

Manuscript Description

Introduction

The material relied upon for the establishment of the Sanskrit text of the initial chapter of the PsP includes a microfilm copy of the palm-leaf manuscript of the PsP conserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, England, Dr. Yoshiyasu Yonezawa's (unpublished) hand-copy of the first chapter of a palm-leaf manuscript of the PsP previously, and perhaps still, kept in the Potala Palace in Lhasa, Tibet, and microfilm copies and microfilm-derived paper photocopies of fourteen paper manuscripts of the PsP preserved in various libraries and collections. The fourteen paper manuscripts were assigned, merely for the sake of convenience, the letters A through N; the two palm-leaf manuscripts are represented, respectively, by P and Q. Upon completion of the recording of variants for the first half of the chapter, I was able to work out the stemma for the paper manuscripts and to eliminate the manuscripts that only repeated and added to the errors of the more reliable witnesses (see the Stemma below). Ten paper manuscripts, namely, mss A, C, E, F, G, H, I, K, M and N, were excluded at this point; their variants for the second half of the chapter thus do not appear in the critical edition's apparatus. The remaining four paper manuscripts, namely, mss B, D, J and L, and the palm-leaf manuscripts P and Q were collated for the second half of the chapter.

The existence of another paper manuscript of the PsP was brought to my attention after I had collated A-N and P, but its variants have not been added to the apparatus because it was quickly determined to be, from a text-critical point of view, an insignificant descendant of ms J.

This manuscript was filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project but recorded under a wrong title and as a result came to light only during the cataloguing activities of the follow-up Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project.¹

In 2005 I was told that the Ōtani University Library possessed a manuscript of the PsP but that it had not yet been catalogued. During a visit to Kyoto in December of the same year, I was requested to examine a photocopy of a few folios of the manuscript, and was able to determine that it too was an unimportant descendant of ms J.² At present there seems to be, however, no record of the manuscript in the Ōtani University Library, and despite careful investigation none of the scholars at Ōtani have been able to locate the manuscript in either their own or other collections in Kyoto.³

¹ I am grateful to Dr. Dragomir Dimitrov who, during his tenure as Local Representative of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project and Director of the Nepal Research Centre in Kathmandu, contacted me about the manuscript and provided me with its catalogue information and a copy of it (the manuscript is briefly mentioned in MacDonald 2008: 17f.). Manuscript details: It was filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, but the date of filming was not recorded (reel no. A 127/5). The manuscript was microfilmed for a second time on Aug. 4, 1988 (reel no. A 1210/15). The title on the original index card was given as *Vainayasūtra*. Script: Devanāgarī. Physical description: 206 folios; 34.5 x 12.5 cm.; 9 lines per folio. *vainaya* is written above the folio number in the upper left margin of each verso; *sūtra* is written above the folio number in the lower right margin on the versos. *vi. sa.* (for *viṣaya saṅkhyā* “subject number”) 376 has been written by a modern hand on the cover leaf. Colophon: same as the colophon of ms A (see below), followed by *śubham*.

² See my comments in MacDonald 2008: 16f.: “On a visit to Japan in December 2005, I was requested to examine the photocopy of a couple of folios from the manuscript. Although the photocopy did not provide sufficient text for an exact determination of the manuscript’s place in the stemma, I was able to conclude that this manuscript is, from the text-critical point of view, an unimportant descendant (at least second generation, possibly a “great grandchild”) of Ms. J. It therefore does not need to be taken into consideration when editions of further chapters of the Prasannapadā are made.”

³ I am extremely grateful to Prof. Shobha Rani Dash of Ōtani University for her repeated efforts to locate the manuscript. I also thank Dr. Xuezhu Li and Dr. Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi for their aid in the matter.

Palm-leaf Manuscripts

Ms P

From my own experience I know that bundles of Sanskrit MSS. are scattered in Public and Private Libraries of England without attracting any notice. On this account it is possible that in Europe discoveries of important Sanskrit works can still be made.⁴

– Theodor Aufrecht

The palm-leaf manuscript of the PsP designated for our purposes as ms P was sold to the Bodleian Library in Oxford, England, in 1900 by Dr. A.F. Rudolf Hoernle.⁵ It escaped the notice of Louis de La Vallée Poussin when he was collecting manuscripts to collate for his edition of the PsP, which was published over the years 1903–1913 as volume IV of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*. The Bodleian manuscript, although recorded in a detailed manner in Winternitz and Keith's

⁴ Quoted from Aufrecht's (1962: iii) Introduction to his *Catalogus Catalogorum*.

⁵ Dr. Augustus Frederic Rudolf Hoernle (1841-1918) studied Sanskrit in London under Theodor Goldstücker and obtained his Ph.D. from the University of Tübingen in 1872. After serving as Professor of Sanskrit and Philosophy at Jay Narayan College, Benares, as the Principal of the Cathedral Mission College in Calcutta (he had been ordained in 1864 and originally posted by the Church Missionary Society to Mirat, India) and later as the Principal of the Calcutta Madrasah, he retired in 1899 and returned to England, settling in Oxford. Ms P must have been among the manuscripts he brought to England when he left India. He sold the Weber manuscript to the Bodleian Library in 1902. Eighty manuscripts from another private collection of his that consisted of a total of eighty-eight manuscripts (sixty Sanskrit, twenty-five Prākṛit and three Hindi, of which seven were palm leaf and eighty-one paper) were sold to Otto Bayer of Erlangen in May of 1905 (or 1908?) and kept in the Tübingen University Library; the other eight were sold the following August to Otto Harrassowitz in Leipzig. Dr. Carola Roloff kindly provided me with a PDF of the U. of Tübingen's Hoernle handlist, in which he describes the manuscripts. On Hoernle's life, see G.A. Grierson's "Obituary Notice" for Hoernle in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1919), pp. 114-124 and <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hoernle-augustus-frederic-rudolf>.

1905 “Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,” remained in a state of oblivion for most of the twentieth century, and received mention, as far as I am aware, for the first time in a work other than the library’s catalogue when it was included in Vol. 3 of “A Descriptive Bibliography of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature” edited by K. Tsukamoto, Y. Matsunaga, and H. Isoda, published in 1990.⁶

Entry number 1440 in the Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library reads as follows:

Candrakīrti’s *Madhyamakavṛtti*, 14th cent. ?. Bought in 1900 from Dr. A.F.R. Hoernle. Kept in a cloth box. Size of box: 22 1/2 x 2 3/4 x 2 3/4 in. Size of leaf: 22 x 1 7/8 in. Material: Palm-leaves, held together by two pieces of cardboard and a string passing through two holes at the sides. No. of leaves: 80 remain out of probably 115. (Dr. Hoernle says 180 out of 217, but this is doubtful.) No. of columns: 3, separated by a blank space one inch wide. Date: Dr. Hoernle assigns the Ms. to the first half of the 14th cent. Perhaps it belongs rather to the end, cf. the numerals with those of the Mss. of A.D. 1360, 1385, in Bendall’s *Buddh. Sansk. Mss.*, plate V. The numerals for 89, 90, 100, agree most closely with those of no. 1693, *ibid.* Character: Nepalese. Injuries: the end (perhaps two or three ff.) is lost, and also ff. 1, 27-31, 33, one between 44 and 49, 52, 64-82, 87, 92-93, 96, 108, 109, 112. The rest is miserably mutilated.

My assessment of the manuscript as regards its state and date differs slightly from that given in the Catalogue. The folio numbers of the lost leaves should be corrected to: 1, 27-31, 33, 48, 52, 64-82, 87, 92, 95-96, 108-110, 113. Thirty-six leaves are missing; seventy-seven have been preserved.

⁶ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 239, item 16. See also Kragh’s (2006: 36f.) description of P.

All folios but the first, i.e., the title page (1r), and the beginning of the text itself (1v), are preserved for the first chapter.⁷ The text on both sides of each leaf has been written in three sections or “columns” to allow for two empty rectangular spaces which contain the perforation for the single string-holes after respectively text-sections one and two. The seven lines per folio⁸ read continuously, across the empty spaces. The first and third sections, far from being “miserably mutilated” are, for the most part, remarkably well preserved and clear to read. The second (that is, middle) section has suffered breakage and worm damage to its lower part, with the result that all rectos for this section are missing large parts of the final line, with the damage sometimes extending as far up as, and including, the fourth line, and all versos lack parts of the first line in the middle section, being sometimes damaged as far down as their fourth line. The damage on occasion extends into or occurs independently in the first and third sections and there tends to affect the penultimate and/or final lines of rectos and the first and/or second lines of versos. The entire manuscript suffers from the damage just described.

Here and there on other areas of the folios the upper layers of the palm leaf or fibres thereof have lifted and broken off, taking parts of *akṣaras* with them. There are numerous worm-holes in the manuscript, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between parts of *akṣaras*, *anusvāras* and worm-holes. The worms have also eaten across the surface of the folios, not only consuming *akṣaras* but additionally leaving behind small trails and black marks that are sometimes strikingly similar to elements of conjuncts and vowel markers. These holes and marks, however, have not interfered significantly with the reading of *akṣaras* since it was usually possible, once the microfilm of the manuscript was digitized and

⁷ Folio 14 has broken off after the first two-thirds of the front-side second “column”; the broken piece containing the last third of this second column and the third column has been lost. Because of the breakage, part of the fifth line, and the sixth and seventh lines within the partially preserved second column of 14r are also missing, and correspondingly the first and second lines and part of the third line for this column of 14v are missing.

⁸ Folio 9v contains 8 lines. Here and throughout I base the specifics of my remarks on the folios containing the text of the first chapter.

enhanced via Photoshop, to distinguish them from the manuscript's ink. The *akṣaras* in areas darkened by water stains and smoke also became more legible post-digitization.

Most of the side margins of the folios survived the passing of the centuries. Even though some of the folios are missing the upper or lower corners of these margins, the breakage has not affected many of the *akṣaras*. Some of the *akṣaras* close to breakage are difficult to read owing to fading, wear and/or damage due to breakage-related fibre loss. The upper and lower margins of the folios also remain fairly intact, although a few folios bear evidence of wear, which is most pronounced near the outer edges where there is already some breakage on the side margins. The wear does not usually affect the first line of writing (on versos, the last) and only on folios 2 and 9, which have lost most of their upper margins toward the outer edges, have *akṣaras* belonging to the ends of the first lines (and the last on the versos) suffered damage to their upper (respectively lower) part.

The folios are numbered with *akṣara*-numerals placed in the center left margins of versos.

The edges of the string-holes are intact, showing nearly no signs of wear, thereby suggesting limited use of the manuscript.

