

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

## On Sha-luo-pa (1259-1314)

--the Buddhist Translator of the  
Yuan Dynasty

Wang Qilong

Associate Professor, Tsinghua University

## 元代佛經譯師

### 沙囉巴

### (1259 ~ 1314) 考

王啟龍

清華大學副教授

李華 譯

**Abstract:** As early as in the 30's of the 20th century, Prof. Chen Yin-ke, one of the Four Great Tutors in Tsinghua University, had studied the important Buddhist script "Shes-bya Rab-tu-gsal" (the Chinese version translated from Tibetan original by Sha-luo-pa) by vPhags-pa (1235-1280). Of course vPhags-pa's masterpiece has been well-known within academia since then, but its Chinese Translator has been almost unknown to the academic world. Thus the humble piece of writing here aims to study and describe the life and great achievements of Sha-luo-pa (1259-1314), one of the few famous Buddhist Translators during the Yuan Dynasty.

**Key Words:** Sha-luo-pa Studies  
vPhags-pa  
*She-bya rab-tu gsal*

**摘要：**早在二〇世紀三〇年代，清華四大導師之一陳寅恪教授就曾專門研究過元朝帝師八思巴（一二三五～一二八〇）的名著《彰所知論》，此著漢譯本係沙囉巴譯自藏文。當然，八思巴這篇名著早為學術界熟知，但其漢譯者沙囉巴人們卻所知甚少。因此，拙文擬對元代為數不多的傑出翻譯家之一——沙囉巴（一二五九～一三一四）的生平事迹予以研究和描述。

**關鍵字：**沙囉巴 考述 八思巴  
《彰所知論》

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

The biographies of Sha-luo-pa (1259-1314), which are largely identical but with minor differences, have been recorded in different books or dictionaries,<sup>①</sup> which the *Foguang Buddhist Dictionary* sums up in the entry “sha-luo-pa” as follows :

*Buddhist translator during the early Yuan Dynasty, also named Sha-luo-pa. As the story goes, he came from Hexi (another story says he was from Jining of the Western Region). He had been shaved in his childhood to be a monk as a disciple of Hphags-pa (=vPhags-pa), the Imperial Preceptor of the early Yuan Dynasty, and had been taught various Abbisekas{zhubu guanding fa}. And then he followed Master rDo-rje {zhuolichi shangshi} to study Mahāyāna and Hinayāna{daxiao sheng}. After that, he was ordered again by vPhags-pa to learn Yamantaka{yanman dejia} from La Wenbu. He could narrate various powers of Buddha and was very good at Tibetan language and understood several other languages. At last he was recommended by the fifth Imperial Preceptor to Yuan Shizu(i.e. Kubilai Khan) and the latter ordered him to*

沙囉巴譯師傳，載於多種典籍，<sup>①</sup>均大同小異，台灣《佛光大辭典》「沙囉巴」條歸納如是：

元初譯經僧。又作沙囉巴。相傳為河西人（一說西域積寧人）。幼時從元初帝師八思巴（藏 Hphags-pa）剃髮，修習諸部灌頂法；復從著栗赤上師學習大小乘。更奉帝師命，從刺溫卜受焰曼德迦（梵文：Yamantaka）之法。通曉西藏語，能說諸妙法，兼解諸國文字。後蒙第五代帝師薦謁元世祖，敕命譯出中國未傳之顯密諸經，特賜「大辯廣智」之號。

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

*translate the various Buddhist sutras {xian mi zhu jing} which had not been known in Inner China and bestowed him the honorable title “Dabian Guangzhi” {which means “master of great eloquence and profound wisdom”}.*

*The Emperor Shizu then worried about the corruption of the hieratic ethos and morality. In order to check the most corrupted Jiangnan, he appointed Sha-luo-pa the Buddhist Governor in charge of Jiangzhe (Jiangsu and Zhejiang) {Jiangzhe deng chu Shijiao Du Zongtong}. Having arrived there, Master Sha-luo-pa quickly reduced exorbitant taxes and levies and appeased the monks in the temples. And then he was in charge of the District of Minyue (Fujian and Guangdong). Having realized that the ordinary monks were suffering from the heavy service to the too many hieratic officials, Sha-luo-pa asked the Emperor to dismiss all the Buddhist governors of the different districts {zhulu shijiao zongtong} and he himself retired to live in (his hometown) Longshan of Shanxi. At the age of 56 in October of the First Year of Yan-You (1314), he died calmly sitting before Buddha. The Buddhist scriptures he translated into Chinese which have been under well preservation include “Bhaiṣajyagu-ruvaidūryaprabhāśa*

世祖憂於當時僧風之寢弊，授師為江浙等處釋教都總統，以整頓弊害最甚之江南。師赴其地後，削減煩苛，安定僧寺。次統閩粵一帶，知教徒為官事冗煩所苦，乃奏罷諸路總統，自退於陝西隴山。延佑元年十月，面佛端坐而寂，享年五十有六。所譯佛典今存者有《藥師琉璃光王七佛本願功德經念誦儀軌》二卷，《藥師琉璃光王七佛本願功德念誦儀軌供養法》、《壞相金剛陀羅尼經》、《佛頂大白傘陀羅尼經》、《文殊菩薩最勝真實名義經》各一卷，八思巴之《彰所知論》二卷。②

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

*rājā sapta buddha pūrva prañidhāna-guṇa-sūtra-adhyāyana-kalpa*” {《Chinese: yaoshi liuliguang wang qifo benyuan gongdejing niansong yigui 》}, and vPhags-pa’s “Jñeya-prakāśa-sāstra” (《Tibetan: Shes-bya Rab-tu-gsal; Chinese: zhang suozhi lun 》) respectively in 2 volumes, and “Bhaiṣajyagu-ruvaidūryaprabhāsa rājā sapta buddha pūrva prañidhāna-guṇa-sūtra-adhyāyana-kalpa-pūjā-dharma” {《Chinese: yaoshi liuliguang wang qifo benyuan gongde niansong yigui gongyangfa 》}, “Samvartavājrasekha-dhāraṇī sūtra” {《Chinese: huaixiang jingang tuoluoni jing 》}, “Buddhoṣṇā mahāsitātapatra dhāraṇī” {《Chinese: foding dabaisangai tuoluonijing 》} and “Mañjuśrījñāna sattvasya-paramārtha nāma sumgīti” {《Chinese: wenshu pusa zuisheng zhenshi mingyijing 》} in one volume respectively. ②

But the quotation above fails to describe the whole life of Sha-luo-pa in detail, especially Sha-luo-pa’s birthplace, nationality and the main achievements have been completely ignored or simplified. And having based on the comparative studies of the Chinese and Tibetan historical sources, this paper here aims to de-

可是上引文所述並不全面，尤其是其出生地，族別及生平事迹等方面過於簡略或者不詳。本文擬參照諸種漢藏史料，對比分析，以便對沙囉巴一生有儘可能全面的瞭解。

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

scribe every aspect of his whole life in order to get a better understanding of the great translator.

**I. Sha-luo-pa's Hometown**

Sha-luo-pa was born in 1259, but his birthplace has been reported differently: Some say he was from Hexi, some say he was from Jining of the Western Region<sup>③</sup> and the others say he came from Qinzhou. ④ We can't find Jining in *The Historical Atlas of China* (i.e. HAC)<sup>⑤</sup> but Qinzhou of the then Shanxi Province attracts our attention because it was located in today's Tianshui City of Gansu Province, the meeting point of the longitude 105°7' east and the latitude 34°6' north. It stands on the west bank of the upper Weishui (Wei River, today's name is Weihe) and has Longzhou to the east, Gongchang Lu [its capital is in Longxi] to the west, Liupan Mountain [Tibetan :Lu-bavishin ] to the north and Bashu [in Sichuan] to the south. This fully tallies with the description in the preface of *Tianshui County Annals* (i.e.TCA):

*Tianshui, once the Qinzhou Zbilizhou,  
{a Zhou directly under the jurisdiction*

(一)沙囉巴的故鄉

沙囉巴生於一二五九年，其出生地說法不一，有說河西人，有說西域積寧人，<sup>③</sup>有說秦州人。<sup>④</sup>查譚其驤主編《中國歷史地圖集》，積寧一名無考，<sup>⑤</sup>而元時屬陝西行省的秦州，即今甘肅省天水市，約位於東經一〇五度七，北緯三十四度六交會處，屹立在渭水（今稱渭河）上游西岸，東可接隴州，西可接鞏昌路（鞏昌路府在隴西），北可靠六盤山，南可入巴蜀。這與《天水縣誌》卷首序文的描述十分吻合：

天水，清之秦州直隸州，古之上邽屬漢陽郡治也，扼隴

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

*of the Central Government} of the Qing Dynasty, was named Shanggui of Hanyang Jun in the ancient time. It dominates the strategic place of Longdi and stands by the clear water of Wei River. And it's the center of Guanzhong, from which, to the east you can go to Baofeng and down to Zhaoguang to the south screened by Bashu. To the west, you will enter Ganliang covering a vasty and boundless weald. It lies against Liupan (Mountain) in north and dominates the currents remotely. This is the so-called Ancient Qin (zhou) thoroughly of the land of country—the abstruse place in the world.... ⑥*

Besides, all the concerned sources record that Sha-uo-pa had retired to seclusion for the rest of his life by building a cottage and planting trees since he “asked the Emperor to dismiss all the Buddhist governors of the different districts”. As to his retreat place, *The General Recordation of Monks in the Past Dynasties* (i.e. Nian Chang) vol.36 says he “retreated to Longdi” ⑦ and the “Longdi” here must be the same place as the “Longdi” appearing in the above quotation from *TCA*.

