

Contributions to the Development and Classification of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* Literature in Tibet from the Ninth to Fourteenth Centuries

James B. Apple
University of Calgary

Abstract: *This paper examines the reception, development, and classification of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra and its related commentaries in Tibet from the ninth to fourteenth centuries as a case study in how sections of the Tibetan Bstan 'gyur collections were formed and formulated. The first section of the paper analyzes the classification of Abhisamayālaṃkāra commentaries in early Tibetan registers such as the Lhan kar ma and 'Phang thang ma. Next, two influential Tibetan scholar-librarians, Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri (1227-1305) and Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364), are compared with regard to their organization and classification of treatises such as the Abhisamayālaṃkāra. The third section provides a narrative account of how Abhisamayālaṃkāra literature developed in Tibet based on the analysis of colophons and historical anecdotes. The paper concludes with a summary of the cultural forces that influenced the development and classification of Abhisamayālaṃkāra literature in Tibet.*

Introduction

In the literature that comprises Tibetan Bka' 'gyurs and Bstan 'gyurs in all their multiple guises and strands of literary formation, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries related to the Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā) literature form one section that is found only in Tibetan collections and not in Buddhist collections such as the Chinese Taisho Tripiṭaka.

The great Belgian scholar of Indian Buddhism Étienne Lamotte once remarked that it took over forty commentaries for Indians to explain the Perfection of Wisdom through the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* while implying that the system of explication through the immense *Da zhi du lun* was sufficient for an understanding of the

Perfection of Wisdom.¹ I do not wish to place exegetical value on either set of literature, but Lamotte was lacking an appreciation of what the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, as a genre of commentarial literature, offers to the historian of Indian and Tibetan ideas. The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its related commentaries provide the historian of ideas with a great amount of data concerning the development of Mahāyāna Buddhist concepts in both India and Tibet. The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its related literature has been a source for the analysis of the embodied qualities of Buddhahood,² issues in the interpretation of Tathāgathagarbha,³ and the elucidation of Buddhist categories of Noble Beings⁴, among other topics. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries also provide documentation of the textual sources utilized by Indian commentators as well as the various locations of Indian Buddhist discourse, such as in medieval Indonesia (for example, Dharmakīrtiśrī [Ser lings pa; fl. ca. 1000 CE]), Magadha, or Kashmir.

Tibetan Buddhist scholars and Western scholars of Tibetan Buddhist history and culture have acknowledged the importance of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* in Tibetan intellectual culture.⁵ As Schoening⁶ notes, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* has "...had the most lasting impact of any *sūtra* commentary; it serves as a gateway for the study of *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* by Tibetan Buddhists of all schools whose savants have amply added over the centuries to the number of its commentaries." Scholars of Indian and Tibetan Buddhism have, based on traditional listings, enumerated up to twenty-one *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries that were brought into Tibet from India.⁷ However, the historical narrative that documents how this literature developed in Tibet and the classifications utilized to canonize this literature has not been well studied.

This paper examines the reception, development, and classification of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its related commentaries from the ninth to fourteenth centuries in Tibet. Although we do not have an exact historical record, the construction of a narrative through catalogs (*dkar chag*) and colophons allows for

¹ Kumārajīva, Etienne Lamotte, and Sara Boin-Webb, *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra: The Concentration of Heroic Progress* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press in association with The Buddhist Society, 1998), 42.

² John J. Makransky, *Buddhahood Embodied: Sources of Controversy in India and Tibet* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997).

³ David Seyfort Ruegg, *La Théorie Du Tathāgatagarbha Et Du Gotra: Études Sur La Sotériologie Et La Gnoséologie Du Bouddhisme* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1969).

⁴ James B. Apple, *Stairway to Nirvāṇa: a Study of the Twenty Saṃghas Based on the Works of Tsong Kha Pa* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008).

⁵ George Dreyfus, "Tibetan Scholastic Education and the Role of Soteriology," *JIAS* 20.1 (1997): 31-62.

⁶ Jeffrey D. Schoening, "Sūtra Commentaries in Tibetan Translation," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by Lhundup Sopa, José Ignacio Cabezón, and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 111-124.

⁷ Enumerations of twenty-one *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries are found in Eugene Obermiller, *The Doctrine of the Prajñāpāramitā as Exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya*, Acta Orientalia XI (Budapest: Acta Orientalia, 1932), 9-11; Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*. 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Reiyoukai, 1978) 111-117; and Makransky, *Buddhahood Embodied*, 400 note 5.

the envisioning of how this literature developed in Tibet and its eventual structuring into canonical status. Charting the development of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* serves as a case study in how sections of the Tibetan Bstan 'gyur collections were formed and formulated.

Early Catalog Lists

The earliest extant evidence for the translations of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its related literature into Tibetan are registered in the catalogue lists of *Lhan kar ma* and *'Phang thang ma*. Another older imperial catalogue, the *Dkar chag bsam yas mchims phu ma*,⁸ is presently missing. The *Lhan kar ma* is the oldest known catalog, its time of composition is often located during the reign of Khri lde srong btsan (also known as Sad na legs; circa 800-815), or alternatively during the reign of King Khri gtsug lde btsan (circa 824 CE).⁹ In the *Lhan kar ma* registry we find two listings directly related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*: the *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa'i rgya cher bshad pa/ mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan*¹⁰ in six hundred *śloka*s (equal to two *bam po*) and the *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi rgya cher 'grel pa*¹¹ in fifteen hundred *śloka*s (equal to five *bam po*). The *Lhan kar ma* listing classifies these commentaries under the section concerning Theg pa chen po'i mdo sde'i ſikā — commentaries pertaining to Mahāyāna sūtras. Both entries are given without an assigned author, and the translators of these texts are unspecified.

The *'Phang thang ma* listings related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* are found in two of the catalogue's sections. Two *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries are found in the section containing "Miscellaneous Commentaries on Various Discourses" (*mdo sde sna tshogs kyi 'grel pa*).¹² These are the *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa'i bshad pa mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan* in two *bam po* and the *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan rgya cher 'grel* in six *bam po*. The listings do not provide an author nor mention the translators of the texts. The other section in the *'Phang thang ma* registry that mentions an *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary is classified as "Commentaries on Sūtras and Śāstras by Khri srong lde btsan (and other Tibetan Authors)" (*Mdo sde dang bstan bcos kyi ti ka btsan po khri srong*

⁸ Georgios Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered: A Catalogue from the Imperial Court of 'phang thang," *The Eastern Buddhist* 36, nos. 1-2 (2004): 48.

⁹ For a discussion of the dates of these catalogs see Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered," 48 note 4; and Brandon Dotson, "'Emperor' Mu rug btsan and the 'Phang thang ma Catalogue," *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 3 (December 2007): 1-25, <http://www.thlib.org?tid=T3105>.

¹⁰ Marcelle Lalou, "Les Textes Bouddhiques au temps du Roi khri-sron-lde-bean," *Journal Asiatique* 241 (1953): 330, text 516; and A. Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die lhan kar ma: Ein früher katalog der ins tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen texte* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008), 294.

¹¹ Lalou, "Les Textes Bouddhiques," 330, text 517; and Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die Lhan kar ma*, 294.

¹² Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered," 90 §XIX; R. Rdo, ed., *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma: sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa* (Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003), 35.

lde btsan gyis mdzad pa),¹³ which lists a single commentary, the *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan mdo dang sbyar ba* in one *bam po*.

What these early catalogs indicate is that the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, at the time of its reception in Tibet, was primarily understood as being a commentary ('*grel pa*) on the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*, and not a technical "Instructional Treatise or Śāstra" (Man ngag gi bstan bcos, Upadeśaśāstra), as later Tibetan scholarly tradition would understand the text. The understanding of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* as an independent śāstra would not develop in Tibetan classifications until the time of Rngog blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109). Early Tibetan scholar-librarians, as reflected in these initial catalogs, made the choice not to classify the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* among catalog sections such as Mahāyāna-śāstras (Theg pa chen po'i bstan bcos sna tshogs)¹⁴ or Vijñāna-śāstras (Rnam par shes pa'i bstan bcos),¹⁵ but rather, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* was placed alongside other commentaries on Mahāyāna sūtras such as the *Sandhinirmocanasūtra*,¹⁶ the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*,¹⁷ and the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*.¹⁸ As both the *Lhan kar ma* and 'Phang thang ma placed the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* before all other sūtras, likewise the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* as a commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras* was placed among the first of sūtra commentaries. In this instance, the pattern of precedence for commentaries follows the pattern established in the sequencing of sūtras.

The catalogue lists of *Lhan kar ma* and 'Phang thang ma provide evidence of how early Tibetan scholar-librarians thought about proto-Bstan 'gyur materials like the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. The importation of technical digests such as the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* occurred during a period of stability and imperial patronage for monasteries and the support of translations. The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* mostly likely served as part of what Matthew Kapstein¹⁹ has called an "ideal model of organized knowledge" that supported the Mahāyāna Buddhist ideals, well-ordered cosmological framework, and ethical principles for enhancing the ideological and bureaucratic requirements of Tibetan empire at this time.

There is at present, aside from these early imperial registers, not much direct textual evidence for charting the development of this literature in the transposition between the so-called early dissemination period (*snga dar*) to the traditional later dissemination period (*phyi dar*). The next readily available charting points for how Indian Buddhist technical literature such as the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* was classified and received are found in the works of Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri (1227-1305) and Bu ston rin po che (1290-1364).

¹³ Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered," 90 §XXVII.

¹⁴ *Lhan kar ma* §XXV.

¹⁵ *Lhan kar ma* §XXIV.

¹⁶ *Lhan kar ma* text 531.

¹⁷ *Lhan kar ma* text 535.

¹⁸ *Lhan kar ma* text 538.

¹⁹ Matthew Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 56.

Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's Expanded List of Teachings

Dar ma rgyal mtshan,²⁰ more commonly known as Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri, was a famous Bka' gdams pa master connected with Snar thang Monastery. A number of his works have recently become accessible to the scholarly community.²¹ Among his works, the *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od* is an early Tibetan list of Buddhist literary materials composed of *sūtras*, *śāstras*, and related categories translated primarily from Sanskrit. Likely compiled at the end the thirteenth century, this work of more than two thousand titles organized within thirty-two sections provides an early example of a Tibetan scholar-librarian's efforts at classifying Buddhist literature several decades before the canonical collections that came to be known as the Bka' 'gyur and the Bstan 'gyur came into solidified form. As Peter Skilling²² has observed,

...the codification and cataloguing done at Narthang by bCom ldan rig pa'i ral gri and dBus pa blo gsal led to the permanent bifurcation of the bKa' bstan bcos into bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur: their work evolved into the Tshal pa Kanjur lineage and, through the famous Tanjur catalogue of Bu ston, all Tanjurs that we know today. This is implied by the *Blue Annals*, which states that bCom ldan rig ral 'set apart the *śāstras*, and composed a work called bsTan pa rgyas pa which collected them under a number of categories.'

Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od* appears to list *sūtras* as well as *śāstras* as the early sections focus on the Perfection of Wisdom (Sher phyin, Prajñāpāramitā; §3), Phal chen (§4), Dkon btsegs (§5), Theg pa chen po mdo sde (§6), and Theg chung mdo sde (§7). The thirty-two sections of Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's list of teachings are organized into categorical divisions that encompass chronological developments. The first nineteen sections organize literature according to genre, such as Vinaya ('Dul ba; §12), Abhidharma (Mngon pa; §13), and Madhyamaka (Dbu ma; §15). These sections appear to be correlated with teachings that were translated during the early dissemination period of Buddhism into Tibet. Ten sections after this are chronologically ordered according to the time of the translator within Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's schema of intermediate (*bstan pa bar dar*) and later dissemination periods (*bstan pa phyi dar*)

²⁰ Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, "A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic Attributed to Klong Chen Rab 'Byam pa (1308-1364) and its Place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 31 (2003): 406ff; Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, "The Earliest Indian Reference to Muslims in a Buddhist Philosophical Text of circa 700," *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 34, no. 3 (2006): 173.

²¹ A ten-volume collection of his works in typeset from Lha sa has been published with support from the Trace Foundation and is available through the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (W00EGS1017426). A facsimile edition of manuscripts found in Lha sa that are similar to the typeset are found in volumes fifty-one to fifty-seven of *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig thengs gnyis pa* (Chengdu: Sichuan min zu chu ban she, 2007).

²² Peter Skilling, "From bKa' bstan bcos to bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur," in *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*, edited by Helmut Eimer (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 100.

of Buddhism spreading in Tibet, a schema that Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364) rejected.²³ These sections are classified and ordered according to a chronological sequence of major translators such as Rin chen bzang po (§22), the disciples (*slob ma*) of Rin chen bzang po (§23), Nag tsho tshul khrim rgyal ba (§24), Rngog blo ldan shes rab (§27), and Pa tshab nyi ma grags pa (§28).

The *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*'s initial list of texts related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* is classified under the section entitled *Mdo sde sna tshogs kyi 'grel pa*.²⁴ Within this category there are two main titles connected to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, the *Rgyas 'bring bsduḥ gsum gyi bshad pa mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan* in one *bam po* and the extensive commentary to this work (*de'i rgya cher 'grel ba*) in five *bam po*. Surprisingly, no authors are mentioned with regard to these texts. These two texts most likely correspond to the verses of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* along with the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikāśāstravivṛti*²⁵ of Haribhadra (ca. late eighth century). Another related text is the *Sdud pa'i 'grel pa slob dpon sangs rgyas ye shes kyis mdzad pa* in six *bam po*. This entry must refer to the *Saṅcayagāthāpañjikā* (*Sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa'i dka' 'grel*) of Sangs rgyas dpal ye shes (Buddhaśrījñāna). Three texts are listed as translated by Rin chen bzang po (§22)—the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-lōkā*, *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa rtogs par dka' ba'i snang ba shes bya ba'i 'grel bshad* (*Abhisamayālaṃkāradurbodhāloka*), and *Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārthapradīpa*. Two texts by Ratnākaraśānti, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-pañjikāśārottamā* (*Brgyad stong ba'i dka' 'grel snying po mchog*) and *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikāvṛtti-suddhamatī* (*Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa dag ldan*), are translated by Shākya blo gros in the section (§23) on texts translated by Rin chen bzang po's disciples (*rin chen bzang po'i slob mas bsgyur ba*). The section on Nag tsho tshul khrim rgyal ba (§24) lists another translation of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-lōkā* by Atiśa and Tshul khrim rgyal ba. The section (§25) after this one is entitled “Translations Immediately After the Passing of Atiśa” (*Jo bo 'das ma thag tu bsgyur ba*). Included in this section are translations of the redacted *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* by Tshul khrims rgyal ba, Dharmamitra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāraprasphuṭapadā* (*Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'gral bshad tshig rab tu gsal ba zhes bya ba*) by Gu rub

²³ Eugene Obermiller, trans., *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet* (Delhi, India: Sri Satguru Publications, 1986), 21; and János Szerb, ed., *Bu Ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet* (Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990), 83.

²⁴ Dar ma rgyal mtshan, *Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri*, *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*, in *Gsung 'bum/ bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri* (Lha sa: Kham sprul bsod nams don grub, 2006), 142.2.

²⁵ The identification of Sanskrit titles for texts throughout this paper are based on either extant manuscript titles or the reconstructed titles found at the beginning of texts in the *Bstan 'gyur*s. As Sparham (Gareth Sparham, “Demons on the Mother: Objections to the Perfect Wisdom Sūtras in Tibet,” in *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*, edited by Guy Newland [Snow Lion Publications, 2001], 206 note 3) has recently pointed out, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikāśāstravivṛti* is often known in Tibetan by the abbreviation *don gsal* which has been mistakenly reconstructed as *Spuṭārthā*. The available Sanskrit manuscripts (Hirofusa Amano, ed., *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikāśāstra-vivṛti: Haribhadra's Commentary on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikāśāstra edited for the First Time from a Sanskrit Manuscript* [Kyoto: Heirakuji-shoten, 2000]) provide the title *vivṛti*.

Chos kyi shes rab, and Haribhadra's *Bhagavadratnaguṇasañcayagāthā-nāmapañjikā* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa*) by 'Bro seng dkar shākya 'od. Ratnākaraśānti's *Sārottamā* and *Śuddhamatī* are revised by 'Brog mi dpal gyi ye shes in the section (§26) on "Translations Made by 'Brog mi and Others" ('Brog mi la sogs pas bsgyur ba). In the section on Ngog blo ldan shes rab (§27), the great scholar is listed as having translated Prajñākaramati's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛttipiṇḍārtha* (*Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa'i bsdus don*) and revising Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāralokā* and *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-śāstra-vivṛti*. Finally, the section (§28) on translation during the time of Pa tshab nyi ma grags pa lists Spong zho gsal ba grags as translating the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vṛtti-marmakaumudī* ('*Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa'i 'grel pa gnad kyi zla ba'i 'od ces bya ba*) of Abhayākara Gupta. Table A provides a list of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*-related commentaries in the *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*.

In sum, there are thirteen translations of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries along with four translation revisions in Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's listing of texts. The point of emphasis in this list stresses the importance of the Tibetan translator. Only one Indian translator, Atiśa Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna (982-1054), is listed in this selection of texts. Likewise, only around half of the names of Indian authors are provided. Perhaps most importantly, based on our analysis of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* translations, we can state that Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri has tried to provide a chronological sequence to the occurrence of texts at the time of their translation. In addition, he has provided more than one edition of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāralokā* in this list of texts. Although only a brief sample, this indicates a different pattern of classification than that of Bu ston (1290-1364; see below). The pattern of classification by Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri is similar to that found in Chinese collections where early Chinese catalogs such as the *Chu san zang ji ji* of Sengyou (completed ca. 515 CE) "are structured around the names of scriptural translators, who are listed in chronological order together with the titles of the texts they are considered to have produced."²⁶

Bu ston's Catalog of the Bstan 'gyur

Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364), the famous scholar and abbot of Zhwa lu Monastery, is among the next major scholar-librarians after Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri to compose a list of treatises. As D. S. Ruegg has noted,²⁷

²⁶ Jan Nattier, *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Han "Dong Han" and Three Kingdoms "San Guo" Periods*. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica 10 (Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2008), 9-10.

²⁷ David Seyfort Ruegg and Rin-chen-rnam-rgyal, *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che, with the Tibetan Text of the Bu Ston Rnam Thar* (Roma: Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), 35.

...Bu ston was responsible for the final compilation and the manuscript ‘editio princeps’ of the bsTan ’gyur. The Ža lu compilation presents then an expanded version of the first sNar than version and is considered to form the basis of the other editions of the bsTan ’gyur subsequently prepared elsewhere. The texts on which this version was established are said to have been deposited in the bsTan ’gyur lha khañ at Ža lu.