Scribal Error and Correction

While ms P preserves many correct readings and contributes substantially to establishing the text of the PsP, the mistakes common to it and ms Q that cannot be dismissed as due to coincidence, as well as the mistakes it shares with the paper manuscripts, betray the fact that numerous errors were already embedded in manuscripts of the lines leading to P. In a number of cases we do have in the preserved sections of ms P a “best” manuscript but, as with all “best” manuscripts, the existence of errors demands a circumspect and prudent approach with respect to its readings.⁹

⁹ That this ought to be the approach in general as regards “best” manuscripts has been emphasized in the oft-quoted remark by A. Housman in the preface to his 1903

Most of the scribal errors in the manuscript can be assigned to the categories of error mentioned for the paper manuscripts (see below), namely, omissions due to eyeskip, haplography, dittography, and misreading of similar *akṣaras*.¹⁰ As in many Sanskrit manuscripts that have been copied by Newar scribes, the *akṣaras śa* and *sa* easily interchange, apparently because the separate members of the pair were considered by the scribes as optional graphic forms.¹¹ I have not been able to determine the script of ms P's exemplar, or the script used in the tradition prior to the employment of the old-Nepalese script found in ms P,¹² but certain errors presumably have their basis in a misreading of similarly formed *akṣaras* in that script, and/or in the copying of *akṣaras* from that script into an old-Nepalese manuscript in ms P's ancestral lineage which resulted in a re-interpretation of those *akṣaras* as genuine old-Nepalese *akṣaras* as, for example, in the case of *r* of the Nepalese-script paper manuscripts often being copied Nepalese-style into the Devanāgarī manuscripts and then being interpreted as Devanāgarī *n*.

Ms P's scribe often noticed his mistakes upon committing them, interrupted the process of copying to erase the erroneously written

edition of the first book of the Astronimicon of Manilius (at least in part a reaction to the slavish methods of late Lachmannism): "To believe that wherever a best MS. gives possible readings it gives true readings, and that only where it gives impossible readings does it give false readings, is to believe that an incompetent editor is the darling of Providence, which has given its angels charge over him lest at any time his sloth and folly should produce their natural results and incur their appropriate penalty. Chance and the common course of nature will not bring it to pass that the readings of a MS. are right wherever they are possible and impossible wherever they are wrong: that needs divine intervention ..." (quoted in Greetham 1992: 323 and Tanselle 1990: 299).

¹⁰ Metathesis occurs very rarely in the manuscript.

¹¹ On this point and other changes which can occur to *akṣaras* and words when Newari-speaking scribes, copying Sanskrit texts, apply Newari spellings to words that have been borrowed from Sanskrit and therefore already exist as part of the Newari language, see Brough 1996.

¹² Although Nepalese script is often called "Nevārī script" (alternatively, "Newarī") in catalogues and manuscript descriptions, the term is problematic, given that the differentiation, indeed politically motivated contrasting of "Nevārī" and "Nepālī" arose only with the Shah dynasty. I therefore refer to the script as "Nepalese" except when reproducing the terminology of previous authors.

vowel markers or single *akṣaras*, and wrote the correct form over the erasure. In some instances he erased the erroneous *akṣara* and wrote its correct form only after the erasure space. On more than a few occasions he left out, often due to an eyeskip, a number of *akṣaras* within a word or compound but, upon noticing the omission, he returned to the point of error, erased the *akṣaras* in the immediate environs on the concerned line and then wrote, in smaller, tighter *akṣaras* so as to fit everything in, the *akṣaras* he had just erased and the previously omitted *akṣaras*, i.e., the correct text.

A proofreader checked the manuscript after ms P's scribe had completed his work. He wrote his corrections in a thinner, less pleasing hand, a hand in which the *akṣara*-element *t* betrays his native or favoured script as a form of proto-Bengālī. The corrections were written in the upper and lower margins of the folios directly above or below the section in which the error occurred, with the line the correction belonged to indicated by a line number next to the correction. *kākapadas* are rarely employed as additional markers at the point of insertion. On a couple of occasions the proofreader wrote his correction in the space between the folio sections or "columns" directly beside the line containing the error, and thus in these instances did not need to add a line number to the correction. The original scribe subsequently took up the manuscript again, erased his errors, added the corrections, and, having done so, though it is often difficult to distinguish between the proofreader's thin hand and light erasure of it, erased some, but not all, of the marginal corrections.

Ms P, like ms Q, bears evidence of not only scribal lapses but also determined change to its text. The changes are most evident in a few of the verses of the MMK as transmitted by ms P. The fact that the proofreader does not indicate that the modified or added words in P's *kārikās* are incorrect by recording in the margin a different reading found in the exemplar strongly suggests that these "improvements" were already in the exemplar used by P's scribe. Were P's scribe to have made the changes himself, it would have to be assumed that he sat with the proofreader as the latter compared P against the exemplar, carefully checking each discrepancy the proofreader discovered, allowing the proofreader to record in the margin only the corrections for erroneously copied words, restraining him from

recording the exemplar's reading whenever the discrepancy was one of his "improvements"; a rather unlikely scenario, not the least because P's scribe could have made his corrections on the spot when he sat with the proofreader and would not have needed the proofreader to write the exemplar's reading, together with the number of the line in P requiring correction, in the margin. Less hypothetical support for the assumption that the scribe of ms P merely copied changes already incorporated into the text can be found in P's version of MMK II.17ab, where P's scribe, apparently on account of an eyeskip, writes the half-verse *na tiṣṭhati gamyamānān na gatān nāgatād api* (as correctly presented in PsP_L) as *na tiṣṭhati gamyamāna* (string-hole) *n na gatād api*. The proofreader notices the inconsistency with the exemplar and writes *tvān na gatā* below the string-hole and squeezes a thin vertical line between ms P's scribe's *akṣaras na* and *ga* in order to correct *na gatād api* to *nāgatād api*. When P's scribe returns to the text, he erases his original *na tiṣṭhati gamyamāna*, replaces it with *na tiṣṭhati gamyamānatvān na gatā*, and erases the proofreader's correction, so that the half-verse now reads *na tiṣṭhati gamyamānatvān na gatān nāgatād api*. The grammatically correct form *gamyamānatvān* discovered by the proofreader in the exemplar (the individual responsible for the change obviously felt a reason was needed) adds, however, an unwanted syllable to the half-verse. This modification is representative of one of the changes introduced to the handful of modified *kārikās* in ms P: the change is incorporated without regard for the metre, but does have some thought behind it, deviant though it may be from the intended logic of the original *kārikā*.

It is certain that the individual who altered the MMK's text knew the grammatical rules of Sanskrit (he always applies correct *sandhi*) and, judging from the modifications he makes, it is not unreasonable to assume that he was fairly proficient in Sanskrit and comprehended much of the text. In some cases, a superficial understanding of the argumentation inspired the slight modification of a *kārikā*; in others, the change was made in reliance on wording in Candrakīrti's commentary. Although it would be culturally and contextually inappropriate to regard the new readings this individual brings to the manuscript as deriving from what a scholar of Latin textual criticism

has described as Western medieval scribes' "worst virtue," namely, a "pernicious desire to do good,"¹³ certainly the individual responsible for the changes to the MMK was not an uninvolved copyist/reader, and must have considered his revisions to be restoring lost readings and correcting errors that had crept into the text.¹⁴

On ms P as a contaminated manuscript, see below, Manuscript Relationships.

Script, Numerals and Date

The Bodleian Library Catalogue's description for ms P states that Hoernle's assignment of the manuscript to the first half of the fourteenth century may need to be revised and the date moved forward, on the basis of the numerals written in its margins, to the second half of the fourteenth century. The manuscript is, however, in my opinion, even older than Hoernle judged it to be, and more likely belongs to the late-twelfth or thirteenth century. The script, as stated, is old Nepalese; it is written in the Nepalese hooked style, termed such on account of the small, right-curving hook added to the top of *akṣaras*.¹⁵ This style, according to Bendall, came into fashion in the

¹³ James Willis (1972: 3), as quoted in Greetham 1992: 49. In Willis' opinion, most medieval scribes were "not wildly ignorant of Latin nor deeply versed" and therefore as scribes "very dangerous."

¹⁴ It is certainly not impossible that this individual or others did correct other errors that had entered the text. A developed tradition of textual criticism existed in India; see, e.g., Sarma 1982; von Hinüber 2000: 25f. Although most of the editing involved silent correction, commentators and editors sometimes recorded variant readings, and were aware of errors arising from similarity of *akṣaras*; note, e.g., Vallabhadeva's comment on the word *praśama* in Meghadhūta I.2: *kecit tu śakāraṭhākārayor lipisārūpyamohāt prathamā iti ūcuḥ | katham katham api caitam evārtham pratipannāḥ* | (quoted in Sarma 1982: 287; von Hinüber 2000: 25). Sarma (ibid., 288) records an anonymous author's biting versification of his view of poor editors: *sukavivacasi pāṭhān anyathākṛtya mohād rasagatim avadhūya prauḍham artham vihāya | vibudhavarasamāje vyākriyākāmukhānāḥ gurukulavimukhānāḥ dhṛṣṭatāyai namo 'stu* ||.

¹⁵ See Bendall 1992: xxiii. Bühler (1896: 58 [Fleet 1904: 59]), in his description of Proto-Bengālī, writes: "Unter den in das spätere Bengali nicht übergegangenen Eigentümlichkeiten, welche unsere drei Specimina zeigen, sind die kleinen Dreiecke

twelfth century; the earliest manuscript in the Cambridge Library collection reported on by Bendall that can be ascertained to be in the hooked style bears the date, or rather the Nepalese date equivalent to, A.D. 1165. I am aware of two instances of the script from earlier in the twelfth century, viz., in manuscripts dated A.D. 1135 and c. A.D. 1128.¹⁶ Bendall's study revealed that the hooked form took over as the general style in the thirteenth century, was employed at least half the time (as opposed to the style with horizontal lines topping the *akṣaras*) in the manuscripts of the fourteenth century, and remained the popular style in the fifteenth.¹⁷ It quickly went out of vogue, however, and is not found in manuscripts of the sixteenth century.

mit der unteren halbrunden Seite und die 'nepalesischen Haken' links an den Spitzen verschiedener Buchstaben die auffälligsten und wichtigsten...Vergleicht man noch die Tarpan-Dighi-Inschrift des Lakṣamaṇasena, in der die Dreiecke und Haken häufig wechseln, so ist es klar, dass der 'nepalesische Haken' cursiv aus dem Dreieck entwickelt ist. Das Dreieck selbst ist aber eine Modification für den Deckstrich mit darunter stehendem Halbkreise, wie er sich mitunter in den ornamentalen Inschriften aus Nord- und Centralindien ... findet." Continuing on to discuss the Nepalese hook type, he adds (*ibid.*, 59): "Nach den obigen Darlegungen über das Vorkommen der Haken in Bengal-Inschriften des 12. Jahrh. und über ihren Ursprung kann es nicht zweifelhaft sein, dass die Einführung dieser Modification der Deckstriche in Nepal dem Einflusse des benachbarten Bengalen zuzuschreiben ist, der, wie BENDALL erkannt hat, auch in andern Punkten bemerkbar ist."

Renou and Filliozat (1953: 679) refer to the style as "*vartula*": "La convexité supérieure de ce crochet donne un aspect globuleux aux caractères qui sont alors dits *vartula* 'ronds' (pl. écr. p. 693)." The script is also termed Bhujimol by Nepalese paleographers; the script in ms P is in many aspects similar to but is clearly older than what is presented as Bhujimol script in Hemrāj Śākya's *Nepāla lipi-saṅgraha* and *Nepāla lipi-prakāśa*.