坻之險，臨清渭之淵，東走寶鳳，縮轂關中，南下昭廣，屏藩巴屬(蜀)，西入甘涼，原野千里，北倚六盤，遙控洪流，所謂踵秦舊迹，表裏山河，天地之奧區也…… ⑥

再說史料中都說沙囉巴「奏罷諸路總統」之後，即隱退築室種樹意欲養老。至於隱退的地點，《佛祖歷代通載》說「遁迹壘坻」，⑦這裡的「壘坻」與上述引文中的「隴坻」無疑相合；《佛光大辭典》說沙囉巴「自退於陝西隴山」，陝西隴山，位於秦嶺以北，南北走向，北有六盤山，隴山以東有隴州(今陝西隴縣)，隴山以西有隴

(6)

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

*Hsing Yun* records that Sha-luo-pa “himself retired to live in Longshan of Shanxi “. The Longshan of Shanxi is a north-to-south mountain situated in the north of Qinling Ranges and it linked Liupan Mountain in the north. To the east of Longshan, there is a near neighbor Longzhou [today’s Longxian in Shanxi Province] and to the west is Longxi [now belongs to Gansu Province]. And Qinzhou was just in the south-east corner of Longshan and between the two Longs[i.e. Longzhou and Longxi] so as to “dominate the strategic place of Longdi”. In this way, we can firstly confirm that Sha-luo-pa’s hometown must be in Longshan between Gansu and Shanxi, perhaps just a place near Qinzhou(i.e. today’s Tianshui in Gansu province). And we’ll authenticate our conjecture by studying “Hexi” in the following.

*Hsing Yun* also records that Sha-luo-pa might be from Hexi. Generally speaking, Hexi refers to the corridor of North Western Kansu , the Hexi in broad sense, big Hexi which certainly includes Qinzhou. But here we want to consult another Hexi, i.e. the Hexi in narrow sense or the small Hexi which stands for

西(今甘肅隴西)；而秦州正好位於隴山西南隅，兩隴(隴州和隴西)之間，故有「扼隴坻之險」之說。這樣看來，我們初步可以確定沙囉巴的故鄉在位於今甘陝交界的隴山一帶，很有可能就是秦州(今甘肅天水)附近。對此我們可以再考「河西」一說予以補證。

《佛光大辭典》說沙囉巴相傳為河西人。一般來說，河西指今甘肅省河西走廊，這是廣義的河西，大河西，裡面自然包括秦州。但是，我們這裡還想考察一下狹義的表具體地點的小河西。

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

a concrete place. In *HAC* (vol. 7), we still can not find such a place named Hexi in Shanxi Province but one located to the south of Kunming in Yunnan Province, which is at the meeting point of the longitude 102°6' east and the latitude 24°2' north and evidently can be overlooked because it is really far away from the "Hexi" we want to find. However, we've really found a small place named Hexi in the southwest of Binxian County in today's Shanxi Province in *China Traffic Atlas*.<sup>⑧</sup> It is about at the meeting point of the longitude 107°8' east and the latitude 34°9' north. We do not know whether the small unknown place has been named Hexi since the Yuan Dynasty or even before and also its location is so far away from "Longshan" that it could never "dominate the strategic place of Longdi". In a word, it's not Sha-*luo-pa's* hometown where he was born. Then how can we understand the "Hexi" in narrow sense? In my opinion, it refers to the geographical location of Qinzhou: the west bank of Weishui (today's Weihe: Wei River)! In other words, the "Hexi" referring to Sha-*luo-pa's* hometown appearing in the historical sources

在《中國歷史地圖集》第七冊中我們依然無法在陝西行省找到這個地方，而只是在雲南行省找到一個「河西」，地處昆明以南，約位於東經一〇二度六，北緯二十四度二交會處；顯而易見，元朝時雲南行省的這個河西與我們所期望找到的河西真正「相去甚遠」，完全可以把它忽略。再查今版地圖，我們從《中國交通圖冊》<sup>⑧</sup>陝西省轄區彬縣西南面與甘肅相鄰處果然找到了一個叫河西的小地方，在約位於東經一〇七度八，北緯三十四度九交會處。我們不知道這個河西是否是打元朝起就叫河西的一個名不見經傳的小地方，總而言之，它的地理位置與隴山依然相去甚遠，根本沒有「扼隴坻之險」的要衝地位，因此很難算是沙囉巴的故鄉。那麼怎麼解釋這個狹義的河西呢？我們認為這是指秦州的地理位置：渭水（今渭河）之西！也就是說，史籍中所



### *On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

has two meanings: If in a broad sense it indicates the world-famous Corridor of North Western Kansu which of course includes Qinzhou; and if in a narrow sense, it indicates west bank of Weishui, i.e. today's Weihe (Wei River). And if we venture to suppose "Jining" is a small place near Qinzhou of the Yuan dynasty, Sha-luo-pa's hometown might be a small place named "Jining" near Qinzhou on the west bank of Weishui. But this is a supposition for reference only.

說沙囉巴故鄉河西有兩種解釋：若是廣義的話，則指含秦州在內的聞名於世的河西走廊；若是狹義的話，也未嘗不是指渭水（河）之西。如果我們斗膽假設積寧就是元朝秦州附近的某個小地方的話，就可以得出這樣的推論，沙囉巴可能出生於隴山西南渭水西岸秦州附近的積寧地方。不過這只是一種推論，謹供參考。

## II. Sha-luo-pa's Nationality

As to Sha-luo-pa's nationality, there is no records in the historical sources and it still unknown to us up to the present. If we want to know his nationality, we'd better firstly read a moving writing on a send-off titled "Ode to Master of Wisdom, the Buddhist Governor's Going back to South" in *The Corpora by Mr. Wang Qiuqian* (i.e. Wang Yun), which is really endowed with literary grace:

*The Great Master, Buddhist Gover-*

## (二)沙囉巴的族別

沙囉巴譯師的族別，史載不詳，至今無考。要想知道他的族別，我們不妨先讀讀《秋澗先生大全文集》(下文簡稱《秋澗全集》)中一篇頗富文采，場面感人的送行之作，題曰〈送總統佛智師南還〉：

釋教總統佛智大師積寧氏名

## Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12

*nor of Wisdom from Jining family is named Sha-luo-pa meaning Jixiang Hui in Chinese language. He is a Xifan, whose grandfather Xiangjia Qiluo and father Shaluo Guanyi are both xiangxu. His family has been in charge of translating the Buddhist scriptures for eight generations until him. The Master has been a disciple of the Imperial Preceptor vPhags-pa for a long time and was known in the court of former emperor (Shizu). He has been an old friend of mine who is very good at Buddhist literature and also likes to read Confucianism and enjoys folk music. In the first year of Yuanzhen (1295), he was chosen by the emperor Chengzong to be the Buddhist Governor of Jiangzhe (Jiangsu and Zhejiang). In the following year, he led all the presbyters to his temple to be waited upon. All are talking and joshing.... And in order to send him off for the south the local people try to amuse him by playing the game "yandi'er" on the stage. We are proud of competing in a game to write a send-off ode to his leaving for the south, and here is mine:*

*It's not easy to meet with such a respected monk to be a friend,*

*Although sometimes the temples and zen couch are the same.*

沙囉巴，華言為吉祥慧也。西番人，祖相嘉屹羅，父沙囉觀以象胥，主譯諸經至師八世矣。師早侍帝師發思巴，受知先朝，精詳內典，又喜儒書樂興，吾厲遊。元貞初，選師為江浙總統。明年，率諸山長老入觀獲侍，清燕啟沃，一言煦燠，……江東父老演牒行臺趣師南還，將行，以贈言為榮，因賦是詩以送：

白足毘耶不易逢，

鬢絲禪榻偶相同，

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

*In the boundless world from of old,*

經未震旦三千界，

*He is the best one being accomplished in  
power of Buddha.*

人在天龍八部中；

*The send-off boats full of wine are float-  
ing on Beihai,*

滿送酒船浮北海，

*Everyone are burning joss sticks to wish  
him a bon voyage to the south.*

細薰香霧供南豐，

*The local people want to boil the tide to  
contact the sea*

江東父老催飛錫，

*And quickly send him to reside anew  
safely! ⑨*

要沸潮音與海通。⑨

This prose poem full of life tincture and romantic tinge was written on a send-off ceremonial named “yandie xingtai”(play the game “yandier” on the stage)for Sha-luo-pa in 1296, the following year after he was chosen by the emperor to be the Buddhist Governor of Jiangzhe in the first year of Yuanzhen(1295). From this prose poem, we can realize not only the hard-to-part and profound affection between the two close friends—the author Wang Qiujian and the Buddhist translator Sha-luo-pa but also the author’s high admiration for Sha-luo-pa’s profound accomplishments in Buddhism. In the mean time we can

這首富有生活情調和浪漫氣息的送行詩文，是在元貞初（一二九五）沙囉巴被選為江浙總統，次年（一二九六）江東父老舉行的一種特別的稱之為「演牒行臺」的送行儀式上的贈言之作。從詩中我們可以體味到作者與沙囉巴譯師兩位至交好友之間惜別依依、情濃似酒的情懷，看出作者對沙囉巴譯師深邃的佛學造詣的高度讚賞；同時，從詩本身我們領略了秋澗老人那天馬行空而又細膩如微的詩情與文才。當然，這些是

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

appreciate the respected elder Qiujian's powerful and unconstrained style and the delicate poetics and literary talent in his writing! Of course all this will be of much more concern to the litterateurs; and here we have to pay more attention to the several sentences at the beginning of "Ode to Master of Wisdom, the Buddhist Governor's Going back to South" because it has pointed out the following facts:

First, the words "sha-*luo-pa*, huayan Jixiang Hui ye"(Sha-*luo-pa* meaning Jixiang Hui in Chinese language) definitely tells us the name "Sha-*luo-ap*" is not the Chinese original but a transliteration from some other particular language which is most likely the Tibetan language because "shes rab pa"(a man of wisdom) in Tibetan just means "Jixiang Hui"(luckiness and wisdom) in the Chinese language! Besides, both his grandfather's name "Xiangjia Qiluo" and his father's name "Shaluo Guanyi" are not the Chinese original but more likely the transliteration from Tibetan: "sangs rgyas grags" and "shes rab mgon (yig)".