Peter Skilling²⁸ has also stated that “[t]he received Tanjurs (Peking, Narthang, Golden Manuscript, Derge, Cone) all descend from Bu ston’s edition...” But as Skilling notes, this refers to only “canonical” transmissions and not paracanonical transmissions of individual Bstan ’gyur texts.

Bu ston’s list of Bstan ’gyur texts are contained in volume 26 (la) of his collected works under the title of *Bstan ’gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhiñ nor bu dbang gi rgyal po’i phreng ba*.²⁹ This is a register of the Zhwa lu temple Bstan ’gyur based primarily on the old Snar thang redaction written in 1335 with Dge slong shākya dpal bzang po as scribe. The catalog contains three thousand three hundred and ninety-two texts within five main chapters that are organized based on a structure related to the traditional five fields of knowledge (*pañcavidyā*).³⁰ At the beginning of this text, Bu ston indicates the catalog’s ostensive organization:

In this regard, wise individuals who wish to enter into the entrance gate of learning may arrange technical digests in multiple ways — according to the order of learning — linguistics (*śabdavidyā*, *sgra*), logic (*hetuvidyā*, *gtan tshigs*), creative arts (*śilpavidyā*, *bzo*), medicine (*cikitsāvidyā*, *gso ba*), and inner science (*adhyātmavidyā*, *nang rig pa*), or according to meditative practice — discipline (Vinaya, ’Dul ba), discourses (Sūtra, Mdo sde), and Abhidharma (Mngon pa) treatises, or in a sequence of inferior to superior — mundane system treatises, small vehicle treatises (that is, Hīnayāna), common Mahāyāna treatises, and uncommon Mahāyāna treatises (that is, Vajrayāna). Here I will arrange in a sequence of superior to inferior beginning with inner science treatises, specifically — uncommon Mahāyāna, common Mahāyāna, and small vehicle treatises — then logic, linguistics, medicine, creative arts, followed by a variety of rare texts and important treatises compiled by great Tibetan masters.³¹

²⁸ Skilling, “From bKa’ bstan bcos,” 100 note 96.

²⁹ Dar ma rgyal mtshan, Bcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri, *Bstan ’gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhiñ nor bu dbang gi rgyal po’i phreng ba*, in *Gsung ’bum* of Rin chen grub volume la (Lha sa: Zhol par khang, 2000), 405–649.

³⁰ On the five fields of knowledge see Jonathan C. Gold, *The Dharma’s Gatekeepers: Sakya Pandita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007), 11–16, 20–24, 155–156; van der Kuijp, “A Treatise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic,” 394–395, 426 note 48; and David Seyfort Ruegg, *Ordre Spirituel Et Ordre Temporel Dans La Pensée Bouddhique De L’inde Et Du Tibet: Quatre Conférences Au Collège De France* (Paris: Dépositaire exclusif, Edition-Diuffusion de Boccard, 1995), 103–104 note 13.

³¹ Dar ma rgyal mtshan, *Bstan ’gyur gyi dkar chag*, folio 4b (page 414): *de la blo dang ldan pa’i skyes bu mkhas pa’i ’jug ngogs su ’jug par ’dod pas ji ltar slob pa’i rim pa ltar/ sgra dang /gtan tshigs dang / bzo dang / gso ba dang / nang rig pa’i bstan bcos rnam dgod pa’am/ sgrub pa nyams len gyi rim pa ltar/ ’dul ba/ mdo sde/ mngon pa’i bstan bcos rnam dgod pa’am/ dman pa dang mchog gi rim pas/ ’jig rten gyi lugs kyi bstan bcos dang / theg pa chung ngu dang / theg chen thung mong pa dang / thung mong ma yin pa’i bstan bcos rnam dgod pa’i rnam par gzhas pa du ma rung yang ’dir mchog*

The catalog is modeled upon this structure, although the actual organization is slightly different, listing texts in five chapters. The first chapter begins with commentaries on praises (*bstod pa*, fol. 5a-10a) since paying homage is the principal cause of obtaining total excellence (*legs pa thams cad thob pa'i rgyu'i gtso bo yin pa'i phyir*). Chapters two and three enumerate commentaries on inner science. Chapter two begins with resultant vehicle or secret mantra texts (*'bras bu sngags*, fol. 10a-85b) cataloged in twenty-three sections consisting of a hierarchical listing of tantric texts from those of highest ritual performance to lowest. The third chapter records causal vehicle texts (*mtshan nyid kyi theg pa*, fol. 85b-116b) in twelve sections. The sections begin with Perfection of Wisdom (Prajñāpāramitā, *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa*; §1) commentaries, followed by Madhyamaka (Dbu ma; §2), various commentaries of the final set of *sūtra* teachings (*bka' tha ma'i mdo sde sna tshogs kyi 'grel pa*; §3), Cittamātra (Sems tsaṃ; §4), and ends with latter sections containing commentaries on logic (Gtan tshigs, *Hetuvidyā*; §8), linguistics (*Sgra, śabdavidyā*; §9), medicine (Gso ba, *Cikitsāvidyā*; §10), and creative arts (*Bzo, Śilpavidyā*; §11). The fourth chapter records texts of Tibetan masters (*bod kyi mkhas pa*; fol. 117a-118a) and the fifth and final chapter catalogs texts related to dedication prayers (*bsngo ba smon lam*; fol. 118a-119a). The structure of the catalog, with its basis on the five fields of knowledge, as well as its organization, beginning with commentaries on praises and ending with those providing exegesis to dedicatory prayers, is decidedly South Asian in concept and Indian Buddhist in its orientation.

Commentaries related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* are found in the Perfection of Wisdom section listed first among causal vehicle texts. Bu ston considers commentaries on the Perfection of Wisdom to be the essence of the Mahāyāna and foremost among teachings on the inner sciences. In this regard, Bu ston organizes this section around the Perfection of Wisdom exegesis of the four systems of great chariot trailblazers (*shing rta chen po'i srol bzhi*), a pattern of elucidation that he follows as well in his own commentary to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.³² The four

dang dman pa'i go rim gyis/ thog mar nang rig pa'i bstan bcos te/ de yang theg chen thun mong ma yin pa dang / thun mong ba dang / theg pa chung ngu'i bstan bcos rnams dang / gtan tshigs rig pa/ sgra rig pa/ gso ba rig pa/ bzo rig pa'i bstan bcos rnam rim par dgod cing / gzhang yang / bod kyi mkhas pa chen po dag gis mdzad pa'i bstan bcos gces shing dpe dkon pa ci rigs pa dang bcas pa rim par dgod par bya'o//.

³² Bu ston, *Bstan 'gyur kyi dkar chag*, fol. 85b.3: *mtshan nyid kyi phyogs la/ rig pa'i gnas lnga ston pa'i dang po nang rig pa'i bstan bcos la/ theg pa che chung gnyis las/ theg chen gyi snying po bka' bar rgyal ba'i yum gyi dgongs 'grel la/ shing rta chen po'i srol bzhi grags pa las/ dang po rgyal ba'i yum gyi mngon par rtogs pa'i don ston pa/*. Compare Bu ston rin chen grub, *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa'i rgya cher bshad pa lung gi sne ma*, in *The Collected of Bu-ston* (New Delhi, 1971), Volume 18 (Tsha), fol.3a5ff: *de'i dgongs pa 'grel pa'i bstan bcos la'ang shing rta chen po'i srol bzhi grags te/ slu sgrub kyi snying po'i don gtsor ston pa dbu ma rigs pa'i tshogs/ phyog glang gi gtso bo'i don so gnyis su bsdu pa brgyad stong pa'i don bsdu/ damṣṭa se na'i 'bum gyi ṭig ste gsum dang / rgyal ba ma pham pas mngon par rtogs pa'i don bstan pa ni/*. Both Tsong kha pa (Tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa [1357-1419], *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i rgya cher bshad pa legs bshad legs bshad gser phreng zhes bya ba bzhugs so* [Lha sa: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986], 3-8.4) and Rong ston shes bya kun rig (1367-1449; *Rong-ston on the Prajñāpāramitā Philosophy of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra: His Sub-commentary on Haribhadra's 'Sphuṭārthā*, edited

systems are that of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* founded by Maitreyaṇātha, the system of Nāgārjuna, which Bu ston actually lists in the Madhyamaka section of the catalog, the system of the 'bum ṭig that Bu ston attributes to Daṃṣṭrāsena,³³ and the system of Dīnāga.³⁴ Our analysis will examine the classification and formulation of the twenty-one commentaries related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

With regard to the sections related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its commentaries, all extant Bstan 'gyurs are based on the 1335 catalog of Bu ston rin chen grub of Zhwa lu Monastery. The Sde dge Dkar chag of Zhu chen tshul khrims rin chen (1697-1774), the Snar thang catalog (pages 555-558) of Phur bu ngag dbang byams pa (1682-1762), the Peking catalog (pages 233-237) of Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682), and the Co ne catalog (pages 1276-1283) of Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728-91) follow the structure and listing of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its commentaries based on Bu ston rin chen grub.³⁵ Likewise, the *Golden Manuscript Tengyur* (*Gser bris bstan 'gyur*) also has the same structure.³⁶ As Table C attests, the catalogs of Sde dge, Peking, Snar thang,

by David P. Jackson in collaboration with Shunzo Onoda. [Kyoto, 1988], folio 2b.2-5) will reject Bu ston's classification of four chariot trailblazers and accept only two, Maitreya's (ca. 350) *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and Nāgārjuna.

³³ Bu ston, *Bstan 'gyur kyi dkar chag*, folio 87.4: *shing rta srol 'byed gsum pa/ //na/ //pa/ gnyis la/ slob dpon damṣṭa se nas mdzad par grags pa'i 'bum gyi tī ka/ le'u lnga bcu rtsa gnyi pa'i 'phro la lus pa bzhugs/ 'di la dkar chag 'phang thang ma rgyal po khri srong sde btsan gyis mdzad zer ro/ pha/ pa la/ shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'bum pa dang nyi khri lnga stong pa dang khri brgyad stong pa'i rgya cher bshad pa/ bam po nyi shu rtsa bdun pa/ su rendra bo dhi dang / bandhe ye shes sdes bsgyur ba bzhugs so/ 'di kha cig damṣṭa se nas mdzad zer mod kyi/ slob dpon dbyig gnyen gyi mdzad pa'i gzhung gi 'grel par bzhed pa nyid 'thad par rtogs te/ rgya 'grel rnam su lung drangs pa'i gzhung rnam [87b] de na snang ba phyr/ 'dis lta ba sems tsam du bkrol zhing / 'di dang 'bum ṭik che ba gnyis ka sgo gsum rnam grangs bcu gcig tu 'chad do/. In this section of Bu ston's catalog the third chariot trailblazer is Daṃṣṭrāsena's *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitābhrāṭṭikā* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'bum pa rgya cher 'grel pa*; Hakuju Ui et al., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* [Tokyo: Tōhoku University, 1934], no. 3807; abbreviated as Tōh.), that some ascribe it to Emperor Khri srong lde brtsan based on the '*Phang thang ma* catalog (Halkias, "Tibetan Buddhism Registered," 87; and Rdo, *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma: sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*, 54). But he also lists here the *Āryaśatasāhasrikāpañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāśtadaśasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitābhrāṭṭikā* (*Yum gsum gnod 'joms, 'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'bum pa dang nyi khri lnga stong pa dang khri brgyad stong pa'i rgya cher bshad pa*, Pk 5206, Vol.93, Tōh. 3808) translated by Surendrabodhi and Ye shes sde. Bu ston attributes the text to Vasubandhu rather than Daṃṣṭrāsena as he does in his *History of Buddhism* (Obermiller, *The History of Buddhism*, 146). On the controversies regarding the authorship of these texts see Sparham, "Demons on the Mother."*

³⁴ This refers to Dīnāga's *Prajñāpāramitāsaṅgrahakārikā* ('*Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma bsdus pa'i tshig le'ur byas ba*; Tōh 3809) translated by Tilakakalaśa and Blo ldan shes rab. See Giuseppe Tucci, "Minor Sanskrit Texts on the Prajñāpāramitā: 1. The Prajñā-pāramitā-piṇḍārtha of Dīnāga." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1 and 2 (1947): 53-75. On Tilakakalaśa who worked with Blo ldan shes rab see Jean Naudou, *Buddhists of Kaśmīr* (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1980) 231-233; and Kramer, Ralf, and Blo-gros-byun-gnas, *The Great Tibetan Translator: Life and Works of Rngog Blo ldan Shes Rab* (1059-1109), in *Collectanea Himalayica: Studies on the History and Culture of the Himalayas and Tibet* volume 1 (München: Indus Verlag, 2007), 17, 40, 59.

³⁵ A recent publication, the *Bstan 'gyur par ma khag gi dkar chag phyogs bsgrigs* (Zhongguo Zang xue yan jiu zhong xin and Bka' bstan dpe sdur khang, eds., *Bstan 'gyur par ma khag gi dkar chag phyogs bsgrigs* [Pe cin: Krun go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2005]), provides a listing of the Sde dge, Snar thang, Peking, and co ne catalogues in two volumes.

³⁶ Ngag dbang nor bu, *Mi dbang pho lha ba 'i gser bris bstan gyur srid zhi 'i rgyan gcig gi dkar chag* (Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004), 464-471.

Co ne, and the *Golden Manuscript Tengyurs* all follow the structure and mode of classification for the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its related categories according to Bu ston.

Table B provides a summary of Bu ston's classification of the twenty-one commentaries that Zhwa lu Monastery had either gathered or preserved. As Table B indicates, the ordering of the twenty-one *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries by Bu ston reflects his effort to classify the sequence of commentaries according to a chronology based on the occurrence of a text's author, according to his historical understanding. Therefore, the commentary of Maitreya (ca. 350 CE) is listed first followed by Ārya Vimuktisena (ca. fifth century), Bhadanta Vimuktisena (ca. sixth century), Hariḥhadra (ca. late eighth century) and so on. A cursory scan of other sections among Bstan 'gyur catalogs, such as the Dbu ma (Madhyamaka; Tōh. 3824-3980) or Sems tsam (Cittamātra; Tōh. 4020-4085), indicate a similar pattern of classification. Moreover, as Skilling³⁷ has noted, Bu ston allows only one translation of a given text and excludes variant translations. These principles of organization and classification diverge from Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri, who tried to establish a different type of chronology, as well as Chinese scholar-librarians, who not only listed texts in chronological order of translator as noted above, but also meticulously preserved all available translations of each text.

Tibetan literature that became organized, structured, and eventually printed into canonical Bstan 'gyurs based on the model provided by Bu ston rin chen grub, placed great emphasis on the chronological ordering of authentic India-based authors. The emphasis on this model of classification is most likely related to the cultural ethos among Tibetan scholars to establish unbroken lineages of transmission for individual texts or clusters of texts that can be traced back to an original authoritative Indian source.

The Reception of Indian *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* Commentaries into Tibet

As we have seen above, the classification of texts within canonical Tibetan Bstan 'gyurs were structured around the perceived chronological sequence of Indian authors and not on the chronological reception of commentaries through translation. Although the textual evidence is rather sparse for a specific historical narrative of the reception of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries into Tibet, there is enough textual data through colophons and historical anecdotes to provide a general narrative of the reception of cataloged Indian *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries into Tibet.

According to the translators listed in the colophons, the earliest *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries translated into Tibet were two commentaries translated in the early ninth century by Vidyākaraṇa and Ska ba dpal brtsegs. The first and perhaps the most important of the commentaries that they translated

³⁷ Skilling, "From bKa' bstan bcos," 100 note 96.

was the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-sāstra-vivṛti* (Tōh. 3787) of Haribhadra (late eighth century, in the reign of Dharmapāla [r. ca. 770-810 or 775-812]).³⁸ This is the primary text of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* exegesis among Tibetan traditions and the initial translations of this text set a trajectory for all later commentaries to be centered on the *vivṛti* of Haribhadra. Vidyākaraśiṃha and Dpal brtsegs also translated the *Sañcayagāthāpañjikā* (*Sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa 'i dka' 'grel*; Tōh. no. 3798). This commentary on the *Ratanaguṇasañcayagāthā* is attributed to Sangs rgyas dpal ye shes, or Buddhajñānapāda according to Bu ston.³⁹ Both of these texts are listed in the *Lhan kar ma* and *'Phang thang ma* catalogues as well as occurring first in Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's listing of texts.

After these two commentaries there is a break in translation activity due to the collapse of the Tibetan Empire from 842 CE onward. Political fragmentation accompanied by religious and social instability characterized this phase of Tibetan history. What Tibetan historians refer to as the “later dissemination period” (*bstan pa phyi dar*), a classification based on the efforts of translators, began in the late tenth century.

A significant characteristic of the later dissemination period was the gathering of Indian Buddhist texts and teachings, the oral and textual transmission of these texts and teachings to Tibet, and their subsequent translation into Tibetan. An extraordinary cultural enterprise took place from the late tenth century onward with the gathering of large amounts of knowledge through the interchange of Tibetans travelling to India to obtain written and oral teachings and Indian *paṇḍitas* invited to translate and disseminate their knowledge in Tibet. In this cultural enterprise the importation of Indian Buddhist knowledge and literature intertwined with a number of economic, social, and political factors to create great prestige, power, and capital for those who could transmit and receive this knowledge.⁴⁰ These cultural forces contributed to a phase of expansive translation of Buddhist texts, such as the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, from India into Tibet.

Perhaps the first text associated with the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* to be translated in the so-called second dissemination period was the *Aṣṭābhisamayaśāsana*⁴¹ of Smṛtijñānakīrti⁴² (Dran pa ye shes, Dran pa'i ye shes grags pa, fl. in Tibet, late

³⁸ David Seyfort Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India*, in *A History of Indian Literature* 7, fasc. 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 101 note 320.

³⁹ Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School*, 102 note 324.

⁴⁰ See Ronald M. Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 117-160.

⁴¹ The full title in Tibetan is 'bum dang nyi khri lnga stong pa dang khri brgyad stong pa gsum don mthun par mngon rtogs brgyad du bstan pa/.