¹⁶ The Nepalese hooked style is found in a *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from Year 53 of Rāmapāla's reign (c. A.D. 1128), held by the National Museum, New Delhi (Acc. No. 67.560), and in a *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript written in Kathmandu in NS 255 (= A.D. 1135), now housed in the San Diego Museum of Art, formerly Edwin Binney 3rd Collection (Acc. No. 1990:156). On the *Aṣṭasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript written in this style and whose presumably copied colophon states that it was written during the reign of Vīgrahapāla III (A.D. 1051-1075), see Allinger 2012.

¹⁷ Bendall, however, contradicts himself in his remarks on the styles of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. He initially asserts (1992: xxiii), "in the XIVth, however, we find the ordinary horizontal and the hooked tops in about an equal number of cases; in the XVth century there is again a decided preponderance of the hooked form ...", whereas a few pages later he writes (xxix), "Thus in the XIVth century about one third of the MSS. have letters with straight tops, and in the next

It should be emphasized that any discussion at this point in time of old Nepalese script, inclusive of its hooked phase, must remain tentative and subject to revision, for much more research is required before we will be able to speak with any certitude about the development of the script, its historical and regional changes, and so forth. While commendable as valuable and pioneering preliminary studies, the analyses that have been undertaken have focussed on minimal raw material.¹⁸ Given this situation, attempts at relative dating of Nepalese manuscripts on the basis of their paleography should be regarded as, if not premature, clearly provisional.¹⁹ This stated, I would nonetheless cautiously argue, in reliance on the previous studies, for a late-twelfth- or thirteenth-century date for ms P, that is, for a date earlier than either Hoernle or Winternitz and

century we find nearly the same proportion.” I have not been able to ascertain which assessment is correct.

¹⁸ Bendall, whose paleographical study tends to be the primary work relied on both by earlier scholars (Bühler [1896: 59] quite naturally takes Bendall’s “sorgfältige Untersuchung über die MSS. aus Nepal” as his authority) and by modern scholars, bases his conclusions concerning the development of Nepalese script on, e.g., a mere six manuscripts from the eleventh century, six from the twelfth century, of which the dates of two are uncertain, and eight from the thirteenth, of which the exact decade of two are uncertain. Concerning manuscripts from the sixteenth century, Bendall (1992: xxxi) writes, “Dated MSS. of the XVI century are almost too scarce to afford a basis for generalization, as we possess only five examples,” a conclusion we might be justified in applying to many of the generalizations made by Bendall on the basis of the manuscripts of the previous centuries.

¹⁹ L. Sander (1968: 165) asserts, “Es genügt nicht, nur nach für eine bestimmte Epoche als typisch angesehenen Buchstaben in einem Schriftstück zu suchen und es danach in ein Schriftsystem einzugliedern” and goes on to stress the importance of awareness of local styles that may call for the assignment of manuscripts exhibiting them to a different relative or absolute chronology. Greetham (1992: 222), referring to Western handwriting, asserts that any conclusions regarding dating by means of other dated manuscripts must be tempered with the knowledge that “[t]he method of comparative dating by fixed standards may occasionally cause problems: for example, a conservative manuscript might retain forms (orthographic or linguistic) which could make it appear to be very much earlier than it is; scribes might move from one area to another, or reach an advanced age while still writing in the style of their youth and birthplace.”

See, for comparative purposes, the introductory paragraph to the chapter section “Dating by Paleography” in Greetham (1992: 221) where it is stated that cycles of imitation and repetition, and the idiosyncrasies of scribes make relative dating in the Western tradition “hazardous at best.”

Keith assigned it. A few general remarks will have to suffice in support of the claim.

The manuscript bears a number of archaic forms of Nepalese *akṣaras* that are commonly found, for example, in the manuscripts of the twelfth century discussed by Bendall, but that have been or are being replaced by newer forms by the second half of the thirteenth.²⁰ In some cases, the newer forms appear alongside these more archaic forms, indicating that the script was in a state of transition.²¹ As regards a terminus a quo, it can be noted that initial *e* appears in ms P in the new open form, similar to Bengālī *e*. According to Bendall's charts, this form was appropriated in the latter part of the twelfth century, and does not appear in earlier manuscripts. I have found the same new form, however, in the two hooked-style manuscripts dating from c. A.D. 1128 and A.D. 1135.²² Ms P's *akṣara tha* remains in its

²⁰ See Bendall 1992: xxvii-xxix and his appended Table of Letters, and also Bühler 1896, Table 6a. For non-date-oriented tables which allow for easy, but much simplified, comparison of the hooked form, modern Nepalese, Bengālī, etc., see Renou and Filliozat 1953: 693-695.

²¹ For example, Oskar von Hinüber (1991: 8), discussing the script of an ancient Vinaya fragment, writes, "... the Vinaya fragment ... has been copied obviously during a transitional period from one type of script to another, since alternative forms of certain *akṣaras* appear side by side in the same manuscript. This can be observed also elsewhere e.g. at the time, when the younger proto-*śāradā* replaces the earlier round Gilgit script. Here the old tripartite *ya* continues to be used in combination with certain vowels, while the more recent form of that *akṣara* occurs as well." That such periods of transition may vary for individual *akṣaras* can be illustrated by comparing the relatively quick transition, apparently not involving an over-lapping of forms, from archaic initial *e* to the precursor of the modern Nepalese form during the twelfth century with the drawn-out change-over from archaic *bha* to modern Nepalese *bha* that extends from the twelfth into the fifteenth century. The mere fact that our script is in a process of transition does not necessarily help in assigning the manuscript to a certain century since the script was transforming in one way or another during the entire three and a half century duration of the hooked style, but conclusions regarding dating, tentative as they must remain until more paleographical research regarding old Nepalese is done, can be drawn on the basis of the measure of development of individual *akṣaras* and the relationship of this development to that of other *akṣaras*.

²² Respectively the Pañcarakṣā manuscript from Year 53 of Rāmapāla's reign (c. A.D. 1128) and the Pañcarakṣā manuscript written in Kathmandu in NS 255 (= A.D. 1135). See n. 16.

early form and on occasion appears in an even more archaic form. Based on the sparse information in Bendall's charts, *tha* would occur in its later form only from the fourteenth century on in Nepalese manuscripts (this form can be evidenced already in the late eleventh century in proto-Bengālī and may have had an earlier influence on writing in Nepal).²³ *dha* appears predominantly in its archaic form resembling the modern Devanāgarī *pa*²⁴ but is also occasionally to be seen in its open-top form, an anticipation of the modern Nepalese-script *dha*, which can be found already in a few manuscripts of the late twelfth century²⁵ and, sometimes side by side with the archaic form, in the majority of manuscripts of the latter half of the thirteenth.²⁶ P's *bha* occurs almost consistently in the older form; I have been able to locate only a few occurrences of the modern form. By the late twelfth century both the archaic and the modern form are being used together alternately in manuscripts, a practice that continues in the thirteenth. The archaic *śa*, replaced by the modern Nepalese *śa* in the thirteenth century,²⁷ appears in ms P approximately half the time. *sa* usually bears the older form that is often difficult to distinguish from *ma*, but is also represented by the newer form.

²³ See Bühler 1896: 57. See also Table V, C. XXII for this new development for *tha* (and *dha*) by A.D. 1200 in north India.

²⁴ Bühler (1896: 57) describes the Śāradā *dha* similarly: "*dha*, das oben abgeplattet und unten so breit ist, dass es einem Devanāgarī *pa* gleicht." This same form is to be found in Bendall's manuscripts 1644 (A.D. 1205), 1706.1 and 2 (1261? and 1279) but does not appear in his manuscripts of the fourteenth century.

²⁵ For this open-top form, see Bendall's Table of Letters, ms. 1693 (A.D. 1165), etc. Bendall (1992: xxvii) further refers to a form of *dha* found in ms. 1657 (A.D. 1199) and ms. 1691.2 (A.D. 1179) that represents the transition from the archaic form to the open-top, but not yet modern, form of *dha*; this specific form is not found in ms P.

²⁶ Bendall (1992: xxviii) refers to two manuscripts written in A.D. 1276 and one written in A.D. 1278 which bear the later, open-topped form of *dha*; one of the manuscripts dated 1276 and the manuscript dated 1278 bear in addition to the newer *dha* the archaic form of *dha*. One also finds the new open-topped *dha* in the British Museum manuscript no. 1439, dated 1286; see Bühler's Table VI, C. XII.

²⁷ Bendall (1992: xxv) records that a manuscript from A.D. 1065 presents the first example of the modern Nepalese *śa*.

On the basis of the above, and supported by the other archaic conjunct formations that occur in the script, it seems reasonable to place ms P in the late twelfth or thirteenth century. Paleographical specifics include prescript *r* conjoined with *tta*, *ma*, *ya* and *va* (superscript *r* is alternatively added to these *akṣaras*);²⁸ alternative forms of medial vowels, viz., two forms of medial *ā*, four of *e*, five of *o*, and three of *ai*; medial *ū* formed as two mirrored right angles joined to the centre-right of the consonant *akṣara*, i.e., a short horizontal line attached to a longer upward-extending vertical above a short horizontal line attached to a longer downward-extending vertical line (predominantly used with *r*, *śr*, and *br*); and stylized final *m* plus *virāma*.²⁹

The *akṣara*-numerals employed in ms P (termed “letter-numerals” by Bendall to distinguish them from “figure-numerals,” i.e., numbers from the decimal system) also seem to point to a date earlier than that assigned by Winternitz and Keith, and I fail to see that the specific records in Bendall’s charts would support their estimate of a late-fourteenth-century date. They assert that the *akṣara*-numerals in the Cambridge manuscripts dating from A.D. 1360 and 1385 best correspond with the *akṣara*-numerals in ms P, but in many cases this statement is simply erroneous. Only for the numbers 12 and 13, and then 102 and 103, does ms P attest, as part of these numbers, the *akṣaras* representing 2 and 3, viz., *dvi* and *tri*,³⁰ as found in the manuscripts dating from A.D. 1360 and 1385; for all other instances of 1, 2 or 3, the forms found in the older manuscripts are used. The 2 and 3 of the first two folios of ms P are also written in the old style,

²⁸ The same prescript *r* occurs in a Nepalese manuscript dated 1119 described in Pant 2000: 100f., in the previously mentioned Pañcarakṣā manuscript from Year 53 of Rāmapāla’s reign (c. A.D. 1128), and in the Pañcarakṣā manuscript written in Kathmandu in NS 255 (= A.D. 1135).

²⁹ This stylized *m-virāma* has also been described as a type of *anusvāra*. In ms P, where it is written as a small circle with a stroke beneath it which slopes downward to the right, it is only used in final position, never within a word, and only at the end of a sentence. It is clearly understood by P’s scribe as a stylized *m-virāma*, because it is used alternatively with a miniature *m* with a sloping line / *virāma* beneath it. I take the stylized *m-virāma* in ms P to be a development of the miniature *m-virāma*.