Second, it clearly states that Sha-

文學家們更加關心的事情。這裡值得注意的是〈送總統佛智師南還〉的起首數句，它為我們點明了幾個事實：

首先，「沙囉巴，華言為吉祥慧也」一句表明，沙囉巴這個名字不是漢語，而是從某種特別的語言，極有可能是從藏語音譯而來，藏語的 shes rab pa 由正好有「吉祥慧」之義；同樣沙囉巴祖名相嘉屹羅和父名沙羅觀以顯然也不像是漢語，而更像藏語音譯，對音分別是 sangs rgyas grags 和 shes rab mgon。

其次，明確說明沙囉巴姓積

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

luo-pa is “from Jining” and “is a Xifan”. The “Jining” here still refers to a place, as we know, places with a name identical to the local people’s family name can be found everywhere. In Chinese language, sometimes the people’s family name originated from the place name, and sometimes vice versa, e.g. “Zhao Zhuang”, “Wang Cun”, and “Majia Tun”, etc. It is also true to Sha-luo-pa’s situation: *Nian Chang* carries such a story: “The local people of Hexi respected his moral quality so much that they never dared not call him by his given name but the family name, and even call his disciples the juniors from Jining Reverend.”<sup>⑩</sup> Such a form of address, clearly holds the family in high esteem! As to “xifan”, there are two meanings: One refers to the Tibetan district including not only today’s Tibet itself but also the Tibetan district in Gansu, Qinghai and Sichuan and it has been a different name for Tufan or Tubo since Song Dynasty.<sup>⑪</sup> The other refers to the nationality minorities (including Tibetan) in Gansu and Qinghai. And according to the historical materials concerned about Sha-luo-pa’s family “xifan” here must indicate

寧氏，西番人。這裡的積寧，我們依然堅持它是一個地方，地名與該地居住者姓氏同者比比皆是，要麼是人隨地而名，要麼是地隨人得名，比如「趙莊」、「王村」、「馬家屯」等等之類。《佛祖歷代通載》就說：「河西之人，尊其道而不改名，止稱其氏，至呼其子弟皆曰此積寧法師家。」<sup>⑩</sup>如是稱呼，明明是表示尊敬。至於「西番」(又作西蕃)，有兩指：第一指地名，自宋以來，係吐蕃異稱，不但包括今天的西藏，也包括甘肅、青海、四川等地的藏族地區。<sup>⑪</sup>第二指甘青地區的少數民族(含藏族)。結合上述有關沙囉巴的家世史料，其族別很有可能是藏族。

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

Sha-*luo-pa*'s nationality--Tibetan people.

Last, Wang Qiujian also points out in his prose poem that Sha-*luo-pa*'s family has been an old and well-known family of Buddhist translation "for eight generations" and calls both Sha-*luo-pa*'s grandfather Xiangjia Qiluo [sangs rgyas grags] and his father Sha-*luo* Guan-yi [sher rab mgon <yig>] "xiangxu" [translator].<sup>⑩</sup> This definitely tells us Sha-*luo-pa*'s family has been in charge of Buddhist translation to make a living for generations. Sha-*luo-pa* himself had begun his career as an interpreter or translator early in his youth: When the Emperor Shizu was taught Buddhism by the Imperial Preceptor vPhags-pa, he took up the post of interpreting. And he "had been bestowed the honorable Dabian Guangzhi Fashi (Buddhist master of great eloquence and profound wisdom) by the Emperor because he translated the Buddhist sutra "so correctly, clearly and concisely that the Emperor was very pleased".<sup>⑪</sup> We can imagine that one who could be the interpreter or translator between the Emperor Shizu and the Imperial Preceptor could never be a person of other

最後，王秋澗之文還說明了沙囉巴係譯經世家，「至師八世矣」，稱沙囉巴祖相嘉屹羅 (sangs rgyas grags)、父沙囉觀以 (sher rab mgon <yig>) 象胥。這裡明確地表明瞭沙囉巴世代為生之職業：「象胥」(即譯員)。<sup>⑫</sup> 沙囉巴本人很早就從事了譯經工作。世祖皇帝受教於帝師八思巴，也由他任過翻譯，由於他譯經「辭致明辨允愜聖衷」而受世祖「詔賜大辯廣智法師」。<sup>⑬</sup> 可以想像，能充當世祖與帝師之間翻譯的只能是「善吐蕃音」等諸語言的藏人或蒙古人，不可能是其他民族。而從有關沙囉巴的現有材料來看，只能說他是藏人。雖然當時的秦州肯定有蒙古人，但至此時為止就已數代世居於此的蒙古人幾乎是沒有的，我們知道，秦州曾屬吐蕃轄地，<sup>⑭</sup> 而蒙古族是

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

nationality but a Tibetan or Mongolian who “was good at Tibetan language”. Judging by the existing historical materials at hand, Sha-luo-pa must be a Tibetan. Of course at his time, certainly some Mongolians lived in his hometown Qinzhou, but no one Mongolian family had lived there for generations like Sha-luo-pa’s family, because Mongolians had newly ridden to the district from the north, holding weapons in their hands. But on the contrary, Qinzhou had been subordinate to Tubo (Tibet) for quite a long time and many Tibetans had lived there since Tang Dynasty.<sup>⑭</sup>

*Rgya-bod Yig-tshang* records like this: “In the ancient time while Tubo governed by the Zanpu (Tibetan king), many Tibetan troops had been to Wutai Mountain during the period of the Emperor Daizong in Tang Dynasty and then leave many army men called bkav-malog to garrison the place bhu-ding-hu.”<sup>⑮</sup> This record refers to the historical fact that Tibetan troops had taken China’s capital Chang’an by storm for more than ten days in October of the first year of Guangde (763) of Emperor Daizong (Li Yu) in Tang Dynasty. Daizong had to es-

騎馬操戈自北而南來的他鄉之客。

《漢藏史集》載，「先前吐蕃有王統治時，在唐代宗皇帝時期，許多吐蕃軍隊曾到達五台山，在湖定府地方留下了許多稱為噶瑪洛的軍隊駐守。」<sup>⑮</sup>這裡所說的吐蕃軍隊到過五台山，是指唐代宗(李豫)廣德元年(七六三)十月吐蕃曾攻佔長安十餘日，代宗逃奔陝州，吐蕃軍立廣武王承宏為帝，旋即退出。十二月代宗返長安。五台山係吐蕃軍攻長安

### ***Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12***

cape to Shanzhou while Guangwu Wang Chenghong was put on the throne by the Tibetans. And after the Tibetan troops retreated, the Emperor Daizong returned to Chang'an again in December of the same year. Wutai Mountain was the farthest place the Tibetan troops had entered but not occupied. As to bkav-ma-log tribe, there has been such a legend among the Tibetan tribes in Gansu and Qinghai that their forefathers were originally dispatched there in garrison by the Tibetan king and never return to Tibet because they did not receive such an order, that's why they were called bkav-ma-log (the ones who did not receive the order to retreat). Maybe Sha-luo-pa was, just like Sang-ge<sup>⑩</sup>, one of the descendents of the Tibetans who had already lived there for generations!

### **III. The Brief Story of Sha-luo-pa's Life**

In 1259, Sha-luo-pa was born in a small place named Jining near Qnizhou (Today's Tianshui) on the west bank of Wei River and in the southwest corner of Longshan. He was a Tibetan who might be a descendent of the bkav-ma-log tribe.

期間東進最遠處，但並未攻佔。關於噶瑪洛部落，據甘、青某些藏族部落傳說，其祖先係吐蕃王朝贊普派駐甘青一帶，未接到返回命令而留下定居的戍邊將士，被稱為噶瑪洛部落。大概像沙囉巴這樣世居甘青一帶的藏族，可能就是噶瑪洛部落的後裔，同桑哥一樣。<sup>⑩</sup>

### **(三) 沙囉巴生平述略**

一二五九年，沙囉巴譯師出生於隴山西南隅渭水河西岸秦州（今天水市）附近的積寧地方，可能是噶瑪洛部落的後裔，藏族。沙囉巴家庭係譯經世家，「祖相嘉



*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

Sha-luo-pa's family was an old and well-known family of Buddhist translators." His grandfather Xiangjia Qiluo[sangs rgyas grags] and father Shaluo Guanyi [shes rab mgon (yig)] are both xiangxu. His family has been in charge of translating the Buddhist scriptures for eight generations until him." ⑩ There were four brothers in his family; he was the youngest one.

When Sha-luo-pa was born, vPhags-pa was 25 years old and had already followed Khubilai Khan. In November of the same year, vPhags-pa accompanied Khubilai Khan to Beijing and stayed there until the summer of 1264 when he planned to leave for Saskya for the first time. Thus Sha-luo-pa could not meet with vPhags-pa and Phyag-na-rdo-rje before 1264 when he was 5 years old.

