

## Manuscripts *en route*

Helmut Tauscher

The contributions of our colleagues from the Department of Geography<sup>1</sup> demonstrate theoretical possibilities, means and methods of documenting cultural history data within spatial and temporal parameters, i.e., of documenting “cultural flows”. But how, in pre-modern times, did culture flow across the Himalayas? What was flowing and how?—People travelled: armies, traders, pilgrims, scribes, artists and craftsmen carried with them artefacts, ideas, styles and skills. And along the way, they exchanged these for new ones, which in turn were altered and further developed over the course of time.

Only very rarely were these travels recorded; the majority of them can only be inferred from their results, i.e., from the fact that similar cultural phenomena occurred in other places, and that it seems unlikely or can even be ruled out that they developed independently. In some cases, when one particular phenomenon is the sole object of investigation, it might suffice to know that it has been influenced by certain other phenomena, and it might be irrelevant to ask how exactly and along which routes this influence took place. However, with regard to the genesis and the development of a tradition, or with regard to a more comprehensive view of the cultural history of a larger area, even these details can be of importance.

This is true for all kinds of cultural phenomena, also for manuscripts. As our research project is concerned with old manuscripts, mainly of religious texts, i.e., with that body of literature that eventually was compiled into the Tibetan Buddhist Canons, the Kanjurs and Tanjurs, the topic of this paper is the travelling of religious manuscripts. For practical reasons, only Kanjur texts will be taken into consideration. Unfortunately, not too many details—in fact hardly any—are known. Thus questions rather than answers will be presented here.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. CHAPTERS 1 to 3 and 14 in this volume.

The term “canon” may be problematic or even inaccurate and misleading when speaking about Kanjur (*bka' gyur*) and Tanjur (*bstan gyur*), and even these terms themselves are problematic; it may not be clear in every context and at all times what they actually refer to.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience I use these terms and I apply them to the fully edited form of this body of literature as it is known from the fourteenth century onwards, structured in various sections and with a running numbering of volumes, either for the whole collection or at least within its sections. When used in the singular, these terms denote the literary genre in general; in the plural they refer to the various versions and editions. In addition, I use the term “proto-canonical” for religious literature consisting of translations of authoritative Buddhist texts that have not yet been organized in this way. In particular, “proto-Kanjur” refers to a collection of texts which represents, in terms of the development of Tibetan Buddhist canonical literature, an intermediate stage between *bka' bstan bcos* and fully developed Kanjurs and consists of a number of *mdo mañs* volumes not organized into any particular order and containing all the Buddha's words a particular monastic community or princely court have collected.<sup>3</sup>

In a generally accepted distinction, the known versions of the Kanjur are usually divided into two main groups. One is based on the Kanjur of Tshal pa (1347–1351);<sup>4</sup> it is represented, among others, by the manuscript Kanjur of Berlin (B, 1680), and the xylographs of Cone (C, 1721–1731), Derge (D, 1733), 'Jañ sa tham (J, 1606–1614), and Peking (Q, 1717–1720). The other, which can be traced back to the Kanjur of Them spans ma (1431), is represented by the manuscript Kanjurs of Śel dkar/London (L, 1712),<sup>5</sup> Stog (S, 20<sup>th</sup> c.),<sup>6</sup> Tokyo (T, 1858–1878) and Ulaanbaatar (V). It is widely accepted that both of these groups are descended from the Old Narthang manuscript Kanjur (ON, after 1310). Helmut Eimer does not derive Them spans ma directly from ON, but postulates an interme-

<sup>2</sup>This problem cannot be discussed here. See Skilling 1997; Schaeffer and van der Kuyp 2009: 10 ff.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Tauscher 2008: xi–xii, Tauscher and Lainé 2008: 345.

<sup>4</sup>If not noted otherwise, the dates given in the following passage are according to Eimer 1992: xviii–xix.

<sup>5</sup>Date according to Pagel and Gaffney 1996: ix–x.

<sup>6</sup>The Kanjur edited and catalogued is a modern copy of an original produced during the reign of King Ņi ma rnam rgyal (1694–1729).

diate copy (“Zwischen-Hs.”) between them.<sup>7</sup> However, as Peter Skilling has shown, this relationship between ON and the two groups of Kanjurs is by no means firmly established.<sup>8</sup> According to his proposed stemma for Mahāsūtras 1–7, only Tshal pa is dependent on ON, whereas Them spañs ma is independent.

In the same way, the Kanjurs of Newark/Bathang and Phug brag, as well as the proto-canonical manuscripts of Gondhla<sup>9</sup> and Tabo (Ta pho), are also considered to represent independent collections that reflect several centuries of copying, revision and conflation.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, some of the Kanjurs that we know (or know of) do not fit within either of the two groups: the xylograph Kanjur of Narthang (N, 1730–1732) and the closely related xylograph of Lhasa (H, 1934) are considered to somehow stand between the two groups. Belonging primarily to the Tshal pa line of transmission, they show contaminations with Them spañs ma as well.

A number of Kanjurs, however, cannot be clearly related to either of the main lines; they must therefore be considered “independent”. This, of course, only means that they are not direct or indirect copies of either Tshal pa or Them spañs ma, but it does not mean that they do not belong to any tradition at all; we simply do not know what this tradition might be. Equally, it does not imply that the textual material they are based upon is unrelated to the source material of the two apparently most influential Kanjurs, Tshal pa and Them spañs ma.

The Phug brag manuscript Kanjur (F, ca. 1700)<sup>11</sup> is difficult to classify<sup>12</sup> as it appears to be the conflation of at least two Kanjurs or proto-Kanjurs stemming from different traditions. It shares many distinctive features with the roughly contemporary O rgyan glin Kanjur at Tawang

<sup>7</sup>See Eimer 1992: xviii.

<sup>8</sup>See Skilling 1997: 101, n. 101, and Skilling 1994: xl ff.

<sup>9</sup>They are referred to as “Lahul Ms” in Skilling 1997. As at that time the Gondhla material had not yet been thoroughly studied and only small portions of the manuscripts were generally accessible, Skilling gives the date “11/12<sup>th</sup> c.” For dating the Gondhla collection to the late 13<sup>th</sup>–early 14<sup>th</sup> century see Tauscher 2008: li–liv.

<sup>10</sup>See the stemma for Mahāsūtras 1–7, Skilling 1997: 107.

<sup>11</sup>According to Skilling 1997: 107; cf. Samten 1992: iii–iv.

<sup>12</sup>Cf. Silk 1994: 647 f.

in western Arunachal Pradesh (O),<sup>13</sup> which, of course, is not necessarily evidence of a direct relationship; this relationship might very well date back to earlier centuries. A number of conformities (discussed below) indicate a connection between F and Them spans ma or its sources. In addition, F shows a number of peculiarities that are seemingly unique (see pages 375 ff.).