³⁰ *dvi* and *tri* already appear in the manuscripts dated A.D. 1165 and 1205.

and the form of 1 found in the two manuscripts from the fourteenth century does not appear anywhere in ms P. The *akṣara*-numeral for 4 corresponds to that of manuscripts from the years A.D. 1008, 1065, 1139 and 1165, yet is also close to that of the A.D. 1205 and 1385 manuscripts. The *akṣara*-numeral for 5 resembles that from A.D. 1205, but shows also similarity with that from 1385; it is different from the *akṣara*-numeral for 5 attested in the A.D. 1360 ms. The *akṣara*-numeral for 6 can be seen to correspond with that from the years A.D. 1008, 1065, 1139, 1165, and 1205, less with that from A.D. 1360, and not with that from A.D. 1385. The *akṣara*-numeral for 7 has unique features not found in Bendall's charts, taking a form between that of the *akṣara*-numeral for 7 of A.D. 1165 and 1205; it can at times also be compared to (were it not for its straight horizontal top) that of A.D. 1360. The *akṣara*-numeral for 8 compares to that of A.D. 1360 but has a much longer tail; the same form, however, can already be seen in the manuscripts from A.D. 1008, 1065 and 1139. The *akṣara*-numeral for 9 is in a form between that of A.D. 1205 and that of 1385, and is completely different from that of A.D. 1360. The *akṣara*-numeral for 10, appearing as the *akṣara*-numeral for 9 with a small circle for zero under it, corresponds with that of A.D. 1205 but not with that of the manuscripts from the 1300s. The *akṣara*-numeral for 20 is best represented by the forms of the *akṣara*-numeral from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and is different from those of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The *akṣara*-numeral for 30, with a straight horizontal line topping it, corresponds with the *akṣara* numeral from A.D. 1165. The *akṣara*-numeral for 40 is presented in the older form shown for the manuscripts of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The *akṣara*-numeral for 50 does not change much over the centuries and can be compared to the 50s of the eleventh through fourteenth centuries. The *akṣara*-numeral for 60 again has unique features and, although it is similar to *akṣaras* of both the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, cannot be said to correspond more with one than another. The folios for the 70s have been lost. The *akṣara*-numeral for 80 is in the form presented in the majority of the manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries and in the A.D. 1360 ms, but is different from that in the A.D. 1385 ms. The *akṣara*-numeral for 90 compares to that from A.D. 1165 and 1360, not to that from A.D. 1385. 100 also

exhibits unique features, but compares somewhat to that of A.D. 1165 and 1360, and much less to that of A.D. 1385.

On the basis of Bendall's charts, the latter half of the fourteenth century is too late a date for ms P.³¹ Unfortunately, Bendall did not have access to manuscripts dating from the first half of the fourteenth century that employed *akṣara*-numerals. There is, however, still enough evidence from his *akṣara*-numeral charts to support a late-twelfth- or thirteenth-century date for P. The introduction of *dvi* and *tri* into the numbers 12 and 13 appears to indicate that the manuscript likely does not predate the latter half of the twelfth century, a conclusion also arrived at during the examination of the *akṣara*-numerals. That *tr* (= 5) has devolved to a rather grotesque form of *hr* suggests again a late-twelfth-century terminus a quo or, according to Bendall's charts, a thirteenth-century date. *phra* (= 6) has lost the form it had in the tenth and early eleventh centuries but has not yet transformed into the *bhra* it becomes by the later fourteenth century; it retains the straight lines shown in the intermediary form of the late 1100s and early 1200s. *gra* (= 7) has gained the extra vertical stroke first evidenced in the A.D. 1165 ms, and is presented at times with the wavy version of this stroke that appears by the early 1200s; it retains the straight lines in the rest of the *akṣara* and so has not reached the late-fourteenth-century stage in which it degenerates into the *akṣara* *ñā*, but it does attest one or two short horizontal lines connecting the extra vertical line to the rest of the *akṣara*, thus certainly anticipating the change into *ñā*. A later form of 8 occurs in ms P, but at the same time we find that it retains the old form of 20, already replaced in the A.D. 1205 manuscript. Although, as stated, any conclusion regarding the date on the basis of a comparison with the few manuscripts examined by Bendall has to be a tentative one, once again the late 1100s or 1200s would seem the most attractive years in which to place ms P.

³¹ See also the "System of Figures in Mss. Discovered" in R. Sāṅkṛtyāyana's article "Second Search of Sanskrit Palm-Leaf Mss. in Tibet" in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* 23 (1937) and Bühler 1896: Tafel IX ("Zahlzeichen"). These charts do not supply additional information for the dating of ms P.

This analysis, which demonstrates that the manuscript bears signs of being at least a century earlier than Winternitz and Keith's estimate, is supported by the learned opinion of Dr. Mahes Raj Pant, an expert in Nepalese paleography. Curious to know if a second opinion would support my conclusions, I sent photocopies of a few folios of ms P to Kathmandu to be examined by Dr. Pant. He informed me that ms P's script is more recent than that of a manuscript of the Amarakośa dating from A.D. 1119,³² but definitely too archaic to be from the fourteenth century, and on the basis of the folios sent suggested, in agreement with my general estimate, the thirteenth century as the most probable time period. At a later meeting in Vienna during which we compared more digitized images of ms P with Pant's photograph of a twelfth-century Nepalese inscription, he noted that the archaisms in ms P's script indeed indicate that the manuscript could have been written in the latter half of the twelfth century.

Ms Q

Ms Q is valuable for the reconstitution of the text of the PsP not only because it preserves many reliable readings but because it has suffered minimal damage, and lacks only four folios. It attests text for many of ms P's missing folios and numerous damaged passages.

Ms Q is regrettably at this point in time not available to the larger scholarly community; I do not know if it has been microfilmed. In 2001, while on a trip to Lhasa with a team of scholars from Taishō University, Dr. Yoshiyasu Yonezawa was allowed to view the manuscript, which was at that point in time kept in the Potala Palace, and granted permission to make a hand-copy of its text. Dr. Yonezawa kindly provided me with a copy of his hand-copy of ms Q's first chapter of the PsP when I was on a research stay in Japan in 2011.³³ In addition to the text of ms Q, the hand-copy records all

³² A few folios of the manuscript are reproduced in Pant 2000: 61-66.

³³ All of my comments about the manuscript and its readings are based on the hand-copy of Q's first chapter, on the brief description of Q in Yonezawa 2005b, and on personal communication with Dr. Yonezawa. I do not have access to other chapters

damage to the manuscript, as well as unclear *akṣaras*, the scribe's deletions and corrections, and all marginal insertions; also noted in it are readings from de La Vallée Poussin's edition of the PsP wherever Q attests a variant reading.

Yonezawa (2005b: 160) describes the manuscript as follows:

Material: Palm leaf

Size: 4.5 x 57 cm.

Line per folio: 7-9

Physical condition: 83 leaves. The 10th, 16th, 43rd and 86th leaves are missing. The 85th folio ends with *saṃskṛtam aprati°* (= LVP 593.5). The right edge of some leaves is defect, thereby 7-8 *akṣaras* on that part are missing.

Script: Nepālī(?)

The first chapter of the PsP in ms Q originally comprised 14 folios. As Yonezawa states in his description above, folio 10 (= PsP_M §91-§102 first sentence [= PsP_L 59.4-66.9]) is missing, thus leaving 13 folios. The right and left edges of folio 1 have broken off, with the result that 7-14 *akṣaras* are missing from each line; the right edge of folio 2 is broken, affecting 6-8 *akṣaras* per line. The first chapter colophon reads *ācāryacandrakīrttipāḍoparacitāyāṃ prasannapadāyāṃ madhyamakavṛttau pratyayaparīkṣī nāma prathamam prakāṣaṃ samāptam* (sic).

Scribal Error and Correction

As testified to by the mistakes Q shares with P, the text of the PsP had already accumulated a number of errors, some grave, by the time ms Q's scribe arranged his exemplar and poised his pen for writing. Q's text is occasionally marred by errors of dittography and haplography, as well as mistakes caused by the occasional misreading of similar *akṣaras* (the latter hypothesized on the basis of specific mistakes in Q). The most frequent problem is eyeskip, which occurs much more often than in ms P; it usually involves only one

of Yonezawa's hand-copy, and thus am unable to refer to relevant wording in Q's later chapters, e.g., in cases of first-chapter citations that also appear later chapters.

akṣara (and thus in the cases of *madhyamaka* written as *madhyaka* or *nāgārjuna* written as *nārjuna* is relatively insignificant) but not infrequently is responsible for the loss of two or three *akṣaras*, or entire words, in one case more than three sentences. When the scribe notices that he has made a mistake, he erases the concerned *akṣara*(s) and rewrites the text. A number of *akṣaras*, words and sentences, some of which may be from a second hand, have been written in the margins. This marginal material is usually enclosed within two “x”s and followed by the line-number it pertains to, with the point of insertion marked in the text with an “x”. On the problem of contamination in ms Q, see below Manuscript Relationships.

Script and Date

Dr. Yonezawa tentatively describes the script as old Nepalese. He informs me that it is written in a flat-topped style, not in the hooked style shown by ms P. It attests the archaic *gha* with an indentation in its bottom (like P’s *gha*) as opposed to the later style that sets the indentation on the left side. Its initial *e* never occurs in the archaic, closed form. *dha* is always written with an open top (unlike P’s *dha* which is primarily written in the older form) and *tha* always appears in a form in which the upper loop has diminished in size and is pulled upwards, away from the lower, in anticipation of the modern style (unlike P’s *tha* which remains in the older form).

Since Q’s last leaf is missing, a final colophon is not available. On the basis of the admittedly very limited information about the script, one is inclined to conjecture that ms Q is more recent than ms P. Further information about the script and more detailed conclusions regarding Q’s age will hopefully be made available to scholars in the future.

Paper Manuscripts

Mss A-N

All of the paper manuscripts were copied in Nepal, presumably in the Kathmandu Valley. The close relationships between them are evident in many of the aberrations in the text they transmit and in specific features external to this text. All of them bear the same basic colophon, which identifies the work as the Prasannapadā, the Madhyamakavṛtti.³⁴ All but mss A, C and D present in their upper left margins, where one might expect the work's title, the word *vinaya* or its variant *vineya*,³⁵ or the abbreviations *vi.sū* or *vi.ya*. Ms G has *vinaya* in the left margin and *sūtra* in the right. Given that B, J and L exhibit *vinaya* (L) and *vineya* (B, J), it can be assumed that both ms λ, i.e., J and L's common ancestor (see Stemma), and ms κ, from which B and ms λ descend, also identified the work as a/the Vinaya Sūtra. The reasons for this identification are unknown. In ostensibly the first reference to the PsP by a European scholar, the work is misidentified, probably due to reliance on our ms M and/or Nepalese informants: Brian H. Hodgson, in an essay first published in 1828, includes in his list of Buddhist literature of Nepal the annotated entry “*Vineya Sūtra*, containing an account of the Bodhi charyā (Buddhism) author Chandrakirti, Achārya. It is equivalent to the Vyāsa Sūtra of the Brahmans.”³⁶ (This is corrected in the 1874 reprint of the essay to “*Vinaya Sūtra*, Treatise on Discipline. Author Chandra Kīrti Achārya. It is equivalent to the Vyāsa Sūtra of the

³⁴ Ms K is incomplete and thus without a final colophon, but it shares its chapter colophons with the other manuscripts.

