

The Cultural History of Western Tibet

西部西藏的文化历史

来自中国藏学研究机构和维也纳大学的最新研究

Recent Research from
the China Tibetology Research Center
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WIENER STUDIEN ZUR TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE
HEFT 71

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CHINA TIBETOLOGY RESEARCH CENTER
ARBEITSKREIS FÜR TIBETISCHE UND BUDDHISTISCHE STUDIEN
UNIVERSITÄT WIEN

WIEN 2008

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TIBETOLOGIE UND BUDDHISMUSKUNDE

GEGRÜNDET VON
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HERAUSGEGEBEN VON
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Western Tibetan Kanjur Tradition

Helmut Tauscher and Bruno Lainé
(University of Vienna)

This presentation does not aim at a comprehensive survey of the Western Tibetan Kanjur tradition or the present state of research on this topic; it is rather meant to be a report on the activities of the research project “Tibetan Manuscripts” and some of its results to date. This project is part of the trans-disciplinary National Research Network “The Cultural History of the Western Himalayas” at the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

Scholarly research on the Tibetan Buddhist Canon, primarily the Kanjur, started already in the first half of the nineteenth century with the analytical studies of Alexander Csoma de Kőrös, one of the pioneers of European Tibetological studies.¹ He based his studies on the Narthang blockprint edition of 1730-32. However, only in very recent decades have such studies – with more and more material becoming available – been given a broader basis. Due to the pioneering works of Géza Bethlenfalvy, Helmut Eimer, Peter Skilling and others, “Kanjur Studies” has by now justifiably emerged as one of the most important sub-disciplines within the field of Tibetan studies. This is not surprising, given that the evolving canon is essentially the record of the development of a substantial part of the Tibetan literary, religious and cultural heritage.

Csoma de Kőrös seemed to believe that he was studying the one and only Tibetan Kanjur, and for a long time to come it was commonly believed that the “Old Narthang manuscript Kanjur”, compiled by Bu ston Rinpoche and others some time after 1310, was the textual archetype of all the other Kanjurs, and that the various diverging editions were merely the result of editorial efforts and the changes that naturally happen in the course of centuries of copying, either by hand or by block-printing. Now it seems

1 Csoma Kőrösi 1836-1839.

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rather to be the case that the “Old Narthang manuscript Kanjur” was rather a conceptual prototype of the other Kanjurs,² and collections of the same kind were also formed in other places within the sphere of the Tibetan Buddhist cultural influence. These were attempts to structure the textual holdings of the various monasteries after the model of the Narthang Kanjur and to render collections that were as complete as possible of the Buddhist sacred texts that had been translated into Tibetan from various languages, primarily Sanskrit and Chinese.

By now, more than twenty different Kanjurs are known to Western Tibetology. They are usually divided into two groups, a so-called Western group, which goes back to the Them spangs ma Kanjur (1431) and includes the manuscript Kanjurs of Shel dkar / London (L), Stog (S), Tokyo (T) and Ulaanbaatar (V); and a so-called Eastern group, based on the Kanjur of Tshal pa (1347-51) and including the manuscript Kanjur of Berlin (B), and the block prints of ‘Jang sa tham (J), Cone (C), Derge (D), Peking (P) and Urga (U).

This terminology, however, is problematic. The dPal ’khor chos sde Temple at rGyal rtse, where the Them spangs ma Kanjur was found, is in Central Tibet and is only “Western” with regard to Tshal pa. In general, geographical criteria are certainly not ideal for defining textual transmission; manuscripts travelled a lot, and this certainly was not restricted by provincial or other borders. Not only did manuscripts of individual texts travel, to some extent complete Kanjurs also did: the Stog Kanjur from the “Western group”, for example, is a copy of a Kanjur kept in Bhutan. Thus, and in order not to cause confusion with Western Tibetan (mNga’ ris) material, it seems preferable to refer to these two groups as “Them spangs ma” and “Tshal pa”.

The Phug brag manuscript Kanjur (F), although sharing many particularities with the Them spangs ma group, also shows many irregularities and is not easy to classify;³ probably parts of two (or more) different Kanjurs were combined into a single one. It might even be the case that it is the result of different “proto-Kanjurs” (on this term, see below)

2 See Skilling 1997: 100.

3 Cf. Silk 1994: 647f.

being combined, which would make F an independent Kanjur, though still in a very unrefined form.

The Narthang block print Kanjur of 1730-32 and the closely related printed edition of Lhasa (H) somehow stand between the two groups.⁴

These two Kanjur groups, the Them spangs ma and Tshal pa Kanjurs, are widely accepted as descending from the Old Narthang Kanjur, but this is by no means firmly established; Peter Skilling, for instance, has shown good reasons for refuting this and considers the Tshal pa line to be independent.⁵ Indeed, none of the Kanjurs follows a “pure” line; there are always influences from various sides.

The basic stock of texts is the same in all of these Kanjurs, but they vary with regard to the number of texts contained, the versions of the texts transmitted, and also to the actual arrangement of the texts, and they show mutual crossings and interdependence of various kinds and to various degrees.

An analysis and comparison of the versions of the individual texts and their variant readings is certainly essential to establish textual relations, but no homogeneous picture is to be expected for any larger group of texts, not to speak of any entire collection. In this respect, a structural analysis seems to be more promising. For the time being, our analysis has been restricted to the Sūtra sections of the various Kanjur editions.

The close relation of the four manuscript Kanjurs from the Them spangs ma group (LSTV) can clearly be illustrated by comparing the arrangement of the individual texts within this section. These four editions are here – with a few exceptions – practically identical. The sinking of the line for L in Diagram 1 is due to the fact that this section lacks four volumes. The irregularities at the beginning and the end reflect the fact that the textual stock of Derge is taken as a basis: in the Tantra sections of LSTV some of these texts are either missing or included.