In 1264, Sha-luo-pa was 5 years old. In the summer of the same year, vPhags-pa Guoshi(State Preceptor) and his younger brother Pavi-lendbang Phyag-na-rdo-rje were ordered by Khubilai Khan to leave Beijing for Saskya to accomplish Tibetan administrative organization. They took no more than one year to

屹羅、父沙羅觀以象胥，主譯諸經至師八世矣，師早侍」。⑪沙囉巴兄弟四人，其為幼弟。

沙囉巴出生時，八思巴二十五歲，已隨侍忽必烈，並於當年十一月抵達北京，此後在京一直待到一二六四年夏離京初返薩迦時止。因此，從一二五九年到一二六四年間，即沙囉巴五歲以前是不可能與八思巴和恰那多吉相識的。

一二六四年，沙囉巴五歲。是年夏，八思巴國師和其弟白蘭王恰那多吉受忽必烈之命離京啟程，返赴薩迦，去完成西藏行政建制的任務。他們用了不到一年的時間即於一二六五年藏曆新年

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

arrive at Saskya Temple in the Tibetan new year of 1265. On the way back to Saskya, vPhags-pa could have the chance to receive the juvenile Sha-luo-pa who was then about 6 years old to be his disciple when they passed Qinzhou in the district of mdo-smad. That's why there is such a record in the historical sources that Sha-luo-pa "had been shaved in his childhood to be a monk as a disciple of vPhags-pa and had been taught various Abhisekas ".<sup>⑱</sup>

Then vPhags-pa led him to Saskya with him. And in Saskya from 1265 to July 1267 when Phyag-na-rdo-rjepassed away, Sha-luo-pa followed Master rDo-rje [i.e. vPhags-pa's younger brother Phyag-na-rdo-rje] to study Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and other sutras, Tibetan letters as well and got the secret essentials from him. <sup>⑲</sup> Phyag-na-rdo-rje was also a great master of profound knowledge. "At 6 years old, he followed Buddhist Master Saskya Pandita to the Mongolian district (Liangzhou). In his childhood, he began to learn Tibetan letters. He was initiated by the uncle and nephew, i.e. Saskya Pandita and vPhags-pa to be a monk (guanding)

之際抵達了薩迦寺。也就是在這次返回薩迦的途中，八思巴才有可能在朵思麻地區的秦州收下了大約六歲的藏族少年沙囉巴為徒，故有史載，說他「總卅之歲，依帝師發思巴剃染為僧，學諸部灌頂之法」。<sup>⑱</sup>

隨後，八思巴把他帶到了薩迦。大約從一二六五年至一二六七年七月恰那多吉逝世前為止，他又從著栗赤(即 rdo-rje，指八思巴之弟恰那多吉)上師學大小乘等佛法，善吐蕃文字，頗得秘密之要。<sup>⑲</sup>恰那多吉也是一位學識淵博的大師，他「於六歲時隨法主薩迦班智達前往蒙古地方。他幼年時即會拼讀藏文，由法主伯侄(即薩班和八思巴)為其灌頂，並講授了許多教誡，故精通佛教的密法及其經典。」<sup>⑳</sup>在涼州期間又

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

and learned many Buddhist teachings from them so that he was accomplished in Buddhist Tantras and many other sutras.”<sup>⑩</sup> During the time at Liangzhou, Go-dan[Kuo Duan] had particularly arranged Phyag-na-rdo-rje to study Mongolian language and wear Mongolian costume and then marry a Mongolian princess and so on. So we are convinced that Sha-luo-pa had not only learned Buddhism but also Mongolian language from Phyag-na-rdo-rje. In the mean time Sha-luo-pa must have strengthened his Tibetan language under the instructions of Phyag-na-rdo-rje.

Sha-luo-pa was certainly brought to Beijing when vPhags-pa went back there in 1269. That is to say, Sha-luo-pa had begun his life of learning Buddhism in the capital when he was 11 in 1269. Only in this way could he have a chance to be recommended by vPhags-pa to La Wenbu to study Yamantaka [Yanman Dejia] and received the secret essentials from him.<sup>⑪</sup> Because Sha-luo-pa was young and clever, he had learned Buddhism successively from vPhags-pa, rDo-rje(i.e. Phyag-na-rdo-rje), La Wenbu and had made progress so

在闊端的精心安排下，習蒙古語、著蒙古裝、娶蒙古公主等等。可以相信，沙囉巴從他那裏不但學到一些佛法，而且還學會了蒙古語並加強了吐蕃語文的水平。

一二六九年，八思巴從薩迦返回北京時一定帶回了沙囉巴。也就是說，從一二六九年，十一歲的沙囉巴就開始在京城生活和學經。唯有如此，他才有機會得到八思巴的推薦向刺溫卜學習焰曼德迦(Yamantaka)密法，並得其要。<sup>⑫</sup>由於沙囉巴幼而聰慧，又先後得八思巴、著栗赤(恰那多吉)、刺溫卜等人之教，進步頗快，故而不但善吐蕃音，說諸妙

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

quickly that he could not only explain various Buddhist sutras but also be good at Tibetan and many other languages and scripts. Because he was so talented and erudite he could be the interpreter when vPhags-pa taught the Emperor Shizu Buddhism during the period of time from 1269 to the May of 1271. And therefore he was respected very much by the people of his hometown:

*When the Emperor Shizu was taught Buddhism by the Imperial Preceptor vPhags-pa, Sha-luo-pa was ordered by the Emperor to be interpreter. Sha-luo-pa had been bestowed the honorable Dabian Guangzhi Fashi (Buddhist master of great eloquence and profound wisdom) by the Emperor because he translated the Buddhist sutra so correctly, clearly and concisely that the Emperor was very pleased. The local people of Hexi respected his moral quality so much that they never dared to call him by his given name but the family name, and even called his disciples the juniors from Jining Reverend. ②*

Sha-luo-pa was 13 years old in 1271. And in May of the same year,

法，而且兼解諸國文字。由於他如此多才博學，這段時間（可能從一二六九～一二七一年五月）八思巴帝師為世祖皇帝講論佛法時，他常充任翻譯，並因此受賜而頗為其鄉里尊崇：

世祖皇帝嘗受教於帝師發思巴，詔師譯語。辭致明辨允愜聖衷，詔賜大辯廣智法師。河西之人尊其道而不敢名，止稱其氏，至呼其子弟，皆曰此積寧法師家，其為見重如此。②

一二七一年，沙囉巴十三

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

vPhags-pa went to live in Lintao and Sha-luo-pa followed and waited upon him. In March of 1274, being escorted by the Prince Jim-ging, vPhags-pa went back again to Saskya and 16 year-old Sha-luo-pa must also have followed and waited upon him there. On the way to Saskya, Prince Jim-ging repeatedly begged vPhags-pa to teach him Buddhism, which was interpreted by Sha-luopa. And while vPhags-pa taught Jim-ging “Shes-dya Rab-tu-gsal”, Sha-luo-pa “was waiting upon them as an interpreter all the time. And he understood sutra so correctly that he translated it into Chinese to be transmitted to the world.”<sup>②③</sup>

Sha-luo-pa had been waiting upon vPhags-pa as his disciple until 1280 when the latter passed away. But it's not clear where Sha-luo-pa was from 1281 when he was 23 to the year(1291)the Imperial preceptor Jialuo Siba Wojieli(Grags pa Vod zer) recommended him to Emperor Shizu to translate various tantras.<sup>②④</sup> Maybe he was still in Saskya, or maybe he had come back to Beijing.

The Imperial preceptor Jialuo Siba Wojieli (in Nian Chang)was also transliterated into Qila Siba Wojie'er

歲。是年五月，八思巴出居臨洮，沙囉巴隨侍身邊；一二七四年三月，八思巴在皇太子真金護送下動身再返薩迦，當時十六歲的沙囉巴一定也隨行而去了。真金沿途向八思巴數數求請佛法時，他隨侍在旁以作翻譯。在八思巴為真金講授《彰所知論》，他「聽授過人，久侍師之法席，默譯此論，見傳於世」。<sup>②③</sup>

直至一二八〇年帝師示寂，沙囉巴一直隨侍帝師法席。但是，從一二八一年沙囉巴二十三歲時起，到帝師迦羅思巴斡即哩向世祖舉薦他，詔譯諸秘要<sup>②④</sup>時止，這段時間的去處不詳，可能在薩迦，也可能在北京。

迦羅思巴斡即哩（念常）帝師，《元史》裡又譯為乞刺斯八斡

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

in YA corresponding to the Tibetan original Gras pa Vod Zer (today's Chinese transliteration is Zhaba Wose). He was the fifth Imperial Preceptor from 1291 to 1303 during the Yuan Dynasty.<sup>25</sup> That is to say, Sha-luo-pa could not be recommended to Khubilai Khan to "translate various tantras" at least until 1291 when he was 33 years old. We are not sure where he was during the 10 years(1281-1291), maybe still Saska, maybe Beijing.