⁴² Works attributed to Smṛtijñānakīrti: Tōh. nos. 1621, 1829, 1900, 1914, 1915, 2538, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2594, 2684, 2685, 2931, 3789, 4295, and 4296. See Alex Wayman, “Three Tanjur Commentators—Buddhaguhya, Ratnakarasanti and Smṛtijnanakirti,” *Tibet Journal* 8, no. 3 (Autumn 1983): 24-36. Mentioned in G. Roerich, trans., *The Blue Annals* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), 102, 160, 204-205, 346, 372, 395, and 417.

tenth century). The story of Smṛtijñānakīrti is recorded in several places.⁴³ At the time of the Western Tibetan king Ye she 'od, two *paṇḍitas*, Smṛtijñānakīrti and Sūkṣmadīrgha (Phra la ring ba), were invited from India to Gu ge by a Nepalese named Padmaruci. However, on the way back to Gu ge, the Nepalese translator Padmaruci died in Nepal of cholera. Without knowledge of Tibetan, Smṛtijñānakīrti and Sūkṣmadīrgha roamed throughout Dbus and Gtsang. In Rta nag, the two Buddhist scholars were forced to become shepherders. Eventually Smṛtijñānakīrti was invited by Dpyal se rtsa ba bsod nams rgyal mtshan to study *dharma* in Sman lung and, gaining proficiency in Tibetan, made his way to Khams. In Khams, Smṛtijñānakīrti established a school for studying the *Abhidharmakośa* and began the translation of works on *tantra* and Tibetan grammar. Among his numerous translations and compositions was the *Aṣṭābhisamayāśāsana*, a commentary that correlated the eight *abhisamayas* of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* with the one-hundred thousand, twenty-five thousand, and eight-thousand verse *Prajñāpāramitā Sūtras*.

A great amount of the transmission of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its related literature occurred under the reign of Western Tibetan kings (Gu ge, Pu hrang, Mnga' ris) who provided royal patronage for the translation of Buddhist texts. The great translator Rin chen bzang po (958-1055), who was honored by Bla ma lha lde btsan with the title "*Vajrācārya*" and received presents of property, provided the impetus for translation efforts. In the colophons of texts he translated or edited appear such names as Śraddhākaravarman, Subhāṣita, Subhūti Śrīśānti, Shākya blo gros, Buddhahadra, and Atiśa.⁴⁴

According to the *Blue Annals*,⁴⁵ Lha sde, one of the three sons of Lha bla ma ye shes 'od, invited a great scholar from Kaśmīr, Subhūti Śrīśānti (Rab 'byor zhi ba), to teach *dharma* and translate. *The Blue Annals* notes that this scholar translated many *sūtras* and *śāstras* belonging to the Perfection of Wisdom section (Sher phyin), including the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (*Brgyad stong pa*), its commentary, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāraḥ* of Haribhadra, as well as Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* and other works.⁴⁶ However, according to the colophons, Subhūti Śrīśānti worked with Shākya blo gros and Dge ba'i blo gros to translate the *Abhisamayālaṃkāraḥ* and *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* of Ācārya Ratnākaraśānti (fl. ca.

⁴³ Bu-ston's *History* (Obermiller, *The History of Buddhism*, 214; Szerb, *Bu Ston's History*, 89-90; Chos 'byung me tog snying po sbrang rtsi'i bcud, 459-60; Mkhas pa lde'u, Chos 'byung, 296; and Davidson, *Tibetan Renaissance*, 122-123).

⁴⁴ Giuseppe Tucci and Lokesh Chandra, *Rin-Chen-Bzang-Po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet Around the Millennium*, English Version of Indo-Tibetica II, Sata-Pitaka Series 348 (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988), 41-49.

⁴⁵ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 69; 'Gos lo tsA ba gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, 2 vols., edited by Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las (Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984), 96.

⁴⁶ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 69-70; 'Gos lo tsA ba gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, 97: *gzhang yang lha lde'i ring la su bhū ti shrī śhānti ste/ kha che paṇ chen du grags pa de spyān drangs nas/ shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa dang / de'i 'grel chen dang / mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel dang bcas pa la sogs pa pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdo dang bstan bcos mang du bsgyur/*. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 70, 1095, is incorrect to associate the *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel* with Dharmakīrtiśrī's *Abhisamayālaṃkāradurbodhālokā*.

1000 CE). This translation was revised by Śāntibhadra (Zhi ba bzang po)⁴⁷ and 'Gos rta nag khug pa lhas btsas,⁴⁸ a student of Atiśa.

Subhūtiśānti also worked with Shākya blo gros to translate another *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary of Ratnākaraśānti's that connects the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* to the eight-thousand verse Perfection of Wisdom from a Yogācāra philosophical perspective, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-pañjikāsārottamā* (*Brgyad stong ba 'i dka' 'grel snying po mchog*; Tōh. no. 3803).⁴⁹ I was unable to locate much information about 'Brog mi shākya blo gros (mid-eleventh century) other than he is mentioned as a translator in several Bstan 'gyur colophons. The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries of Ratnākaraśānti were popular with the translators of this time but there does not seem to be a lineage tradition associated with these texts.

The next set of *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries to be translated in Tibet centers primarily around the work of Atiśa Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna (982-1054) and his immediate disciples. Atiśa arrived in Mnga' ris during a Water-horse year, 1042 CE, under the reign of 'Od lde.⁵⁰ In Atiśa's first three years in Western Tibet his most notable achievement was the composition of the *Bodhipathapradīpa* at Mtho lding Monastery in Gu ge. In the commentary of this text Atiśa stresses the importance of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries of Vimuktisena and Haribhadra,⁵¹ texts he would later teach publically in Snye thang. The translation of Haribhadra's seminal *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary connected to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāralokā*

⁴⁷ Bu ston's *History* (Obermiller, *The History of Buddhism*, 217, 218; and Szerb, *Bu Ston's History*, 94, 95) lists Śāntibhadra as an Indian teacher of 'Gos khug pa lhas btsas and Mar pa lo tsā ba. See also Cyrus Stearns, *Luminous Lives: The Story of the Early Masters of the Lam 'bras Tradition in Tibet* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), 85, 206-207, 210-211, where his aliases are given as Bā dan ta bar ma, Bha ro haṃ chung, Ci ther ba, Hang du dkar po, Mahākaraṇika, Spyi ther ba, and Tsa haṃ paṇḍi ta zhi ba bzang po. Śāntibhadra was a disciple of Nāropa and the Tibetan translator 'Brog mi studied under him in Nepal.

⁴⁸ 'Gos lo tsā ba khug pa lhas btsas was born at Khug pa in Upper Rta nag and was a disciple of 'Brog mi, Ti lo pa, and Nā ro pa. He was Atiśa's first disciple in Gtsang. He went three times to India and studied with seventy-two masters, and translated a great amount of tantric literature. See Sa skya paN+Di ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan, Jared Rhoton, and Victoria R. M. Scott, *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems: The Sdom Gsum Rab Dbye and Six Letters* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), 198. See also Stearns, *Luminous Lives*, 51, 53-55, 93, 95, 97, 217-219.

⁴⁹ See works of Padmanabh S. Jaini, ed., *Sāratamā: A Pañjikā on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* (Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1979) and P. S. Jaini, "The Ālokā of Haribhadra and the Sāratamā of Ratnākaraśānti: A Comparative Study of the Two Commentaries of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35, no. 2 (1972): 271-284. Two partial versions of the Sanskrit were found in Tibet, one of them bearing the date corresponding to 1093 (it was done during reign of Śrīhaṣadevarāja, and belonged to Paṇḍita Jīvandharasimha of the Kāyastha family in Guṇḍigulma). *Sāratamā* is the title that appears on these manuscripts and not the *Sārottamā* of the catalogs.

⁵⁰ Alaka Chattopadhyaya and Lama Chimpa, *Atiśa and Tibet: Life and Works of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna in Relation to the History and Religion of Tibet* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981), 330-337.

⁵¹ Atiśa and Richard Sherburne, *A Lamp for the Path and Commentary of Atiśa*, The Wisdom of Tibet Series 5 (London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1983), 153.

Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā,⁵² was initially translated into Tibetan by Subhāṣita and Rin chen bzang po (958-1055) under the order of king Bkra shis lha lde btsan. As the *Blue Annals* relates, Rin chen bzang po asked Atiśa to help correct his previous translations of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti* (*Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa*), and the *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā*.⁵³ The extant Bstan 'gyur colophons do not mention Atiśa and Rin chen bzang po's collaborative translation of Ārya Vimuktisena's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti*. However, Atiśa and Rin chen bzang po did correct and revise Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā*, after having compared it with an example of the text from Magadha. As the Peking colophon indicates, Dhirapāla and Blo ldan shes rab would give a final revision of this important *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary.⁵⁴

Atiśa not only revised translations but also brought new commentaries to Tibet, including his own compositions. The extensive biography of Atiśa by Mchhim nam mkha' grag pa⁵⁵ mentions that Atiśa's foremost teacher of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* was his mentor from Suvarṇadvīpa, Dharmakīrtiśrī (*Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan bla ma gser gling pa*). The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary by Dharmakīrtiśrī, the *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa rtogs par dka' ba'i snang ba shes bya ba'i 'grel bshad* (Pk 5192, vol. 91) was translated by Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Rin chen bzang po during his time in Western Tibet. Atiśa's own compilation on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, a "concise meaning" (*piṇḍārtha*, *don bsdu*) summary entitled "*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdu sgron ma*" (*Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārthapradīpa*; Pk 5201, vol. 92) was translated by Atiśa and his well-known disciple Nag tsho tshul khriims rgyal ba (b. 1011).⁵⁶

⁵² Haribhadra wrote the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* during the reign of Dharmapāla (rg. ca. 770-810; Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School*, 101), the greatest of the *pāla* kings, according to its colophon (U. Wogihara, ed., *The Work of Haribhadra* [Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1932], 994.15-22): "This fine pañjikā which casts light on the truly real was written by me, having lived in this excellent, glorious Trikaṇuka monastery, mine of all good qualities, ... with the support of the glorious Dharmapāla." See also Jacob Kinnard, "On Buddhist 'Bibliolaters': Representing and Worshipping the Book in Medieval Indian Buddhism," *Eastern Buddhist* 34, no. 2 (2002): 94-116, at p. 110.

⁵³ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 248; 'Gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal, *Deb ther sngon po*, 306.5-8: *de nas 'de ni mkhas pa chen po las kyang chen po'o snyam du dgongs nas/ brgyad stong pa dang / nyi khri snang ba dang / brgyad stong 'grel chen la sogs pa sngar bsgyur ba mang po la zhu dag zhu/*.

⁵⁴ Peking Bstan 'gyur, vol. 90, *cha*, fol. 426a.4-7: *dbang phyug dam pa'i mnga' bdag bod kyi lha btsan po gra bkra shis lde btsan gyis bkas/ rgya gar gyi mkhan po su bha ṣi ta dang / sgra bsgyur gyi lo tsa ba chen po dge slong rin chen bzang pos bsgyur nas/ slad kyi rgya gar gyi ma lan po paṇḍi ta chen po dī paṃ ka ra shrī dnyā na dang / zhu chen gyi lo tsa ba chen po dge slong rin chen bzang pos yul dbus kyi dpe dang yang gtugs nas bcos shing zhus te gtan la phab pa las/ de nas dus phyis paṇḍi ta chen pos gzhung 'bum phrag gnyis kyis mgrin pa brgyan pa dhira pāla zhes bya ba dang / lo tsā ba dge slong blo ldan shes rab kyi legs par bsgyur zhing bcos pa'o/*.

⁵⁵ Mchhim nam mkha' grag pa, *Jo bo rje pal ldan a ti sha'i rnam thar rgyas pa yong grags*, in *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig bzhugs so*, volume 48 (Chengdu: Sichuan min zu chu ban she, 2007), 334.

⁵⁶ David Seyfort Ruegg, *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy*, Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie Und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 50 (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2000), 42.

Nag tsho tshul khriims rgyal ba, a monk who was a native of Gung thang, was responsible for bringing Atiśa to Tibet and accompanied him for nineteen years.⁵⁷ The *Blue Annals*⁵⁸ states that while Atiśa's health was deteriorating in the later portion of his time in Tibet, news arrived that a prominent Indian scholar named Jñānakara had arrived in Nepal. On account of the rarity of meeting with Mahāyāna spiritual teachers, Atiśa, on his deathbed, purportedly ordered Nag tsho to travel to Nepal to see this scholar. Nag tsho, having gained an oath from Atiśa to be reborn in Tuṣita heaven, left for Nepal. He was not present when Atiśa passed away and as a result was discredited among Bka' gdams pa followers. While in Nepal, Nag tsho translated many texts with the assistance of Jñānakara, the Nepalese Śāntibhadra, and Kṛṣṇasamayavajra. One of the texts that Nag tsho translated with Śāntibhadra (Zhi ba bzang po) was the *Nyi khri le'u brgyad ma*, "Eight Chapters on the Twenty-five-thousand Verse Prajñāpāramitā," an edited version of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*⁵⁹ redacted by Haribhadra. Catalogs indicate that this work was translated in three volumes while the colophons state that the translation was finished in a temple in Nepal.⁶⁰

At some point around the time of Atiśa, the Indian *Pañḍita* Ratnakīrti,⁶¹ a pupil of Jñānaśrīmītra associated with both the Somapuri and Vikramaśīlā Monasteries in the first half of the eleventh century, translated his *Abhisamayālamkāravṛttikīrtikalā* (*Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa grags pa'i cha zhes bya ba*) with the assistance of the Tibetan translator La chings yon tan 'bar. La chings yon tan 'bar, a translator who also worked with Advayavajra (1007-1085), is listed as a *bod kyi lo tsā ba la* in colophons. He may be the same

⁵⁷ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 261, 321.

⁵⁸ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 260-262.

⁵⁹ See Makransky, *Buddhahood Embodied*, 132-134, on this version of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, which he refers to as rP and is different than the version preserved in the Bka' 'gyur (Pk. 731). Also, N. R. Lethcoe, "Some Notes on the Relationship between the Abhisamayālamkāra, the Revised Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā and the Chinese Translation of the Unrevised Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 96 (1976): 499-511; G. M. Bongard Levin, "A Fragment of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra from Eastern Turkestan," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 3 (July 1994): 383-385; and Shōgo Watanabe, "A Comparative Study of the Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 114, no. 3 (July 1994): 386-396. An edition of the sixth chapter is found in Shōgo Watanabe, "Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā, VI (Anapūrvābhisamayādhikārah)," *Tōyō Daigaku Daigakuin Kitō* [Bulletin of the Graduate School, Toyo University Graduate Programme of Liberal Arts] 26 (1988): 165-182.

⁶⁰ The *Bstan 'gyur gser gyi lag bris ma* (vol. 93, ff. 1r-527r, 1-1051) colophon reads: *bal yul yam bu'i bsod nams rgyun 'byung gi gtsug lag khang du pa nita zhi ba bzang po dang lo tsa' ba dge slong tshul khriims rgyal bas bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa'o/*.

⁶¹ The following works are attributed to Ratnakīrti: Tōh. nos. 1170, 1897, 2645, 2940, 2941, 3137, 3799, 4080, 4084. See Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, "Ratnakāraśānti and Ratnakīrti," *Sreekrishna Sarma Felicitation Volume* (Tirupati 1983): 131-140; Madhumita Chattopadhyay, "Positivists, Negativists and Ratnakīrti," in *Signification in Language and Culture*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, edited by Harjeet Singh Gill (Shimla 2002), 371-382; David Ruegg, "On Ratnakīrti," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 1 (1971): 300-309; Rita Gupta, "Some Principal Issues Connected with Momentariness as Found in the Works of Ratnakīrti and Some Naiyāyikas," *The Indian Journal of Buddhist Studies* 2, no. 1 (1990): 132-7; and Anantalal Thakur, ed., *Ratnakīrtinirbandhāvalih* (*Buddhist Nyāya Works of Ratnakīrti*), Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series no. 3 (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1975).

person as the Ston pa yon tan 'bar who is listed among the disciples of 'Brom ston pa (d. 1064).⁶²

The *Abhisamayālaṃkārakārikāvārttika*, an early Indian commentary by Bhadanta Vimuktisena, was translated by Śāntibhadra and 'Bro shākya 'od (d. 1064).⁶³ Śāntibhadra and 'Bro shākya 'od also worked together to translate the *Bhagavadratnaguṇasañcayagāthā-nāma-pañjikā* of Haribhadra, the last of the major works of Haribhadra related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* to be translated into Tibetan.

As we can see from this brief survey, a great number of translations related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* that occurred during the initial phase of the later dissemination period centered around the two seminal figures of Rin chen bzang po and Atiśa and the translators affiliated with them during the later first half of the eleventh century.

After the time of Rin chen bzang po and Atiśa three notable events occurred for the development of Buddhist formations in Tibet. Two of these events happened in the female water-ox (*chu mo glang*) year of 1073 CE, the founding of Sa skya Monastery by 'Khon dkon mchog rgyal po (1034-1102) and the establishment of Gsang phu (s)ne'u thog Monastery by one of Atiśa's students, Rngog legs pa'i shes rab (fl. mid-eleventh century).⁶⁴ Rngog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab (1059-1109), the nephew of Rngog legs pa'i shes rab, eventually became abbot of Gsang phu and a leading figure for the transmission of Buddhist texts into Tibet. A translator of over fifty Indian Buddhist texts into Tibetan, Rngog lo tsā ba was the second Tibetan translator to receive the title "Great Translator" (*Lo chen*) after Rin chen bzang po and "was more than anyone else responsible for the establishment of Tibetan Buddhist scholasticism."⁶⁵ Rngog lo tsā ba was ordained in the presence of his uncle in the fire male dragon year (1076 CE), and received the name Blo ldan shes rab.⁶⁶ In that same year, the third formative event occurred. This was the *chos 'khor* or "religious council"⁶⁷, held under the patronage of king Mnga' bdag rtse lde and involving multiple Tibetan *lo tsā bas* and Indian *pañḍitas* to reaffirm translation procedures and the examination of commentaries. This religious council determined that a number of Tibetan translations were unsatisfactory and that groups of young translators should be sent to India and Kashmir to gain authentic

⁶² Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 264.

⁶³ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 72.

⁶⁴ Leonard van der Kuijp, "The Monastery of Gsang-phu ne'u-thog and Its Abbatial Succession from ca. 1073-1250," *Berliner Indologische Studies* 3 (1987): 105.

⁶⁵ David P. Jackson, "rNgog Lo-tśā-ba's Commentary on the Ratnagotravibhāga," in *Theg chen rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa* (Dharmasala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993), 1.

⁶⁶ Ralf Kramer and Blo gros byung gnas, *The Great Tibetan Translator: Life and Works of Rngog Blo Ldan Shes Rab (1059-1109)*, in *Collectanea Himalayica: Studies on the History and Culture of the Himalayas and Tibet* vol. 1 (München: Indus Verlag, 2007), 36.

⁶⁷ Lobsang Shastri, "The Fire Dragon Chos 'khor (1076 AD)," in *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*, edited by Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Tasser (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997), 873-882.

knowledge of Sanskrit. Blo ldan shes rab was among these young men chosen to study abroad and he would spend seventeen years studying with a number of Indian and Kashmiri *paṇḍitas*. Blo ldan shes rab primarily studied and translated texts of Indian Buddhist scholasticism such as the corpus of literature surrounding Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, and most importantly for our purposes, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and several of its commentaries.