³⁵ The manuscript identified during the NGMCP cataloguing work attests *vainaya*. In 2005 I recorded that the initial pages of the unlocatable “Ōtani manuscript” present *vainaiya*.

³⁶ Hodgson 1828: 431.

Brahmans.”³⁷) Eugène Burnouf, writing just prior to 1844 about the content of the PsP, in the footnotes and prose to his “Introduction à l’histoire du Bouddhisme indien” similarly and repeatedly refers to the title of the work borne by the manuscript he is using (= ms M, given to the Société Asiatique in 1837 by Hodgson)³⁸ as the “Vinaya sūtra.”³⁹ Burnouf is, however, aware that the reference to the Vinaya is misleading, and informs his reader that even though “Vinaya patra” appears on the first page of his manuscript and the title is given as “Vinaya sūtra” in the list of works discovered and received by Hodgson, neither of these titles appears within the work itself:

Mais aucun de ces titres ne se retrouve dans l’ouvrage même; le seul que je rencontre à la fin des chapitres est *Madhyamaka vr̥tti*, ou Explication de la doctrine Madhyamaka ou Madhyamika, ouvrage composé par l’Âtchârya Tchandra kīrti. Quelques lignes d’introduction nous apprennent que le Madhyamaka vr̥tti est un commentaire qui porte sur des Kārikās ou axiomes mémoriaux dont l’auteur est Nāgārdjuna. C’est très-probablement à ces Kārikās que s’applique le nom de *Vinaya sūtra* ou *Vinaya patra*, qui est resté à notre volume, malgré le témoignage du manuscrit lui-même.⁴⁰

³⁷ Hodgson 1874: 20 (the chapter “Notices on the Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet” from which the above entry is quoted, is a reprint of the earlier version [with corrections and improvements] published in *Asiatic Researches* 16 [1928]: 409ff. [reprinted in Hodgson’s *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion of the Buddhists*, Serampore, 1841, p. 1ff.]) Pandit Amṛtānanda of Lalitpur, who facilitated Brian Hodgson’s study of Buddhism and helped him to amass his collection of manuscripts, was certainly aware of the title of the work: when he copied passages from three chapters of the PsP at Hodgson’s request he carefully copied the chapter colophon before each passage. My thanks to Iain Sinclair for the reference and a scan of the page and a half copied by Amṛtānanda for Hodgson (Hodgson Papers, vol. 28, India Office Library in London).

³⁸ Hodgson presented the Société Asiatique with 147 manuscripts in 1837; see Hunter 1896: 266f.

³⁹ See, e.g., Burnouf 1844: 545, n. 1, 560, nn. 1-4, etc.

⁴⁰ Burnouf 1844: 559. English translation in Buffetrille and Lopez 2010: 508f. Note also Burnouf 1844: 562, where he writes, “L’examen du Vinaya sūtra, ou plutôt du Madhyamika vr̥tti, commentaire du Vinaya sūtra, ...”

In the right margins of the versos of mss A, B, E and M the respective scribes have written the word *guruḥ*; *guru* appears in D, H, I and L. Ms F's scribe has written *rāmaḥ* in the right margins of four folios at the beginning of the manuscript. Copyists considered such words to bestow auspiciousness on the scribal undertaking and the manuscript in general.⁴¹

It remains a mystery, given that philosophical texts like the PsP are no longer studied by Newar Buddhists in Nepal, and are not known to have been studied there in recent centuries, why mss B, D, J and L and the ten manuscripts of the PsP that descend from J and L (twelve if we include the manuscript identified by the NGMCP and the manuscript shown to me in Kyoto) were copied in Kathmandu and/or environs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Philosophical texts, unlike *sūtras*, were not usually copied for the accumulation of merit. It is tempting to conjecture that one or two Newar Buddhist teachers in the Kathmandu Valley familiar with Madhyamaka thought decided to attempt to revive the dying tradition of philosophical study by teaching the PsP to his/their students, and passed on personal exemplars to the students for copying, these copies being used as the basis for further copies.⁴² I have been informed, however, that the study of the PsP at such a late date in Nepal, while not impossible, is unlikely, and that it is more probable

⁴¹ Cf. Kragh 2006: 38, n. 39. Cf. also the Ānanda Rāmāyaṇa, Book 7, Canto 21 (cf. Raghavan 1998: 111), where Lava asks Vasiṣṭha why scribes write “*śrī rāma*” on each folio of the manuscripts they copy, and is told that these words remove all mistakes and are sanctifying.

⁴² One recalls the observations of Richard Garbe (1925: 102) during a trip to India in the early nineteenth century. He records upon visiting traditional teaching arenas, “Die Klassen befanden sich teils im Freien teils unter Bambushütten, einige auch in Lehmhäusern; überall sassen die Knaben, grösstenteils im Alter von 10-16 Jahren, auf dem Erdboden, sowie auch die Pandits, von denen einheimische Grammatik, Poetik, Philosophie und anderes gelehrt wurde. Die Leitfäden und die Texte, die dem Unterricht zu Grunde lagen, waren fast nur in Handschriften vorhanden, freilich in ganz modernen Vervielfältigungen.”

that the manuscripts were copied at the request of European scholars stationed in or visiting Nepal.⁴³

Ms A

National Archives, Kathmandu (catalogue no. 3-643).

Filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in 1984 (reel no. A 916/5).

Described in Tsukamoto, Matsunaga and Isoda.⁴⁴

Script: Devanāgarī

Physical description: 193 folios; 32.5 x 16.2 cm.; Nepalese paper; 11 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 27v. *mā. śā. vyā.* (ostensibly an abbreviation for *mādhyamikaśāstravyākhyā*) is written in the upper left margin of each verso, *guruḥ* in the lower right margin of each verso. The folio number for the respective page is written under both *mā. śā. vyā.* and *guruḥ*.

Colophon (corrected): *āryacandrakīrtipādoparacitāyāṃ prasanna-padāyāṃ madhyamakavṛttau dṛṣṭiparīkṣā nāma saptaviṃśatitamam prakaraṇam samāptam || || samāptam cedam madhyamakaśāstram sakalalaukikalokottarapravacanānītaneyārthavyākhyānanaipuṇya-viśāradaṃ śrāvakaṃ pratyekabuddhānuttarasamyaksaṃ buddhabodhi-maṇḍāsanadāyakaṃ iti ||*

The manuscript is not dated.

Tsukamoto et al.⁴⁵ note correctly that the *Mādhyamikavṛtti* entry no. 140 of the Bīr Library⁴⁶ is equivalent to three entries in the

⁴³ I am grateful to Mahes Raj Pant and Iain Sinclair for their comments on the possible reasons behind the production of the PsP paper manuscripts.

⁴⁴ Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 5.

⁴⁵ Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 237, item 1.

⁴⁶ The Bīr Library (Vīrapustakālaya), named after the Nepalese Prime Minister Bir Samser Jung Bahadur Rana who founded it shortly after Cecil Bendall's stay in Nepal in 1884, is also known as the Durbar Library. See the Introduction in Grünen-

Kathmandu National Archives catalogue, viz. Bṛhatsūcīpatra nos. 3-643 (my ms A), 3-299 (my ms E), and 3-598 (my ms F). Tsukamoto et al.⁴⁷ also refer to a Madhyamakavṛtti manuscript recorded by Śāstri (1915: 242) amongst the then “not yet registered” manuscripts of the Durbar Library.⁴⁸ This manuscript is said to be written on Nepalese paper in Nevārī script, to measure 13 x 7 inches, and to consist of 163 folios, 11 lines per folio. Grünendahl includes the manuscript in his *Concordance* with the additional information that the manuscript was filmed by the NGMPP as reel number A 916/5, i.e., the reel number for my ms A, and refers his reader to the Bṛhatsūcīpatra Vol. 7, 2, p. 127, no. 174, of the National Archives.⁴⁹ This Bṛhatsūcīpatra entry has the catalogue number 3-643 (the catalogue number for my ms A) and the additional information recorded there states that the manuscript is written in Devanāgarī—not in Nevārī, the script Śāstri, Tsukamoto et al., and Grünendahl recorded for it—and further notes the manuscript as containing 193, not 163 folios. Thus Śāstri’s Durbar Library Madhyamakavṛtti entry can only be yet another, though faulty, record of my ms A.⁵⁰

Ms B

Private collection of Āśā Kāji Vajrācārya of Patan, Nepal.⁵¹

dahl 1989 and Jacques May’s review of Grünendahl’s *Concordance*. May (1991: 152) notes, “Elle fait maintenant partie des Archives Nationales du Népal, mais elle y a conservé son individualité.”

⁴⁷ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 6.

⁴⁸ See also Grünendahl’s reprint of the catalogue (1989: 720).

⁴⁹ See Grünendahl 1989: CXI.

⁵⁰ Śāstri (1915: 242), noting in his manuscript description that “Prof. Louis de La Valle (sic) Poussin is editing it in the Bibliotheca Buddhika” (sic) likely intends to refer to Poussin’s editing of the text in general rather than to assert (erroneously) that he was utilizing this specific manuscript.

⁵¹ For information on Āśā Kāji Vajrācārya, see Mr. Bidya Bhushan Bajracharya’s (1995: 12-14) “A Brief Biography of Pandit Vaidya Asha Kaji Bajracharya.”

Filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project in 1981 (reel no. E 1294/3).

Described by Takaoka⁵² (catalogue no. KA 45, microfilm reel no. R-KA 1) and by Tsukamoto et al.⁵³

Script: Devanāgarī

Physical description: 207 folios; 31.8 x 12.7 cm.; Nepalese paper; 9-10 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 28v. *vineya*. is written in the upper left margin of each verso folio, *guruḥ* in the lower right margin of each verso folio. The folio number for the respective folio is written under both *vineya*. and *guruḥ*.

Colophon: as A (*ācārya* for *ārya*). The colophon continues with the specifics of the date:⁵⁴ *nandeṣvanke tape śukle vāṇītithau samālikhet || vineyasūtram ity uktam jvālāmūnir idaṃ param || sarvasūtrāntare [']dṛṣṭvā śāstreṣu nīpunaṃ kṛtam || jñānodayam ācāryasya sat-jñānena dhīmatā || śrīr astu || || śreyo 'stu samvat 959 māghaśukla-śrīpaṃcamī ādityavāra*

Date: N.S. 959 (= A.D. 1839)

Ms C

National Archives, Kathmandu (catalogue no. 5-32).

Filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, 1971 (reel no. B 90/3).

⁵² See Takaoka 1981: 19. Takaoka's filming took place from 1975 to 1980.

⁵³ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 12.

⁵⁴ Kashinath Tamot, previously a staff-member of the NGMPP (now employed with the NGMCP) in Kathmandu, kindly deciphered the date given here. He explains: *nanda* = *Nanda* (the sibling kings of Pāṭaliputra) = 9; *iṣu* = arrow = 5; *aṅka* = figure = 9; *tape* (for *tapasi*) = *tapas* = the month of Māgha; *vāṇī* = Sarasvatī; Śrīpaṃcamī = the day Sarasvatī is worshipped. The date is given again in numerical form and in its more common form following the words *śrīr astu*. My thanks also to Prof. Alexander von Rospatt for arranging for the dating of this manuscript, and for other valuable information he shared with me based on his work in Nepal.

Described by Tsukamoto et al.⁵⁵

Script: Nepalese

Physical description: 252 folios; 41 x 11 cm.; Nepalese paper; 6 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 36r. Illustration of four-armed yellow Prajñāpāramitā in the centre of folio 1v.⁵⁶ Folios numbered in the centre left and centre right margins of verso folios using respectively the older *akṣara* numerals and relatively modern figure numerals.

Colophon: as A⁵⁷

The manuscript is not dated.

Ms D

Keshar Library, Kathmandu (catalogue no. 9-182). The title according to the catalogue and the title on the separate “title” page is *sakalapravacanārthasamgraha* (corrected).⁵⁸ The title on folio 1r is given as *prajñāpāramitāṭīkā*.

⁵⁵ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 7.

⁵⁶ *Pītaprajñāpāramitā* is frequently found adorning book-covers and manuscripts in Tibet and Nepal; examples may be seen, e.g., in the exhibition catalogue *Tibetische Buchdeckel* (see Grönbold 1991). Antoinette K. Gordon (1959: 74) describes her as holding her inner two hands in the *dharmacakramudrā*, with a book in the outer left hand and either a *mālā* in the right hand or holding the right in the *abhayamudrā*. In ms C’s illustration she holds a *mālā*. On the various forms of *Prajñāpāramitā*, see, e.g., Conze 1968.

⁵⁷ The colophon continues on with: *ye dharmmā hetuprabhavā hetus teṣāṃ tathāgataḥ || hy avadat teṣāṃ yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahā[śra]maṇaḥ ||*

⁵⁸ This title was presumably added once the manuscript was brought to the Keshar Library; underneath it are recorded other statistics of the manuscript such as its Keshar Library catalogue number, that it is a “*baudhagrantha*” and, erroneously, that it is in Nāgarī script. De Jong (1979: 542) attributes to a scribe the text *ācārya-candrakīrtipāḍoparacitā sakalapravacanārthasamgrathanamadhyamakaśāstrastutiḥ parisamāptā*, etc., which follows the so-called *Madhyamakaśāstrastuti* (included after the PsP colophon in ms D). The individual who recorded the title for the separate title page appears to have assumed that the words printed here in bold

Filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, 1975 (reel no. C 19/8).

Script: Nepalese⁵⁹

Physical description: 111 folios; 39 x 15.9 cm.; Nepalese paper; 13 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 15r. The second title folio (= folio 1r) gives *prajñāpāramitāṭīkā* as the title; under this is written “*patra — 113.*” The scribe numbers folio 65 as 66 and thus the folio numbering from “66” on is off by a folio. Half of folio 112v (actually folio 111v) and the folio numbered 113 (actually 112r) contain the text for the *Madhyamakaśāstrastuti*.⁶⁰ The versos are numbered in the centre right margin and on the majority of the folios *guru* is written above each number.

Colophon: as A

The ms is not dated.

This manuscript was discovered by Giuseppe Tucci⁶¹ and a photocopy of it was used by J.W. de Jong to make his edition of the MMK (1977) and to compile his “Textcritical Notes on the *Prasannapadā*” (1978).

indicate the title of the entire work contained by the manuscript, i.e., the *PsP* together with the final *stuti*.

⁵⁹ See also the manuscript and script description in Kragh 2006: 38f. Kragh concludes that the manuscript may belong to the late nineteenth or twentieth century.

⁶⁰ The colophon is followed by the fourteen stanzas given the name *Madhyamakaśāstrastuti*. For the Sanskrit and Tibetan text and a French translation, see de Jong 1979: 541-550.

⁶¹ The library of the Oriental department of the Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente holds a photographic copy of the manuscript and kindly sent a copy of this copy to me, and J.W. de Jong generously sent me his wife’s romanization of the first chapter of the copy of the manuscript lent to him by Tucci. I was thus able to compare both de Jong’s copy of ms R and the Rome copy of the Tucci manuscript with the NGMPP film and to confirm that the manuscript found by Tucci and used by de Jong is indeed the manuscript of the Keshar Library in Kathmandu.

Ms E

National Archives, Kathmandu (catalogue no. 3-299).

Filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, date of filming not recorded (reel no. B 88/6).

Described in Tsukamoto et al.⁶²

Script: Devanāgarī

Physical description: 161 folios; 35 x 14 cm.; Nepalese paper; 11 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 23r. Written in the upper left margin of each verso folio is, on folio 1v, *viyana*, on folios 2 to 47, *vinaya*, and from folio 48 on *vineya*; *guruḥ* is written in the lower right margin of each verso folio. The number for the respective folio is written under *guruḥ*.

Colophon: as A

The manuscript is not dated.

Ms F

National Archives, Kathmandu (catalogue no. 3-598).

Filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, 1984 (reel no. A 916/6-A 917/1).

Described in Tsukamoto et al.⁶³

Script: Devanāgarī

Physical description: 145 folios; 31 x 15.7 cm.; Nepalese paper; 12 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 22v. *vinaya* is written in the upper left margin of each verso folio up to folio 70; folio 71 has in its place *vinamya*; folios 72 and 73 *vineya*; from folio 74 on *vi.ya*; *rāmaḥ* is written above the folio number in the lower right

⁶² See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 3.

⁶³ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 4.

margin on the versos 1, 3, 4 and 5. The number for the respective folio is written under *vinaya* and its variants and also appears in the lower right margin.

Colophon: as A, then continues with *śubham astu naranae varṣaghasre nabhā saptamī nīlike budhadine ṣaḍānaṃdalikhitaṃ* (sic) *sūtram uttamam*. This final part of the colophon includes the date the manuscript was copied, but my correspondents in Nepal were not able to determine the meaning of *naranae* as a specific year.⁶⁴

Ms G

Private collection of M.V. Vajrācārya, Kathmandu.

Filmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, 1983 (reel no. E 1478/2). The catalogue card adds that *vinayasūtra* is written in the margin.

This manuscript was also filmed by the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religion (IASWR) in New York under the film strip number MBB-1971-62.⁶⁵

Described in Tsukamoto et al. where the IASWR film is referred to and the date of the manuscript is given as N.S. 880.⁶⁶ This date appears to be based on a misunderstanding: The IASWR information sheet for the manuscript gives +880 as the number of years to be added to a Nepal Samvat date for a reckoning of the corresponding year of the Common Era, but does not enter a date for the manuscript. No date is indicated in the manuscript colophon.

Script: Nepalese

⁶⁴ “The excellent sūtra was written by Ṣaḍānanda in the year Naranae (=?), [in the month of] Śrāvaṇa, Kṛṣṇasaptamī Budhavāra.”

⁶⁵ Copies of this manuscript, as well as of mss D, H, I, J and K, were used by Saito (1985) to correct a number of *kārikās* of the MMK.

⁶⁶ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 8.

Physical description: 231 folios; 33.7 x 9.4 cm.; Nepalese paper; 7 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 34r. *vinaya* is written in the upper left margin of each verso, *sūtra* in the lower right margin. The number for the respective folio is written under both *vinaya* and *sūtra*.

Colophon: as A

The manuscript is not dated.

Ms H

Tokyo University Library (no. 250).

Described in Matsunami⁶⁷ and Tsukamoto et al.⁶⁸

Script: Devanāgarī

Physical description: 246 folios; 12 x 5 inches; Nepalese paper; 8-9 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 34v. *viyana* is written in the upper left margin of the first verso, *vinaya* in the upper left margin of the following versos (fol. 134 omits *vinaya*, fol. 135-140 have *vi-ne*, fol. 141-224 *vineya*, 224 to the end *vinaya*); *guru* is written in the lower right margin of the versos. The number for the respective folio is written under both *vinaya* and *guru*.

Colophon: as A

The manuscript is not dated.

Ms I

Tokyo University Library (no. 252).

Described in Matsunami⁶⁹ and Tsukamoto et al.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See Matsunami 1965: 94, 356-7.

⁶⁸ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 239, item 13.

Script: Nepalese

Physical description: 303 folios; 12 x 4 3/4 inches; Nepalese paper; 8 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 40v. *vinaya* is written in the upper left margin of versos, *guru* in the lower right margin of versos. The number for the respective folio is written in the centre of the right margin of versos. Rectos are stamped at the bottom with “Belongs to Nudima Nundu.”

Colophon: as A

The manuscript is not dated.

Ms J

Tokyo University Library (no. 251).

Described in Matsunami⁷¹ and Tsukamoto et al.⁷²

Script: Nepalese

Physical description: 241 folios; 14 1/4 x 3 1/2 inches; Nepalese paper; 6 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 34v. *vineya* is written in the upper left margin of each verso. The folio number for the respective folio is written under *vineya* and in the centre of the right margin of versos. Folio 1v has an empty space in its centre that approximates the space taken up by ms C's illustration of Prajñā-pāramitā.

Colophon: as A, then continues:⁷³ *śubham || ye dharmā hetuprabhavā hetun teṣān tathāgataḥ || hy avadat teṣāṃ yo nirodha evamvādī mahā-*

⁶⁹ See Matsunami 1965: 95, 356-7.

⁷⁰ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 239, item 15.

⁷¹ See Matsunami 1965: 95, 356-7.

⁷² See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 239, item 14.

⁷³ The date is written after the *maṅgala* citation *ye dharmā*, etc. (Vin I.40; Mahāvastu III.62; see Lamotte 1980: 2164). It is stated that the manuscript was finished “on the day of Nepal Samvat 851 (A.D. 1731) Caitraśuklapūrṇimā Jyeṣṭhā Nakṣatra Śukravāra.” The learned Kashinath Tamot of the NGMPP/NGMCP in Kathmandu

*śramaṇaḥ || || nepālābde nilāhāre tanurahite paṃkodbhavotpanna-khaṇḍe rākāyāṃ māsi caitre dviradavahanabhe kāvyā ghasrāntaghasre || bhāṣā vyanvayojjovyayabhavajakakaivallyadovīnanajī pūstaṃ vaineyasūtraṃ vyalikhad atim udā śāstrasīmhasya prītyai*⁷⁴

Date: N.S. 851 (A.D. 1731)

Ms K

Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions (microfilm no. MBB-1973-117).