Since he was "ordered by the Emperor Shizu to translate the various tantras", Sha-luo-pa had been staying in Beijing for five or six years (1291-1296). And then he was sent to Jiangnan by the Emperor to be the Buddhist Governor in charge of the Jiangzhe District to check the monks' corruptness there.<sup>26</sup>

The *Nian Chang* record tells us: "The monks' official system was very flourishing at that time, but the monks' ethos were corrupted. The local bureaucracy were always harmed by the monks, not to say defend themselves from the invad-

節兒，即藏文中的 grags pa vod zer，今譯為扎巴俄色，係元朝第五任帝師，任期從一二九一年到一三〇三年。<sup>25</sup>也就是說，至少要從一二九一年起，沙囉巴三十三歲時才可能被舉薦給忽必烈，「詔譯諸秘要」。此前長達十年的時間(一二八一~一二九〇)，正如上文所說，沙囉巴的行蹤待考，可能是薩迦，也可能是北京。

從「詔譯諸秘要」算起，在京城待了約五、六年時間(一二九一~一二九六)之後，沙囉巴受命為江浙釋教總統赴江南，以整頓僧風之弊。<sup>26</sup>

《佛祖歷代通載》說：「時僧司雖盛，風紀寢蔽。所在官吏既不能干城遺法抗禦外侮，返為諸僧之害。桂蠹乘癰雖欲去之，莫能盡也。頽被所激江南尤甚。」<sup>27</sup>

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

ing outside. The moths and carbuncles could not be thoroughly wiped out and the bad situation was even much more serious in Jiangnan. ”<sup>27</sup> In fact, this is a true portrait of the devilry of Yanglian Zhanjia, the Buddhist Governor who was supported by Sang-ge, the powerful minister in Khubilai Khan’s court. Yanglian Zhenjia’s evil deeds have been described in particulars in Shilao Zhuan (Buddhist and Daoist Biographies) recorded in vol. 202 of the YA:

*Yanglian Zhenjia, was once appointed by the Emperor Shizu as the Buddhist Governor in charge of Jiangnan. In order to collect the jewelry and treasure, he had dug 101 tombs of the former imperial Zhao family and of the ministers of the Song Dynasty at Qiantang and Shaoxing. He had killed four civilians and accepted innumerable mistresses and treasures as gifts. Besides, he had seized or purloin by force lots of property: 1700 tael of gold, 6800 taels of silver, 9 jade belts, 111 jade articles of big or small sizes, 52 pieces of sundry cowry, 50 taels of big pearls, 116200 ingots of money and 23000 mu of farmland....*

實際上這是對有權臣桑哥為後盾的江南釋教總統楊璉真伽的惡行及其造成的惡果之真實寫照，在《元史》卷二〇二《釋老傳》中記述得更加詳細：

有楊璉真加者，世祖用為江南釋教總統，發掘故宋趙氏諸陵之在錢唐、紹興者及其大臣塚墓凡一百一所；戕殺平民四人；受人獻美女寶物無算；且攘奪盜取財物，計金一千七百兩，銀六千八百兩、玉帶九、玉器大小百一十有一、雜寶貝百五十有二、大珠五十兩、鈔一十一萬六千二百錠、田二萬三千畝……

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

Although Yanglian Zhenjia was finally sentenced to death in the early 29<sup>th</sup> year of Zhiyuan(1292),<sup>⑳</sup> yet the monks' ethos had not been improved and "the court had long been looking for a capable one to check it". Then Grags-pa Vod-zer recommended Sha-luo-pa to the Emperor. Sha-luo-pa had made outstanding achievements and the monks' ethos had been greatly improved since he went to his post. And then he was again appointed the Buddhist Governor in charge of Fujian (and Guangdong). When he found out that the ordinary monks were actually suffering from the heavy service to the too many hieratic officials, Sha-luo-pa asked the Emperor to dismiss all the Buddhist governors of the different lus[zhulu shijiao zongtong] and he himself retired to seclusion in (his hometown) Longdi for rest of his life by building a cottage and planting trees. But in the years of Zhida in Yuan Dynasty, he was recalled back to the Capital by the prince and conferred the honorable title "Guanglu Dafu Situ" by the Emperor. His honesty and justice were well-known in the world. This is also recorded in details in Nian Chang<sup>㉑</sup>

雖然楊璉真加在至元二十九年(一二九二)初被處死，<sup>⑳</sup>但江南僧風並未好轉，「朝廷久選能者欲使正之」。於是，扎巴俄色向皇上推薦了沙囉巴，沙囉巴赴任後業績卓然，風氣大正；爾後改授福建等處釋教總統，查明僧之苦實因僧官多，「十羊九牧」之故，於是建言盡罷諸路總統。然後遁迹隴坻築室種樹欲終老，但至大中又被召回京師。其正直廉明，為世人所稱道。對此念常記載最詳。<sup>㉑</sup>



*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

Judging by the “Ode to Master of Wisdom, the Buddhist Governor’s Going back to South” in vol. 22 of Wang Yun, we can find out that Sha-luo-pa went to his post as the Buddhist Governor in charge of Jiangzhe in 1295, but he had come back to the capital in the next year(1296). When he planned to go back to the south, his close friend Wang Yun (Qiujian), one of the famous litterateur Yuan Haowen’s students had written the above mentioned send-off prose poem to him in 1296. But the exact time when Sha-luo-pa went back to the south might be later than March of the first year of Dade(1297), because in the same month Sha-luo-pa had a faint scent poem meeting with the intellectuals. ⑩ At that time, the Gentleman Qiujian was 71 years old while Sha-luo-pa was 39.

However, there is a slightly different record about the time Sha-luo-pa went to his post to be the Buddhist Governor in Miao Zhou:

*At that time vPhags-pa was the Imperial Preceptor. The monks’ official system was very accomplished, yet the monks’ ethos had been seriously*

沙囉巴在一二九五年赴任江浙釋教總統後，於次年（一二九六）曾回京師，這從《秋澗全集》卷二十二〈送總統佛智師南還〉一文中可以看出來。一二九六年回京後，其好友、元代著名文學家元好問的弟子王惲（秋澗）賦詩以送，但沙囉巴南還的時間也許是在一二九七年（大德元年）三月以後，因為當月沙囉巴還與諸儒在一起舉行清香詩會，<sup>⑩</sup>此時秋澗先生七十一歲，沙囉巴三十九歲。

但是，關於沙囉巴赴江南就任江浙釋教總統的時間問題，妙舟所說稍有不同：

其時拔思巴居帝師，僧司雖盛，而風紀寢弊，官吏不能干城遺法抗禦外侮，返為僧

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

*corrupted. The local bureaucracy were even bullied by the monks, not to speak of defend them from the foreign invading. Whenever the Emperor Shizu talked about it, he was worried very much and wanted to appoint a capable one to improve the bad situation. Later, Sha-luo-pa was appointed as the Buddhist Governor in charge of Jiangzhe and sent off by the Emperor Shizu himself! Having arrived there, Master Sha-luo-pa quickly reduced exorbitant taxes and levies... ㉑*

We have mentioned above that it was the fifth Imperial preceptor Grags-pa Vod-zer who recommended Sha-luo-pa to the Emperor to translate the Buddhist tantras and the Emperor Shizu was still alive then. Maybe the time Sha-luo-pa was appointed to be the Buddhist Governor of Jiangzhe was earlier than the first year of Yuanzhen or even in the Emperor Shizu's time; but it's impossible that he was "sent off by the Emperor Shizu himself". Even if "the Emperor" really sent him off on his leaving, "the Emperor" must be the Chnegzong Tiemu'er, the third son of Jim-ging.

When was Sha-luo-pa appointed

害。世祖每論至此，切憂之，欲選能者匡正其失。乃授沙囉巴為江浙釋教都總統，世祖親送之。既至江南，盡削煩苛…… ㉑

前文已述，這次沙囉巴受詔譯經是受第五代帝師扎巴俄色所薦，當時世祖健在。可能授沙囉巴為江浙釋教總統的時間比《秋澗全集》所說的元貞初年還要早，當在世祖在世時所為；但說「世祖親送之」，可能性極小。沙囉巴走時，即使皇帝親送也只能是真金第三子，即成宗鐵穆耳。

那麼，一二九七年沙囉巴返

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

again to be the Buddhist Governor in charge of Fujian (and Guangdong) after he had returned to Jiangnan in 1297 from the Capital? As to the question, we can only make some conjectures and so far have no sufficient historical evidences. As we know, the preface at the beginning of Chinese version of *Shes-bya Rab-tu-gsal* was written by Lian Fu officially titled “Zhenfeng Dafu Tongzhi Xing Xuanzhengyuan Shi” in the Yuan Dynasty. Lian Fu said the preface that he got to know Sha-luo-pa in Fujian and they “became close friends with affection like brothers” so that Sha-luo-pa asked him to write a preface to his Chinese translation from vPhags-pa’s Tibetan original *Shes-bya Rab-tu-gsal*. Later, Lian Fu transmitted the sutra to Master Guan Zhuba, the former Senglu (a kind of monks’ official position) who, while compiling it into the *Yuan Tripitaka*, asked Ke Ji, the former Buddhism teaching monk of Bao’en Temple of Jizhou Lu, to write a postscript to it. Ke Ji’s postscript was signed in October of the year Bingwu of Dade in the Yuan Dynasty (1306). Lian Fu’s preface must be written earlier than Ke Ji’s postscript, maybe in 1305 or

赴江南後又是於何時改任福建等處釋教總統的呢？對此我們只能作某些推測，尚無史料佐證。我們知道，《彰所知論》漢譯本卷首有元正奉大夫同知行宣改院事廉復所撰序文，稱他曾與沙囉巴相識於閩，「交情相照，愛同昆仲」，因此沙囉巴懇請他為其所譯之《彰所知論》做序。爾後廉復將《彰所知論》傳至前松江府僧錄管主八大師，後者將它收入大藏經時又請江西前吉州路官講報恩寺講經釋克已序附後，克已之序署為大德丙午（一三〇六）年十月。廉復的序無論如何也要早於克已之序，大概作於一三〇五年或以前。也就是說，沙囉巴與廉復相識於閩的時間肯定比一三〇五年還要更早一些。依此推算，沙囉巴最早也得在一二九七年（三十九歲）才赴江南任江浙釋教總統，肅整僧風之後，又改任福建等處釋教總統，並在福建與廉復相識。

***Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12***

even earlier. In other words, it must be before 1305 that Sha-luo-pa got to know Lian Fu in Fujian. Therefore, Sha-luo-pa could not go to his post of the Buddhist Governor in Jiangnan until 1297 when he was 37 years old. After he had improved the serious situation there, he was again appointed the Buddhist Governor in Fujian where he got to know Lian Fu. After he had asked the Emperor to dismiss all the Buddhist governors of the different *lus*, he himself might “retire to seclusion in (his hometown) Longdi” in 1305 (the 9th year of Dade in Chengzong’s time) when he was about 47. If we divide the period of time when Sha-luo-pa was a Buddhist Governor in Jiangzhe (Jiangsu and Zhejiang) and Minyue (Fujian and Guangdong) into two parts, he must be appointed in Minyue after 1300 and in the new century. But there is no record about the exact time in the historical sources and this is just a conjecture for reference only.