According to the only known full-length biography of Rngog lo tsā ba by his disciple Gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas (fl. eleventh to early twelfth centuries),⁶⁸ Blo ldan shes rab studied not only in Kashmir, residing primarily in the town of Anupamapura, but also in the northeast of India in Magadha.⁶⁹ In Magadha Blo ldan shes rab studied the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* under the tutelage of Go mi 'chi med (Amaragomin). Their collaboration resulted in the translation of the verses of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (Tōh. 3786) as a separate text on its own apart from any commentarial apparatus. This translation became the standard edition of the Tibetan version of this work. Go mi 'chi med and Blo ldan shes rab also translated the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti* (Tōh. 3787) by Ārya Vimuktisena (early sixth century) and revised Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti*. Blo ldan shes rab returned to Tibet around 1092 CE and received renewed support to continue his translation efforts through the patronage of the Gu ge king Dbang lde.⁷⁰ Notable was Blo ldan shes rab's work with the Indian *Paṇḍita* Sumatikīrti⁷¹ with whom he collaborated on more than twelve translations. Among these was a translation of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛttipiṇḍārtha* of Prajñākaramati (ca. 950-1000 CE).

Several *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries were also translated in the second half of the eleventh century. These included the *Abhisamayālaṃkāraprasphuṭapadā* (Pk 5194, vol. 91)⁷² by Dharmamitra (fl. ca. 800), which was translated by Abhiyuktaka Tāraśrīmitra and Chos kyi shes rab.

Paṇḍita Kumaraśrībhadra translated his *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdus pa zhes bya ba*) with the Tibetan translator Bkra shis rgyal mtshan. Ba reg thos pa dga', an eleventh-century translator who was a student of Rwa lo tsā ba rdo rje grags (1016-1128) and the Indian master Vajrapāṇi⁷³ (also known as the Indian Pāṇi - "Rgya gar phyag na"), worked with

⁶⁸ This is the '*Jig rten mig gcig blo dan shes rab kyi rnam thar* [The Life of Liberation of Blo ldan shes rab, Sole Eye of the World] for which see Kramer, *The Great Tibetan Translator*; and Dramdul and Blo gros byung gnas, *Biography of Blo Ldan Ses Rab: The Unique Eye of the World*, Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie Und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 61 (Beijing; Wien: China Tibetology Research Center; Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2004).

⁶⁹ Kramer, *The Great Tibetan Translator*, 41.

⁷⁰ Kramer, *The Great Tibetan Translator*, 42.

⁷¹ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 325.

⁷² This text provides glosses on Haribhadra's *vivṛti*. See D. Seyfort Ruegg, "The Gotra, Ekayāna and Tathāgatagarbha: Theories of the Prajñāpāramitā according to Dharmamitra and Abhayākara Gupta," in *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems: Studies in Honor of Edward Conze*, edited by L. Lancaster and L. O. Gómez, Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series no. 1 (Berkeley: Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series, 1977), 283-312.

⁷³ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 376, 857.

the Kaśmiri *Paṇḍita* Dharmasrī on two works related to the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. These were the *Śatasāhasrikāvyaḥkhyā* (*Stong phrag brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa*, Tōh. no. 3802) and the *Prajñāpāramitākośatāla* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdzod kyi lde mig*, Tōh. no. 3806).⁷⁴

Ācārya Abhayākara Gupta (fl. 1100),⁷⁵ a scholar from Vikramaśīlā Monastery, worked with Shes rab dpal, a Tibetan translator from Khams, on a number of projects (Tōh. 416, 1499, 3140) related to Tantric rituals. They also collaborated to translate into Tibetan the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāvṛtti-marmakaumudī* (Tōh. no. 3805), a commentary that connects the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* with the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. Abhayākara Gupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra* (*Thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan*), a text that Ruegg⁷⁶ has called "one of the last of the major comprehensive treatises of Indian Buddhism," draws upon Perfection of Wisdom, Madhyamaka, and Yogācāra traditions relating the content to the structure of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. However, the *Munimatālaṃkāra* is not included by Bu ston among *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries but rather is listed in the madhyamaka section of the Bstan 'gyur (Tōh. no. 3903).

The last *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentary to be translated into Tibetan and included among the twenty-one commentaries of Bu ston is the *Abhisamayālaṃkārabhagavatī-prajñāpāramitopadeśa-śāstravṛttiprajñāpradīpāvalī* (*Man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa shes rab sgron ma*; Tōh. no. 3800) of Sangs rgyas dpal ye shes or Buddhaśrījñāna (as listed in Tōh. no. 2128), who worked with Gnubs byams pa'i dpal (1173-1225 or 1236), also known as Khro phu lo tsā ba byams pa dpal. Buddhaśrījñāna, a *paṇḍita* from Kashmir⁷⁷ who also authored the *Jinamārgāvatāra* (Tōh. 3964), was invited to Tibet in 1200 by Gnubs byams pa'i dpal.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ The full entry from the original catalogue reads as follows: *sdud pa mngon rtogs rgyan dang mthun par bshad pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdzod kyi lde mig ces bya ba kha che'i mkhan po bla ma dharma shrīs mdzad pa/ 'phags pa sdud pa'i gdams ngag 'di byang chub sa'i snying po dpal 'bum steng gi gtsug lag khang gsar du bzhangs pa'i dus mkhas pa chen po ba reg lo tsā bas bsgyur ba rnam bzugs so/*.

⁷⁵ See Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School*, 114-115; Ruegg, *Three Studies in the History*, 18 note 30.

⁷⁶ Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School*, 115.

⁷⁷ Bu ston rin chen grub, *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byun gnas gsun rab rin po che'i mdzod ces bya ba*, in *Chos 'byung* [The History of Buddhism], translated from Tibetan by E. Obermiller (Heidelberg, 1931-1932; repr., Sri Satguru Publications, 1986), 222.

⁷⁸ See Ruegg, *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School*, 117 note 380. According to the *Lho rong chos 'byung* (Tshe dbang rgyal, Pad+ma skal bzang, and Mi gyur rdo rje, *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba'i legs bshad lho rong chos 'byung nam rta tshag chos 'byung shes rtsom pa'i yul ming du chags pa'i ngo mtshar shing dkon pa'i dpe khyad par can* [Lha sa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe nying dpe skrun khang, 1994], 331-335), Gnubs byams pa'i dpal was born in a Water Dragon year (1172) and took ordination at the age of ten receiving the name Tshul khriims shes rab. He received the name Byams pa dpal after his complete ordination at the age of nineteen. At the age of twenty-nine he invited Mitrāyogin. In 1200 he invited Buddhaśrī, who was sixty-one at the time, who stayed three years before he returned to India. When he was thirty-three, in 1204, he invited Śākyaśrī who was sixty-five at the time.

In sum, based upon the analysis of colophons and related historical data, the reception of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its commentaries took place in a piecemeal fashion sporadically over several hundred years but gathered greater intensity during a period from the time of the Western Tibetan King Lha lde po (ca. 996-1024) until 1200 CE. The majority of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentaries translated into Tibetan during this time occurred under the influence of the South Asian Pāla Dynasty (750-1150 CE). The reception of this literature occurred under the impetus of either central or regional royal patronage. All the authors of the commentaries had great prestige at the time their work came to Tibet. In the early dissemination period, Haribhadra and Buddhaśrījñāna were well-known scholars serving under the Pāla King Dharmapāla. In the later dissemination period, commentators such as Prajñākaramati and Ratnākaraśānti were “gate-keepers” (*dvārapaṇḍita*) at Vikramaśīlā Monastery. Abhayākaraśrī was a highly regarded ritual specialist who taught at Vikramaśīlā, Nālandā, and Vajrāsana. Most, if not all, of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* commentators were also specialists in tantric ritual praxis. In Pāla Dynasty Buddhist formations the scholarly study and practice of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* was supported and cultivated in tandem with Vajrayāna consecrations, rituals, and blessings. The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and its related literature, representing the ethical and soteriological dimensions of organized Mahāyāna monastic knowledge must have been attractive to kings of Western Tibet who were seeking to revitalize Buddhist monasticism in their dominions and were wary of the misunderstanding and misuses of Buddhist tantric texts purportedly occurring in Tibet at this time.

The importation and flow of textual materials such as the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* into Tibet continued up until the thirteenth century. Ruegg⁷⁹ summarizes developments from the South Asian side of relations with Tibet at this time. He writes:

By the beginning of the fourteenth century the number of Sūtra and Śāstra works available in Tibetan was very considerable and that the time was ripe for collecting them together, the more so as the flow of new texts from India had considerably decreased since the twelfth century following the Muslim invasions of India and the virtual disappearance of Buddhism from the land of its origin. This almost complete severance of relations with India was a particularly important event in the history of Tibetan Buddhism...the compilation of...texts into a canon...would scarcely have been conceivable had authoritative new works been continuing to flow into Tibet from India in the same quantity as before.

The severance of relations between Tibet and India, resulting in a decrease in the flow of new textual material, was certainly a major factor that encouraged Tibetan scholar-librarians to think about the codification and structuring of the massive amount of Buddhist literature that had been acquired over several centuries. However, there were also broader cultural developments taking place in Buddhist Asia at this time that must have had an influence. The most important of these

⁷⁹ Ruegg, *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che*, 20-21.

were the cultural ties being established between the Sino-Mongolian Yuan dynasty and the Sa skya hierarchs of central Tibet during the time when the Mongols occupied the Tibetan cultural area from 1240 to the 1350s.

Most of Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's scholarly activity was carried out during the period of Mongol occupancy in Tibet. Bcom ral (writing ca. 1290) and Bu ston rin chen grub (1335) provide two different models of how Tibetan scholar-librarians thought about and implemented the codification and structuring of authentic lists of Buddhist literature in Tibet. Bcom ral structured his list in chronological order around the names of scriptural translators, following a pattern of classification that resembled Chinese catalogs. Although Bcom ral's style of exegesis found in his commentaries was certainly modeled upon Indian modes of elucidation, when one examines the historical circumstances for the composition of Bcom ral's list of texts, and the cultural influence for thinking about Buddhist lists of texts, one cannot but wonder if he was influenced by Chinese ways of thinking about catalog lists.

*The Blue Annals*⁸⁰ relates that Bcom ral had a disciple named 'Jam pa'i dbyang who, after residing at Sa skya, became an officiating priest (*mchod gnas*) at the court of the Mongol-Yuan emperor Buyantu-Qan. This disciple sent communications to Bcom ral through imperial messengers, and also sent boxes of ink. Such activities suggest active relations between Bcom ral and his colleagues living in Sino-Mongolian regions. Dbus pa blo gsal byang chub ye shes (ca. 1265-1355), who is reported to have been a student of both Bcom ral and 'Jam pa'i dbyang, would eventually compile a Bstan 'gyur register for Snar thang Monastery circa 1310-20⁸¹ based on the catalog of Bcom ral.⁸² The *Mkhas pa'i dga' ston* records that after Dbus pa blo gsal received the lineage stream of Vinaya scripture from China, he created a register (*dkar chag*) that ascertained the number of *bam po*, the translator's colophons, and so forth for the Bka' 'gyur and Bstan 'gyur.⁸³ There is thus, as Paul Harrison⁸⁴ has observed, "a strong suggestion of Chinese influence." 'Jam pa'i dbyang, working at the Yuan court and being under the influence of his Mongol patrons, most likely discerned the importance of previous editions of Chinese Buddhist canons produced under imperial sponsorship.

⁸⁰ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 337.

⁸¹ van der Kuijp, "The Earliest Indian Reference to Muslims," 174.

⁸² Leonard W. J. van der Kuijp, "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History IV: The Tshad ma'i byung tshul 'chad nyan gyi rgyan: A Tibetan History of Indian Buddhist Pramāṇavāda," in *Festschrift Klaus Bruhn: zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*, edited by N. Balbir and J. K. Bautze (Reinbeck: Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1994), 389.

⁸³ Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba, *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnam ky'i byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston* (Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006), 375: *de gnyis ka'i slob ma dbus pa blo gsal byang chub yes shes kyis 'dul ba lung gi lung rgyun rgya nag nas blangs/ bka' bstan 'gyur la bam tshad 'gyur byang sogs nges pa'i dkar chag brtsam/*.

⁸⁴ Paul Harrison, "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur," in *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*, edited by Lhundup Sopa, José Ignacio Cabezón, and Roger R. Jackson (Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996), 76.

Along these lines, as van der Kuijp⁸⁵ has recently noted, a comparative Sino-Tibetan catalogue of translations of Buddhist texts, the *Zhi yuan fa bao kan ton zong lu*, was prepared from 1285 to 1287 in the Mongol-Yuan winter capital of Dadu. Although this is rather tenuous evidence, these events do suggest that it may have been Chinese based cultural forces that shaped a Tibetan scholar-librarian’s notion of how to initially structure comprehensive lists of authentic Buddhist texts.

Around fifty years later the nature of the Bstan ’gyur and modes of thinking about classifying its texts would change under Bu ston rin chen grub. *The Blue Annals*⁸⁶ states that Bu ston brought a copy of the Bstan ’gyur from Snar thang, excluded duplicate copies from it, and increased the number of manuscripts by one thousand texts. His biography⁸⁷ relates that he composed his Bstan ’gyur catalog around this time. Bu ston rin chen grub established his catalog along the lines of Indian Buddhist structures and classifications. The organization of the catalog is structured around an Indian Buddhist ethos of religiosity and scholarly ideals. His catalog is modeled upon the five fields of knowledge that must be mastered to become a *pañḍita* and gain omniscience. Its organization, beginning with commentaries on praises and ending with commentaries on dedicatory prayers, is fashioned along the lines of Mahāyāna Buddhist liturgies like the *Bhadracaryāprañidhānagāthā*. The emphasis in Bu ston’s classification replicates the cultural ethos among Tibetan scholars to establish unbroken lineages of transmission for individual texts or clusters of texts that can be traced back to an original authoritative Indian source. As our analysis of the development and reception of the *Abhisamayālamkāra* and its related literature indicates, Bu ston’s mode of classifying and structuring his Bstan ’gyur list of *Abhisamayālamkāra* commentaries at Zhwa lu became the authoritative model that influenced all later Tibetan Bstan ’gyurs.

Appendix

Tables

Table A: Bcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri’s Listing of *Abhisamayālamkāra*-related Commentaries

No.	Title	Author	Translators	Section	Block Print	Facsimile
1	<i>Rgyas ’bring bsds gsum gyi bshad pa mngon par rtogs pa’i rgyan (Abhisamayālamkāra)</i>			10	142.4	83.8

⁸⁵ van der Kuijp, “The Earliest Indian Reference to Muslims,” 172.
⁸⁶ Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 338.
⁸⁷ Ruegg, *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che*, 114.

2	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-śāstra-vivṛti</i>			10	142.4	83.8
3	<i>Saṅcayagāthā-pañjikā</i>	Buddhaśrījñāna		10	142.4	84.1
4	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkārarālokā</i>		Rin chen bzang po	22	188.3	110.8
5	<i>Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa rtogs par dka' ba'i snang ba shes bya ba'i 'grel bshad</i>		Rin chen bzang po	22	188.3	111.1
6	<i>Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdu sgron ma</i>	Dipamkaraśrījñāna	Rin chen bzang po	22	188.3	111.1
7	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikāsārottamā</i>	Ratnākaraśānti	Shākya blo gros	23	192.6	113.6
8	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-vṛtti-śuddhamatī</i>	Ratnākaraśānti	Shākya blo gros and Rma dge ba'i blo gros			114.2
	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkārarālokā</i>		Dipamkaraśrījñāna and Tshul khriims rgyal ba	24	196.6	116.1
9	<i>Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā</i>		Tshul khriims rgyal ba	25	202.6	119.9
10	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-prasphuṭapadā</i>	Dharmamitra	Gu rub chos kyi shes rab	25	205.6	121.5
11	<i>Bhagavad-ratnagaṇa-saṅcayagāthā-nāma-pañjikā</i>	Haribhadra	'Bro seng dkar shākya 'od	25	207.4	122.6
	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-vṛtti-śuddhamatī</i>		Revised by 'Brog mi dpal gyi ye shes	26	214.4	127.1
	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikāsārottamā</i>		Revised by 'Brog mi dpal gyi ye shes	26	214.4	127.1
12	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛtti-piṇḍārtha</i>	Prajñākaramati	Blo ldan shes rab	27	219.6	130.7
	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkārarālokā</i>		Revised by Blo ldan shes rab	27	222.4	132.5
	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-śāstra-vivṛti</i>		Revised by Blo ldan shes rab	27	222.4	132.5
13	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vṛtti-marmakaumudī</i>	Abhayākara Gupta	Spong zho gsal ba grags	28	227.3	135.6

Note: Blockprint equals *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od* in volume one of *Gsung 'bum/ bcom ldan rig pa 'i ral gri* (Lha sa: Khams sprul bsod nams don grub, 2006).

Facsimile equals *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od* in *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig bzhugs so*, volume 51 (Chengdu: Sichuan min zu chu ban she, 2007).