4 Cf. the chart of Eimer 1992: xviii-xix.

5 See Skilling 1997: 101, n.101, and 1994: xl ff.

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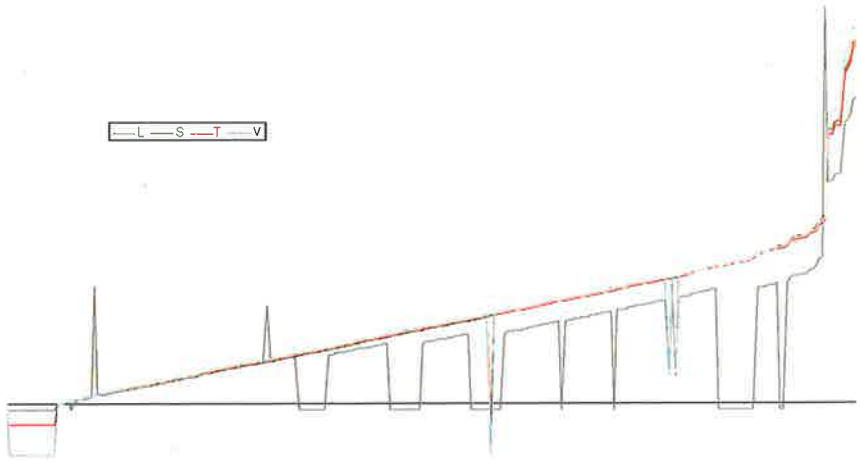


Diagram 1: Arrangement of the sūtras in the Them spangs ma group

A similarly clear picture is gained for the relation of the Kanjurs of the Tshal pa group. With regard to the arrangement of the sūtras, N and H belong to this group.

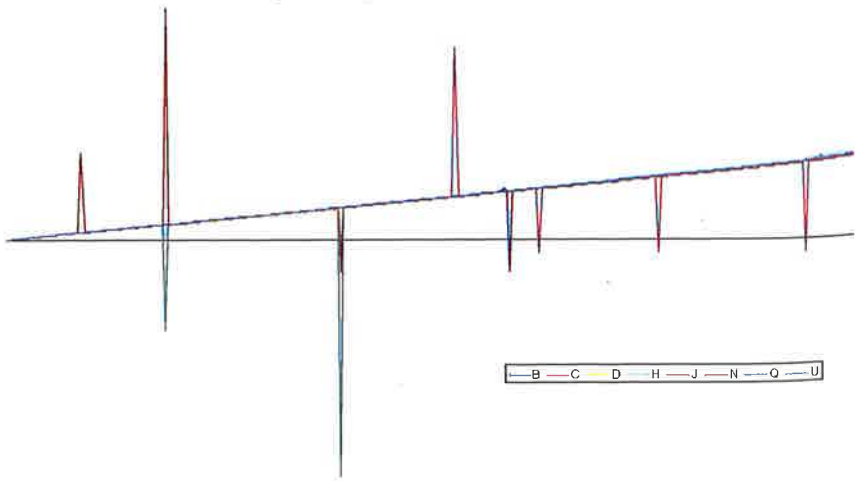


Diagram 2 : Arrangement of the sūtras in the Tshal pa group, N and H

To illustrate the difference between the two groups, in Diagram 3, L and S are compared with D, as a representative of the Tshal pa group. Diagram 4 shows the same comparison with F. In both cases the discrepancy is obvious, and also the independent status of F is clearly visible.

Diagram 3: Arrangement of the sūtras in L, S and D

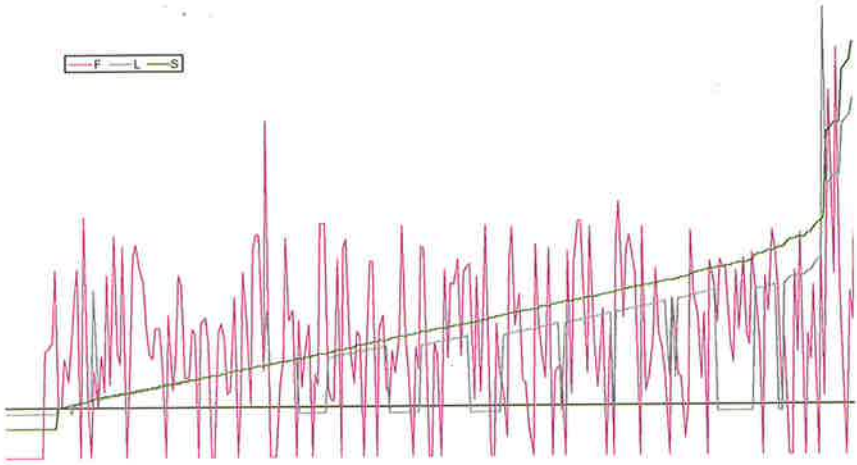
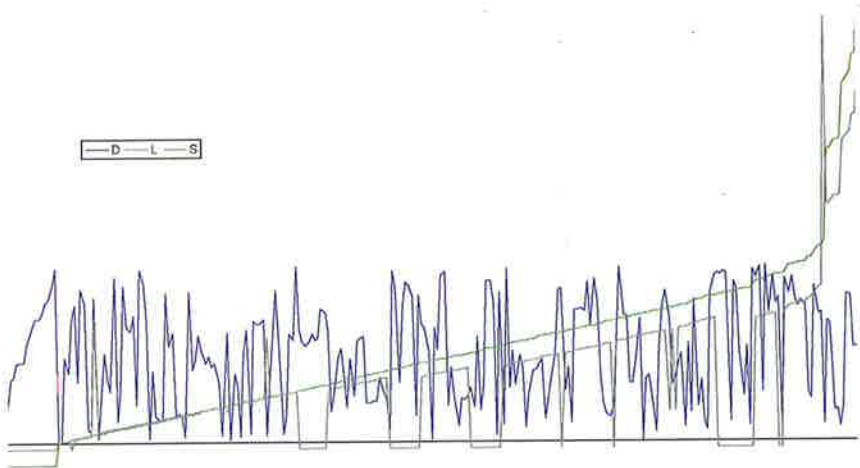