When Sha-luo-pa decided to retire to seclusion in (his hometown) Longdi, his friend Cheng Jufu (Xuelou) had written in Beijing a send-off poem titled “Song of Situ and Buddhist Master Sha-luo-pa’s

建言罷諸路總統之後，可能於一三〇五年(四十七歲)左右「遁迹壘坻」。如果將沙囉巴任兩處釋教總統的時間一分為二的話，他應是在跨世紀(一三〇〇年)以後，才改任福建等地總統的，但具體時間史料上缺載，這裡只是推測，僅供參考。

沙囉巴遁迹壘坻時，臨行前(在北京)程鉅夫(雪樓)還以文相送，文中竭力宣揚和高度讚揚了沙囉巴譯師的人品、學識和功

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

Retiring Back to Qinzhou” highly praising his moral quality, scholarly attainments and boundless beneficence and chanting their close and true affection with deep feeling:

*The Buddhist Master Sha-luo-pa from Qinzhou might be Kumārājīva ⑳ in his previous existence.*

*He has read five cartloads of books and is well versed in both Confucianism and Buddhism.*

*The Emperor heard of him and ordered him to court and found him the most proficient in Buddhism.*

*He understands thoroughly other people’s words and expresses himself wisely and correctly.*

*His great works are magnificent like both rosy clouds and the Yellow River from Kunlun Mount,*

*Which is flowing vast and mighty and coloring the respected essence of Buddhist sutra.*

*He was ordered by the Emperor to translate Buddhism so perfectly that every difficult word was carefully studied.*

*His beneficence is boundless and his translation is wonderful just like Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra.*

德，並深情地吟詠了他們之間難捨難分的深厚友情，題曰〈送司徒沙囉巴法師歸秦州〉：

秦州法師沙囉巴，前身恐是鳩摩羅；㉑

讀書頌經逾五車，洞視孔釋為一家。

帝聞其人徵自遐，辯勇精進世莫加；

視人言言若空花，我自翼善刊浮倚。

雄文大章爛如霞，又如黃河發昆阿；

世方浩浩觀流波，五護尊經鬱嘉訶。

受詔翻譯無留瑕，辭深義奧極研摩；

功力已被恒河沙，經成翩然妙蓮華。

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

*The high officials and noble lords, just like floating straws, try to be close to him but he himself goes away.*

*The blue sky is boundless but time limited, when will he be back to drink the spring tea with us?*<sup>③③</sup>

The time for Sha-luo-pa's retirement in Longdi was not very long. If he went back to his hometown in 1305 when he was 47, he could only have stayed there for three or four years because "in the years of Zhida of Wuzong's time, he was recalled to the Capital and conferred the honorable title Guanglu Dafu Situ".<sup>③④</sup> The years of Zhida, began in 1308 and ended in 1311. "The Emperor Renzong (1311-1320 on the throne) had learned Buddhism from Master Sha-luo-pa before. And as soon as Renzong was on the throne, he asked Sha-luo-pa to live in Qingshou Temple in Beijing to translate the secret tantras" and then "ordered all his Buddhist translation to be carved and published!"<sup>③⑤</sup> Thus Sha-luo-pa began to live in Qingshou Temple in 1311 when he was 53 years old. And he passed away later in the temple on October the 5<sup>th</sup> in the first year of Yuanyou of Renzong's time

大官寵錫真浮苴，捨我竟去不可遮；

青天蕩蕩日月賒，何時能來煮春茶？<sup>③③</sup>

沙囉巴遁迹壘坻的時間並不長，如果是一三〇五年（四十七歲）回到故里的話，他至多待了三到四年，即一三〇八年為止。這是因為「至大中，復召至京師，拜授光祿大夫司徒。」<sup>③④</sup>至大年號，始於一三〇八年，終於一三一一年。「仁宗皇帝（一三一一年～一三二〇在位）龍德淵潛之日，嘗問法於公，知公之賢，既踐天位眷遇益隆，詔給廩既館於慶壽寺」，並且「詔公所譯皆板行之」。<sup>③⑤</sup>因此，沙囉巴從一三一一年（五十三歲）起詔居慶壽寺，直到延佑元年（一三一四）十月五日示寂於此為止，享年五十有六。但是，有的學者誤認為「詔公所譯皆板行之」

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

(1314)when he was 56 years old. However, some scholars misunderstood the Chinese record “zhao gong suoyi jie ban xing zhi” (the emperor ordered all his Buddhist translation to be carved and published)to be that all his Buddhist translation was finished in this period (when he lived in Qingshou Temple)!<sup>③⑥</sup>

Sha-luo-pa was famous for his Buddhist translation and was a great translator “who translated more than others and enjoyed high reputation in the Yuan Dynasty”<sup>③⑦</sup>. He had experienced the eras of four emperors ( Shizu, Chengzong, Wuzong and Renzong) in the Yuan Dynasty and enjoyed great fame in the government and the public. He was deeply respected by everyone for his honesty and justness. Many famous people regarded him as both teacher and friend.<sup>③⑧</sup> When he was ill in bed, the Emperor Renzong ordered to “bestow 10000 ingots of Zhongtong banknotes on him for medical treatment” and the Shen Prince of Taiwei [Taiwei Shen Wang] himself went “to visit him in illness”. When he passed away, the emperor “again bestowed lots of money for his funeral” and “dispatched persons to send his body to his

是說他所譯經典均在(住錫慶壽寺)這一時期完成!<sup>③⑥</sup>

沙囉巴以譯經而傳世，是「元代譯經比較多且聞名」<sup>③⑦</sup>的譯師，一生歷元世祖、成宗、武宗、仁宗諸朝，名被朝野，為人正直清廉，秉性親慧不凡，許多顯要名流尊其為師友。」<sup>③⑧</sup>沙囉巴生病時，仁宗皇帝「詔賜中統鈔萬緡俾求醫藥」，太尉沈王親自前往「視疾」。沙囉巴卒後，「又賜緡以給葬事」，並「遣使驛送其喪歸葬故里」，<sup>③⑨</sup>足見他頗為元廷所尊崇。

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

hometown”. ⑳ All this above clearly indicates that Sha-luo-pa was very respected by the imperial court of the Yuan Dynasty!

Sha-luo-pa was really the most famous Buddhist translator in the Yuan Dynasty. Cheng Jufu (Xuelou) said that “he translated Buddhism so perfectly that every difficult word was carefully studied”.㉑ And in order to commemorate Sha-luo-pa, his disciples had established a pagoda with an epigraph by Yunlu Honggong of Shou’an Mountain, which highly and completely summarizes Sha-luo-pa’s translation and compared him to the famous Buddhist translators Kumārājīva and Xuanzang (about 600-664)!㉒

沙囉巴堪稱元代最傑出的佛經翻譯家。程鉅夫(雪樓)說他翻譯「無留瑕，辭深義奧，極研摩功力」；㉑為了紀念八思巴，後來沙囉巴門人弟子相與建塔以表其藏，塔城後由壽安山雲麓洪公所作銘文對其譯風更是作了完備而高度的評價，把他與鳩摩羅什(三四四~四一三；一說三五〇~四〇九)與玄奘(約六〇〇~六六四)這兩位佛經翻譯大師相提並論！

㉒

### 【NOTES】

- ① Such as Ru Xing, Ming He, Nian Chang and Miaozhou, etc.
- ② See *Hsing Yun*, vol.II, p.2928. The title punctuations have been added by the writer here.

### 【註釋】

- ① 有如惺、明河以及念常等。
- ② 參見星雲大師，中冊，第二九七八頁。引文中的書名號係引者所加。



*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

- ③ The same as note 1 on p.1 of this paper. ③ 同註①。
- ④ See *Cheng Jufu*, vol. 29, folio. 17A. ④ 參見程鉅夫，第二十九卷，第十七頁A。
- ⑤ *HAC*, vol. 7. ⑤ 譚其驤，第七冊（元·明時期）。
- ⑥ The preface of *TCA* was written by Ye Yifei from Fujian in December of 1939. The “Zhaoguang” in the above quotation passage would like to refer Zhaohua and Guangyuan in Sichuan Province. ⑥ 北圖舊館藏《天水縣誌》卷首序文（民國二十八年十二月閩侯葉憶澍序文）。這裏的「昭廣」似指四川省的昭化和廣元。
- ⑦ Miao Zhou copies the same record just from here in *Nian Chang*. ⑦ 妙舟即抄於此處。
- ⑧ *CTA*, pp.29-30. ⑧ 《中國交通圖冊》，第二十九～三十頁。
- ⑨ “Ode to Master of Wisdom, the Buddhist Governor’s Going back to South” is recorded in *Wang Yun*, folios 9B-10A, vol. 22. ⑨ 〈送總統佛智師南還〉一文載於王惲，一函六冊，第二十二卷，第九頁B～十頁A。
- ⑩ *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B. ⑩ 念常，第三十六卷，第六十七頁B。
- ⑪ “Xifan Gasiluo” was also called “Xifan Gasiluo” in Song Dynasty; “Tufan zhu Xuanwei Shisi” is also called “Xifan Zhu Xuanwei Shisi” in *YA(Yuanshi)*; *Huayi Yiyu* of Ming Dynasty translates the Tibetan word “bod” into “Xifan”; “Xifan Zhu Wei” in *Ming Annals* refers to the ⑪ 在宋代，「吐蕃角廝羅」也稱「西番角廝羅」；《元史》裡「吐蕃諸宣慰使司」也稱「西番諸宣慰使司」；明代的《華夷譯語》將藏文字「bod」譯成「西番」；《明史》裡「西番諸衛」是指今甘

## *Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

Tibetan district in today's Gansu and Qinghai provinces. Sha-luo-pa's hometown Qin Zhou really belong to Xifan, i.e. the Tibetan district in Gansu and Qinghai.