Also an early manuscript Kanjur from Mustang (ca. 1436?) does not fit with either of the two main groups. Unfortunately, only its *dkar chag*<sup>14</sup> is extant. This might be the reason scholars have not yet taken it into consideration in discussions of possible lines of relationship and dependence. However, it shows a quite characteristic overall structure and arrangement of texts, in particular within the section of shorter sūtra (*mdo sil bu pa*), and it is certainly a valuable piece of evidence in this respect. The position of this Mustang Kanjur and its influence on other Kanjurs in Western Tibet is an object of current research in our project, although no definitive results can be presented at its present stage. For the time being it must suffice to mention that it appears to have influenced one line of Ladakhi Kanjurs which is represented at Hemis Tshom lha khañ (ca. 1635) and at Basgo (probably a copy of one of the Kanjurs of Hemis). The connection between Mustang and Ladakhi Kanjurs of that time is not surprising; by the beginning of the seventeenth century, Mustang was apparently under the influence of the rNam rgyal empire.<sup>15</sup>

The seventeenth-century Ladakhi manuscript Kanjurs, in turn, appear to represent two distinct lines: Shey-Stog has close relations to Them spans ma; Stog is a copy of a Kanjur kept in Bhutan, most probably a copy of the Them spans ma Kanjur<sup>16</sup> acquired thanks to the good relations that King Ņi ma rnam rgyal (1691–1729) kept with the 'Brug pa monasteries in Bhutan. Shey, on the other hand, shows influences from a Western Tibetan tradition. Apart from that, these two Kanjurs are much closer to each other than would appear to be the case in the stemma (below); their exact relationship, however, is not yet clear. The Hemis-Basgo line de-

<sup>13</sup>See Samten 1994.

<sup>14</sup>Edited in Eimer 1999.

<sup>15</sup>See the statement in the La dwags rgyal rabs (Francke 1926: 41 and 110) that Señ ge rnam rgyal “brought Lho-mo-sdang into his power” (mñā' 'og tu bcug); see also the map in Francke 1907: opposite p. 90.

<sup>16</sup>See Skorupski 1985: xi ff.

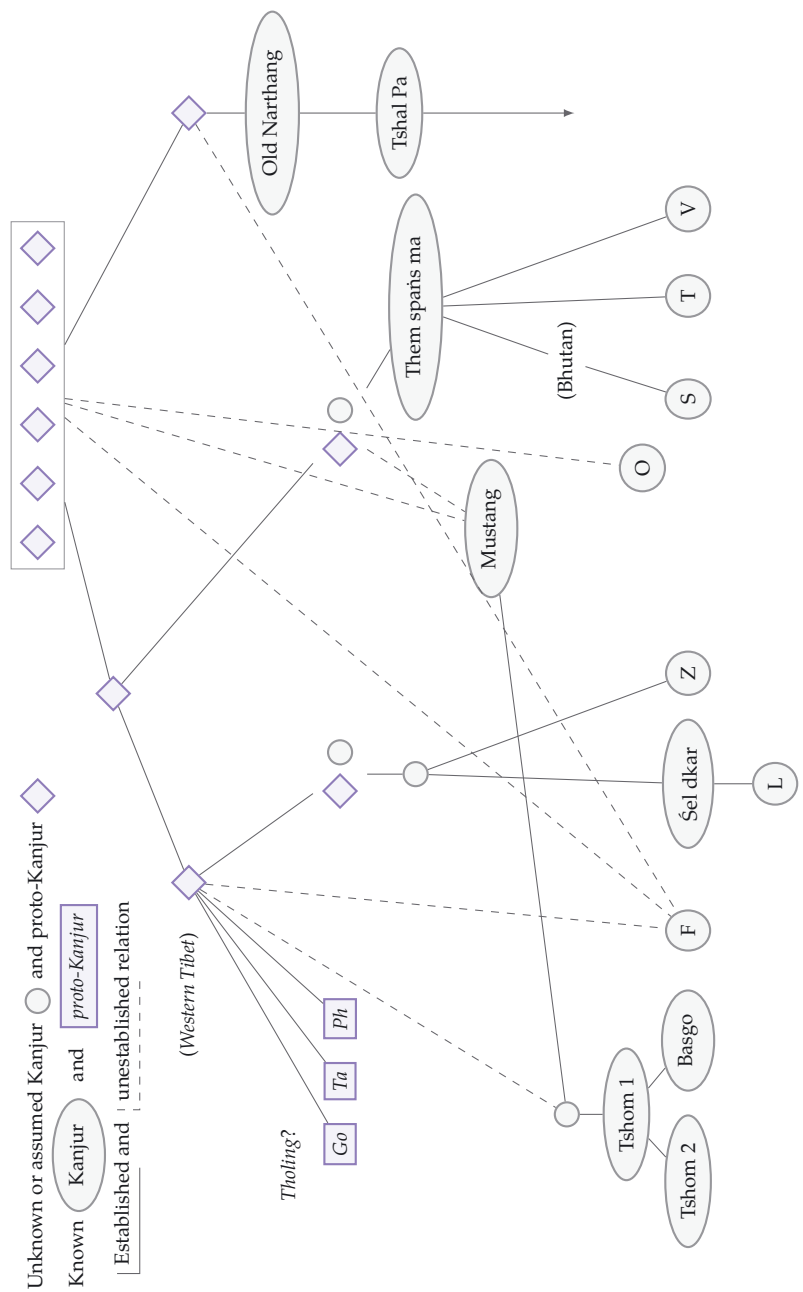
pend on Mustang and shows influences from the same Western Tibetan tradition.

On the basis of this and other observations on the structures of the various canonical and proto-canonical collections, in particular the characteristic arrangement of the *Ratnakūṭa* texts (discussed below, page 381), one could propose a model as shown in the provisional stemma for the *sūtra* section of the Kanjur (FIGURE 12.1).

Of course, this model is highly hypothetical in various respects, in particular with regard to the assumed intermediate proto-canonical and/or canonical copies, and much—in fact everything—remains unclear with regard to the possible sources of the Kanjurs of Phug brag, O rgyan gliñ and Mustang, and the Ladakhi Kanjurs. A special problem is posed by the proto-canonical collection of Tholing. This collection shows strong similarities to the other Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs, but it does not share their arrangement of the *Ratnakūṭa* texts. Although it is tempting to suspect this political and religious centre of the Western Tibetan Kingdom to be the origin of the Western Tibetan manuscript tradition, at the present nothing can be said definitively in this respect. For the Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs of Gondhla (Go), Tabo (Ta) and Phukthar (Ph), one single “Western Tibetan” source is shown in the stemma. However, as will be discussed below, influences of various origins can be observed in these collections. Strictly speaking, the direct relationship indicated here can be postulated only for the *Ratnakūṭa* group of *sūtras*; for other sections the situation might be different.

Nevertheless, one thing is obvious, namely a strong cross- and inter-relationship between the various lines of textual transmission. Questions thus arise as to how, where, when and why these confluences and mutual influences took place. Most probably, these questions will never be answered fully.

What do we actually mean when we say “conflation”? In the course of producing a Kanjur, for various reasons it may be the case that not the entire body is copied from the same source. It may also be the case that editorial changes are applied on the basis of a different version of the Kanjur, as e.g. the repositioning of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* (*So sor thar pa'i mdo*) and the *Vinayavibhaṅga* (*'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*) in S and Z according to the “Tshal pa standard”. There is no written evidence for this change being made “according to the Tshal pa standard,” but the colophon



**Figure 12.1** Provisional stemma for the *mDo* division of the Kanjur (simplified)

of the *Prātimokṣasūtra* in S and Z ('Dul ba, Ca)<sup>17</sup> testifies to an intentional change of the sequence of texts, which is preserved in the Them spañs ma Kanjurs LTV and has to be assumed also for the model of SZ.