Diagram 4: Arrangement of the sūtras in L, S and F



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Taking duplicated texts as a criterion for establishing relations, we get an equally clear picture of two distinct groups.

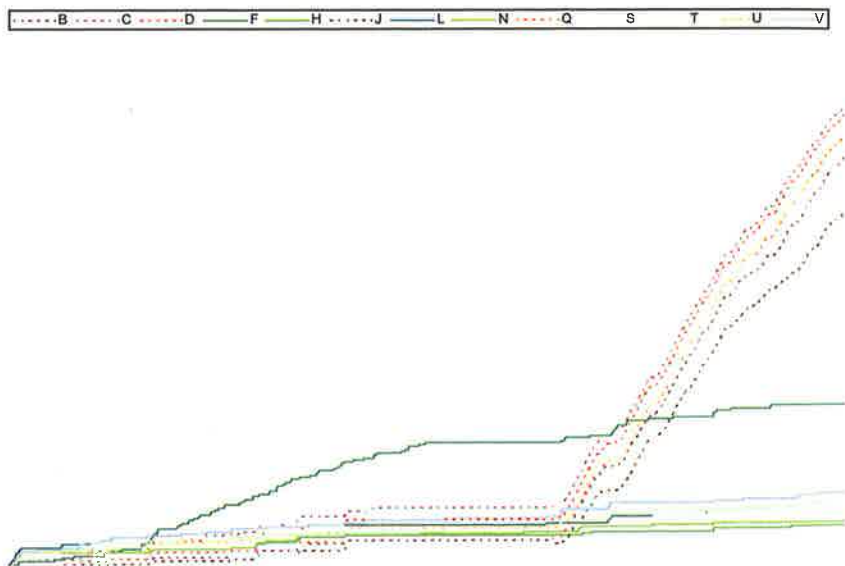


Diagram 5: Doublets (all Kanjur sections)

Within the Them spangs ma group, which in general has less doublets, LSTV are very much alike. With regard to the doublets, H and N also have to be counted as part of this group. The Tshal pa group has more doublets, with CDUQ being more or less identical and J deviating a little, but still clearly tending towards that group. F stands alone and between the groups, but closer to Them spangs ma than to Tshal pa.

However, it has to be stressed that the interdependence takes place on various levels and with different aspects, and a relation cannot be established on the basis of one criterion only.

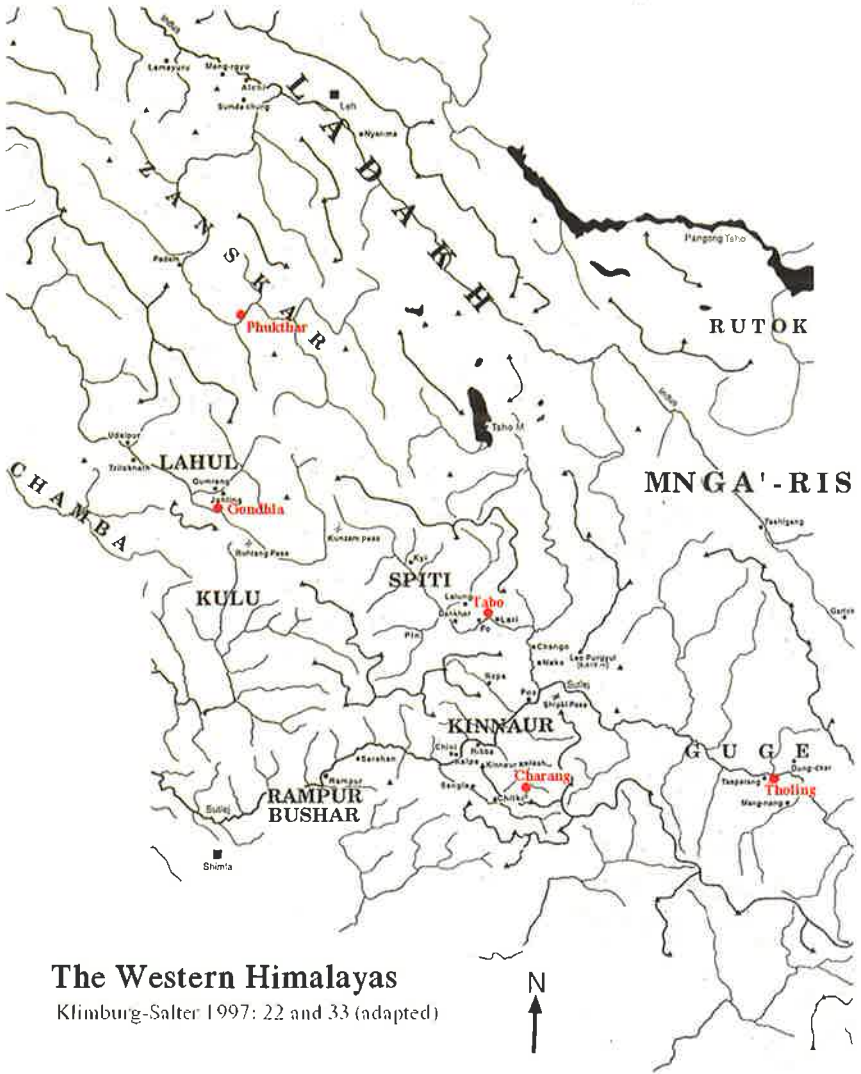
Proto-canonical manuscript collections

Despite the considerable progress of Kanjur studies in the past two decades, we are still far from fully understanding the genesis and the development of this body of literature. Tracing the links in its family tree is still an important task, and it depends, of course, to a large degree on locating and examining the surviving variants.