Table B: Bu ston's Classification of Twenty-one *Abhisamayālamkāra* Commentaries, volume 26, la, 85b-87a.4

No.	Volume	Title	Author	Translators	Tōh
1	Ka	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra</i>	Maitreya	Go mi 'chi med and Blo ldan shes rab	3786
2		<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-vṛtti</i>	Ārya Vimuktisena	Go mi 'chi med and Blo ldan shes rab	3787
3	Kha	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-kārikā-vārttika</i>	Bhadanta Vimuktisena	Śāntibhadra and 'Bro shākya 'od	3788
4		<i>Aṣṭābhisamaya-śāsana</i>	Smṛtijñānakīrti		3789
5	Ga, Nga, Ca	<i>Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā</i>	Haribhadra	Śāntibhadra and Tshul khriims rgyal ba	3790
6	Cha	<i>Abhisamayālamkārarālokā</i>	Haribhadra	Dhirapāla and Blo ldan shes rab	3791
7	Ja	<i>Bhagavad-ratnaguṇa-saṅcayagāthā-nāma-pañjikā</i>	Haribhadra	Śāntibhadra and 'Bro seng dkar shākya 'od	3792
8	Ja	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-kārikā-śāstra-vivṛti</i>	Haribhadra	Vidyākaraśrī and Dpal brtsegs, Revised by Blo ldan shes rab	3793
9	Ja	<i>Mngon par rtogs pa 'i rgyan ces bya ba 'i 'grel pa rtogs par dka' ba 'i snang ba shes bya ba 'i 'grel bshad</i>	Dharmakīrtiśrī	Dīpamkaraśrījñāna and Rin chen bzang po	3794
10	Ja	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-vṛtti-piṇḍārtha</i>	Prajñākaramati	Sumatikīrti and Blo ldan shes rab	3795
11	Nya	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-prasphuṭapadā</i>	Dharmamitra	Abhiyuktaka Tāraśrīmitra and Chos kyi shes rab	3796
12	Nya	<i>Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha</i>	Kumaraśrībhadra	Kumaraśrībhadra and Bkra shis rgyal mtshan	3797
13	Nya	<i>Saṅcayagāthā-pañjikā</i>	Buddhaśrījñāna	Vidyākaraśrī and Dpal brtsegs	3798
14	Nya	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-vṛtti-kīrtikalā</i>	Ratnakīrti	Ratnakīrti and La chings yon tan 'bar	3799

15	Ta	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitopadeśa-śāstra-vṛtti-prajñāpradīpāvalī</i>	Buddhaśrījñāna	Buddhaśrījñāna and Gnubs byams pa'i dpal	3800
16	Ta	<i>Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā-vṛtti-suddhamatī</i>	Ratnākaraśānti	Subhūtiśānti, Shākya blo gros, and Dge ba'i blo gros; Revised by Śāntibhadra and 'Gos rta nag khug pa lhas btsas	3801
17	Tha	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikāsārottamā</i>	Ratnākaraśānti	Subhūtiśānti and Shākya blo gros	3803
18	Tha	<i>Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdus sgron ma</i>	Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna	Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba	3804
19	Da	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vṛtti-marmakaumudī</i>	Abhayākara Gupta	Abhayākara Gupta and Shes rab dpal	3805
20	Da	<i>Stong phrag brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa</i>	Dharmaśrī	Kāśmīrī Dharmaśrī and Ba reg thos pa dga'	3802
21	Da	<i>Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdzod kyi lde mig</i>	Dharmaśrī	Kāśmīrī Dharmaśrī and Ba reg thos pa dga'	3806

Table C: Twenty-one *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* Commentaries in Tibetan Bstan 'gyurs

No.	Bu ston	Title	Tōh	Sde dge	Peking	Snar thang	Co ne	Golden
1	Ka	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra</i>	3786	3786 - Sher phyin, ka 1b1-13a7	5184 - Sher phyin, ka 1a1-15b3 (vol.88 p.1-8)	3175 - ka 1a1-14a1	4237	3183 - ka 1b1
2		<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛtti</i>	3787	3787 - Mdo 'grel, ka 212a7-212a7	5185 - Sher phyin, ka 15b3-249a7 (vol.88 p.8-102)	- ka 14a1-230a6	4238	3184 - ka 18b1
3	Kha	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-vārttika</i>	3788	3788 - Mdo 'grel, kha 181a7-181a7	5186 - Sher phyin, kha 1a1-207a7 (vol.88 p.103-187)	- kha 1a1-199a4	4239	3185 - kha 1b1

4		<i>Aṣṭābhisamaya-śāsana</i>	3789	3789 - Mdo 'grel, kha 243a7-243a7	5187 - Sher phyin, kha 207a7-275a8 (vol.88 p.187-214)	- kha 199a4-271a4	4240	3186 - kha 258a6
5	Ga, Nga, Ca	<i>Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā- prajñāpāramitā</i>	3790	3790 - Mdo 'grel, ga 342a7-ca 342a7	5188 - Sher phyin, ga 1a1-cha 403a7 (vol.88 p.215-?)	- ga 1a1-ca 388a5	4241	3187 - ga 1b1
6	Cha	<i>Abhisamayālamkāṛālokā</i>	3791	3791 - Mdo 'grel, cha 341a7-341a7	5189 - Sher phyin, cha 1a1-426a7 (vol.90 p.63)	- cha 1a1-407a4	4242	3188 - cha 1b1
7	Ja	<i>Bhagavad-ratnaguṇa- sañcayagāthā-nāma- pañjikā</i>	3792	3792 - Mdo 'grel, ja 78a7-78a7	5190 - Sher phyin, ja 1a1-92b3 (vol.90 p.235-273)	- ja 1a1-87b7	4243	3189 - ja 1b1
8	Ja	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra- kārikā-śāstra-vivṛti</i>	3793	3793 - Mdo 'grel, ja 140a7-140a7	5191 - Sher phyin, ja 93a6-160a3 (vol.90 p.273-1)	- ja 88a1-154a7	4244	3190 - ja 108b1
9	Ja	<i>Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa rtogs par dka' ba'i snang ba shes bya ba'i 'grel bshad</i>	3794	3794 - Mdo 'grel, ja 254a7-254a7	5192 - Sher phyin, ja 161a7-289a6 (vol.91 p.1-52)	- ja 154a7-276a2	4245	3191 - ja 195b1
10	Ja	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra- vṛtti-piṇḍārtha</i>	3795	3795 - Mdo 'grel, ja 275a7-275a7	5193 - Sher phyin, ja 289a6-314a5 (vol.91 p.52-62)	- ja 276a2-299a3	4246	3192 - ja 360b1
11	Nya	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra- prasphuṭapadā</i>	3796	3796 - Mdo 'grel, nya 110a3-110a3	5194 - Sher phyin, nya 1a1-126b4 (vol.91 p.63-115)	- nya 1a1-115a	4247	3193 - nya 1b1
12	Nya	<i>Prajñāpāramitā- piṇḍārtha</i>	3797	3797 - Mdo 'grel, nya 116a7-116a7	5195 - Sher phyin, nya 128a5-135b5 (vol.91 p.115-118)	- nya 115a-122a	4248	3194 - nya 153b1
13	Nya	<i>Sañcayagāthā-pañjikā</i>	3798	3798 - Mdo 'grel, nya 189b1-189b1	5196 - Sher phyin, nya 135b5-222a6 (vol.91 p.118-153)	- nya 122a-207a	4249	3195 - nya 163b1

14	Nya	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛtti-kūṭikalā</i>	3799	3799 - Mdo 'grel, nya 261a7-261a7	5197 - Sher phyin, nya 223a8-309b1 (vol.91 p.153-188)	- nya 207a-291a	4250	3196 - nya 266b1
15	Ta	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitopadeśa-śāstra-vṛtti-prajñāpradīpāvalī</i>	3800	3800 - Mdo 'grel, ta 76a5-76a5	5198 - Sher phyin, ta 1a1-86b7 (vol.91 p.189-225)	- ta 1a1-80a5	4251	3197 - ta 1b1
16	Ta	<i>Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā-vṛtti-suddhamatī</i>	3801	3801 - Mdo 'grel, ta 204a3-204a3	5199 - Sher phyin, ta 87b8-227b8 (vol.91 p.225-?)	- ta 80a5-227a6	4252	3198 - ta 108b1
17	Tha	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikāsārottamā</i>	3803	3803 - Mdo 'grel, tha 230a7-230a7	5200 - Sher phyin, tha 1a1-253b (vol.92 p.1-103)	- tha 1a1-261b2	4253	3199 - tha 1b1
18	Tha	<i>Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'i don bsdus sgron ma</i>	3804	3804 - Mdo 'grel, tha 240a7-240a7	5201 - Sher phyin, tha 253a5-262a8 (vol.92 p.103-108)	- tha 261b2-272a3	4254	3200 - tha 337b1
19	Da	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vṛtti-marmakaumudī</i>	3805	3805 - Mdo 'grel, da 228a4-228a4	5202 - Sher phyin, da 1a1-256a1 (vol.92 p.109-212)	- da 1a1-263b1	4255	3201 - da 1b1
20	Da	<i>Stong phrag brgya pa 'i rnam par bshad pa</i>	3802	3802 - Mdo 'grel, da 270a7-270a7	5203 - Sher phyin, da 256a7-330b8 (vol.92 p.212-242)	- da 261b1-340b3	4256	3202 - da 335b1
21	Da	<i>Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'i mdzod kyi lde mig</i>	3806	3806 - Mdo 'grel, da 235a7-235a7	5204 - Sher phyin, da 331b1-338b7 (vol.92 p.242-246)	- da 340b4-349a3	4257	3203 - da 442b1

Table D: The Order of Reception into Tibet Based on the Time Period of Translation

No.	Title	Author	Translators	Toh
1	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-śāstra-vivṛti</i>	Haribhadra	Vidyākaraṇaprabha and Dpal brtsegs; Revised by Blo ldan shes rab	3793
2	<i>Saṅcayagāthā-pañjikā</i>	Buddhaśrījñāna	Vidyākaraśiṃha, Dpal brtsegs	3798

3	<i>Aṣṭābhisamaya-śāsana</i>	Smṛtījñānakīrti		3789
4	<i>Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā-vṛtti-suddhamatī</i>	Ratnākaraśānti	Subhūtiśānti, Shākya blo gros, and Dge ba'i blo gros; Revised by Śāntibhadra and 'Gos rta nag khug pa lhas btsas	3801
5	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikāsārottamā</i>	Ratnākaraśānti	Subhūtiśānti and Shākya blo gros	3790
6	<i>Abhisamayālamkārarālokā</i>	Haribhadra	Subhāṣita and Rin chen bzang po; Revised by Dhirapāla and Blo ldan shes rab	3791
7	<i>Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa rtogs par dka' ba'i snang ba shes bya ba'i 'grel bshad</i>	Dharmakīrtiśrī	Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Rin chen bzang po	3794
8	<i>Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdus sgron ma</i>	Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna	Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba	3804
9	<i>Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā</i>	Haribhadra	Śāntibhadra and Tshul khriṃs rgyal ba	3790
10	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-vṛtti-kīrtikalā</i>	Ratnakīrti	Ratnakīrti and La chings yon tan 'bar	3799
11	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-kārikā-vārttika</i>	Bhadanta Vimuktisena	Śāntibhadra and 'Bro shākya 'od	3788
12	<i>Bhagavad-ratnaguṇa-saṅcayagāthā-nāma-pañjikā</i>	Haribhadra	Śāntibhadra and 'Bro seng dkar shākya 'od	3792
13	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra</i>	Maitreya	Go mi 'chi med and Blo ldan shes rab	3786
14	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-vṛtti</i>	Ārya Vimuktisena	Go mi 'chi med and Blo ldan shes rab	3787
15	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-vṛtti-piṇḍārtha</i>	Prajñākaramati	Sumatikīrti and Blo ldan shes rab	3795
16	<i>Abhisamayālamkāra-prasphuṭapadā</i>	Dharmamitra	Abhiyuktaka Tāraśrīmitra and Chos kyi shes rab	3796
17	<i>Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha</i>	Kumaraśrībhadra	Kumaraśrībhadra and Bkra shis rgyal mtshan	3797
18	<i>Stong phrag brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa</i>	Dharmaśrī	Kāśmīri Dharmasrī and Ba reg thos pa dga'	3802
19	<i>Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdzod kyi lde mig</i>	Dharmaśrī	Kāśmīri Dharmasrī and Ba reg thos pa dga'	3806
20	<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vṛtti-marmakaumudī</i>	Abhayākara Gupta	Abhayākara Gupta and Shes rab dpal	3805

21	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra- bhagavatī- prajñāpāramitopadeśa- śāstra-vṛtti- prajñāpradīpāvalī</i>	Buddhaśrījñāna	Buddhaśrījñāna and Gnubs byams pa'i dpal	3800
----	--	----------------	---	------

Glossary

Note: these glossary entries are organized in Tibetan alphabetical order. All entries list the following information in this order: THL Extended Wylie transliteration of the term, THL Phonetic rendering of the term, the English translation, the Sanskrit equivalent, the Chinese equivalent, other equivalents such as Mongolian or Latin, associated dates, and the type of term.

Ka					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
kun mkhyen nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung gi dgongs don rnam par 'grel ba'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 pa	Künkhyen Nyimé Nyengyi Kalunggi Gongdön Nampar Drelwé Tenchö Gangchenpé Kedu Gyurro Tselgyi Chöjin Gyün Minchepé Ngomtsar Trülgyi Chimo Dzokden Kelpé Sonamkyi Trinlung Gyepar Krikpé Tsüllé Tsampé Tam Ngomtsar Chuter Pelwé Dawa Sarpa	New Expansive Moon: An Oceanic Treasury, the Wonderous Discourses Composed in a Manner Like Extensive Meritorious Groups of Clouds Which Occur at the End of an Aeon, Wonderous Emanations Bestowing the Gift of Dharma Which Seeks to Understand the Intended Meaning of the Transmission of the All-Knowing Kinsman of the Sun's Treatises Translated into the Tibetan Language			Text
krun go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang	Trüngö Börkpa Petrünkhang				Publisher
dkar chag	Karchak	catalog			Doxographical Category
dkar chag 'phang thang ma: sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa	Karchak Pangtangma: Drajor Bampo Nyipa	The Pangtangma Catalog: The Two Volume Etymology Lexicon			Text
dkar chag bsam yas mchims phu ma	Karchak Samyé Chimpuma	The Samyé Chimpuma Catalog			Text
dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po	Könchok Jikmé Wangpo			1728-91	Person
dkon btsegs	Köntsek	Ratnakūta			Doxographical Category
bka' bstan dpe sdur khang	Ka Ten Pedurkhang				Publisher
bka' 'gyur	Kangyur				Title collection
bka' bstan bcos	Ka Ten Chö				Doxographical Category

<i>bka' tha ma 'i mdo sde sna tshogs kyi 'grel pa</i>	Katamé Dodé Natsokkyi Drelpa	various commentaries of the final set of sūtra teachings			Term
<i>bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron ma</i>	<i>Kadamkyi Nampar Tarpa Kadam Chönjung Selwé Drönma</i>	<i>Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa Bka' gdams chos 'byun' Gsal ba'i sgron me: A Detailed Account of the Spread of the Kadampa Sect in Tibet</i>			Text
<i>bka' gdams pa</i>	Kadampa				Organization
<i>bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig thengs gnyis pa</i>	<i>Kadam Sungbum Chokdrik Tengnyipa</i>	<i>The Second Ordered Set of the Collected Works of the Kadampas</i>			Text
<i>bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig bzhugs so</i>	<i>Kadam Sungbum Chokdrik Zhukso</i>	<i>Ordered Set of the Collected Works of the Kadampas</i>			Text
<i>bkra shis rgyal mtshan</i>	Trashi Gyeltsen				Person
<i>bkra shis lha lde btsan</i>	Trashi Lhadetsen				Person
<i>ska ba dpal brtsegs</i>	Kawa Peltsek		San. Dharmapāla		Person
Kha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>kham</i>	Kham				Place
<i>kham sprul bsod nams don grub</i>	Kham Trül Sönam Döndrup				Publisher
<i>khri lde srong btsan</i>	Tri Desongtsen			circa 800-815	Person
<i>khri gtsug lde btsan</i>	Tri Tsukdetsen			circa 824 CE	Person
<i>khro phu lo tsā ba byams pa dpal</i>	Tropu Lotsawa Jampa Pel			1173-1225 or 1236	Person
<i>mkhas pa lde'u</i>	Khepa Deu				Author
<i>mkhas pa 'i dga' ston</i>	<i>Khepé Gatön</i>	<i>Feast for Scholars</i>			Text
<i>'khon dkon mchog rgyal po</i>	Khön Könchok Gyelpo			1034-1102	Person
Ga					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>gu ge</i>	Gugé				Place
<i>gu rub chos kyi shes rab</i>	Gurup Chökyi Sherap				Person
<i>gung thang</i>	Gungtang				Place
<i>go mi 'chi med, blo ldan shes rab</i>	Gomi Chimé, Loden Sherap				Translator
<i>go mi 'chi med</i>	Gomi Chimé		San. Amaragomin		Person
<i>gro lung pa blo gros 'byung gnas</i>	Drolungpa Lodrö Jungné			fl. eleventh to early	Person

				twelfth centuries	
<i>dge ba'i blo gros</i>	Gewé Lodrö				Person
<i>dge slong shākya dpal bzang po</i>	Gelong Shakya Pel Zangpo				Person
<i>'gos rta nag khug pa lhas btas</i>	Gö Tanak Khukpa Lhetsé				Person
<i>'gos lo tsā ba gzhon nu dpal</i>	Gö Lotsawa Zhönnu Pel				Author
<i>'grel pa</i>	Drelpa	commentary			Term
<i>rgya gar chos 'byung</i>	Gyagar Chönjung	<i>Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India</i>			Text
<i>rgya gar phyag na</i>	Gyagar Chakna	Indian Pāṇi	San. <i>Vajrapāṇi</i>		Person
<i>rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa</i>	Gya Bökyi Chönjung Gyepa	<i>Extensive Religious History of India and Tibet</i>			Text
<i>rgyas 'bring bsdsu gsum gyi bshad pa mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan</i>	Gyedring Düsumgyi Shepa Ngönpa Tokpé Gyen	<i>Ornament for Clear Realization Which Explains the Large, Middle, and Condensed Perfection of Wisdom Discourses</i>			Text
<i>sgra</i>	dra	linguistics	San. <i>śabdavidyā</i>		Term
<i>brgyad stong pa</i>	Gyetongpa	<i>The Eight Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā</i>		Text
<i>brgyad stong ba'i dka' 'grel snying po mchog</i>	Gyetongwé Kandrel Nyingpo Chok	<i>Quintessence: A Difficult Points Commentary on the Eight Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikāsārottamā</i>		Text
Nga					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>ngag dbang nor bu</i>	Ngawang Norbu				Person
<i>ngag dbang byams pa, phur bu</i>	Ngawang Jampa, Purbu			b. 1682, d. 1762	Author
<i>ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho</i>	Ngawang Lozang Gyatso			1617-1682	Person
<i>mnga' bdag rtse lde</i>	Ngadak Tsedé				Person
<i>mnga' ris</i>	Ngari				Place
<i>mngon pa</i>	Ngönpa		San. <i>Abhidharma</i>		Doxographical Category
<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'gral bshad tshig rab tu gsal ba zhes bya ba</i>	Ngönpa Tokpé Gyengi Tsikleur Jepé Drelshé Tsik Raptu Selwa Zhejawa	<i>Glosses on the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālamkāra-prasphuṭapadā</i>		Text