Described in Tsukamoto et al.⁷⁵

Script: Nepalese

Physical Description: 142 folios, 34 x 8 cm.; Nepalese paper; 7 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 33r. *vinaya* is written in the upper left margin of versos. Folio numbers are written in the centre of the right-hand margins of versos.

Colophon: the manuscript is incomplete and ends with folio 142v.

The manuscript is not dated.

interpreted the date given in the colophon as follows: *nepālābde* = *nepāla* + *abda* = Nepal Samvat; *nilāhāre* = *anila* + *āhāra* = wind-eating = *sarpa* (serpent) = 8; *tanurahite* = *tanu* + *rahita* (without body) = *anaṅga* (bodyless) = 5 (Tamot adds here that *anaṅga* or *kāmadeva* indicates the figure 13, but that here it seems to be used in the sense of *kāmaśara* “arrow of Kāma,” that is, 5); *paṃkodbhavotpannakhaṇḍe* = *paṅka* + *udbhava* + *utpanna* + *khaṇḍa* = *paṅka* (mud) + *udbhava* (production) = *paṅkodbhava* = *kamala* (lotus) + *utpanna* (born) = *paṅkodbhavotpanna* = born from the lotus = Brahṃā = Pitāmaha = 1 (*khaṇḍa*, states Tamot, has been added to refer to Brahmā; the scribe of ms J must have understood Pitāmaha as not just referring to Brahṃā but also to his abode); *rākāyāṃ māsi caitre* = the full-moon in the month of Caitra = Caitraśuklapūrṇimā; *dviradavahanabhe* = *dvi-rada* + *vahana* + *bha* = two-tusk + rider + Nakṣatra = elephant-rider (Indra) Nakṣatra = Jeṣṭhā Nakṣatra; *kāvyā* = Śukra, the preceptor of the Asuras = Śukrācārya = Śukravāra = Friday; *ghasrānta* = at the end of the day.

⁷⁴ I have not been able to decipher this final sentence.

⁷⁵ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 9.

Ms L

Cambridge University Library Add. 1483.

Described in Bendall⁷⁶ and Tsukamoto et al.⁷⁷

Script: Devanāgarī

Physical description: 178 folios; 41/2 x 14 inches; Nepalese paper; 9 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 27v. *vinaya* is written in the upper left margin of versos, *guru* in the lower right margins of versos. The number for the respective folio is written under both *vinaya* and *guru*.

Colophon: as A

Date: N.S. 901⁷⁸ (A.D. 1781)

This is de La Vallée Poussin's Cambridge manuscript. He refers to it by way of the abbreviation "Cambr."

Ms M

Société Asiatique (No. 8).

Described in Filliozat⁷⁹ and Tsukamoto et al.⁸⁰

Script: Devanāgarī

Physical description: 189 folios; 440 x 130 mm.; Nepalese paper; 7 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 26v. *vi.sū* is written in the upper left margin of versos, *guruḥ* in the lower right margin of

⁷⁶ See Bendall 1992: 114-117. Kragh (2006: 22, n. 22) notes that ms L was brought to the Cambridge University Library by Daniel Wright, the surgeon to the British Residency in Kathmandu from 1873-1876.

⁷⁷ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 237, item 2.

⁷⁸ The date is given only in numerical form. See also the manuscript description in Kragh 2006: 38.

⁷⁹ See Filliozat 1942: 12-13.

⁸⁰ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 10.

versos. The number for the respective folio is written under both *vi.sū* and *guruḥ*.

Colophon: as A⁸¹

The manuscript is not dated. Filliozat records, “Sans date (début XIX^e siècle). Provenance: Népal. –Don Hodgeson, 1837.”

This is de La Vallée Poussin’s Paris manuscript. He refers to it as “Paris.”

Ms N

The Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Described in Mitra⁸² (catalogue no. B 2) and Tsukamoto et al.⁸³

Script: Nepalese

Physical description: 188 folios, 16 x 4 inches; Nepalese paper; 7 lines per folio. The first chapter ends on folio 30r. *vinaya* is written the upper left margin of versos, the folio number for the respective page is written in the centre right margin of versos.⁸⁴

Colophon: as A

The manuscript is not dated.

This is de La Vallée Poussin’s Calcutta manuscript. He refers to it by way of the abbreviation “Calc.”

⁸¹ The colophon is followed by: *ye dharmā*, etc.

⁸² See Mitra 1971: 169f. Kragh (2006: 22, n. 22) notes that ms N was passed on to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (now Asiatic Society) by Brian H. Hodgeson sometime between 1827 and 1845. See Hunter 1896: 352.

⁸³ See Tsukamoto et al. 1990: 238, item 11.

⁸⁴ The manuscript was used by a scholar in late 1994 and early 1995. This person marked many of the pages with crosses and the date to remind himself where he stopped each day, drawing some of his crosses in the body of the text over the *akṣaras*, certainly not a practice conducive to the preservation of manuscripts!

Scribal Error and Correction

The fourteen paper manuscripts contain a wide variety of forms of scribal interpretation and error. Many of the errors fit into the classical categories of eyeskip (*aberratio oculi*; *saut du même au même*),⁸⁵ haplography, dittography, metathesis, misreading of visually similar *akṣaras*, and substitution of acoustically similar *akṣaras*. The most prominent of the last category are errors involving the sibilants *ś*, *ṣ* and *s*. By referring to them as “acoustic” errors I do not intend to suggest that any of the manuscripts were dictated, which they clearly were not, but rather that the scribes, glancing from the exemplar to the folio they were writing on, sometimes wrote according to the pronunciation with which they were most familiar, possibly mentally uttering words and sentences as a retention aid. One might add to the list a type of error not dissimilar to eyeskip in that text is omitted but which is the result of a faulty co-ordination of mental activity and the physical act of writing: given that the scribes were quickly memorizing short portions of the exemplar’s text and thus copying by memory, text could be dropped when the visualized or mentally repeated memorized words were the main focus and the hand did not keep pace with the mental reading or speaking.⁸⁶

The main types of errors in the fourteen paper manuscripts written in either Devanāgarī or Nepalese script that occur in regard to visually similar *akṣaras* are well known to those who have worked with

⁸⁵ Instances of *homoeoracron* and *homoeoteleuton* are rare. Eyeskip primarily occurs between relatively proximate *akṣaras* within the same line. See Greetham 1992: 280 for Vinaver’s diagram of scribal copying and a few words regarding correction of its flaws.

⁸⁶ It might not be out of place to mention other mistakes that occur when the hand does not cooperate with the mental plan, and for which instances can be drawn from the slips and surprises occurring in one’s own writing (e.g., when one intends to write “cup of coffee” but writes “cuff...,” or intends to write “5” but is surprised to see that one has produced “4,” perhaps because a “4” had just been written or stands elsewhere on the page). Errors in this category are often similar to those of speech errors and like them tend to involve blending, anticipation, perseveration and omission (cf. Proto 2010). Such errors may not occur as often as the classical types, but they do appear to account for many of the lapses that cannot be explained by way of the usual categories of scribal error.

relatively recent manuscripts from Nepal. The copyist's misreading of imprecisely written *akṣaras* in the exemplar and his misinterpretation of correctly scribed forms stand behind many of the variants in the PsP paper manuscripts. Among the Devanāgarī manuscripts, the most common errors, to mention only a few, stem from a misreading or misinterpretation of the following *akṣaras* (here in a rough descending order of occurrence): *ca* and *va*; *pa*, *ya* and *ṣa*; *sa* and *ma*; *ta* and *na*; *sva*, *tva*, *sya* and *tya*; *śa* and *ṇa*; superscript *r*, *anusvāra*, medial *e* diagonal stroke, medial *i* curved stroke and *virāma* belonging to the line above; *nn* and *nt*; *pra*, *pu* and *pr*; initial *u* and *du*; *bha* and *nna*.⁸⁷ The Nepalese manuscripts share these errors and add to this primary group⁸⁸ errors such as those involving a confusion of *ca*, *va* and *ra*; *ka*, *ja* and *kṣa*; *kṣya*, *jya* and *hya*; *bha*, *dbha*, *ha* and *pha*; *tya*, *bhya* and *śya*.⁸⁹

The manuscripts occasionally attest variants involving *akṣara*-change due to the scribes having been influenced by the graphic features of the lower and upper extremes of the *akṣaras* of, respectively, the line above and the line below the one being recorded in the exemplar; the scribes mistook the parts of *akṣaras* extending down—or up—to the

⁸⁷ It should not be forgotten that corrections also enter a manuscript line on the basis of these similarities in letters. A dropped *anusvāra* may be picked up again in the next manuscript owing to a superscript *r* or a vowel marker in the vicinity being misread; a falsely recorded *ṣa* (for *pa*) may in the next copy of the manuscript be “erroneously” written as *pa*.

⁸⁸ The Nepalese-script manuscripts do not tend to confuse *bha* and *nna*. The Devanāgarī medial *e* diagonal stroke occurs in Nepalese script only as the secondary marker for the vowels *ai* and *au*, always in conjunction with another primary vowel marker.

⁸⁹ Nepalese-script manuscripts are in general also prone to confusions of *tta* and *ttu*, and *tya* and *tyu* when the *tt* and *ty* of these *akṣaras* are formed by adding a separate stroke underneath the main body of the *akṣara*. Mss C, J, and N present these *akṣaras* with the lower stroke attached to the main body and so avoid the problem. The scribes of mss G and D, on the other hand, often form these *akṣaras* with the lower stroke separate from the main body, and G's scribe, seemingly momentarily confused about the number of lower independent strokes he must write when two such *akṣaras* follow one another, tends to add an extra stroke which thus appears as a medial *u*; e.g., C's *prāptyatyupagamāt* (for *prāptyabhyupagamāt*) is copied into G as *prāptyutyupagamāt* and [ity] *atyupaga°* (for *abhyupaga°*) is copied as [ity] *utyupaga°*.

line they were copying as being an integral part of the *akṣaras* they were in the process of writing. *virāmas*, the long downward strokes of certain *akṣaras* (*sa*, *ha*, *tya*, *la*, etc.) and the lower vowels *u* and *ū* of *akṣaras* of the line above, and superscript *r*, the upper markers of medial vowels and *anusvāras* belonging to the line below are at times reinterpreted as part of the *akṣara* being copied, such that vowels become added or change grades, superscript *r* and new *anusvāras* are mistakenly incorporated, and other corruptions are introduced into the text. Ms N's scribe is especially susceptible to being influenced by the long downward flourishes of the tails of the *akṣaras* *sa*, *ha*, *tya*, *la*, etc., of ms J, and thus prone to annexing new vowel-markers to his line of writing; for example, *nopalabhante* of J becomes *naupalabhante* in N on account of the long downward diagonal tail of J's *akṣara* *ṇṇa* (*varṇṇayanti*) of the line above that only ends when it touches the *no*° of the line beneath it. Ms J's scribe additionally pens superscript *r* nearly the size of the *akṣara* it perches on and as a result, the *r* sometimes grazes the bottom of the *akṣara* of the line above it. This graphic peculiarity induces N's scribe on occasion to perceive J's superscript *r*, or at least its top curve, as part of the *akṣara* it grazes and he records, for example, the word *vyavasthāpyata* (*ā* written as a very short vertical stroke) as *vyavasthupyata*, having judged the curve of J's *r* brushing the underside of °*sthā*° to be the vowel *u*. More often, he is prompted to include in N *anusvāras* that do not appear in ms J: he mistakes the slightly thicker endpoint of the downward tail of an *akṣara* from the line above for an *anusvāra*, overlooking that this “*anusvāra*” is actually part of the *akṣara* above or assuming that the stroke from above simply ends at the “*anusvāra*.” His misperception leads, for example, to *yā* becoming corrupted to *yām* because the dot at the end of the tail of *tt* of the line above (in J's *aṇupattir* [sic]) has been interpreted as an *anusvāra*.