In general, Kanjurs developed step by step: starting with collecting individual texts, or possibly groups of texts that may have been linked together already prior to their translation into Tibetan, the compiling of similar or related texts into larger *mdo mangs* volumes, which, at that point, still do not have any particular order amongst themselves, and finally arranging them systematically into the various sections of the Kanjur. These then become a normative and authoritative collection that is – at least theoretically – no longer subject to alteration. Taking this process into consideration, valuable information about the sources and the development of Kanjurs can be gained from manuscripts or manuscript collections that pre-date the compilation of the Kanjur and represent a state that can be called “proto-Kanjur”, i.e. collections aiming at completeness, but not yet finally arranged and edited. In addition, these collections provide a “missing link” between the canonised Tibetan religious literature and its earliest traditions, which, it was thought until recently, had simply faded away. Moreover, earlier research in our project has revealed that the better-known canons represent only a selection of what was once a far richer range of early religious literature.

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The Western Himalayas

Klimburg-Salter 1997: 22 and 33 (adapted)

Locations of the major proto-canonical collections

Until now, we have used, or attempted to use, five larger proto-canonical collections in our research:

The nunnery Rang rigs rtse in **Charang** (Kinnaur) holds rather large collection of manuscripts. It contains about 85 volumes of various age, presumably from the thirteenth to eighteenth century. However, for various reasons that will not be discussed here, this material is not accessible for scholarly research, although hopefully only for the time being.

Tabo (Spiti) was the starting point of our project in 1991, in collaboration with the IsIAO (IsMEO), Rome. This collection has already been presented to the international academic community on various occasions⁶ and shall not be discussed in detail here. It consists of some 35,000 leaves of only fragments – there is not a single complete text – that date from the eleventh/twelfth to the sixteenth/seventeenth centuries. Many of them represent the state of a “proto-Kanjur” mentioned above. A catalogue of this material, compiled by C. Scherrer-Schaub and P. Harrison, will appear soon.

Gondhla (Lahul) was our next important find. This is a collection in the possession of the family of the former lords of the principality of Ti nan, and contains 36 partly illuminated volumes of manuscripts, representing an ideal example of a proto-Kanjur.⁷

According to two colophons naming rDo rje pa la as the lord of Ti nan, and on the basis of palaeographic and orthographic⁸ as well as art historical⁹ features, these manuscripts – at least the oldest of them – can tentatively be dated to the second half of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century.

6 E.g. Steinkellner 1994 and 2000.

7 For a description of this manuscript collection, cf. Tauscher 2007.

8 According to the classification of Scherrer-Schaub 1999, some of the archaic elements appearing in these manuscripts possibly indicate an earlier date. However, such elements do not occur consistently, and the mixture of old and new orthography and palaeography features seems to speak against this possibility. Cf. also De Rossi Filibeck 2007: 55, where the 13th and 14th centuries are suggested as a likely period for the shift from old to new orthography in this area.

9 Klimburg-Salter 1994: 59 suggests an earlier dating, namely 11th to 12th cent. (see Tauscher 2007: 81); more recent studies, however, seem to suggest the dating given here (e-mail communication from Ch. Luczanits, 6 April 2007, cf. Luczanits 1998: 160f.).

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Line 5-7: *ri mtho' sa rtsang spu rgyal bod kyi yul // gnas chen brgyad kyi yan lag ghan.dha la // ri de la rtend pa'i ti nan 'dir // ya rabs chos skyong rdo rje pa la khrungs // 'bangs rnams zhi bas bces pas chab srid ri bas ri bas brten // dkon mchog dbu' dpangs bstod pas / phyi ma byang chub thob // nor zas sgyu mar gzigs // mdo sde 'gyur 'od bzhengs // ...*

Colophon from a Gondhla manuscript

Although these manuscripts are not all necessarily contemporaneous, apparently the time frame of their production is rather narrow, and the collection seems to form a unit, with all the volumes being very much alike with regard to size (67-69 x 19-21 cm, 10-11 lines), palaeography, orthography, and the style of the miniatures. Of 36 volumes, 35 contain in *mdo mangs*-style units the greater part of all texts commonly recorded in the Sūtra sections of the various Tibetan Kanjur editions, a few texts that are included in the Tantra section of Peking and Derge, four texts (*Lokaprajñapti*, *Kāraṇaprajñapti*, *Kuṇālāvadāna*, *Li'i yul lung bstan pa*) that occur in the Tanjurs of Peking and Derge as well as in some editions of the Kanjur (e.g. Stog and Ulaanbaatar), and 12 texts that are not contained in any known canon.¹⁰ In total they contain 277 titles, 24 of them duplicated or even triplicated. One volume contains 101 *dhāraṇī*. All the texts are complete or almost complete; quite a number of folios, however, were replaced in later times, probably the nineteenth or even the twentieth century. Apparently due to the particular history of this collection, it contains no Vinaya or

10 Six of them, however, are included in the material that G. Tucci discovered at Tholing and/or the *dKar chag 'Phang thang ma* (see below).