We must, however, be aware of the fact that this refers only to the development from the fourteenth/fifteenth century onwards, when the famous Kanjurs of Narthang (ON), Tshal pa and Them spañs ma (and probably others as well) already existed and could be copied and re-copied. One could call this "Kanjur conflation". Untouched remain the questions as to how and from where the individual texts came to the particular place where a Kanjur was edited. Also, what their individual history might have been is not taken into consideration. So, what about "textual conflation"? As strongly emphasised already by Peter Skilling,<sup>18</sup> Kanjurs are not homogeneous, internally consistent bodies of literature. Their individual parts derive from various origins, places and sources. By the time the Kanjurs were compiled, the individual texts had already been on the road for several centuries and had undergone a number of changes due to editing, revisions, scribal errors, corrections and whatever else causes manuscripts to be altered. Nor were alterations necessarily made in a straight line of transmission.

The journeys of a great number of these canonical texts began some time in the ninth century in Central Tibet, and they carried them in all directions. But which roads did they travel and what happened to them before they were compiled into Kanjurs in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries? Of course, this exposition will not be able to answer these questions, and it does not claim to do so. Rather, some considerations shall be given to the question as to what kind of information regarding this matter can be gained from the manuscript collections themselves. At the present stage of research, no definitive answers have yet been forthcoming in this respect. This contribution is not meant to offer any solutions to the problem; it merely presents work in progress and discusses possible points of further departure.

<sup>17</sup> ... 'dul ba luñ gzan dag la bka' luñ so sor thar pa bzeñs pa mi snañ mod kyi / 'on kyañ 'dir gtso bor dge sloñ pha'i dgag pa'i bslab pa rgyas par ston pa / dge sloñ pha'i rnam par 'byed pa'i rtsa ba lta bu yin la / luñ rnam par 'byed pa ni 'grel pa yin pas dge sloñ pha'i so sor thar pa'i mdo 'di yañ luñ rnam par 'byed pa'i dbu ñid du bris so // (see Skorupski 1985: 4).

<sup>18</sup> Skilling 1997: 102 f.

In the attempt to find evidence for a textual transfer of Tibetan religious literature, proto-canonical collections might provide better evidence than fully edited Kanjurs, as they represent an earlier stage of the canonization of Tibetan religious literature and the editorial impact on them might be less than is the case with Kanjurs.

Proto-canonical collections can be *bka' bstan bcos* collections, i.e., manuscript holdings of monasteries or royal palaces that are catalogued and structured in some way, but that do not (yet) distinguish between Kanjur and Tanjur. Of course, no *bka' bstan bcos* has survived as such, although two collections from imperial times are represented by their catalogues, the *lHan dkar ma*<sup>19</sup> and the *'Phan than ma*<sup>20</sup>, allegedly compiled in the early ninth century.<sup>21</sup> Although the actual texts referred to are no longer extant, these catalogues may provide valuable information with regard to the contents of the respective collection, and, to some extent, also to the particular versions of the texts.

A second group of proto-canonical collections are the “proto-Kanjurs”. Unfortunately, no “complete” proto-Kanjur containing a considerable number of texts from all the divisions of a Kanjur has survived either — at least none is known to scholarly research at present. In fact, the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla<sup>22</sup> is presently the only known proto-Kanjur that deserves this name. It is fairly complete as far as the Sūtra division is concerned, but it contains very little Tantra, and no Vinaya or Prajñāpāramitā texts. Unlike Tabo, it consists of more or less complete texts.

The other proto-canonical collections shown on the map<sup>23</sup> (FIGURE 12.2) have been sufficiently discussed elsewhere<sup>24</sup> and need not be described

<sup>19</sup>See Lalou 1953, Herrmann-Pfandt 2008.

<sup>20</sup>See Halkias 2004; Kawagoe 2005.

<sup>21</sup>For the dating of these catalogues, see also Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 53 ff.

<sup>22</sup>Described and catalogued in Tauscher 2008.

<sup>23</sup>This map does not claim to show the locations of Kanjurs and proto-Kanjurs to a degree of accuracy that meets the standards of our colleagues from the CHIS cartographical project; it will be up to them to produce more precise entries. In particular, the exact location of Phug brag (F) is not clear to me despite the description in Samten 1992, and a question mark is therefore added to the respective entry. Similarly, I have no information about the location of the Bhutanese copy of Them spans ma which was the model of the Stog palace Kanjur.

<sup>24</sup>For Phuktar see Tauscher and Lainé 2008: 349; for Tabo see Steinkellner 1994, 2000, and Harrison 2009; for Tholing see De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2007.



here in detail. Although they do not represent the same state of completeness as Go, they—or at least essential parts of them—appear to belong to the same stage of development of Tibetan canonical literature.

