26 (La): 401–643 (Xy); B: vol. 26 (La): 569–896 (MS, consulted occasionally).
- I-TK = *dBus pa blo gsal bstan dkar* = dBus pa blo gsal, *bsTan bcos kyi dkar chag*. A: MS, dBu med, 81 fols. [BDRC: W2CZ7507] (= I1); B: MS, dBu med, 58 fols., in *dBus pa blo gsal gyi gsung phyogs bsdus*, 2 vols., s.l., s.n., n.d., vol. 2, separate foliation (PDF, 107–222). [BDRC: W2PD17520] (= I1s, see also Jampa Samten 2015: 1–118).

## 2. Other Sources in Tibetan Language

*Baidūrya g.ya' sel* = sDe srid Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, *bsTan bcos baidūrya dkar po las dri lan 'khrul snang g.ya' sel don gi bzhin ras ston byed*. In *Bod lugs gso rig rtsa che'i dpe rnying kun btus*. Compiled by Nyi ma tshe ring. 30 vols. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 2014, vol. 22: 1–384 (separate foliation, PDF: 27–368). [BDRC: W2PD17386].

*Blo gsal mig thur* = 'Jam mgon A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (collated & edited), *dPal kyai rdo rje'i rgyud 'chad pa'i sngon du 'gro ba rgyud sde spyi'i rnam gzhag la nye bar mkho ba'i legs bshad rje rdo rje 'chang gi gsung la chos rje dpal gyi rgyal mtshan gyis zin bris su mdzad pa'i gsung rab ngo mtshar can gyi ma dpe tshig sna ring thung sogs cung zad mi 'dra ba gsum la sa skya pa sngags 'chang ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams kyis 'dra bsdur zhus dag bgyis pa'i legs par bshad pa blo gsal mig thur*. In *dPal sa skya pa chen po sngags 'chang thams cad mkhyen pa ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams kyis gsung 'bum*. 29 vols. [Kathmandu]: Sa skya rgyal yongs gsung rab slob gnyer khang, 2000, vol. 21, 1–82. [BDRC: W29307].

*bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed* = Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho, *bsTan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed*. Gangs can rig mdzod 4. Lhasa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987. [BDRC: W10247].

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*Deb sngon* = 'Gos lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*. 2 vols. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984. [BDRC: W1KG5762].

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### 3. Indic Sources

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## 5. Digital Resources

- BDRC = Digital Buddhist Resource Center, at <http://www.tbrc.org>.
- BUDA = The Buddhist Digital Archives by the BDRC, at <https://library.bdrc.io/>. [The research conducted within the framework of the present paper consulted both the BDRC and BUDA websites. The references provided by way of BDRC RID are valid for both.]
- BuddhaNexus = BuddhaNexus at [buddhanexus.net](http://buddhanexus.net).
- rKTs = Resources for Kanjur Tanjur Studies, at <https://www.istb.univie.ac.at/kanjur/rktsneu/>.
- Tibskrit = Dan Martin, *Tibskrit Philology. A Bio-bibliographical Resource Work*. Edited by Alexander Cherniak. Version from 2020.

TPNI = Dan Martin, Tibetan Proper Name Index, at  
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