Prajñāpāramitā texts. According to local rumours, the Gondhla collection is only a part of an original collection that was kept in the Phugthar monastery in Zanskar and divided by force some time in the eighteenth century. The Tantra texts are restricted to *dhāraṇi saṃgraha* and texts that are contained in the Sūtra sections as well as in the Tantra sections of Kanjurs like Derge and Peking. A catalogue of this collection by H. Tauscher is in preparation and due to be published in 2008.

The library of **Phukthar** monastery (Zanskar) holds some 75 volumes of manuscripts, seven of them apparently from the fourteenth century and closely resembling the Gondhla MSS. The local rumours mentioned above, however, could not be verified from this textual evidence: these manuscripts do not contain the texts missing from the Gondhla collection that would make it a “complete Kanjur”. For the most part they contain Ratnakūṭa texts and only a very few Prajñāpāramitā texts. Two other volumes seem to be only slightly younger; the rest appear to date from the sixteenth/seventeenth century or later. Strikingly, there are – similar to Gondhla – no Vinaya or Tantra texts. This fact still waits for an interpretation. However, the Ratnakūṭa set, though incomplete, provides interesting information with regard to the geneses of the Western Tibetan Kanjurs and, for that matter, the Tibetan Kanjurs in general (see below).

Unfortunately, up to now no field research could be carried out in the parts of the former Western Tibetan Kingdom now belonging to the PR of China. Therefore, only the manuscripts collected by G. Tucci in the 1930s at **Tholing** and now kept in the IsIAO library in Rome have provided us with material for comparison.¹¹ This collection consists of some 6,000 leaves, dating from the eleventh to thirteenth century onward, with the majority of texts from the Prajñāpāramitā and the Sūtra classes and, again, very little Vinaya or – apart from *dhāraṇi saṃgraha* (*gzungs bsdus*) – Tantra texts. This fact is a little surprising, given that the royal monk Zhi ba 'od (11th cent.) is known to have been a tantric scholar of some renown. The illuminations of these manuscripts show a striking resemblance to the manuscripts from

11 For this collection, see De Rossi Filibeck 2003 and 2007. Our thanks are due to the director of the library, Francesco D'Arelli, for permitting us free access to the material, and to the staff of the library for their kind assistance.

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Gondhla. Amy Heller, in a forthcoming article in *Stromata*, considers them to “pre-date the fourteenth century”.¹²

Practically every examination of individual texts from this Western Tibetan material has revealed their independence from the “mainstream” traditions, from the Kanjurs of the Tshal pa group as well as from the Them spangs ma group, and this suggests an independent “Western Tibetan manuscript tradition” of its own. However, to talk about an “independent tradition”, it is necessary to show not only independence from other traditions, but also internal mutual interdependence, structurally or with regard to individual texts. In the latter case, the common occurrence of obvious mistakes, which are unlikely to happen twice independently, is strong evidence that manuscripts belong to the same tradition.

Such a case is found in the non-canonical text *brGyad bcu khungs* or, with its full title, *rNal 'byor chen po bsgoms pa'i don theg pa chen po'i mdo sde las btus pa*, contained in the proto-canonical MSS collection of Gondhla. It is an anthology of sūtra quotations, very much in the style of the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, that answer the 88 questions that were obviously considered relevant for “practicing *mahāyoga*” (*rnal 'byor chen po bsgom pa*).

At the beginning of one of the *bam po*, the Gondhla manuscript gives the title as *rNal 'byor chen po bsgoms pa'i mdo' las btus pa*, instead of *rNal 'byor chen po bsgom pa'i don | theg pa chen po'i mdo' (sde) las btus pa* (10a4). Essentially the same reading with only insignificant variants (*chen por* : *chen po*, *bsgom* : *bsgoms*, *mdo sde* : *mdo'*) is found in Tabo at the very same place; unfortunately this passage is not extant in the Dunhuang fragments.

This text has not been included in any of the known Kanjurs, and until now it was known only from fragments from Dunhuang (one, PT 818 and ST 705) and Tabo (three, provisional numbers 36, 89 and 149). The Dunhuang material, together with other texts of this tradition, has been studied by Lalou, Imaeda and Okimoto;¹³ the Tabo fragments were recently presented in Otokawa 1999; the Gondhla text is presented in Tauscher 2007.

12 See De Rossi Filibeck 2007: 57.

13 Lalou 1939 (including a facsimile of PT 996, referred to by its provisional number 202), Imaeda 1975, Okimoto 1993.

A Dunhuang MS (PT 996) names the author: sPug Ye shes dbyangs.¹⁴ This text also sets the context with regard to religious history. It starts with Nam ka'i snying po,¹⁵ his spiritual lineage (A rtan hywer – Be'u sing Hwa shang – Man Hwa shang – Nam ka'i snying po), his virtues, and a hymn composed by him in praise of the path of yoga. The following section, entitled *Theg pa chen po rnam par myi rtog par bsgom pa'i lam*, contains a biographical sketch of sPug Ye shes dbyangs and names him as the author of the *rNal 'byor chen po bsgom pa'i don*. Although the actual relation between the two masters is not stated – sPug Ye shes dbyangs is only said to have died in the hermitage of Nam ka'i snying po – the structure of the text suggests a rather close one. Accordingly, his work can safely be associated more generally with the *dhyāna – gcig car pa* tradition commonly connected with Hwa shang Mahāyāna. Bu ston even attributes the *rNal 'byor chen po bsgom pa'i don* to Hwa shang Mahāyāna in his *Chos 'byung*; considering the evidence of the much older manuscript from Dunhuang, this seems highly questionable. However, the old library from Drepung, which was recently catalogued, contains a text by the same title, a “*Mdo sde brgyad cu'i khungs*” composed by Hwa shang mahā ya na, which does not appear as a part of a bigger unit, but as a separate text.¹⁶