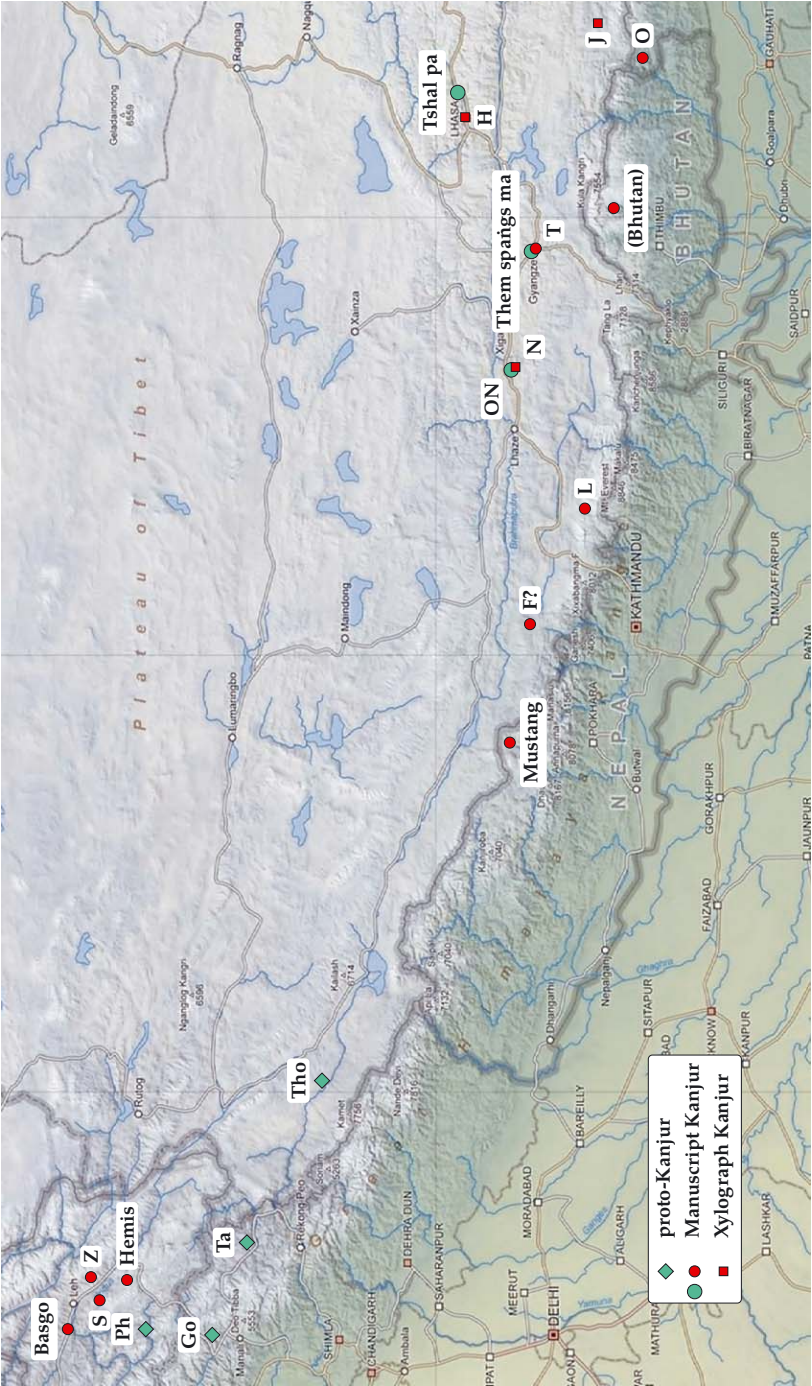
Other equally or even more substantial collections of this kind might have survived. If so, they either await discovery or have been studied insufficiently, such as the example at Khor chags,<sup>25</sup> or not at all, such as the manuscripts at Phyi dbang—both places are situated in present-day mNga' ris province of the PR of China—and at Charang in Upper Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh. None of these places is included on the map, as their material is not (yet) available to scholarly research. It is evident that external criteria like “paper, calligraphy, decoration, and lay-out”<sup>26</sup> are to be taken into account for describing a geographically defined *manuscript* tradition. With regard to a *Kanjur* tradition, contents and structure of the collections and the arrangement of the texts within them are more important. However, the individual texts have to be taken into consideration too, although this has been doubted by Skilling (1997: 104) with a view to the great mobility of manuscripts. They might have various origins and have had individual fates, but at some particular time they gathered at a particular place, and henceforth they came to have a common history as well.

Because Go is the only somewhat substantial proto-canonical collection that is accessible, it shall serve as the basis for the present considerations about possible evidence for the transfer of manuscript texts. For a structural and text-critical comparison the xylograph Kanjurs D, N and Q and the manuscript Kanjurs F, L and S are used. Although N and F—as mentioned above—cannot be clearly assigned to either of the two main groups of Kanjurs, N is evidently closer to the Tshal pa group, and F is closer to Them spañs ma. Therefore, these six Kanjurs are treated as representing two groups, DNQ : FLS. In addition, the accessible proto-canonical material is taken into account. However, due to the fragmentary character of these collections and the fact that they are not clearly structured, these possibilities are restricted. This, however, does not imply that meaningful results cannot be gained from these comparisons.

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<sup>25</sup>See Orofino 2007.

<sup>26</sup>Skilling 1997: 104, with regard to the manuscript material from Tabo and a Western Tibetan manuscript tradition, argues that these are the only relevant criteria.



**Figure 12.2** Location of Kanjurs and proto-Kanjurs (basic map: CHIS, University of Vienna)

## Contents and Structure

As Go is not complete with regard to all divisions of a Kanjur, and even for the sūtra division we do not know whether it might originally have consisted of more volumes than those that have survived, a comparison of titles contained in Go as well as in various Kanjurs is not meaningful. The analysis of contents has to be restricted to texts that are contained in Go, but *not* in the canonical collections.

Out of the 365 titles in Go, 53 are not to be found in F, 69 (25) in L, 27 in S, 21 in N, and 20 each in D and Q.

It has to be taken into consideration that, at this point, different stages in the development of the Tibetan canonical literature are compared with each other: the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla on the one hand, and fully edited versions of the Kanjur on the other. The material extant in Go might have been included also in the collections upon which the respective Kanjur editions are based. However, they simply may have not been taken into account for various editorial reasons. The texts, or the respective versions of a particular text, might have been available but simply not have been approved of by the editors. However—and I am fully aware of the fact that I am highly speculative at this point—, while this might have been the case more often with different versions (translations or otherwise) of a text, it is not to be expected on a large scale with a text as such; the criteria for including or excluding a particular text do not appear to have been understood as being that clearly and narrowly defined. Thus, in general, the absence of a particular text from a particular Kanjur can be taken as evidence that it was absent also from the proto-canonical collection the respective Kanjur is based upon. Accordingly, the presence of a particular text in a particular Kanjur can be taken as evidence for a relationship to other Kanjurs or proto-Kanjurs where the same text is preserved. Of course, the general stock of all Kanjurs is very much the same, and what has been said above applies to a very limited number of texts only.

The figure 69 for texts contained in Go but not in L is misleading. Four volumes of the original Śel dkar Kanjur are missing in the London copy; according to S, they should have contained 44 texts, which means that actually some 25 of the Go texts are missing in Śel dkar.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>27</sup>The figures 80 and 36 for Go texts missing in L and Śel dkar given in Tauscher 2008 are according to Pagel and Gaffney 1996. However, some of the texts actually contained in the Kanjur do not appear in this catalogue. This matter will be discussed in the catalogue of the Shey Kanjur, presently being prepared by B. Lainé.

Based on this criterion, the picture seems rather clear: Go shows the closest relationship to the Tshal pa representatives DNQ and by far the greatest number of dissimilarities with F.

However, if this statistical analysis is extended a little, the result changes considerably. From the Go texts missing in any one of the six Kanjurs used for comparison, five texts are contained also in DNQ, four in F alone, and only one each in FS, FLS, FDQ and LS. Here, we see equally strong similarities with DNQ and F, and almost negligible similarities with the Them spañs ma Kanjurs LS.

The largest group, however, is formed by those twelve texts that are not contained in any of the six Kanjurs. Five of these texts are not to be found in any of the proto-canonical collections either. Among these texts, the *Theg pa chen po gsañ bas brgyand pa'i chos kyi yi ge* with its 42 folios is the only one of substantial size. The others are only minor texts ranging from four lines to six folios. Of the remaining seven texts, three are physically extant: two at Tholing, and one at Tabo and Dunhuang. Two of these and the remaining four are listed in 'Phañ thañ and/or lHan dkar.

These “non-canonical” texts in Go are listed and described elsewhere<sup>28</sup> and shall not be discussed here in detail. A few observations on some of them shall suffice.

In general, these texts show that the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla preserves an old stock of texts that were not transmitted through Central Tibet in later centuries. It could be the case that they were intentionally excluded when the Kanjurs were compiled. However, as stated above, this does not seem very likely, at least not in all cases. The origin of the five texts in Go that are not attested elsewhere remains a mystery.

Taking into account the fragmentary character of these collections, the one “non-canonical” text shared by Go and Ta, and the two “non-canonical” texts contained in Go as well as in Th may be viewed as evidence for a close relationship among these three Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs.