<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa</i>	<i>Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Drelpa</i>	<i>Lamp for the Meaning of the Perfection of Wisdom, A Commentary on the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛtti</i>		Text
<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa grags pa'i cha zhes bya ba</i>	<i>Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Drelpa Drakpé Cha Zhejawa</i>	<i>Reknowned Segments, A Commentary on the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛttikārtikalā</i>		Text
<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa dag ldan</i>	<i>Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Drelpa Dakden</i>	<i>Purity: Commentary on the Verses of the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikāvṛttiśuddhamatī</i>		Text
<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa'i bsdus don</i>	<i>Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Drelpé Dūdōn</i>	<i>Condensed Summary Commentary on the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛttipiṇḍārtha</i>		Text
<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi rgya cher 'grel pa</i>	<i>Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Gyacher Drelpa</i>	<i>The Extensive Commentary on the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>			Text
<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa dag ldan shes bya ba</i>	<i>Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Tsikleur Jephé Drelpa Dakden Shejawa</i>	<i>Purity: A Commentary on the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-suddhamatī</i>		Text
<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i rnam par 'grel pa</i>	<i>Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Tsikleur Jephé Nampar Drelpa</i>	<i>Subcommentary on the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vārttika</i>		Text
<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa rtogs par dka' ba'i snang ba zhes bya ba'i 'grel bshad</i>	<i>Ngönpar Tokpé Gyen Chejawé Drelpa Tokpar Kawé Nangwa Zhejawé Drelshé</i>	<i>Illumination on the Difficult Points of the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-durbodhālokā</i>		Text
<i>mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa rtogs par dka' ba'i snang ba shes bya ba'i 'grel bshad</i>	<i>Ngönpar Tokpé Gyen Chejawé Drelpa Tokpar Kawé Nangwa Shejawé Drelshé</i>	<i>Illumination on the Difficult Points of the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-durbodhālokā</i>		Text
<i>rngog blo ldan shes rab</i>	Ngok Loden Sherap			1059-1109	Person
<i>rngog legs pa'i shes rab</i>	Ngoklekpé Sherap			fl. mid-eleventh century	Person
<i>rngog lo tsā ba</i>	Ngok Lotsawa				Person
<i>rngog lo tsā ba blo ldan shes rab</i>	Ngok Lotsawa Loden Sherap			1059-1109	Person
<i>snga dar</i>	ngadar	early dissemination period			Term

bsngo ba smon lam	ngowa mönlam	dedication prayer			Term
Ca					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
co ne 'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag	Choné Tenguur Karchak	A Catalog to the Choné Tenguur			Text
bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'i man ngag gi btsan bcos mngon par rtogs pa 'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa shes rab sgron ma 'i phreng ba	Chomdendema Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Menngakgi Tenchö Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Drelpa Sherap Drönmé Trengwa	Lamp Garland of Wisdom, A Commentary on the Instructional treatise on Her Ladyship, the Perfection of Wisdom	San. Abhisamayālamkāra- bhagavatī-prajñā- pāramitopadeśa- śāstravṛtti- prajñāpradīpāvalī		Text
bcom ldan rig pa 'i ral gri	Chomden Rikpé Reldri			1227-1305	Person
bcom ldan rig pa 'i ral gri, dar ma rgyal mtshan	Chomden Rikpé Reldri, Darma Gyeltsen			1227-1305	Author
bcom ral	Chomrel				Person
Cha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
chab spel tshe brtan phun tshogs	Chappel Tseten Püntso				Editor
chu mo glang	chumo lang	female water-ox			Term
chos kyi shes rab	Chökyi Sherap				Person
chos 'khor	chönkhor	religious council			Term
chos 'byung	Chönjung	History of Buddhism			Text
mchim nam mkha' grag pa	Chimnam Kha Drakpa				Person
mchod gnas	chöné	officiating priest			Term
Ja					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
jo nang pa	Jonangpa		San. Tāranātha	b. 1575	Author
jo bo rje pal ldan a ti sha 'i rnam thar rgyas pa yong grags	Jowo Jé Pelden Atishé Namtar Gyepa Yongdrak				Author
jo bo 'das ma thag tu bsgyur ba	Jowo dema taktu gyurwa	translations immediately after the passing of Atiśa			Doxographical Category
'jam pa 'i dbyang	Jampé Yang				Person
Nya					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
nyi khri le 'u brgyad ma	Nyitri Leu Gyema	Eight Chapters on the Twenty-five-thousand Verse Prajñāpāramitā			Text
snYE thang	Nyetang				Place
Ta					

Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>gtan tshigs</i>	tentsik	logic	San. <i>hetuvidyā</i>		Term
<i>rta nag</i>	Tanak				Place
<i>stong phrag brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa</i>	<i>Tongdrakgyapé Nampar Shepa</i>	<i>Explanation of the One Hundred Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Śatasāhasrikā-vyākhyā</i>		Text
<i>stong phrag brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa zhes bya ba</i>	<i>Tongdrak Gyepé Nampar Shepa Zhejawa</i>		San. <i>Śatasāhasrikā-vyākhyānāma</i>		Text
<i>bstan 'gyur</i>	Tengyur				Title collection
<i>bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba</i>	<i>Tengyurgyi Karchak Yizhin Norbu Wanggi Gyelpö Trengwa</i>	<i>A Catalog to the Treatises: The Garland Which is a Powerful Wishfulfilling Jewel</i>			Text
<i>bstan 'gyur par ma khag gi dkar chag phyogs bsgrigs</i>	<i>Tengyur Parma Khakgi Karchak Chokdrik</i>	<i>Collection Catalog of the Imprinted Tengyur</i>			Text
<i>bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gsung par du bsgrubs pa'i dkar chag tshangs pa'i dbyangs</i>	<i>Tenchö Gyurro Chok Sungpardu Druppé Karchak Tsangpé Yang</i>	<i>Brahma's Melody: A Complete Catalog Which Completes All the Teachings, the Translated Treatises</i>			Text
<i>bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag 'jig rten gsum gyi bde skyid pad tshal bzhad pa'i nyin byed</i>	<i>Tenchö Gyurro Chokgi Karchak Jikten Sumgyi Dekyi Petsel Zhepé Nyinjé</i>	<i>The Sun Which Opens the Lotus Clusters That Provide Happiness within the Threefold World: A Catalog of the Translated Treatises</i>			Text
<i>bstan pa rgyas pa</i>	Tenpa Gyepa				Doxographical Category
<i>bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od</i>	<i>Tenpa Gyepa Gyengyi Nyiö</i>	<i>Sunlight Which Enhances the Full Extent of Teachings</i>			Text
<i>bstan pa phyi dar</i>	tenpa chidar	later dissemination period			Term
<i>bstan pa bar dar</i>	tenpa bardar	'intermediate' dissemination period			Term
<i>bstod pa</i>	töpa	praise			Term
Tha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan</i>	<i>Tuppé Gongpé Gyen</i>	<i>The Ornament Called "Thought of the Sage"</i>	San. <i>Munimatālaṃkāra</i>		Text
<i>theg chung mdo sde</i>	Tekchung Dodé	Discourses of the Small Vehicle			Doxographical Category

<i>theg chen rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa</i>	<i>Tekchen Gyü Lamé Dön Düpa</i>	<i>The Condensed Meaning of the Great Vehicle's Excellent Continuum</i>			Text
<i>theg pa chen po mdo sde</i>	Tekpa Chenpo Dodé	Discourses of the Great Vehicle			Doxographical Category
<i>theg pa chen po'i bstan bcos</i>	Tekpa Chenpö Tenchö	Treastise of the Great Vehicle	San. <i>Mahāyāna-śāstra</i>		Doxographical Category
<i>theg pa chen po'i mdo sde'i tika</i>	Tekpa Chenpö Dodé Tika	Brief Commentary on th Discourses of the Great Vehicle			Doxographical Category
<i>mtsho lding</i>	Toding				Place
Da					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba'i legs bshad lho rong chos 'byung nam rta tshag chos 'byung shes rtsom pa'i yul ming du chags pa'i ngo mtshar shing dkon pa'i dpe khyad par can</i>	<i>Dampé Chökyi Jungwé Lekshé Lhorong Chönjung Namta Tsak Chönjung Shetsompé Yülmingdu Chakpé Ngomsar Shingkönpé Pé Khyeparchen</i>	<i>The Lhorong History of the Holy Dharma</i>			Text
<i>dar ma rgyal mtshan</i>	Darma Gyentsen				Person
<i>dung dkar blo bzang phrin las</i>	Dungkar Lozang Trinlé				Editor
<i>deb ther sngon po</i>	Depter Ngönpo	<i>The Blue Annuals</i>			Text
<i>de'i rgya cher 'grel ba</i>	dé gyachrel drelwa	extensive commentary to this work			Term
<i>don bsdus</i>	döndü	concise meaning	San. <i>piṇḍārtha</i>		Term
<i>dran pa ye shes</i>	Drenpa Yeshé				Person
<i>dran pa'i ye shes grags pa</i>	Drenpé Yeshé Drakpa		San. <i>Smṛtijñānakīrti</i>		Person
<i>dram dül</i>	Dramdül				Author
<i>bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos gyur ro cog par du sgrub pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam yang dag par brjod pa dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu'i phreng ba</i>	<i>Dewar Shekpé Ké Gongdrel Tenchö Gyurro Chokpardu Druppé Tsüllé Nyebar Tsampé Tamyang Dakpar Jöpa Karchak Yizhin Norbū Trengwa</i>				Text
<i>bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byung gnas gsung rab rin po che'i mdzod ces bya ba</i>	<i>Dewar Shekpé Tenpé Seljé Chökyi Jungné Sungrap Rinpoché Dzö Chejawa</i>	<i>A Precious Treasury of Scriptures: A Source of Dharma Which Clarifies the Teaching of the One Gone to Bliss</i>			Text
<i>mdo sde</i>	dodé	discourse	San. <i>sūtra</i>		Term

<i>mdo sde dang bstan bcos kyi ti ka bstan po khri srong lde bstan gyis mdzad pa</i>	Dodé dang Tenchökyi Tika: Tsenpo Tri Songdetsengyi Dzepa	Commentaries on Sūtras and Śāstras by Khri srong lde bstan (and other Tibetan Authors)			Title collection
<i>mdo sde sna tshogs kyi 'grel pa</i>	Dodé Natsokkyi Drelpa	Commentaries on Various Discourses			Text
<i>'dul ba</i>	Dülwa	Discipline	San. <i>Vinaya</i>		Doxographical Category
<i>sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa'i dka' 'grel</i>	Düpa Tsiksu Chepé Kandrel	Commentary on the Difficult Points to the Summary Verses [of the Perfection of Wisdom]	San. <i>Sañcayagāthāpañjikā</i>		Text
<i>sdud pa'i 'grel pa slob dpon sangs rgyas ye shes kyi mdzad pa</i>	Düpé Drelpa Loppön Sanggyé Yeshekyi Dzepa	The Condensed Commentary written by the scholar <i>Buddhajñāna</i>			Text
Na					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>nag tsho</i>	Naktso				Person
<i>nag tsho tshul khrim rgyal ba</i>	Naktso Tsültrim Gyelwa				Person
<i>nag tsho tshul khrims rgyal ba</i>	Naktso Tsültrim Gyelwa			b. 1011	Person
<i>nang rig pa</i>	nang rikpa	inner science	San. <i>adhyaṃmavidyā</i>		Term
<i>gnubs byams pa'i dpal</i>	Nup Jampé Pel			1173-1225 or 1236	Person
<i>rnam par shes pa'i bstan bcos</i>	Nampar Shepé Tenchö	Treatise on Consciousness	San. <i>Vijñāna-śāstra</i>		Doxographical Category
<i>snar thang</i>	Nartang				Place
<i>snar thang bstan 'gyur dkar chag</i>	Nartang Tengyur Karchak	A Catalog to the Nartang Tengyur			Text
Pa					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>pa tshab nyi ma grags pa</i>	Patsap Nyima Drakpa pa				Person
<i>padma skal bzang</i>	Pema Kelzang				Author
<i>pu hrang</i>	Puhrang				Place
<i>pe cin</i>	Pechin				Publication Place
<i>pe cin bstan 'gyur dkar chag</i>	Pechin Tengyur Karchak	A Catalog of the Peking Tibetan Tengyur			Text

<i>dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba/ dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston</i>	<i>Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa: Dampé Chökyi Khorlo Gyurwa Namkyi Jungwa Selwar Jepa Khepé Gatön</i>	<i>Pawo Tsuklak Trengwa's A Feast for Scholars: Clarification of the Historical Development of the Wheel of the Holy Dharma</i>			Text
<i>dpal brtsegs</i>	Peltsek				Translator
<i>dpyal se rtsa ba bsod nams rgyal mtshan</i>	Chelsé Tsawa Sönam Gyentsen				Person
<i>spong zho gsal ba grags</i>	Pongzho Selwa Drak				Person
Pha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>phal chen</i>	Pelchen	Avatamsaka			Doxographical Category
<i>phur bu ngag dbang byams pa</i>	Purbu Ngawang Jampa			1682-1762	Person
<i>phyi dar</i>	chidar	later dissemination period			Term
<i>phra la ring ba</i>	Trala Ringwa		San. <i>Sūksmadīrgha</i>		Person
<i>'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa'i 'grel pa gnad kyi zla ba'i 'od ces bya ba</i>	<i>Pakpa Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpa Gyetongpé Dretpa Nekyi Dawé Ö Chejawa</i>	<i>Moonlight: A Commentary on the Eight Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vṛttimarmakauḍmudī</i>		Text
<i>'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'bum pa dang nyi khri lnga stong pa dang khri brgyad stong pa'i rgya cher bshad</i>	<i>Pakpa Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpa Bumpa dang Nyitri Ngatongpa dang Tri Gyetongpé Gyacher Shé</i>	<i>The Extensive Commentary on the One Hundred Thousand Verse, Twenty-five Thousand Verse, and Eighteen Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Āryaśatasāhasrikā-pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikāṣṭadaśa-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-brhātṭikā</i>		Text
<i>'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin ma bsodus pa'i tshig le'ur byas ba</i>	<i>Pakpa Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinma Düpé Tsikleur Jewa</i>	<i>Summary Verses on the Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Prajñāpāramitā-saṅgrahakārikā</i>		Text
<i>'phang thang ma</i>	<i>Pang Tangma</i>				Text
Ba					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>ba reg thos pa dga'</i>	Barek Töpa Ga				Person
<i>ba reg thos pa dga</i>	Barek Töpa Ga				Translator
<i>bam po</i>	bampo				Term
<i>bu ston</i>	Butön			1290-1364	Person
<i>bu ston rnam thar</i>	<i>Butön Namtar</i>	<i>The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che</i>			Text
<i>bu ston rin chen grub</i>	Butön Rinchen Drup			1290-1364	Person
<i>bu ston rin po che</i>	Butön Rinpoché			1290-1364	Person
<i>bod kyi mkhas pa</i>	Bökyi khepa	Tibetan master			Term

<i>bod kyi lo tsā ba la</i>	Bökyi lotsawala				Term
<i>bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo</i>	<i>Bö Gya Tsikdzö Chenmo</i>	<i>The Extensive Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary</i>			Text
<i>bod jongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang</i>	Böjong Mimang Petrünkhang				Publisher
<i>bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang</i>	Böjong Böyik Penying Petrünkhang				Publisher
<i>bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang</i>	Böjong Mimang Petrünkhang				Publisher
<i>bla ma lha lde btsan</i>	Lama Lhadetsen				Person
<i>blo gros brtan pa</i>	Lodrö Tenpa				Translator
<i>blo gros byung gnas</i>	Lodrö Jungné				Author
<i>blo ldan shes rab</i>	Loden Sherap				Person
<i>blo bzang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho</i>	Lozang Khyenrap Gyatso				Author
<i>dbang lde</i>	Wangdé				Person
<i>dbu ma</i>	Uma	Middle Way	San. <i>Madhyamaka</i>		Doxographical Category
<i>dbus</i>	Ü				Place
<i>dbus pa blo gsal</i>	Üpa Losel				Person
<i>dbus pa blo gsal</i>	Üpa Losel				Person
<i>dbus pa blo gsal byang chub ye shes</i>	Üpa Losel Jangchup Yeshé			ca. 1265-1355	Person
<i>'bum tñg</i>	bum tik				Term
<i>'bum dang nyi khri lnga stong pa dang khri brgyad stong pa gsum don mthun par mngon rtogs brgyad du bstan pa</i>	<i>Bum dang Nyitri Ngatongpa dang Tri Gyetongpa Sum Dön Tiinpar Ngöntok Gyedu Tenpa</i>	<i>Commentary Which Indicates the Eight Clear Realizations Concordance in the One Hundred Thought Verse, Twenty-Five Thousand Verse, and Eight Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Śatasāhasrikā-pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikāṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikātraya-samānārtha-aṣṭābhisamaya-śāsanā</i>		Text
<i>'bras bu sngags</i>	drebu ngak	resultant vehicle or secret mantra text			Term
<i>'bro shākya 'od</i>	Dro Shakya Ö			d. 1064	Person
<i>'bro seng dkar shākya 'od</i>	Dro Sengkar Shakya Ö				Person
<i>'brog mi dpal gyi ye shes</i>	Drokmi Pelgyi Yeshé				Person
<i>'brog mi la sogs pas bsgyur ba</i>	Drokmi lasokpé gyurwa	translations made by 'brog mi and others			Doxographical Category
<i>'brog mi shākya blo gros</i>	Drokmi Shakya Lodrö			mid-eleventh century	Person
<i>'brom ston pa</i>	Drom Tönpa			d. 1064	Person
Ma					

Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>man ngag gi bstan bcos</i>	Menngakgi Tenchō	instructional treatise	San. <i>Upadeśaśāstra</i>		Doxographical Category
<i>man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa shes rab sgron ma</i>	Menngakgi Tenchō Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Drelpa Sherap Drönma	<i>The Lamp Garland Commentary on the Ornament for Clear Realization: A Special Instruction Treatise</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālamkāra-bhagavatī-prajñā-pāramitopadeśa-śāstravṛtti-prajñāpradīpāvalī</i>		Text
<i>mar me mdzad ye shes</i>	Marmé Dzé Yeshé		San. <i>Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna</i>		Author
<i>mi gyur rdo rje</i>	Migyur Dorjé				Author
<i>mi dbang pho lha ba'i gser bris bstan gyur srid zhi'i rgyan gcig gi dkar chag</i>	Miwang Polhawé Serdri Tengyur Sizhi Gyen Chikgi Karchak	<i>The Single Ornament Which Pacifies Existence: A Catalog of Miwang Polhawé's Golden Tengyur</i>			Text
<i>mi rigs dpe skrun khang</i>	Mirik Petrünkhang				Publisher
<i>sman lung</i>	Menlung				Place
Tsa					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa</i>	Tsongkhapa Lozang Drakpa			1357-1419	Author
<i>gtsang</i>	Tsang				Place
Tsha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>tshal pa</i>	Tselpa				Place
<i>tshul khrim rgyal ba</i>	Tsültrim Gyelwa				Person
<i>tshul khrims rgyal ba</i>	Tsültrim Gyelwa				Translator
<i>tshe dbang rgyal</i>	Tsewang Gyel				Author
<i>mtshan nyid kyi theg pa</i>	tsennyikyi tekpa	causal vehicle			Term
Zha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>zhi ba bzang po</i>	Zhiwa Zangpo		San. <i>Śāntibhadra</i>		Person
<i>zhu chen tshul khrims rin chen</i>	Zhuchen Tsültrim Rinchen			1697-1774	Person
<i>zhöl par khang</i>	Zhöl Parkhang				Publisher
<i>zhwa lu</i>	Zhalu				Place
Za					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>bzo</i>	zo	creative arts	San. <i>śīlpavidyā</i>		Term
'A					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>'od lde</i>	Ödé				Person
Ya					

Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>ye she 'od</i>	Yeshé Ö				Person
<i>ye shes sde</i>	Yeshé Dé				Person
Ra					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>rin chen rnam rgyal</i>	Rinchen Namgyel				Author
<i>rin chen bzang po</i>	Rinchen Zangpo				Person
<i>rin chen bzang po'i slob mas bsgyur ba</i>	Rinchen Zangpö lopmé gyurwa	texts translated by Rin chen bzang po's disciples			Term
<i>rong ston shes bya kun rig</i>	Rongtön Sheja Künrik			1367-1449	Author
<i>rwa lo tsā ba rdo rje grags</i>	Ra Lotsawa Dorjé Drak			1016-1128	Person
La					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>la chings yon tan 'bar</i>	Laching Yönten Bar				Person
<i>las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan</i>	Lechen Künga Gyentsen				Author
<i>legs pa thams cad thob pa'i rgyu'i gtso bo yin pa'i phyir</i>	lekpa tamché toppé gyü tsowo yinpé chir	since paying homage is the principal cause of obtaining total excellence			Term
<i>legs bshad gser phreng</i>	Lekshé Sertreng	Golden Garland of Eloquence			Text
<i>lo chen</i>	lochen	Great Translator			Term
<i>lo tsā ba</i>	lotsawa	translator			Term
<i>lo tsā ba chen po'i bsdus don bzhugs so</i>	Lotsawa Chenpö Dūdön Zhukso	Commentary on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra by Rnag Lotsaba Blo-ltan-śes-rab			Text
Sha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>shākya blo gros</i>	Shakya Lodrö				Person
<i>shākya 'od</i>	Shakya Ö				Translator
<i>shing rta chen po'i srol bzhi</i>	shingta chenpö sölzhi	four systems of great chariot trailblazers			Term
<i>sher phyin</i>	Sherchin	Perfection of Wisdom	San. <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i>		Doxographical Category
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa</i>	Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpa	Perfection of Wisdom	San. <i>Prajñāpāramitā</i>		Doxographical Category
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa'i rgya cher bshad pa/ mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan</i>	Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpa Gyetongpé Gyacher Shepa: Ngönpar Tokpé Gyen	The Extensive Explanation on the Eight Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom, The Ornament for Clear Realization			Text

<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa'i bshad pa mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpa Gyetongpé Shepa Ngönpar Tokpé Gyen</i>	<i>The Ornament for Clear Realization Which Explains the Eight Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom</i>			Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpa Tongdrak Nyishungapa</i>	<i>The Twenty-five Thousand Verse Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā</i>		Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpa Düpa Tsiksup Chepa</i>	<i>A Commentary on the Difficult Points of Condensed Verses of the Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Bhagavad-ratnaḡaṇa-saṅcayagāthā-nāma-pañjikā</i>		Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa 'bum pa rgya cher 'grel pa</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpa Bumpa Gyacher Drelpa</i>	<i>Extensive Commentary to the Perfection of Wisdom in One Hundred Thousand Lines</i>	San. <i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-brhaṭṭikā</i>		Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdus sgron ma</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Döndü Drönma</i>	<i>Lamp Summary of the Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārthapradīpa</i>		Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdus pa zhes bya ba</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Dön Düpa Zhejawa</i>	<i>Condensed Summary of the Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha</i>		Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par togs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Menngakgi Tenchö Ngönpar Tokpé Gyen Chejawé Drelpa</i>	<i>An Instructional Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom, the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālamkāra-śāstravivṛti</i>		Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi tshig le 'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa dag par ldan pa</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Menngakgi Tenchö Ngönpar Tokpé Gyengyi Tsikleur Jewé Drelpa Dakpar Denpa</i>	<i>Purity: A Commentary on the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālamkāra-kārikāvṛttiśuddhamatī</i>		Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i rgya cher bshad pa legs bshad legs bshad gser phreng zhes bya ba bzhuḡs so</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Menngakgi Tenchö Ngönpar Tokpé Gyen Drelpa dang Chepé Gyacher Shepa Lekshé Lekshé Sertreng Zhejawa Zhukso</i>	<i>A Detailed Explanation of the Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom: The Ornament for Clear Realization along with [Haribhadra's] Brief Commentary Called the Golden Garland of Eloquence</i>			Text

<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa'i rgya cher bshad pa lung gi sne ma</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Menngakgi Tenchö Ngönpar Tokpé Gyen Chejawé Drelpé Gyacher Shepa Lunggi Nema</i>	<i>The Pinnacle of Scriptural Instruction: An Extensive Commentary on the Ornament for Clear Realization Being an Instructional Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom</i>			Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba'i tshig le 'ur bya pa</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Menngakgi Tenchö Ngönpar Tokpé Gyen Zhejawé Tsikleur Japa</i>	<i>Verses of the Special Instruction Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom, The Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	San. <i>Abhisamayālaṅkāra-prajñā-pāramitopadeśa-śāstrakārikā</i>		Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdzod kyi lde mig</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Dzökyi Demik</i>	<i>Key to the Treasury of the Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Prajñāpāramitā-kośatāla</i>		Text
<i>shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdzod kyi lde mig ces bya ba</i>	<i>Sherapkyi Paröltu Chinpé Dzökyi Demik Chejawa</i>	<i>Key to the Treasury of the Perfection of Wisdom</i>	San. <i>Prajñāpāramitā-kośatāla</i>		Text
<i>shes rab dpal</i>	Sherap Pel				Person
Sa					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>sa skya</i>	Sakya				Monastery
<i>sa skya paṇḍi ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan</i>	Sakya Pendita Kunga Gyentsen				Author
<i>sangs rgyas dpal ye shes</i>	Sanggyé Pel Yeshé		San. <i>Buddhaśrījñāna</i>		Person
<i>sad na legs</i>	Sena Lek			circa 800-815	Person
<i>si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang</i>	Sitrön Mirik Petrünkhang				Publisher
<i>sems tsam</i>	Semtsam	Mind Only	San. <i>Cittamātra</i>		Doxographical Category
<i>slob ma</i>	lopma	disciple			Term
<i>gsang phu (s)ne 'u thog</i>	Sangpu Neutok				Place
<i>gsung 'bum/ bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri</i>	<i>Sungbum: Chomden Rikpé Reldri</i>	<i>The Collected Works of Chomden Rikpé Reldri</i>			Text
<i>gser bris bstan 'gyur</i>	<i>Serdri Tengyur</i>	<i>Golden Manuscript Tengyur</i>			Text
<i>gser lings pa</i>	Ser Lingpa		San. <i>Dharmakīrtiśrī</i>	fl. ca. 1000 CE	Person
<i>gso ba</i>	sowa	medicine	San. <i>cikitsāvidyā</i>		Term
Ha					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
<i>lha lde po</i>	Lhadepo			ca. 996-1024	Person

<i>lha sde</i>	Lhadé				Person
<i>lha bla ma ye shes 'od</i>	Lha Lama Yeshe Ö				Person
<i>lha btsas</i>	Lhatsé				Editor
<i>lha sa</i>	Lhasa				Publication Place
<i>lhan kar ma</i>	Lhenkarma				Text
A					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Other	Dates	Type
Sanskrit					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Sanskrit	Dates	Type
			<i>Abhayākaragupta</i>		Person
		<i>Treasury of Abhidharma</i>	<i>Abhidharmakośa</i>		Text
		clear realization	<i>abhisamaya</i>		Term
		<i>Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra</i>		Text
		<i>Commentary on the Treatise of the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-śāstra-vivṛti</i>		Text
		<i>Illumination of the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	<i>Abhisamaya-alaṃkāṛālokā</i>		Text
		<i>Extensive Commentary on the Perfection of Wisdom, Illumination of the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	<i>Abhisamaya-alaṃkāṛālokā-prajñāpāramitā-vyākhyā</i>		Text
		<i>Subcommentary on the Verses of the Ornament for Clear Realization</i>	<i>Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikāvārttika</i>		Text
			<i>Abhiyuktaka Tāraśrimitra</i>		Person
			<i>Ācārya Ratnākaraśānti</i>	fl. ca. 1000 CE	Person
			<i>Advayaavajra</i>	1007-1085	Person
		<i>The Discourse on the Imperishability of the Mind</i>	<i>Akṣayamati-nirdeśasūtra</i>		Text
			<i>Anupamapura</i>		Place
			<i>Ārya Vimuktisena</i>	ca. fifth century	Person
		<i>The Instruction on the Eight Clear Realizations</i>	<i>Aṣṭābhisamayaśāsana</i>		Text
			<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikāśāratamā</i>		Text
			<i>Atiśa</i>		Person

			<i>Atiśa Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna</i>	982-1054	Person
			<i>Bhadanta Vimuktisena</i>	ca. sixth century	Person
		<i>Lamp for the Path to Awakening</i>	<i>Bodhipathapradīpa</i>		Text
			<i>Buddhabhadra</i>		Person
			<i>Buddhaśrījñāna</i>		Person
			<i>Daṃṣṭrāśena</i>		Person
		<i>The Discourse on the Ten Stages</i>	<i>Daśabhūmikasūtra</i>		Text
			<i>Dharmakīrti</i>		Person
			<i>Dharmakīrtiśrī</i>		Author
			<i>Dharmamitra</i>		Person
			<i>Dharmapāla</i>	r. ca. 775-812	Person
			<i>Dharmaśrī</i>		Person
			<i>Dhirapāla</i>		Person
			<i>Diñnāga</i>		Person
			<i>Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna</i>		Translator
		gate-keepers	<i>dvārapaṇḍita</i>		Term
			<i>Haribhadra</i>	ca. late eighth century	Person
			<i>Jinamārgāvatāra</i>		Person
			<i>Jñānakara</i>		Person
			<i>Jñānaśrimitra</i>		Person
			<i>Kaśmīr</i>		Place
			<i>Kṛṣṇasamayavajra</i>		Person
			<i>Kumārajīva</i>		Author
			<i>Kumaraśrībhadra</i>		Person
		<i>The Great Discourse on the Perfection of Wisdom</i>	<i>Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra</i>		Text
		Great Vehicle	<i>Mahāyāna</i>		Doxographical Category
		<i>Ornament for the Discourses of the Great Vehicle</i>	<i>Mahāyānasūtra- ālaṃkāra</i>		Text
			<i>Maitreya</i>	ca. 350	Person
			<i>Maitreyaṇātha</i>		Person
			<i>Nāgārjuna</i>		Person
			<i>Nālandā</i>		Place
			<i>Padmaruci</i>		Person
			<i>Pāla</i>	750-1150 CE	Dynasty

		five fields of knowledge	<i>pañcavidyā</i>		Term
			<i>Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā</i>		Text
		scholar	<i>pañḍita</i>		Term
			<i>Prajñākaramati</i>		Person
		Perfection of Wisdom	<i>Prajñāpāramitā</i>		Doxographical Category
		<i>The Perfection of Wisdom Discourse</i>	<i>Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra</i>		Text
		<i>Lamp of the Condensed Meaning of the Perfection of Wisdom</i>	<i>Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārthapradīpa</i>		Text
			<i>Prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra-abhisamayālamkāra-vṛttiḥ sphuṭārthā-ācāryaharibhadra-viracitā</i>		Editor
		<i>Commentary on Valid Cognition</i>	<i>Pramāṇavārttika</i>		Text
			<i>Rāmaśaṅkara Tripāṭhī</i>		Editor
			<i>Ratnākaraśānti</i>		Person
			<i>Ratnakīrti</i>		Person
			<i>Śaṃskṛta-rūpāntarakāraḥ sampādakaś-ca-sāranāthah</i>		Publisher
		<i>The Discourse which Unravels the Intention</i>	<i>Sandhinirmocana-sūtra</i>		Text
			<i>Śāntibhadra</i>		Person
			<i>Śāntipa</i>		Author
		<i>Quintessence</i>	<i>Sārottamā</i>		Text
		<i>The Hundred Verse Perfection of Wisdom Discourse</i>	<i>Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra</i>		Text
			<i>śloka</i>		Term
			<i>Smṛtijñānakīrti</i>		Author
			<i>Somapuri</i>		Monastery
			<i>Śraddhākaravarman</i>		Person
			<i>Śrī Subhūtiśānti</i>		Translator
			<i>Subhāṣita</i>		Person
			<i>Subhūti Śrīśānti</i>		Person
			<i>Subhūtiśānti</i>		Translator
		<i>Purity</i>	<i>Śuddhamatī</i>		Text
			<i>Sumatikīrti</i>		Translator

		<i>The Discourse on the Heroic Mental Stabilization</i>	<i>Śūramgama-samādhi-sūtra</i>		Text
			<i>Surendrabodhi</i>		Person
		discourse	<i>sūtra</i>		Term
			<i>Tathāgathagarbha</i>		Doxographical Category
		Three Baskets	<i>Tripitaka</i>		Title collection
			<i>Tuṣita</i>		Place
		master of the thunderbolt	<i>vajrācārya</i>		Term
			<i>Vajrāsana</i>		Place
			<i>Vasubandhu</i>		Person
			<i>Vidyākara</i> <i>prabha</i>		Person
			<i>Vidyākara</i> <i>siṃha</i>		Translator
			<i>Vikrama</i> <i>śīlā</i>		Monastery
			<i>Yogācāra</i>		Doxographical Category
Chinese					
Wylie	Phonetics	English	Chinese	Dates	Type
			<i>Beijing</i>		Publication Place
			<i>Chengdu</i>		Publication Place
		<i>Collection of Records Concerning the Translation of the Three Storehouses</i>	<i>Chu san zang ji ji</i>		Text
		<i>Great Treatise on the Perfection of Wisdom</i>	<i>Da zhi du lun</i>		Text
			<i>Sengyou</i>	ca. 515	Author
			<i>Sichuan min zu chu ban she</i>		Publisher
			<i>Taisho</i>		Place
			<i>Zhongguo Zang xue yan jiu zhong xin</i>		Organization

Bibliography

Principle Indian Sources

Abhayākara Gupta. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-vṛtti-imarmakaudmudī*.

Abhayākara Gupta and Shes rab dpal, trans. *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa'i 'grel pa gnad kyi zla ba'i 'od ces bya ba*. Pk 5202, vol. 92.

———. *Munimatālaṃkāra*.

Abhayākara Gupta and Blo gros brtan pa, trans. *Thub pa'i dgongs pa'i rgyan*. Pk 5299, vol. 101.

Abhisamayālaṃkāra [*Abhisamayālaṃkāra-prajñāpāramitopadeśa-śāstra-kārikā*].

Conze, Edward, trans. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra: Introduction and Translation from Original Text with Sanskrit-Tibetan Index*. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1954.

Go mi 'chi med and Blo ldan shes rab, trans. *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan zhes bya ba'i tshig le'ur bya pa*. Pk 5184, Volume 88.

Stcherbatsky, Theodor, and Eugene Obermiller, eds. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. Bibliotheca Buddhica, XXIII, fasc. 1. 1st ed. Leningrad, 1929. Reprint, 2nd ed. Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1992.

Ārya Vimuktisena. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛtti*.

Ārya Vimuktisena, Maitreya-nātha, and Haribhadra. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra with Vṛtti and Ālokā*. Translated by Gareth Sparham. Fremont, Calif.: Jain Pub, 2006.

Go mi 'chi med and Blo ldan shes rab, trans. *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa*. Pk 5185, vol. 88.

Pensa, Corrado, ed. *L'Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti di Ārya-Vimuktisena. Primo Abhisamaya. Testo e note critiche*. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1967.

Bhadanta Vimuktisena. *Abhisamayālaṃkāravārttika*.

Śāntibhadra and Shākya 'od, trans. *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i rnam par 'grel pa*. Pk 5186, Volume 88.

Buddhaśrījñāna. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-bhagavatī-prajñāpāramitopadeśa-śāstra-vṛtti-prajñāpradīpāvalī*.

Buddhaśrījñāna and Gnubs byams pa'i dpal, trans. *Bcom ldan 'das ma shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par*

rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa shes rab sgron ma'i phreng ba. Pk 5198, vol. 91.

———. *Saṅcayagāthā-pañjikā.*

Vidyākaraśiṃha and Dpal brtsegs, trans. *Sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa'i dka' 'grel.* Pk 5196, vol. 91.

Dharmakīrtiśrī. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-durbodhālokā.*

Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna and Rin chen bzang po, trans. *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa rtogs par dka' ba'i snang ba shes bya ba'i 'grel bshad.* Pk 5192, vol. 91.

Dharmamitra. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-prasphuṭapadā.*

Abhiyuktaka Tāraśrīmitra and Chos kyi shes rab, trans. *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'gral bshad tshig rab tu gsal ba zhes bya ba.* Pk 5194, vol. 91.

Dharmaśrī. *Prajñāpāramitākośatāla.*

Dharmaśrī and Ba reg thos pa dga', trans. *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i mdzod kyi lde mig ces bya ba.* Pk 5204, vol. 92.

———. *Śatasāhasrikā-vyākhyā-nāma.*

Dharmaśrī and Ba reg thos pa dga', trans. *Stong phrag brgya pa'i rnam par bshad pa zhes bya ba.* Pk 5203, vol. 92.

Ghosha, P., ed. *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra.* Bibli. Ind. 1, nos. 146-48. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1902-13. Contains only chapters 1-12. Pk 730, Vols. 12-18 (complete).

Haribhadra. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ālokā Prajñāpāramitā-vyākhyā.*

Ārya Vimuktisena, Maitreya-nātha, and Haribhadra. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra with Vṛtti and Ālokā.* Translated by Gareth Sparham. Fremont, Calif.: Jain Pub, 2006.

Keira, Ryusei, and Noboru Ueda eds. *Sanskrit Word-Index to the Abhisamayālaṃkāra-ālokā Prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā.* Unrai Wogihara edition. Sankibo Press, Tokyo, 1998.

Tucci, Giuseppe, ed. *The Commentaries on the Prajñāpāramitās.* Gaekwad's Oriental Series 62. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1932.

Wogihara, Unrai, ed. *The Work of Haribhadra.* Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1932-1935.

———. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-śāstra-vivṛti.*

Hirofusa Amano, ed. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-śāstra-vivṛti: Haribhadra's Commentary on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra-kārikā-śāstra*. Edited for the First Time from a Sanskrit Manuscript. Kyoto, Heirakuji-shoten, 2000.