Now it would be highly interesting to compare this manuscript from Drepung with the one from Gondhla: if they are actually the same text, it

14 771-850 according to Okimoto 1993 (see Otokawa 1999: n. 1). In view of *bKa' thang sde lnga* Nga 66b5-67a1 (quoted in Okimoto 1993: 18), however, this date appears problematic and is possibly too late. This passage – following a report of the foundation of bSam yas, and placed between the lists of 76 primarily Indian scholars and of the *sad mi mi bdun* – describes a text with a striking resemblance to our *rNal 'byor chen po bsgom pa'i don*: it is called a (?) *rNal 'byor chen po sgom pa'i lung* and consists – just as the text preserved at Gondhla – of 88 chapters of questions in four *bam po* and contains quotations from 80 sūtras; the additional title *Rin chen phreng ba* is also given. The author of the text is not mentioned, but the 88 questions are closely and directly attributed to King Khri song lde btsan.

15 Possibly identical with the Nam mkha'i snying po mentioned in *bKa' thang sde lnga* (Nga 67a1) among the *sad mi mi bdun*; see Tucci 1958: 13.

16 *'Bras spungs dpe rnying dkar chag*: 1655, No 018810.

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would mean that we now have two complete manuscripts and this would, of course, be important for establishing and eventually editing the text. If, however, the Drepung manuscript happens to contain the same “mistake” as the Tabo and Gondhla copies (which is not to be expected, but theoretically could be the case), it would not be valid as evidence for the “Western Tibetan tradition”. In any case, additional information about this text, which seemingly was written in the circles around the court of King Khri srong lde btsan by an East Tibetan or Chinese author and came to enjoy some degree of popularity in Western Tibet, as would be suggested by the fact that fragments of three different MSS are extant in Tabo and that it is included in the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla, could shed some light on the early relations between Central and Western Tibet and on the development of Kanjurs in general.

The relation between Kanjurs or for that matter any collection of manuscripts is, of course, not unitary, and it occurs on various levels and in various aspects that may – and in fact do – occasionally represent different lines of dependence within one bigger corpus of scriptures. Each individual text has to be taken into account with its respective variants and the particular form of its title, both in Tibetan and the original language, primarily Sanskrit. For a collection as a whole, however, it is equally important which texts it contains and which not, and how they are arranged.

Since in a proto-Kanjur no overall structure of the collection has yet been established, the sequence of volumes is not given but must, for the sake of cataloguing, be invented at random. Thus, the possibilities of comparing the arrangement of texts with canonical editions is limited to the contents of each individual volume; still, if there were any relation to any of the Kanjurs, there should be some sort of agreement, at least in parts. In the case of the Gondhla collection, it seemed appropriate to follow S and arrange the volumes according to the position that the first text of each occupies in this Kanjur. However, no agreement worth mentioning could be found in comparing Go to the various Kanjur editions (s. Diagram 6).

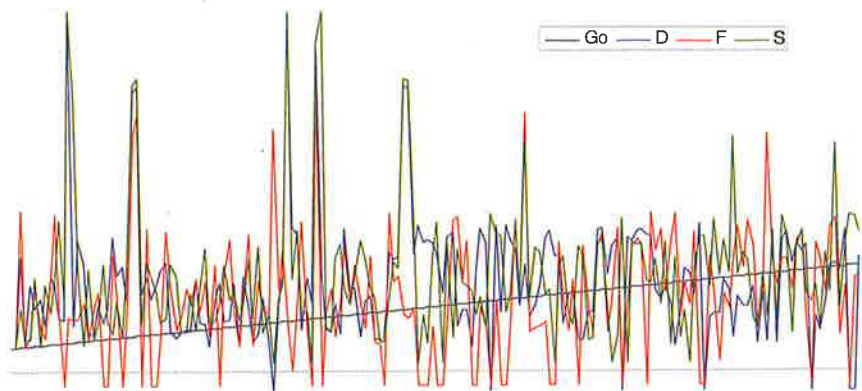


Diagram 6: Arrangement of the sūtras in Go and DFS

However, better results are brought when not considering the Sūtra section as a whole but concentrating on the Ratnakūṭa (dKon brtsegs) group. This set of 49 sūtras, usually covering six volumes in the Tibetan translation, appears to represent a rather old grouping of texts. Regardless of whether this grouping already took place in India or only later in China or Central Asia, for the Tibetan translations it represents something like a “standard” sequence of texts; they are even called “chapters” (*le'u*), suggesting that the set should be understood as a unit with the individual texts in a rather fixed arrangement. These texts (“chapters”) are numbered, and these numbers are retained even if the texts are arranged in a different way. Of course, in the various Kanjurs, a number of irregularities appear in this respect, the greatest number of them in Phug brag.¹⁷ In addition, for the Ratnakūṭa group we have data from all of the proto-canonical collections that have been investigated, and thus we have a broader basis of comparison as well as evidence for the interdependence between the Western Tibet manuscripts.