For obvious reasons, the *mDo sde brgyad cu khuñs* or, in its full title, *rNal 'byor chen po bsgoms pa'i don theg pa chen po'i mdo sde las btus pa*<sup>29</sup> is not included in any known Kanjur. It is a *mdo sde las btus pa*, an anthology of sūtra quotations, compiled in the eighth or ninth century by either sPug Ye shes dbyangs or Hwa shang Mahāyāna. As such, one would rather

<sup>28</sup>Tauscher 2008: ixx–xxii, Tauscher and Lainé 2008: 357f.

<sup>29</sup>See Tauscher 2007, 2008: xx.

expect to find it in the Tanjur section of the Tibetan canon, but it is not to be found in any known Tanjur either. It is, however, included in 'Phañ than (831). Fragments of one manuscript are extant at Dunhuang (PT 818 and ST 705), and fragments of three manuscripts at Tabo (provisional numbers 36, 89,<sup>30</sup> and 149 corresponding to 1.4.3.5 in Harrison 2009); apparently the only complete copy that is extant—apart from Go—is kept at the old library of 'Bras spuñs monastery.<sup>31</sup>

At Dunhuang and 'Bras spuñs this text is obviously preserved separately and is not included in a *mdo mañs* volume. Nothing can be said about 'Phañ than in this respect. The volume signatures *Ka* in Ta 36 and 89 indeed suggest inclusion in such *mdo mañs* volumes, but according to the pagination in both cases, the texts would have been the first ones in their respective volumes, and nothing is known about succeeding texts. Thus the situation is not clear. However, Ta 149, which consists of seven leaves between fol. 283 (*Ka–Ma* 83) and 313 (*Ka–Ña* 13), is obviously part of a larger volume. Nevertheless, the *mdo mañs* as a whole cannot be the same as in Go, where the *mDo sde brgyad cu khuñs* covers folios 199 (*Ka–Na* 99)–240 (*Ka–Ma* 40).

The *Sañs rgyas kyi(s) thabs chen po(i) drin la lan blan pa'i chos kyi yi ge/Sa'i thabs chen po'i drin la glan ba'i chos kyi yi ge* is presumably the same text which is listed as *Sañs rgyas kyi thabs chen po drin lan glan pa* in 'Phañ than (232) and ('*Phags pa*) *Thabs la /pa mkhas pa chen po sañs rgyas kyi drin la lan gyis blan pa'i chos kyi yi ge* in lHan dkar (253). It is a different translation of the text transmitted in the canonical collections as *Thabs mkhas pa chen po sañs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo* (F 31, L 124, S 180, N 340, D 353, Q 1022), and is contained also in Go.<sup>32</sup>

The *Lan ts(h)a'i chu bo'i mdo* is a rather short text of less than two folios. Although it poses questions rather than providing answers, it is interesting in several respects, also with regard to its particular history. Apart from Go, it is preserved only in Th (1334.2), and it is not mentioned in either 'Phañ than or lHan dkar. Apparently it was popular during the time of the *phyi dar*, particularly in mÑa' ris. This was perhaps due to some personal preference for this sūtra on the part of Atiśa and/or Rin chen bzañ po; perhaps it was not even known in other parts of Tibet. Could

<sup>30</sup>For these two fragments see Otokawa 1999.

<sup>31</sup>'Bras spuñs dpe rñiñ dkar chag: 1655, no. 018810.

<sup>32</sup>On this text see Tauscher 2008: xx–xxi.



it be an example of a manuscript that did *not* travel, or that at least did not travel far, and not beyond the areas of Tholing and Gondhla? Is it, in its Tibetan translation, a typical “Western Tibetan sūtra”?

According to its colophon it was translated by Dharmapāla and Ye śes brtson ’grus. Dan Martin suggests it was “translated at about the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, probably in fact at Tholing, where Dharmapāla, the Indian master named in the colophon, started the Highland Monastic Ordination Lineage.”<sup>33</sup> A *Lan tsha’i chu bo’i mdo* is quoted in Buddhāśānti’s *vr̥tti* to Candragomin’s *Deśanāstava*,<sup>34</sup> and as this text was translated into Tibetan by Rin chen bzañ po in collaboration with the author, it might even have been composed at about the same time in Western Tibet.

The *Sattvārāadhanastava* ascribed to Nāgārjuna (Q 2017 and 5429) appears, according to the colophons, to be the metric summary of a sūtra entitled *Ba tshwa’i chu klun̄*. One colophon names Atiśa and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba as translators of the *stava*; the other colophon names Buddhākaravarman and Chos kyi śes rab, both of whom were contemporaries and collaborators of Atiśa and Rin chen bzañ po.<sup>35</sup>

A *Ba tsha’i chu klun̄ gi mdo* is also quoted by Atiśa in the commentary of his *Bodhipathapradīpa*.<sup>36</sup> Both *Lan tsha’i chu bo’i mdo* and *Ba tsha’i chu klun̄ gi mdo* could be translations of Sanskrit *Kṣāranadīsūtra*.<sup>37</sup> Such a sūtra is quoted in the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkārabhāṣya*. In its Tibetan translation, this title is rendered as *Chu bo tshwa sgo can gyi mdo*, and as *Tshwa’i ’bab chu bśad pa* in Sthiramati’s sub-commentary.<sup>38</sup>

However, neither the three quotations from a *Lan tsha’i chu bo’i mdo* in the *Deśanāstavavr̥tti*, nor the short sentence from a *Ba tsha’i chu klun̄ gi mdo* quoted by Atiśa (the passage in *Mahāyānasūtrālamkārabhāṣya* still has to be checked) could be identified in the Go and Th manuscripts. The latter, however, resembles very much stanza 4cd and 6c of the *Sattvārāadhanastava*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Martin 2009.

<sup>34</sup> Q 2049 (vol. 46) 243a6-b1, 243b5–6, 246b3–5 ; see Hartmann 2007: 250f.

<sup>35</sup> See Hartmann 2007: 248f.

<sup>36</sup> For this reference I am indebted to Dan Martin, personal communication.

<sup>37</sup> Tatz 1985: 19, 50, 56 f. reconstructs the Sanskrit title as *Lavanadanadīsūtra*; see Hartmann 2007: 251.

<sup>38</sup> See Hartmann 2007: 250.

<sup>39</sup> *Bodhipathapradīpa*:

Did a second sūtra by that name exist? This is possible, although not very likely. The “salty river” (*lan tsh(w)a’i chu bo* or *ba tsh(w)a’i chu klun*) is not a common Buddhist symbol, and this title rather gives the impression of being unique.<sup>40</sup> Did a different version exist, or is the one preserved in Go and Th simply incomplete? More detailed analysis of the material will be needed to find answers to these questions.

The only text that Go shares exclusively with L and S is the *Saṅs rgyas rjes su dran pa’i tiñ ne ’dzin kyi rgya mtsho* (*Buddhānusmṛtisamādhisamudra*).<sup>41</sup> Extant in Go is only a short fragment of some seven lines from the very end of the text. Nevertheless, this part has not survived in other Kanjurs, and it provides valuable information about the original extent of twelve chapters in ten *bam po*. Both L and S end mid-sentence somewhere in *bam po* seven, chapter six, with a note added that the text is incomplete; roughly one quarter of the original text is missing.