⑫ In China translation has been needed since the remote antiquity. There is such a record in *Liji-Yanyu Wangzhi*, "Peoples in inner China, Yi, Man, Rong and Di could not communicate with each other because of their different speeches and various habits. And if they wanted to express to and exchange with each other, they need the help of the translator who was then called 'ji' in the east, 'xiang', 'diti' in the west and 'yi' in the north." Here the 'ji', 'xiang', 'diti' and 'yi' are synonyms of "xiangxu", an official who knows different languages and which was recorded as early as in "*Zhouli Qiuguan Sikou*" and then explained by Jia Gongyan of Tang Dynasty to be "interpretre or translate something into another language or vice versa" in his "Yishu". Apparently, "xiangxu" means "translator" or "interpreter" here. Also see Luo Xinzhang ed. *Collection on Translation [Fanyi Lunji]*, Commercial Press, Beijing, 1984)p.10.

⑬ *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B.

⑭ See *Ci Hai* (Extra Large Dictionary) p.1612: "Qin Zhou, the name of a Zhou in

肅省和青海省的藏族地區。沙囉巴的故鄉秦州確實屬於「西番」，即甘青藏族地區。

⑫ 早在遠古時期，我國就有了傳譯之事。《禮記·言語王制》篇裡有載：「中國，夷、蠻、戎、狄……五方之民，言語不通，嗜欲不同，達其誌，通其欲：東方曰寄，南方曰象，西方曰狄鞮，北方曰譯。」這裡的寄、象、狄鞮、譯都是指通譯言語之人。當時中原文化高於邊陲民族，所以通達志欲只限於言語的溝通，也即所謂口譯。「象胥」之官則始載於《周禮·秋官司寇》，意為通達言語之官，對此名目，唐朝賈公彥所作的《義疏》裡提到，「譯即易，謂換易言語使相解也」。顯而易見，「象胥」就是翻譯。見羅新璋編《翻譯論集》(商務印書館，一九八四年)第十頁。

⑬ 念常，第三十六卷第六十七頁B。

⑭ 《辭海》第一六一二頁載：「秦州，晉時州名，初治冀縣(今甘

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

Jin Dynasty, the capital firstly was located in Ji Xian(today's east of Gangu of Gansu) and then moved to Shanggui(today's Tianshui). ...In the years of Baoying in Tang Dynasty, it belonged to Tubo and was then reoccupied in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Dazhong in Tang Dynasty. After that, its capital moved to Changji (today's north of Tai An). But in Song Dynasty, its capital moved to Tianshui again. In the years of Yongzheng in Qing Dynasty, it was turned to be Qinzhou Zhilizhou(a Zhou directly under the jurisdiction of the Central Government).” It's clear that Qinzhou's capital was in today's Tianshui during Yuan dynasty.

肅甘谷東)、後移上邽(天水市)。……唐寶應中入吐蕃，大中三年(八四九)收復，移治成紀(今秦安北，宋移至天水市)。清雍正時改直隸州。」可見元時秦州治在天水市。

- ⑮ See *Rgya-bod* (1985), vol.I, folio 195B; *Rgya-bod* (1986)p.167.
- ⑯ See *Rgya-bod* (1985), vol.I, folio 207A; *Rgya-bod* (1986),p.179.
- ⑰ See *Wang Yun*, vol. 22, folio 9B-10A.
- ⑱ See *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B. Qinzhou was a place that vPhags-pa had to pass when he went o Beijing from Saskya or vice versa. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of October in 1268, he wrote there a letter to the prince Qibi Tiemu'er when he
- ⑮ 《漢藏史集》(一九八五)卷一，第一九五頁B；《漢藏史集》(一九八六)，第一六七頁。
- ⑯ 《漢藏史集》(一九八五)卷一，第二〇七頁A；《漢藏史集》(一九八六)，第一七九頁。
- ⑰ 王暉，卷二十二，第九頁B～十頁A。
- ⑱ 念常，卷三十六，第六十七頁B。秦州是八思巴往返的必經之地。一二六八年十月十日他就曾在返京途中於此地致信王子啟必貼木兒。

*Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

went back to Beijing from Saskya.

- ⑲ See *Hsing Yun*, vol. II, p.2928; Nian Chang, vol.36, folio 67B.
- ⑳ See *Saskya* (Chen 1989), p.170.
- ㉑ *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B records the following: "There was a very respected monk named La Wenbu who was famous in the world for his essential tantras of Yamantaka. The Imperial Preceptor sent Sha-luo-pa to learn it from him. And La Wenbu was so pleased that Sha-luo-pa was more talented and promising than his compeers that he taught him all the secret essentials. And then all the maharajas and panjandums who decided to study Yamantaka came to learn from him. Also see the attached biography of La Wenbu recorded in Ru Xing.
- ㉒ See *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B.
- ㉓ See the preface by Lianfu at the beginning of the Chinese version of *Shes-bya Rab-tu-gsal*. Also see Wang Yao(1992), pp.128-129.
- ㉔ *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B records like this: "Because of Sha-luo-pa's talent, the Imperial Preceptor Jialuo Siba Wojili
- ⑲ 星雲大師，中冊，第二九七八頁；念常，卷三十六，第六十七頁B。
- ⑳ 《薩迦世系史》(陳一九八九)，第一七〇頁。
- ㉑ 《佛祖歷代通載》卷三十六，第六十七頁B載：「時有上士名刺溫卜，以焰晏(曼)得迦密乘之要，見稱於世，帝師命公往學此法，溫卜以公器偉識高非流輩比，悉以秘要授之，於是王公大人，凡有志茲道者皆於公師而受焉。」刺溫卜，見《大明高僧傳》附傳。
- ㉒ 念常，卷三十六，第六十七頁B。
- ㉓ 見《彰所知論》漢譯本卷首廉復序文。也請參閱王堯先生《西藏文史考信集》第一二八~一二九頁。
- ㉔ 《佛祖歷代通載》卷三十六，第六十七頁B載：「帝師迦羅思巴

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

recommended him to the Emperor Shizu. And the Emperor ordered him to translate the various secret tantras to be transmitted in the world.”

- ⑳ *Miaozhou* incorrectly records the Imperial Preceptor who recommended Sha-luo-pa to the Emperor Shizu as vPhags-pa.
- ㉑ ”Ode to Master of Wisdom, the Buddhist Governor’s Going back to South” in vol.22 in *Wang Yun* states that Sha-luo-pa was chosen to be the Buddhist Governor in the early first year of Yuanzhen(1295), and Wang Qiujian wrote his send-off “Ode” in the following year (1296). But another prose “Preface to the Faint Scent Poem Meeting” in *Wang Yun* signed the time to be the March of the first year of Dade(1297). It’s probably that Sha-luo-pa was appointed as the Buddhist Governor even earlier (perhaps earlier than the years of Yuanzhen or during the time of the Emperor Shizu).
- ㉒ See *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B.
- ㉓ See: *Studies on Buddhist and Daoist Biographies in the Yuan Annals* (Yuanshi Shilao Zhuan de Yanjiu).
- ㉔ See *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B.

翰即哩，以公之能薦之世祖，詔譯諸秘要，俾傳於世」。

- ㉕ 《蒙藏佛教史》誤把向忽必烈推薦沙囉巴譯經的帝師記為八思巴(拔思巴)，誤。
- ㉖ 《秋澗全集》中〈送總統佛智師南還〉載，沙囉巴於元貞初(一二九五)被選為總統，明年(一二九六)王秋澗還賦詩以送；《秋澗全集》中另一文《清香詩會序》則署為大德元年(一二九七)三月。可能沙囉巴早已受命為江浙總統(與許比元貞初還早，是在世祖健在時)。
- ㉗ 《佛祖歷代通載》卷三十六，第六十七頁B。
- ㉘ 參閱野上俊靜《元史釋老傳的研究》有關章節。
- ㉙ 念常，卷三十六，第六十七頁B。

*Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

- ③⑩ See *Wang Yun*, vol.22, folio 9B-10A: “Ode to Master of Wisdom, the Buddhist Governor’s Going back to South”; *Wang Yun*, vol. 42, folio 14B-16A: “Preface to the Faint Scent Poem Meeting”.
- ③⑪ See *Miaozhou*, p.9.
- ③⑫ Kumārājiva(344-413; another saying is 350-409.Tibetan: Ku-ma-ra), famous monk and Buddhist translator in Later Qin Period.
- ③⑬ The full writing is recorded in *Chen Jufu*, vol. 29, folio 15A.
- ③⑭ See *Miaozhou*, p.9; also see *Nian Chang*, vol.36.
- ③⑮ See *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B.
- ③⑯ *P.C.Bagchi*(1947), p.137.
- ③⑰ *Lu Jianfu*(1995), p.540.
- ③⑱ See *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 47B-48A.
- ③⑲ See *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 67B-68A.
- ④⑰ See *Cheng Jufu*, vol. 29: “Song of Situ and Buddhist Master Sha-luo-pa’s Retirement”.
- ④⑱ 參見王惲，卷二十二，第九頁B～十頁A，〈送總統佛智師南還〉；卷四十二，第十四頁B～十六頁A〈清香詩會序〉。
- ④⑳ 妙舟，第九頁。
- ㉑ 鳩摩羅什(Kumārājiva，344-413;一說 350-409；藏譯名 Ku-ma-ra)，後秦時期著名高僧和佛經翻譯家。
- ㉒ 全文詳見程鉅夫，卷二十九，第十五頁A。
- ㉓ 妙舟，第九頁；又見念常，卷三十六。
- ㉔ 念常，卷三十六，第六十七頁B。
- ㉕ 覺月(一九四七)，第一三七頁。
- ㉖ 呂建福(一九九五)，第五四〇頁。
- ㉗ 念常，卷三十六，第四十七頁B～四十八頁A。
- ㉘ 念常，卷三十六，第六十七頁B～六十八頁A。
- ㉙ 程鉅夫，卷二十九〈送司徒沙囉巴法師歸秦州〉。

*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

ing Back to Qinzhou”.