One such irregularity concerns the position of RK 15 (*Mañjuśrībuddha-kṣetraguṇavyūha*, 'Jam dpal gyi sangs rgyas kyi shing gi yon tan bkod pa) in the Western Tibetan proto-canonical and canonical collections. It follows RK 11 (*Raśmisamantamuktonirdeśa*, 'Od zer kun tu bkye ba bstan pa) as the

17 Cf. Harrison (forthcoming): xxxiiiif.

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last text in Vol. Kha, with the other texts RK 12, 13, 14, 16, etc. following in the numerical order. In the Gondhla manuscripts, in which the complete set is extant, the very practical reason for this shift is obvious: RK 12 (*Bodhisattvapiṭaka*, *Byang chub sems dpa'i sde snod*) is a rather long text and it would not have fitted into the volume. In order to avoid splitting it over two volumes, the shorter RK 15 was moved forward, and RK 12 then begins Vol. Ga. It is obvious that RK 12 forms its own Vol. Ga in Phuk brag for the same reason.

Standard	Western Tibetan group (Tabo, Gondhla, Phukthar; Shel dkar, Shey)
Vol. Kha	Vol. Kha
- 11 Prabhāsādhana	- 11 Prabhāsādhana
	15 Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha
Vol. Ga	Vol. Ga
12 Bodhisattvapiṭaka	12 Bodhisattvapiṭaka
13 Āyusmannandagarbhāvākṛāntinirdeśa	13 Āyusmannandagarbhāvākṛāntinirdeśa
14 Nandagarbhāvākṛāntinirdeśa	14 Nandagarbhāvākṛāntinirdeśa
15 Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha	
DQ – RK 12 divided between Vols Kha and Ga; HNS – RK 15 in Vol. Nga	
F – Vol. Kha: RK 11, 13, 14, 15; vol. Ga: RK 12	

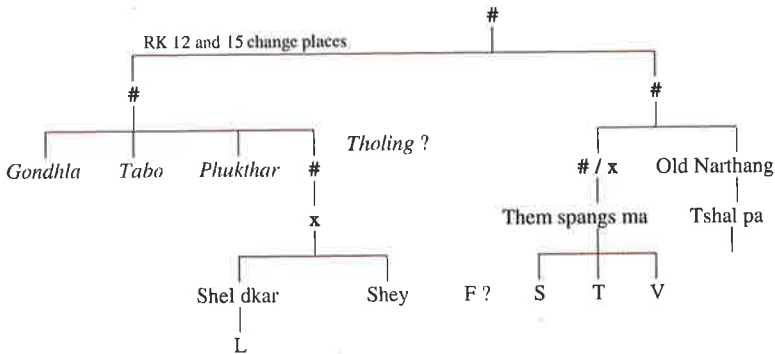
Arrangement of Ratnakūṭa 11-15

The same arrangement as in Gondhla is also to be found in Phukthar, which is not particularly surprising as there have always been close connections between Lahul and Zanskar. However, it is also attested by the fragments of two manuscripts from Tabo and the Kanjurs of Shel dkar/London and Shey¹⁸, but in no other known Kanjur edition. Recently discovered manuscript Kanjurs at Basgo and Hemis¹⁹ have not yet been investigated.

18 This manuscript Kanjur, probably dating from 17th/18th cent., was studied for the first time by B. Lainé and G. Bethlenvalfy in 2007.

19 Discovered in 2007 and not yet examined or catalogued.

In combination with other observations regarding the Sūtra sections of these collections, this leads to two alternatives of a provisional stemma for the Ratnakūṭa texts (“#” indicates an assumed or possible proto-Kanjur, “x” an assumed or possible Kanjur; names in italics refer to proto-Kanjur collections):



Ratnakūṭa, provisional stemma A

From a (hypothetical) common source there develop two branches: one of them keeping the standard order of the RK texts and that splits into the Them spangs ma line and the Old Narthang – Tshal pa line, the other one, exchanging the positions of RK 12 and 15 and that develops further into the various Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs, one of which eventually leads—possibly via intermediate manuscripts—to the Kanjurs of Shel dkar/London and Shey. Of course, any of the three proto-Kanjurs mentioned could be the source of these Kanjurs, but at the present stage of research any assumptions in this regard would be mere speculation.

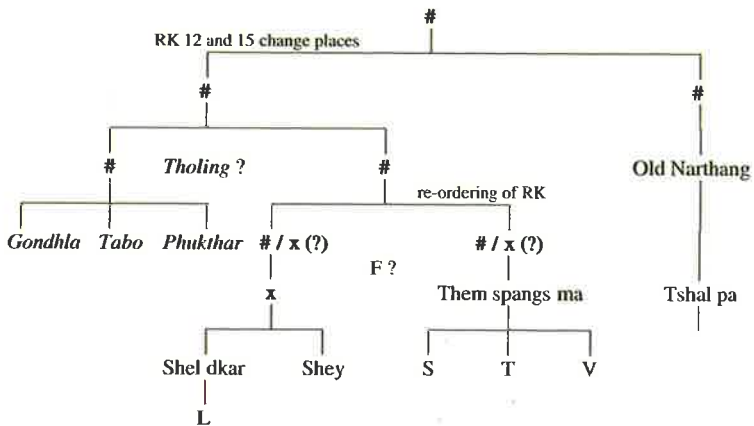
However, the generally close agreement between Them spangs ma and Shel dkar/ London within the Sūtra section would, in this case, presuppose a strong cross-relation between these two lines, which can, at least at the present stage, not be explained.

Thus, it might be more convenient to form the Ratnakūṭa family tree in the following way: One branch of transmission, which retains the standard sequence of texts, leads to the Old Narthang – Tshal pa line, and a second

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branch, which exchanges the positions of RK 12 and 15, splits into two lines. One of these leads to the Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs, the second one, again, divides into two, one line retaining the “new” sequence of texts and that leads to the Kanjurs of Shel dkar and Shey, and another line that re-establishes the standard order and leads to the Them spangs ma group of Kanjurs.