*sems can mgu bar byed pa yañ de bzin gsegs pa la mchod pa bla na med yin te* / “Giving delight to creatures is also a form of supreme Worship [of the Tathāgata].” (Text and translation from Sherburne 2000: 50–51, my amendment.)

*Sattvārāghanastava* 4cd:

*sems can phan pa chud yañ des ni mchod pa ’byuñ ’gyur ste // gañ gis yid ni mgu bar byed pa mchod pa yin pas so //* (Q 2017, 86b4 f.)

“Also by giving benefit to the beings worship is brought about, because what causes delight to the mind is worship.”

*pūjā tu sā bhavati sattvahitekṣaṇāpi pūjyasya yā manasi tuṣṭim upādadāti /*  
“Verehrung (*pūjā*) aber ist, was auf das Heil der Wesen zielt und was im Sinne des zu Verehrenden Freude aufkommen lässt.”

*Sattvārāghanastava* 6c:

*des na sems can phan pa byas na ña la mchod pa’i mchog* (86b7)

“Therefore, it is the highest [form of] worship of me, if benefit for the beings is caused.”

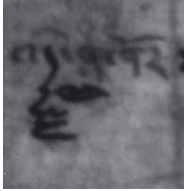
*sattvopakāraparamā hi mamāgrapūjā*

“Bei der höchsten Verehrung für mich ist das Wohl der Wesen entscheidend, ...” (Sanskrit text and translation from Hartmann 2007: 254 f.)

<sup>40</sup>There is a *Loṇaphala* (“A Grain of Salt”) *sutta* in the Pāli canon (*Anguttara-Nikāya* III.99), but there is no reference to a “salty river”; it derives its name from the simile of a grain of salt being thrown into a cup of water and into the river Ganga, and the different effects on the taste of the water in each case.

<sup>41</sup>For this text, see also Tauscher 2008: xvii and xxiii. Due to an undetected typo it appears as *Saṅs rgyas rje su* ... in Tauscher 2008, in the catalogue as well as in the index.

The fact that this text is present in Go and in Kanjurs of the Them spañs ma group<sup>42</sup> points to a common source for these collections. However, as the complete text was no longer extant at the time of the production of L and S, a direct and immediate dependence can be ruled out.



Whether the model for Go contained the complete text cannot be determined. In Go, the preceding text (which itself appears in two parts at different places in the same volume) passes seamlessly into this fragment mid-sentence; the point of intersection is not indicated, and only a small (but “nicely decorated”; see the figure on the current page, as a curiosity) note in the margin

reading *’di na nor* indicates that something has gone wrong here. Similar cases can be found several times in Go,<sup>43</sup> and it is very well possible that the remaining part of the text could once have been found in a different volume that is now lost. In any case, the assumed common source of L, S and Go certainly represents an earlier stage of transmission, prior to the production of any of these manuscripts.

Although the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśa* is contained in all Kanjurs, the particular form in which it is preserved in Go and F suggests a relationship between these two collections. Apparently, it is a compilation of five originally separate tractates on *dāna*, *śīla*, *kṣānti*, *vīrya*, and *dhyānapāramitā*. The canonical versions reflect this situation by beginning and ending each section in the manner of separate texts; Go and F, however, preserve in addition the individual colophons.

Evidently, with regard to the structures of the collections, not much conclusive information can be gained from a proto-Kanjur, as it has no overall structure. Only those groups of texts can be taken into account that formed a unit already before being translated into Tibetan and that were subsequently transmitted in a standardized sequence, such as the *Ratnakūṭa* and the *Buddhāvataṃsaka*. The arrangement of the texts within a particular proto-Kanjur volume may also be considered, but in this respect, and as already demonstrated in Tauscher and Lainé 2008, Go does not show any appreciable similarities with any Kanjur.

<sup>42</sup>In addition to the Kanjurs compared here, this text is extant also in T (No. 131) and V (No. 180).

<sup>43</sup>See Tauscher 2008: xliii–xlv.



A short text in Th, however, might provide evidence for a close relationship with Go. The *bKra śis su bya ba tshigs su bcad pa/Maṅgalagāthā* is one of the twelve “non-canonical” texts in Go. It is extant in Th and listed in lHan dkar (479) and ’Phaṅ thaṅ (437). In addition, it appears in Th as the second text in a series of four (Th 1340.38–41) that are found in exactly the same sequence as in Go (35.42–45). This sequence is not attested in any of the Kanjurs, not even among the other three texts.

The most significant structural evidence for a common Western Tibetan tradition is, for the time being, the peculiar arrangement of *Ratnakūṭa* texts. Obviously for logistic reasons, in order to avoid breaking up text 12 (*Bodhisattvapiṭaka, Byaṅ chub sems dpa’i sde snod*) into two parts (as it is done in D and Q), it is placed as the first text in vol. Ga, and the much shorter text 15 (*Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūha, ’Jam dpal gyi saṅs rgyas kyi śiṅ gi yon tan bkod pa*) is placed as the last text in vol. Kha (in a traditional set of six volumes) immediately after text 11 (*Raśmisamantamuktonirdeśa, ’Od zer kun tu bkye ba bstan pa*); the remaining texts follow in the standard order.<sup>44</sup> This sequence can be found exclusively and consistently in the Western Tibetan proto-Kanjurs Go, Ph, Ta<sup>45</sup> (although not in Th), in L, and in the Ladhaki Kanjurs of Shey (Z), Tshom (Hemis), and Basgo.<sup>46</sup>

## Variant Readings

The majority of the variant readings contained in these manuscripts might be unique, individual scribal errors or peculiarities of the respective manuscript that are not found in any other manuscript. As such, they are not at all suited as evidence for the origin of a particular manuscript; certainly they cannot be cited as criteria for postulating a “tradition”.<sup>47</sup> Only occasionally can one find obvious mistakes shared by different manuscripts which would, most probably, not occur twice independently.<sup>48</sup> In such

<sup>44</sup>See Tauscher 2008: xxiv, Tauscher and Lainé 2008: 353 ff.

<sup>45</sup>Cf. Harrison 2009: xxxiii–xxxiv.

<sup>46</sup>The Kanjur kept at Shey Palace, three incomplete Kanjurs that were recently discovered at Tshom lha khaṅ at Hemis Monastery, and three Kanjurs (two of them incomplete) at gSer zaṅs lha khaṅ, Basgo Palace, are presently being documented and studied by our research project and will be presented to the academic community in due time.

<sup>47</sup>Cf. Skilling 1997: 104.

<sup>48</sup>See, e.g., Tauscher 2007: 91.

cases one can, with some justification, assume mutual dependence. However, there has not yet been a systematical investigation of an adequate amount of material, and conclusive statements in this regard are therefore not possible.