④ See *Nian Chang*, vol.36, folio 68A.

④ 念常，卷三十六，第六十八頁  
A。

**【ABBREVIATION】**

1. *Cheng Jufu: The Corpra by Mr. Cheng Jufu* [Xuelou (Xiansheng)Wenji](100 volumes in 10books in all)by Cheng Jufu (Xuelou)in the Yuan Dynasty, kept in the Branch Library of National Library of China in Beijing. It was printed in Shanghai according to the original of the Ming Dynasty kept in Jiangnan Library.
2. *CTA: China Traffic Atlas*, edited & published by China Cartographic Publishing House, 1993.
3. *HAC: Tan Qixiang(chief editor), The Historical Atlas of China* (8 volumes), Cartographic Publishing House, 1982. Here we just refer to volume 7 which covers the Yuan Dynasty Period and the Ming Dynasty Period.
4. *Hsing Yun(Ven. Master): Foguang Buddhist Dictionary*, supervised by Master Hsing Yun, Chief-edit. By Ci Yi. 3 vols, 6984pp.(vol. 1: pp. 1-2326; vol.2: pp. 2327-4660; vol.3: pp. 4661-6984) Foguang Publishing House, Taiwan, 1989.

**【縮略用語】**

1. 程鉅夫，《雪樓程先生文集》(景刊洪武本程雪樓集)十冊一〇〇卷，元·程鉅夫(雪樓)著，據江南圖書館藏明洪武本印製於上海，北京圖書館舊館藏。
2. 《中國交通圖冊》(北京：中國地圖出版社編印，一九九三年)。
3. 譚其驤，譚其驤主編《中國歷史地圖集》(共八冊)，(北京：中國地圖出版社，一九八二年)本文所用係第七冊(元明分冊)。
4. 星雲大師，星雲大師監修、慈怡法師主編《佛光大辭典》，三巨冊(卷一頁碼為一~二三二六；卷二為二三二七~四六六〇；卷三為四六六一~六九八

*Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

- 四) (台灣：佛光出版社，一九八九年)。
5. *Nian Chang: The General Recordation of Monks in the Past Dynasties* [Fozu Lidai Tongzai] by Nian Chang in 1341 in the Yuan Dynasty 36 vols (in Pinjia Jingshe Edition).
5. 念常，元·念常撰《佛祖歷代通載》成書於元代一三四一年，三十六卷(頻伽精舍漢文大藏經)。
6. *Lu Jianfu (1995): The History of Chinese Tantras*, China Social Science Press, 1995, 718pp.
6. 呂建福(一九九五)，《中國密教史》(中國社會科學出版社，一九九五年)第七一八頁。
7. *Miaozhou: Miaozhou Fashi, ed: History of Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhism* (with a preface by Wu Peifu in 1934), vol.I, p.9. Manifold kept in the Library of the Central University of Nationalities.
7. 妙舟，妙舟法師編《蒙藏佛教史》(吳佩孚序於一九三四年)，卷一(中央民族大學藏複印本)。
8. *Ming He: Supplementary to the Famous Monks' Biographies* by Ming He in 1640 in the Ming Dynasty. 26 vols.
8. 明河，明·明河編《敘補高僧傳》，成書於一六四〇年，《大正藏》第二十六冊。
9. *P. C. Bagchi(1947): P.C. Bagchi, "Chang so che lu (Jneya-prakasa-sastra) — An Abhidharma Work of Saskya-Pandita of Tibet" in Sino-Indian Studies*, vol.2, Calcutta 1947.
9. 覺月(一九四七)，印度·覺月〈《彰所知論》(Jneya-prakasa-sastra) — 西藏薩迦班智達的一部阿毘達磨著作〉，載《漢印研究》，一九四七年第二卷，加爾各答。
10. *Rgya-bod(1986): Rgya-bod-yig-tshang-mkhas-pa-dgav-byed-chen-mo-vdzin-gling-gsal-bavi-me-long -zhes-bya-ba-bzhung-so* by Stag-tshang-rdzong-pa-
10. 《漢藏史集》(一九八六)，《漢藏史集》(中譯本，三十二開，四〇八頁，)達倉宗巴·班覺桑



*On Sha-luo-pa(1259~1314)*

- dpal-vbyor-bzang-po in 1434. Chinese Translation by Chen Qingying, Tibetan People's Publishing House, 1986, 408pp.
11. *Rgya-bod*(1985): *Rgya-bod-yig-tshang-mkhas-pa-dgav-byed-chen-mo-vdzin-gling-gsal-bavi-me-long-zhes-bya-ba-bzhung-so* by Stag-tshang-rdzong-pa-dpal-vbyor-bzang-po in 1434. Tibetan original, Sichuan National Publishing House, 1985.
12. *Ru Xing*: "Famous Monks' Biographies Compiled in the Great Ming Dynasty" by Ru Xing in the Ming Dynasty in 1617, in vol. 50 of the Tripitaka.
13. *Saskya* (Chen 1989): Chen Qingying, Gao Hefu and Zhou Runnian's Chinese Translation of "Sa-skyavi gdung-rabs rin-chen bang-mtsod" (by Nga-dbang-kun-dgav-bsod-nams-grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan in 1269), Tibetan People's Publishing House, 1989, 455p.
14. *Saskya* (1989): *Sa-skyavi gdung-rabs rin-chen bang-mtsod* (the full title is "Vdzam-gling-byang-phyogs-dyi-thub-pavi-rgyal-tshab-chen-po-dpal-ldan-saskya-pavi-gdung-rabs-rin-po-vhevi-ltar-byon-tshul-gyi-rnam-par-thar-pa-ngo-
- 布著，陳慶英譯，(拉薩：西藏人民出版社，一九八六年)。
11. 《漢藏史集》(一九八五)，《漢藏史集》(藏文本 *rgya-bod yig-tshang*) 達倉宗巴·班覺桑布著，成書於一四三四年，(成都：四川民族出版社，一九八五年鉛印)。
12. 如惺，明·如惺編《大明高僧傳》，成書於一六一七年，《大正藏》第八冊。
13. 《薩迦世系史》(陳一九八九)，《薩迦世系史》(三十二開，四五五頁，中譯本)，成書於一六二九年，阿旺·貢噶索南著，陳慶英、高禾福、周潤年譯註，(拉薩：西藏人民出版社，一九八九年)。
14. 《薩迦世系史》(一九八九)，《薩迦世系史》(藏文本：*Sa-skyavi gdung-rabs rin-chen bang-mtsod*)，(北京：民族出版社，一九八九年)。

*Universal Gate Buddhist Journal, Issue 12*

mtshar-rin-po-chevi-mdzod-dgos-vdod-kun-vbyung-zhes-bya-ba”)by Ngadbang-kun-dgav-bsod-nams-grags-pargyal-mtshan in 1269, National Publishing House, Beijing, 1989.

15. TCA: “Tianshui country Annals” is now kept in Branch Library of National Library of China.
16. Wang Yun: “The Corpora by Mr. Wang Qiujian” ( Qiujian Xiansheng Daquan Wenji ) (100 volumes in 10 books in all) by Wang Yun (named Qiujian, 1227-1304) in the Yuan Dynasty, kept in the Branch Library of National Library of China in Beijing. It was printed in Shanghai according to the original of the Ming Dynasty kept in Jiangnan Library. The format is 6.1 cun in length and 4.2 cun in width.
17. Wang Yao (1992): *Collection on Tibetan Literary and Historical Studies*, Foguang Publishing House, Taiwan, 1992, 498p.
18. YA: *Yuan Annals* [Yuan Shi], compiled by Song Lian in the Ming Dynasty, Zhonghua Publishing House (15 vols in all), Beijing, 1976 (punctuation version).
15. 《天水縣誌》，中國國家圖書館分館藏《天水縣誌》。
16. 王惲，中國國家圖書館分館藏，元·王惲（秋澗，一二二七～一三〇四）撰《秋澗先生大全文集》（共十冊一〇〇卷），上海涵芬樓借江南圖書館藏明弘治翻之本景印書版區高營造尺六寸一分，寬四寸二分。
17. 王堯（一九九二），《西藏文史考信集》，（台灣：佛光出版社，一九九二年）第四九八頁。
18. 宋濂，明·宋濂等撰《元史》（全十五冊），（北京：中華書局標點本，一九七六年）。