Ratnakūṭa, provisional stemma B

In both of these alternatives, the position of F is not taken into account. Obviously, it does not fit into the overall scheme; possibly it is the only representative of a distinct transmission line of its own.

However, the Tholing collection also cannot be inserted into any of these lines. As it is a fragmentary collection, no definite statements can be made as yet and more detailed studies are necessary, but it is obvious that it represents a rather unique Ratnakūṭa collection, consisting probably of only four (!) volumes. It contains the following texts (or fragments thereof): Vol. Ka: RK 2, 3, (5/6/7 ?); Vol. Kha: RK 9, 10, 12 (following immediately after 10), 15, 16; Vol. Nga: RK 32-35, 37, 38 (with enough space left for the remaining texts).

On the other hand, the twelve “non-canonical” texts in the Gondhla collection suggest some relation between Gondhla and Tholing; two of them are also extant in Tholing: the *Lan tsa'i chu bo'i mdo* and the *bKra shis bya ba tshigs su bcad pa*. The latter, in particular, represents an interesting and more conclusive case, as it appears as the second text in a series of four that have exactly the same sequence in Gondhla and Tholing (Go 35.42-45 = Tho 1340.38-41), but not in any other collection.

Text	Go ²⁰	Ta ²¹	Th ²²	'Phang ²³	other
<i>mDo sde brgyad cu khungs / rNal 'byor chen po bsgoms pa'i don</i>	17.2	36, 89, 149		831	PT 818 + ST 705; 'Bras ²⁴ 018810
<i>bZang ngan byin kyi mdo'</i>	21.6			266	
<i>Sangs rgyas kyi thabs chen po'i drin la lan blan pa'i chos kyi yi ge²⁵</i>	21.7			232	IHan ²⁶ 253
<i>Rab gsal gyi rtogs pa brjod pa</i>	23.10				
<i>'Dod pa gdams pa'i mdo</i>	26.9				
<i>gZhi lnga pa</i>	26.11			597 ?	
<i>Sangs rgyas kyis sbyangs pa'i yon tan bcu gnyis bshad pa'i mdo'</i>	26.20			724	
<i>Lan tsa'i chu bo'i mdo</i>	30.4		1334.2		
<i>bSam gtan gsang ba'i sgo'i mdo</i>	30.6				
<i>Theg pa chen po gsang bas brgyand pa'i chos kyi yi ge</i>	30.7				
<i>bKra shis bya ba tshigs su bcad pa</i>	35.43		1334.39	437	IHan 479
<i>Mi bskyod pa rjes su dran pa</i>	36.76				

Non-canonical texts in the Gondhla proto-Kanjur

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Six of these texts that are not found in any known Kanjur are also listed in the *dKar chag 'Phang thang ma*,²⁷ one of the three famous “library catalogues” from the time of King Khri srong lde btsan; one, in addition, is also in the catalogue *lHan dkar ma*. This fact shows that the Western Tibetan proto-canonical manuscript collections preserve an old stock of texts that were lost or forgotten in Central Tibet and, for some reason or other, also did not find their way into the Kanjurs more closely related to the Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs.

It must, however, be noted that with the Gondhla MSS we have only one single large collection of more or less complete texts belonging to the Western Tibetan proto-canonical tradition, and for any conclusive study, of course, more material would be required. This material is certainly extant, but has not yet been investigated or even discovered. Some similar proto-canonical manuscript collections are reported to exist in various places in the Ngari Province of the Tibetan Autonomous Region, as e.g. at Khor chags²⁸ and Phyi dbang, and many more are to be expected. Therefore, it would be extremely valuable if the research being done on this manuscript tradition could be extended into these areas in a mutual collaboration between the Chinese Tibetology Research Center and the trans-disciplinary National Research Network “The Cultural History of the Western Himalayas” of the University of Vienna and the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

20 According to the forthcoming catalogue being compiled by H. Tauscher.

21 Provisional numbers of the photo collection at Vienna University.

22 According to De Rossi Filibek 2003.

23 According to Kawagoe 2005.

24 *'Bras spungs dpe mying dkar chag*

25 This text is a different translation of the *Thabs mkhas pa chen po sañs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo / Dafangbian fabaoen jing*, D 353, F 31, L 124, N 340, S 180, Q 1022; cf. Naitō 1955 (Silk forthcoming: 177, n.1).

26 *lHan dkar ma*; See Lalou 1953. and Herrmann-Pfand 2008.

27 For this catalogue, see Halkias 2004, Kawagoe 2005, Dotson 2007.

28 See Orofino 2007.

Sigla and abbreviations

Kanjur ²⁹				Proto-Kanjur	
B	Berlin	N	Narthatang	Go	Gondhla
C	Cone	Q	Peking	Ta	Tabo
D	Derge	S	Stog	Th	Tholing
F	Phug Brag	T	Tokyo		
H	Lhasa	U	Urga		
J	'Jang sa tham	V	Ulaanbaatar		
L	London/Shel dkar				

IsIAO	Istituto Italiano per l'African e l'Oriente
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
RK	Ratnakūṭa
'Phang	<i>dKar chag 'Phang thang ma</i> → Kawagoe 2005
PT	Pelliot Tibétain
ST	Stein Tibetan Collection

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29 The Kanjur sigla follow the proposals of Harrison–Eimer 1997. The siglum Q for the Kanjur edition of Peking (Otani reprint) is retained only for practical reasons as a “mere siglum” and not as representing “Qianlong”, despite the arguments of Deleanu 2006: 85f. and n. 97.

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