Probably more conclusive than most of the other variant readings (and definitely easier to trace) are variants in the titles of text — both in Tibetan and Sanskrit — and chapters thereof, and in the colophons. A number of texts are transmitted under titles that are divergent — and sometimes to a considerable degree. Some of these are evidently different translations of the same Sanskrit terms, e.g., rendering *pariprcchā* by *žus pa* or *driś pa*. Some, however, indicate a different title in the Sanskrit original. Occasionally, the initial title does not conform to the one given in the colophon. All these deviations would most probably not appear several times independently, and they can therefore be taken as evidence for a mutual relationship.

For Go, these variants have already been listed in detail<sup>49</sup> and shall not be repeated here; only some random examples shall be given.

In general, an analysis of these variants reveals a great diversity of transmission lineages represented in Go; there are agreements and disagreements with the canonical collections in various combinations, with an obvious tendency, however, towards the Them spangs ma Kanjurs L and S, and F.

A majority of deviating titles, however, are unique in Go. Twenty-six of its 356 titles (this represents more than 7% of the total) are transmitted in a form that is not attested in any known Kanjur or proto-Kanjur. Some of these variants are obviously due to “individual errors” in Go, but a number of them apparently indicate a separate origin that still remains to be identified. Only in a few of these cases do all versions deviate from each other; normally all the others agree more or less against Go:

- *gCuñ me'u dga' bo mñal du 'jug pa bstand pa* (Go)  
*gCuñ me'u 'ga' bo žes bya ba'i theg pa chen po'i mdo* (L), *gCuñ / bCuñ mo'u dga' ba mñal na gnas pa bstan pa* (SN), *Tshe dan ldan pa dga' bo mñal na gnas pa bstan pa* (F), *mÑal na gnas pa bstan pa'i le'u* (F colophon), *dGa' bo la mñal na gnas pa bstan pa* (D), *dGa' bo mñal na gnas pa bstan pa* (Q, S colophon, Eimer 1999).

<sup>49</sup>Tauscher 2008: xxv–xxxv.

- *Avalokiteśvaraparipṛcchāsaptadharmaka*: *sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug gis źus pa / byaṅ chub sems dpa'i slab pa bdun pa* (Go)  
*sPyan ras gzigs (kyi) dbaṅ phyug gis źus pa (i) chos bdun pa* (FLSNDQ)
- *Hastikakṣya*: *Glaṅ po che stsald* (Go)  
*Glaṅ po'i rtsal* (FLSDQ), *Glaṅ po che'i rtsal lta bu'i mdo* (N)
- *Mañjuśrīparipṛcchā*: *'Jam dpal gyis źus pa* (Go)  
*'Jam dpal gyis dris pa* (FLSNDQ)
- *gNod sbyin chu'i dbaṅ po rdo rje btsan gyi mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa* (Go)  
*gNod 'dzin (N: sbyin) gyi mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa* (FLSNDQ, Th)

A quite interesting but also mysterious case is the *Acintyabuddhaviśayanirdeśa*. An editorial introduction quotes its usual Tibetan title *Saṅs rgyas kyi yul bsaṃ gyis myi khyab pa bstand pa*. This is followed immediately by the Sanskrit title in its usual form. The Tibetan equivalent, however, appears as *'Phags pa lHa'i bu dpal bzaṅs kyis źus pa*, which would correspond to \**Ārya Śrībhadradevaputraparipṛcchā*—which is otherwise unknown to me—as its original title. However, this might simply be a case of corruption of the Go manuscript.

The *sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug gi yid bzin gyi **nor bu'i** 'khor lo sgyur ba*, which is extant in Go and F, and listed in the Early Mustang Kanjur Catalogue, lHan dkar, and 'Phaṅ thaṅ, might give evidence for three different lines of transmission. In F the title reads *sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug gi **pad ma** yid bzin gyi 'khor lo'i/los sgyur ba*.<sup>50</sup> In Mustang it appears as *sPyan ras gzigs yid bzin 'khor lo bsgyur ba'i gzuṅs*,<sup>51</sup> in lHan dkar (352) as *sPyan ras gzigs dbaṅ phyug yid bzin gyi **nor bu** 'khor lo sgyur ba'i gzuṅs*,<sup>52</sup> and in 'Phaṅ thaṅ (312) under the same title with the addition ... *śnags cho ga daṅ bcas pa*. However, it might also be an example of a chronological sequence, where Go—in agreement with lHan dkar and 'Phaṅ thaṅ—represents an older version than F, and Mustang a stage between the two, with ... *nor bu* ... already omitted and ... *pad ma* ... not yet added.

<sup>50</sup>Cf. Samten 1992: xxv, No. 7, and 187, n. 1.

<sup>51</sup>Eimer 1999: No. 292.

<sup>52</sup>lHan dkar 343, *sPyan ras gzigs yid bzin 'khor lo(s) sgyur ba'i gzuṅs*, is more than twice as long and is therefore probably a different text.

Its unique position is also illustrated by the colophon of the *Śrīsenāvadāna*, where only Go gives the name of the translator Rin chen bzañ po with the epithet *khwa tse g.yu sgra gśen*<sup>53</sup> *pa* according to his native place and family.

Fourteen titles of Go agree with the FLS group and deviate from NDQ, e.g.:

- the Sanskrit title of the *'Phags pa Chos kyi tshul* appears as *Ārya Dharmanetrī* in GoFS—it is not included in L—and as *Ārya Dharmanaya* in NDQ;
- *'Phags pa lHag pa'i bsam pa brtan ba'i le'u* is given as a translation of *Ārya Drḍhādhyāśayaparivarta* in GoFLS and of *Ārya Sthirādhyāśaya°* or *Sthirādhyāśaya°* in NDQ;
- the text entitled *gTslug tor chen po bam po dgu pa las bdud kyi le'u 'byun ba* in GoFLS is transmitted as *bDud kyi (le'u) ñi tshe phyun / 'byun ba* in NDQ.

However, in seven cases Go agrees with NDQ against FLS, e.g., *Daśa-cakrakṣitigarbha* is rendered as *'Dus pa chen po las sa'i sñin po'i 'khor lo bcu pa* in GoNDQ, and as *'Dus pa chen po las ('phags pa) byaṅ chub sems dpa' sa'i sñin po(i) 'khor lo bcu pa* in FLS, and the *Saṅs rgyas bcom ldan 'das kyi mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa gzuṅs snags dan bcas pa* (GoDQ) appears as *Saṅs rgyas 'khor dan bcas pa'i mtshan ...* in FLS, and as *Saṅs rgyas kyi mtshan ...* in N.

The peculiar status of F might be illustrated by the fact that in five cases it shares its version of a title exclusively with Go. The *Buddhāvataṃsaka-nāma-mahāvaiṣṭyasūtra* is called *Śin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo saṅs rgyas phal po che* in Go, and *Śin tu rgyas pa chen po'i saṅs rgyas phal po che'i mdo* in F. In all the other Kanjurs, from the Tshal pa as well as from the Them spaṅs ma group, it appears as *Saṅs rgyas phal po che zes bya ba śin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo*.