Rāmaśaṅkara Tripāṭhī, ed. *Prajñāpāramitopadeśaśāstra Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛttiḥ Sphuṭārthā Ācāryaharibhadraviracitā. Saṃskṛtarūpāntarakāraḥ Sampādakaś Ca Sāranāthah: Kendriya-Tibbati-ucca-Siksha-Samsthanam*, 1977.

Vidyākaraṇaprabha and Dpal brtsegs, trans. *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa*. Pk 5191, Volume 90.

———. *Bhagavad-ratnaguṇa-saṅcayagāthā-nāma-pañjikā*.

Vidyākaraśiṃha and Dpal brtsegs, trans. *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa sdud pa tshigs su bcad pa*. Pk 5190, vol. 90.

———, revis. *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*.

Conze, Edward, ed. *The Large Sutra on Perfect Wisdom, with the Divisions of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975.

———, and N. Dutt, eds. *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. Ann Arbor, Mich: University Microfilms. Calcutta: Calcutta Oriental Series No. 28, 1934.

Śāntibhadra and Tshul khrims rgyal ba, trans. *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa*. Pk 5188, vol. 88.

Kumaraśrībhadra. *Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha*.

Kumaraśrībhadra and Bkra shis rgyal mtshan, trans. *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdus pa zhes bya ba*. Pk 5195, vol. 91.

Mar me mdzad ye shes (Dipaṃkaraśrījñāna) and Tshul khrims rgyal ba. *Prajñāpāramitā-piṇḍārtha-pradīpa*.

Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i don bsdus sgron ma. Pk 5201, vol. 92.

Prajñākaramati. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛtti-piṇḍārtha*.

Sumatikīrti and Blo ldan shes rab, trans. *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa'i bsdus don*. Pk 5193, vol. 91.

Ratnākaraśānti. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-śuddhamatī*.

Śrī Subhūtiśānti, Shākya blo gros, and Dge ba'i blo gros, trans. *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa dag ldan shes bya ba*. Revised by Śāntibhadra and Lha btsas. Pk 5199, Volume. 91.

———. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-pañjikāsāratamā*.

Jaini, P. S., ed. *Sāratamā: A Pañjikā on the Aṣṭasāhasrikā by Ācārya Ratnākaraśānti*. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series, 18. Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1979.

Subhūtiśānti and Shākya blo gros, trans. Pk 5200, vol. 92.

Ratnakīrti. *Abhisamayālaṃkāra-vṛtti-kīrtikalā*.

Ratnakīrti and La chings yon tan 'bar, trans. *Mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi 'grel pa grags pa'i cha zhes bya ba*. Pk 5197, vol. 91.

Śāntipa. *Abhisamayālaṅkāra-kārikā-vṛtti-suddhamatī*.

Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan gyi tshig le'ur byas pa'i 'grel pa dag par ldan pa. Pk 5199, vol. 91.

Smṛtijñānakīrti. *Śatasāhasrikā-pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikāṣṭādaśa-sāhasrikātraya-samānārthāṣṭābhisamayā-śāsanā*.

'Bum dang nyi khri lnga stong pa dang khri bgyad stong pa gsum don mthun par mngon rtogs bgyad du bstan pa. Pk 5187, vol. 88.

Śūraṃgamasamādhi-sūtra.

Lamotte (1965), and Webb (1998), trans. *The Concentration of Heroic Progress. An Early Mahāyāna Buddhist Scripture*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press in association with The Buddhist Society.

Principle Indigenous Tibetan Sources

A mchog rin po che blo bzang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho. "Introduction." In *Lo tsā ba chen po'i bsdus don bzhugs so* [Commentary on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra by Rnong Lotsaba Blo-ldan-śes-rab]; with an introduction by the 81st abbot of Shar-rtse Grva-tshan, 4th A-mchog Rinpoche Blo-bzan-mkhyen-rab-rgya-mtsho and David P. Jackson. Dharamsala, H.P.: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993.

Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri, dar ma rgyal mtshan (1227-1305). *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*. In *Gsung 'bum/ bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri*, volume 1, 96-257. Lha sa: Khams sprul bsod nams don grub, 2006.

———. *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig bzhugs so*, volume 51, 53-156. Chengdu: Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, 2007.

Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo [The Extensive Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary]. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1998.

Bu ston rin chen grub (1290-1364). *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bstan pa'i gsal byed chos kyi 'byun gnas gsun rab rin po che'i mdzod ces bya ba*.

Obermiller, Eugene, trans. *Chos 'byung* [History of Buddhism]. Heidelberg, 1931-1932. Reprint, Sri Satguru Publications, 1986.

———. *Bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag yid bzhin nor bu dbang gi rgyal po'i phreng ba*. In *Gsung 'bum* of Rin chen grub, volume 1a, 405-647. Lha sa: Zhol par khang, 2000.

———. *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtoqs pa'i rgyan ces bya ba'i 'grel pa'i rgya cher bshad pa lung gi sne ma*. *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*. Volume 18 (Tsha), New Delhi, 1971.

Dkon mchog 'jigs med dbang po (1728-91). *Bde bar gshegs pa'i bka'i dgongs 'grel bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog par du sgrub pa'i tshul las nye bar brtsams pa'i gtam yang dag par bnrjod pa dkar chag yid bshin nor bu'i phreng ba* (= *Co ne'i bstan 'gyur dkar chag*). In *Zhongguo Zang xue yan jiu zhong xin*, *Bstan 'gyur par ma khag gi dkar chag phyogs bsgrigs*, 641-1406 (2005).

Dpa' bo gtsug lag phreng ba. *Dam pa'i chos kyi 'khor lo bsgyur ba rnams kyi byung ba gsal bar byed pa mkhas pa'i dga' ston*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2006.

'Gos lo tsA ba gzhon nu dpal. *Deb ther sngon po*. 2 vols. Edited by Dung dkar blo bzang 'phrin las. Chengdu: Si khron mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1984.

Las chen kun dga' rgyal mtshan. *Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa bka' gdams chos 'byung gsal ba'i sgron ma* [Bka' gdams kyi rnam par thar pa Bka' gdams chos 'byun' Gsal ba'i sgron me: A Detailed Account of the Spread of the Kadampa Sect in Tibet]. Vols. 1 and 2. New Delhi: B. Jamyang Norbu, 1972.

Mchim nam mkha' grag pa (1210-1267/1285). *Jo bo rje pal ldan a ti sha'i rnam thar rgyas pa yong grags*. In *Bka' gdams gsung 'bum phyogs sgrig bzhugs so*, volume 48, 299-449. Chengdu: Sichuan min zu chu ban she, 2007.

Mkhas pa lde'u. *Rgya bod kyi chos 'byung rgyas pa*. Edited by Chab spel tshe brtan phun tshogs. Lha sa: Bod ljongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1987.

Ngag dbang nor bu (1968-). *Mi dbang pho lha ba'i gser bris bstan gyur srid zhi'i rgyan gcig gi dkar chag*. Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004.

Ngag dbang byams pa, phur bu (b. 1682, d. 1762). *Bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gsung par du bsgrubs pa'i dkar chag tshangs pa'i dbyangs* (= *Snar thang bstan 'gyur dkar chag*). In *Zhongguo Zang xue yan jiu zhong xin*, *Bstan 'gyur par ma khag gi dkar chag phyogs bsgrigs*, 317-637 (2005).

Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho (1617-1682). *Bstan bcos 'gyur ro cog gi dkar chag 'jig rten gsum gyi bde skyid pad tshal bzhad pa'i nyin byed* (= *Pe cin bstan 'gyur dkar chag*). In *Zhongguo Zang xue yan jiu zhong xin*, *Bstan 'gyur par ma khag gi dkar chag phyogs bsgrigs*, 1-316 (2005).

Rdo, R., editor. *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma: sgra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*. Pe cin: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2003.

Rngog blo ldan shes rab, “rNgog lo tsā ba (1059-1109).” In *Lo tsa ba chen po'i bsdus don: A Commentary on the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. Introduction by Blo bzang mkhyen rab rgya mtsho and Dr. David P. Jackson. Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993.

Rong ston shes bya kun rig (1367-1449). *Rong-ston on the Prajñāpāramitā Philosophy of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra: His Sub-commentary on Haribhadra's 'Sphuṭārthā'*. Edited by David P. Jackson in collaboration with Shunzo Onoda. Kyoto: 1988.

Tāranātha (Jo nang pa; b. 1575). *Rgya gar chos 'byung*.

Lama Chimpa and A. Chattopadhyaya, trans. *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India*. Edited by D. Chattopadhyaya. Simla, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1970.

Tshe dbang rgyal, Pad+ma skal bzang, and Mi gyur rdo rje. *Dam pa'i chos kyi byung ba'i legs bshad lho rong chos 'byung nam rta tshag chos 'byung shes rtsom pa'i yul ming du chags pa'i ngo mtshar shing dkon pa'i dpe khyad par can*. Lha sa: Bod ljongs bod yig dpe rnying dpe skrun khang, 1994.

Tsong kha pa blo bzang grags pa (1357-1419). *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag gi bstan bcos mngon par rtogs pa'i rgyan 'grel pa dang bcas pa'i rgya cher bshad pa legs bshad legs bshad gser phreng zhes bya ba bzhugs so* [Legs bshad gser phreng]. Lha sa: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986.

Sparham, Gareth, trans. *Golden Garland of Eloquence*. Fremont, Calif.: Jain Pub. Co, 2008.

Zhu chen tshul khriims rin chen (1697-1774). *Kun mkhyen nyi ma'i gnyen gyi bka' lung gi dgongs don rnam par 'grel ba'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 gdam ngo mtshar chu gter 'phel ba'i zla ba gsar pa*. Lha sa: Bod jongs mi dmangs dpe skrun khang, 1985.

Secondary Sources

Apple, James B. *Stairway to Nirvāṇa: A Study of the Twenty Saṃghas Based on the Works of Tsong Kha Pa*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008.

Atisa and Richard Sherburne. *A Lamp for the Path and Commentary of Atisa*. The Wisdom of Tibet Series 5. London; Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1983.

- Chattopadhyaya, Alaka, and Lama Chimpa. *Atiśa and Tibet; Life and Works of Dīpaṃkara Śrījñāna in Relation to the History and Religion of Tibet*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981.
- Conze, Edward. *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*. 2nd ed. Tokyo: Reiyukai, 1978.
- Davidson, Ronald M. *Tibetan Renaissance: Tantric Buddhism in the Rebirth of Tibetan Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- De Jong, J. W. "Notes à propos des colophons du Kanjur." *Zentralasiatische Studien* 6 (1972): 505-560.
- Dotson, Brandon. "Divination and Law in the Tibetan Empire: The Role of Dice in the Legislation of Loans, Interest, Marital Law and Troop Conscription." In *Contributions to the Cultural History of Early Tibet*, ed. Matthew T. Kapstein and Brandon Dotson, 3-78. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007.
- Dotson, Brandon. "'Emperor' Mu rug btsan and the 'Phang thang ma Catalogue." *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, no. 3 (December 2007): 1-25. <http://www.thlib.org/tid=T3105>.
- Dramdul and Blo gros byung gnas. *Biography of Blo Ldan Ses Rab: The Unique Eye of the World*. Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie Und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 61. Beijing; Wien: China Tibetology Research Center; Arbeitskreis für tibetische und buddhistische Studien Universität Wien, 2004.
- Dreyfus, George. "Tibetan Scholastic Education and the Role of Soteriology." *JIAS* 20.1 (1997): 31-62.
- Gold, Jonathan C. *The Dharma's Gatekeepers: Sakya Pandita on Buddhist Scholarship in Tibet*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2007.
- Hakuji Ui, et al. *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, Tōhoku University, Tokyo, 1934.
- Halkias, Georgios. "Tibetan Buddhism Registered: A Catalogue from the Imperial Court of 'phang thang." *The Eastern Buddhist* 36, nos. 1-2 (2004): 46-105.
- Harrison, Paul. "A Brief History of the Tibetan bKa' 'gyur." In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*. Edited by Lhundup Sopa, José Ignacio Cabezón, and Roger R. Jackson, 70-94. Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996.
- Herrmann-Pfandt, A. *Die lhan kar ma: Ein früher katalog der ins tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen texte*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008.
- Jackson, David P. "rNgog Lo-tśā-ba's Commentary on the Ratnagotravibhāga." In *Theg chen rgyud bla ma'i don bsdus pa*, 1-31. Dharmasala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1993.
- Kapstein, Matthew. *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

- Kramer, Ralf, and Blo gros byung gnas. *The Great Tibetan Translator: Life and Works of Rngog Blo Ldan Shes Rab (1059-1109)*. *Collectanea Himalayica: Studies on the History and Culture of the Himalayas and Tibet* 1. München: Indus Verlag, 2007.
- Kumārajīva, Etienne Lamotte, and Sara Boin-Webb. *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra. The Concentration of Heroic Progress*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press in association with The Buddhist Society, 1998.
- Lalou, Marcelle. "Les Textes Bouddhiques au temps du Roi khri-sroñ-lde-bcan." *Journal Asiatique* 241 (1953): 313-53.
- Makransky, John J. *Buddhahood Embodied: Sources of Controversy in India and Tibet*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1997.
- Mejor, Marek. "On the Date of the Tibetan Translation of the Pramāṇsamuccaya and the Pramāṇavārttika." In *Studies in the Buddhist Epistemological Tradition*. Edited by Ernst Steinkellner. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1991.
- Nattier, Jan. *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations: Texts from the Eastern Han "Dong Han" and Three Kingdoms "San Guo" Periods*. Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica 10. Tokyo: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2008.
- Naudou, Jean. *Buddhists of Kaśmīr*. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1980.
- Obermiller, Eugene. *The Doctrine of the Prajñāpāramitā as Exposed in the Abhisamayālaṅkāra of Maitreya*. Acta Orientalia XI. Budapest, 1932.
- , trans. *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. Delhi, India: Sri Satguru Publications, 1986.
- Onoda, Shunzu. "Abbatial Successions of the Colleges of gSang phu sne'u thog Monastery." *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 15, no. 4 (1990): 1049-1071.
- Roerich, G., trans. *The Blue Annals*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976.
- Ruegg, David Seyfort, and Rin chen rnam rgyal. *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che, with the Tibetan Text of the Bu ston rnam thar*. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio et Estremo Oriente, 1966.
- Ruegg, David Seyfort. *La Théorie Du Tathāgatagarbha Et Du Gotra: Études Sur La Sotériologie Et La Gnoséologie Du Bouddhisme*. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1969.
- . *The Literature of the Madhyamaka School of Philosophy in India A History of Indian Literature*, vol. 7, fasc. 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981.

- . *Ordre Spirituel et Ordre Temporel Dans La Pensée Bouddhique De L'inde Et Du Tibet: Quatre Conférences Au Collège De France*. Paris: Dépositaire exclusif, Edition-Diuffusion de Bocard, 1995.
- . “The Preceptor-Donor (yon mchod) Relation in Thirteenth Century Tibetan Society and Polity, its Inner Asian Precursors and Indian Models.” In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*. Edited by Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner, and Helmut Tasser, 857-872. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997.
- . *Three Studies in the History of Indian and Tibetan Madhyamaka Philosophy*. Wiener Studien Zur Tibetologie Und Buddhismuskunde, Heft 50. Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2000.
- Sa skya paN+Di ta kun dga' rgyal mtshan, Jared Rhoton, and Victoria R. M. Scott. *A Clear Differentiation of the Three Codes: Essential Distinctions Among the Individual Liberation, Great Vehicle, and Tantric Systems: the Sdom Gsum Rab Dbye and Six Letters*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002.
- Schoening, Jeffrey D. “Sūtra Commentaries in Tibetan Translation.” In *Tibetan Literature: Studies in Genre*. Edited by Lhundup Sopa, José Ignacio Cabezón, and Roger R. Jackson, 111-124. Ithaca: Snow Lion, 1996.
- Shastri, Lobsang. “The Fire Dragon Chos 'khor (1076 AD).” In *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies*. Edited by Helmut Krasser, Michael Torsten Much, Ernst Steinkellner, Helmut Tasser, 873-882. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997.
- Skilling, Peter. “From bKa' bstan bcos to bKa' 'gyur and bsTan 'gyur.” In *Transmission of the Tibetan Canon: Papers Presented at a Panel of the 7th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Graz 1995*. Edited by Helmut Eimer, 87-111. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997.
- Sparham, Gareth. “Demons on the Mother: Objections to the Perfect Wisdom Sūtras in Tibet.” In *Changing Minds: Contributions to the Study of Buddhism and Tibet in Honor of Jeffrey Hopkins*. Edited by Guy Newland, 193-214. Ithaca: Snow Lion Publications, 2001.
- Stearns, Cyrus. *Luminous Lives: the Story of the Early Masters of the Lam 'bras Tradition in Tibet*. Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001.
- Szerb, János, editor. *Bu Ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet*, critically edited with a comprehensive index. Wien: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1990.

- Tucci, Giuseppe, and Lokesh Chandra. *Rin-Chen-Bzang-Po and the Renaissance of Buddhism in Tibet Around the Millenium*. English Version of Indo-Tibetica II. Sata-Pitaka Series 348. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1988.
- van der Kuijp, Leonard W. J. "The Monastery of Gsang-phu ne'u-thog and its Abbatial Succession from ca. 1073-1250." *Berliner Indologische Studies* 3 (1987): 103-127.
- . "Fourteenth Century Tibetan Cultural History IV: The Tshad ma'i byung tshul 'chad nyan gyi rgyan: A Tibetan History of Indian Buddhist Pramāṇavāda." *Festschrift Klaus Bruhn: zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*. Edited by N. Balbir and J. K. Bautze, 375-402. Reinbeck: Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1994.
- . "A Treastise on Buddhist Epistemology and Logic attributed to Klong Chen Rab 'Byam pa (1308-1364) and its place in Indo-Tibetan Intellectual History." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 31 (2003): 381-437.
- . "The Earliest Indian Reference to Muslims in a Buddhist Philosophical Text of circa 700." *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 34, no. 3 (2006): 169-202.
- Wangdu, Pasang, and Hildegard Diemberger. *dBa' Bzhed: The Royal Narrative Concerning the Bringing of the Buddha's Doctrine to Tibet*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2000.
- Watson, Craig Earl. "The Second Propagation of Buddhism from Eastern Tibet." *Central Asiatic Journal* 22, nos. 3-2 (1978): 263-285.
- Zhongguo Zang xue yan jiu zhong xin. Bka' bstan dpe sdur khang. *Bstan 'gyur par ma khag gi dkar chag phyogs bsgrigs*. Pe cin: Krun go'i bod rig pa dpe skrun khang, 2005.