The text called *Ārya Vināyaka-sūtra* in GoF is listed in the other versions as *Ārya Vighnavināyakāratra-sūtra* (Q 421), *Ārya Vighnavināyaka-dhāraṇī* (N), *Ārya Vighnavināyakāra-dhāraṇī* (D 959, Q 584), and *Ārya Vighnavināyakāratā-dhāraṇī* (LS, D 655). Although it is called *-sūtra* in GoF and in one version of Q, except for Go they all agree on the Tibetan title *'Gegs pa sel pa'i gzuṅs*; however, *-mdo* is attested only in Go and in one version contained in the Mustang Kanjur (Eimer 1999: No. 150).

<sup>53</sup>The MS reads *gcen*.

On the other hand, F also shows seven exclusive disagreements with Go, e.g., the *Ārya Vidyutprāptaparipṛcchā* (*Ratnakūṭa* text 20, the Sanskrit title is extant only in NDQ), which appears as (*'Phags pa*) *Glog thob kyis źus pa* in all versions except for F and Mustang (Eimer 1999: No. 779), which have respectively *Mi zad pa'i gter bstan pa(i le'u)* and *-pa'i mdo*.

These few examples may be sufficient to provide as clear a picture of the general situation as possible “at the present stage of our ignorance”.<sup>54</sup> In the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla we find various lines of textual transmission represented. One of these (for the time being let us suppose that it is one, although it might be more) is otherwise unknown, but is dominant and probably of Western Tibetan provenience. It is evident in the particular arrangement of *Ratnakūṭa* texts, which is to be found — apart from Gondhla — at Tabo (Spiti), Phukthar (Zanskar), Shey, Hemis, Basgo (Ladakh), and Śel dkar (southern Tibet). In addition, it reveals connections with Phug brag (south-western Tibet) — which, in turn, is related to Tawang (Arunachal Pradesh) — and with Mustang. As would be expected, lines of relationships become visible also between Gondhla and the Western Tibetan centres of Tholing and Tabo.

Apart from this “local” tradition, also the traditions of Tshal pa and Them spañs ma (or their sources) are represented at Gondhla. While the analysis of the contents of the various collections seems to suggest a predominance of Tshal pa, the particular form of the titles and other text-critical observations clearly testify to a stronger connection with the Them spañs ma line of transmission.

In short, an analysis of the proto-Kanjur of Gondhla conveys the picture of a rather wide and free textual transfer, with, of course, an emphasis on more “local” connections. Without appropriate historical evidence that is still lacking, further conclusions are speculative. Gondhla, the Tinan during the time that we are concerned with, is situated at the foot of the sacred mountain Dril bu ri,<sup>55</sup> on the route following the rivers Chandra and Bhaga. This was a major highway to Zanskar and Ladakh and to pilgrimage sites such as Triloknath in Lower Lahul,<sup>56</sup> as testament to this

<sup>54</sup>This very accurate formulation is adopted from Schaeffer and van der Kuijp 2009: 10.

<sup>55</sup>Present-day Dril bu ri, named Ghan dha la or Gan da la and called “one of the eight sacred places of Tibet” (... *spu rgyal bod kyi yul // gnas chen brgyad kyi yan lag* ...) in dedicational poems in the Gondhla manuscripts (see Tauscher 2008: 12 and 43), is worshipped as a *mañḍala* of Cakrasaṃvara; for this ritual, see Widorn and Kinberger 2009.

<sup>56</sup>Cf. the contribution of Verena Widorn in the present volume, CHAPTER 7, and see FIGURE 7.10 in that contribution for a picture of the bodhisattvas.

fact, larger-than-life-sized stone carvings of bodhisattvas, which were generally made only along routes of some importance, still keep guard by the roadside in the village of Gondhla, as well as in other places along the same route, such as Kardang, Keylong and Khangsar. Many monks and pilgrims from all parts of Tibet must have passed through this place and spent some time there. Occasionally, they left traces in the form of particular versions of manuscripts they carried with them.

This impression is supported by the fact that among the texts duplicated in Go, occasionally different traditions are represented: either a local and a common canonical tradition, or the Tshal pa and the Them spans ma line.

In one copy of the *Śrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa*, e.g., the Tibetan title is *dPal gyi lha mo chen mo luṅ bstand pa*, a form which is not attested anywhere else, whereas another copy has *lHa mo chen mo dpal luṅ bstan pa* in agreement with all the canonical versions.<sup>57</sup>

Likewise, the *Mahāśrīyasūtra* (*Mahālakṣmīsūtra* in D) appears once as *dPal lha (mo chen) mo'i mdo*, and once as *dPal chen mo'i mdo* as in all the other Kanjurs.

In one copy of the *'Jam dpal rnam par 'phrul ba'i le'u*, the text's Sanskrit title is given as *Mañjuśrīvikurvitaparivarta* according to Them spans ma and F; in another copy it is given as *Mañjuśrīvikurvāṇapari-varta*, which can be found in the Tshal pa tradition.

This phenomenon is not restricted to Gondhla or to proto-canonical collections; it can be observed in Kanjurs as well.<sup>58</sup> With regard to the general situation, too, Gondhla was certainly not unique, and we can expect to find a similar scenario also in other places where manuscript collections were compiled and eventually turned into Kanjurs. In these places, too, manuscripts of various origins were gathered, and what later became a "tradition" was, in fact, the result of many centuries of collecting and copying manuscripts, and it will certainly not be possible to trace the individual histories of these manuscripts and the routes they travelled to their sources. Perhaps it is true what Skilling (1997: 102 f.) writes:

Texts lying side-by-side in a given Kanjur volume have different histories, and most probably are bed-fellows there for the

<sup>57</sup> An exception is one of the two copies in N, which gives *lHa mo dpal luṅ bstan pa*.

<sup>58</sup> However, I am not aware of any systematic studies of this phenomenon. For an incidental observation see, e.g., Braarvig 1997.

first time. ... Thus no Kanjur Sūtra Division is a unitary and consistent body of texts: each is a tapestry woven from diverse strands of transmission, probably impossible to unravel.

With more material from various regions becoming accessible and being analysed, it might, however, be possible to outline at least the main routes of textual transfer in the Himalayas and on the Tibetan plateau.

## Sigla and Abbreviations

**'Bras spuṅs dpe rñiṅ dkar chag** Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rñiṅ zib 'jug khaṅ, ed. *'Bras spuṅs dgon du bźugs su gsol ba'i dpe rñiṅ dkar chag*. 2 vols. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khaṅ, 2004.

**La dwags rgyal rabs** In: Francke 1926: 19–148.

### proto-Kanjurs

**Go** *Gondhla*.

**Ta** *Tabo*.

**Ph** *Phukthar*.

**Th** *Tholing*.

### Kanjurs

**B** *Berlin*.

**O** *O rgyan glin (Tawang)*.

**C** *Cone*.

**ON** *Old Narthang*.

**D** *Derge*.

**Q** *Peking*.

**F** *Phug brag*.

**S** *Stog*.

**H** *Lhasa*.

**T** *Tokyo*.

**J** *'Jaṅ sa tham*.

**L** *Śel dkar / London*.

**V** *Ulaanbaatar*.

**N** *Narthang*.

**Z** *Shey*.

### Varia

**IHan dkar** Cf. Herrmann-Pfandt 2008.

**PT** *Pelliot Tibétain*.

**'Phaṅ thaṅ** Cf. Kawagoe 2005.

**ST** *Stein Tibetan Collection*.



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