The Nepalese-script manuscripts are also prone to changes involving the medial vowels *e*, *o*, *ai* and *au* owing to the fact that all of these vowels usually take as their primary indicator a wavy horizontal line or “squiggle” over the *akṣara*, which replaces the regular straight horizontal stroke that otherwise constitutes the top of *akṣaras*. The squiggle in manuscripts J and I (less often C, D, G and N) is often

quite difficult to distinguish from the regular horizontal stroke: the scribe of ms J tends to allow the vertical strokes of the *akṣaras* to extend slightly above the line,⁹⁰ thereby making it nearly impossible in some instances for the reader to differentiate between upward intrusions of the *akṣara*'s vertical lines and a slight squiggle, and ms I is written in a quite messy hand, with the "straight" horizontal lines often slightly curved or slanted; fortunately ms I's scribe often accentuates the size of the curves of the vowel squiggles. The loss of the correct reading *e* for *a*, of *a* for *e*, and of *ā* for *o* in the manuscripts that stem from J has often been caused by, in the case of the loss of *e* for *a*, a failure to read the squiggle as such or, in the case of the loss of *a* for *e*, and *ā* for *o*, the reading of a squiggle where one was not intended. Further, on occasion *danḍas* to the left of an *akṣara* are taken for a *prṣṭhamātrā* medial vowel indicator, thus leading to vowel changes. The degree of scribal misinterpretation of vowels in manuscripts written in Nepalese script, indeed as regards all the varieties of scribal error, of course increased over the centuries because the majority of later scribes copying Sanskrit manuscripts in Nepal did not, even though they would have recognized some cognates and stock phrases, understand the content of the text. The least reliable of our paper manuscripts were written by scribes who obviously had no understanding of the language or content of the PsP and mechanically produced their new copies primarily in reliance on the graphics of the pages before them.

The situation becomes more complicated when Devanāgarī manuscripts are copied from exemplars written in Nepalese script, and vice-versa. In addition to the most basic errors and

⁹⁰ These very slight upward projections of the vertical lines do not occur with every *akṣara*, nor do they occur consistently in identical *akṣaras*. The top horizontal line breaks after most *akṣaras*, and thus I do not think that this style of Nepalese script can be an example of the script Bendall refers to in his discussion of Nepalese manuscripts of the sixteenth century (ms J is eighteenth c.), although the very slight extensions to be seen in J may be remnants of this earlier style. See Bendall 1992: Palaeographical Introduction, p. xxxi, where he writes, "Dated MSS of the XVIth century are almost too scarce to afford a basis for generalization, as we possess only five examples. These, nevertheless, have in common the important feature of showing the horizontal top line nearly continuous, while the vertical strokes often slightly project above this line"

misinterpretations discussed above, new possibilities for the misreading of *akṣaras* present themselves when the copyist is reading one script and writing in another, perhaps even imaging specific *akṣaras* of one script as he writes. The following misreadings, based on a similarity of *akṣara* forms, occur in the Devanāgarī manuscripts that have been copied from manuscripts written in Nepalese script (the list is not comprehensive): *ra* read as *na*; *jya* as *nya*; *bhya* as *tya*; *bhyu* as *bhya*; *tta* as *tu*; *tya* as *tyu*; *bha* and *dbha* as *ha*; *pra* as *pu*; *pha* as *ha*; *ku* as *ka*; *kṣa* as *ka*; initial *e* as *u* or *nu*. The wavy medial vowel indicator is also occasionally overlooked, and the *pr̥ṣṭhamātrā* vowel indicator is sometimes taken as a *danḍa* or as part of the previous word. Not infrequently do the scribes copy the wavy vowel indicator into their Devanāgarī manuscript in place of the Devanāgarī medial *e*, etc., stroke (ms L's scribe is the best example); these wavy vowel indicators in the Devanāgarī manuscripts are, as might be expected, often lost when the manuscript is then copied by scribes also writing in Devanāgarī, but tend to be transmitted when the Devanāgarī manuscript attesting them is copied back into Nepalese script. A similar process tends to take place with the Nepalese *akṣaras* *bha* and *dbha*, and on occasion with *ca*, *ra* and *na*.

Some interesting examples of the changes to *akṣaras* and the corrections that can occur within a lineage of alternating script transmission present themselves in the L manuscript family. Devanāgarī ms L was, given the number of Nepalese features in it, without doubt copied from a Nepalese manuscript. In one instance, ms L's scribe wrote the final vowel *o* of the compound *ekārtho* Nepalese style by simply incorporating the Nepalese *pr̥ṣṭhamātrā* vowel indicator into the space to the left of the final *akṣara* that would otherwise be read in Devanāgarī as °*thā*. Ms E's scribe (also writing in Devanāgarī) did not copy the strange stroke and passed on the incorrect reading °*thā* to mss A, H and I. Ms K's scribe, writing in Nepalese script, recognized the vowel indicator in L and wrote the word correctly. Ms F's scribe, copying from ms K into Devanāgarī, correctly identified K's Nepalese-script °*tho* and wrote Devanāgarī °*tho*, thereby bringing the (accurately represented) *akṣara* into a Devanāgarī manuscript for the first time. A similar transmission takes place with the conjunct *dbhā* in the compound *samāsāsadbhā-*

vāc: Devanāgarī ms L's scribe misreads the Nepalese *dbhā* in his exemplar as *hā*, but is sufficiently unsure of the *akṣara* to preserve some of its original form. Ms E's scribe, also writing in Devanāgarī, finds this *hā* rather strange, and copies it in the form in which it is displayed in ms L. Ms A's and ms H's scribes, both writing in Devanāgarī, ignore the somewhat irregular shape of the *akṣara* in ms E and copy it as a definite *hā*. The scribe of Nepalese-script ms I, however, who is also relying on Devanāgarī ms E, recognizes the shape as indicative of the Nepalese conjunct *dbhā*, and transcribes it correctly into his text. As in the case of ms I's scribe reading from ms E, Nepalese-script ms K's scribe correctly identifies ms L's strange *akṣara* as *dbhā* and writes it clearly as such, thereby allowing for its non-mistaken recognition and transcription in Devanāgarī by ms F's scribe.

In another instance, this time a fairly simple one involving the three manuscripts C, G and M, all of which descend from ms J, an error concerning the *akṣara ca* ends up being rectified when it undergoes transcription into Devanāgarī. Nepalese-script ms J's scribe correctly records *na cāpi*, but Nepalese-script ms C's scribe reads the relatively small *ca* as *ra*, and passes *na rāpi* on to ms G (Nepalese). Ms M's scribe, however, writing and likely thinking in terms of Devanāgarī (a Nepalese *ra* can easily be taken to represent a tightly written *ca*) assumes the *akṣara* to be *ca*, and thereby returns the correct reading, two generations later, to the lineage. "Corrections" such as the three just described occur not infrequently, and would appear to be an important aspect of an alternating script transmission. On the other hand, the easy confusion of *akṣaras* in the two scripts leads to a rapid accumulation of scribal errors within manuscript lineages. This can be exemplified with the compound *yuktyanu-pādānena*, which ms L's scribe records correctly but with a slightly curved *virāma* under the *k*.⁹¹ Ms E's scribe, also writing in Devanāgarī, judges the deformed *virāma* to be an irrelevant mark, ignores it, and passes the incorrect reading *yukatyanu*^o on to mss A,

⁹¹ One wonders, given that both the relatively reliable manuscripts B and J attest *yuktyunupādānena* and that Nepalese *ktyu* is sometimes written as *ktya* when transcribed into Devanāgarī, if this correct reading in L might itself be the result of a misreading of its Nepalese exemplar which also contained the *akṣara ktyu*.

H, and I. Nepalese-script ms K's scribe interprets the *virāma* to be a legitimately formed Nepalese medial *u*, and records *yuktyanu*^o. Ms F's scribe, writing in Devanāgarī, does not understand ms K's Nepalese *u*, and taking it to be the *akṣara t* in the conjunct *kta*, writes *yuktatyanu*^o, thereby further corrupting the original *yuktyanu*^o.⁹²

All of the above needs to be taken into consideration when one examines the critical edition's apparatus and considers the variants in it with regard to the stemma for the witnesses. Certain footnote entries would seem to speak against the manuscript relationships given by the stemma, but most of the seeming discrepancies resolve themselves when the various possibilities for corruption within a tradition of alternating scripts are called to mind. The remaining discrepancies that do not yield to such considerations can be understood from an examination of the manuscripts, where one discovers misinterpreted marks at the end of a line, slightly deformed and thus ambiguous *akṣaras* in a manuscript's exemplar, or intrusions of *akṣaras* or parts thereof from the alternate script, and all other types of markings that only become evident with a viewing of the *akṣara* in question and its environs. Only on a few rare occasions did I encounter in the paper manuscripts what appeared to be "determined" variants as opposed to "mechanical" variants,⁹³ and even then the determined variants involved only simple Sanskrit words such as *sarva* (corrected from *sava*), *iti* (corrected from *itī*) or common ones, at least for a Madhyamaka text, such as *pratītyasamutpāda* (corrected from *pratītasamutpāda*), *nāgārjuna* (corrected from *nāgājuna*), and *anupādānena* (wrongly "corrected" to *anutpādānena*). Though the possibility cannot be completely

⁹² Interesting, too, are the changes to the same compound in the J family of manuscripts and the unexpected corrections that occur there. Ms J (Nepalese) presents the incorrect *yuktyanupādānena*. Ms C's scribe, writing in Nepalese script, misreads the initial *yu* as *pu* and records *puktyanu*^o but ms G's scribe, also writing in Nepalese script, corrects the *pu* back to *yu*. Ms M's scribe, writing in Devanāgarī, also corrects C's *pu* to *yu* and, overlooking the Nepalese *u* of the *akṣara ktyu*, writes—correctly!—*yuktyanu*^o, but then unnecessarily adds a *t*, thus recording *yuktyanutpādānena*.

⁹³ For the distinction between these two categories of variants, see Greetham 1992: 279-283.

discarded that some scribes did attempt to correct the mistakes that seemed obvious to them, certain improvements may, indeed, have been influenced by a graphic feature in an exemplar not available to this study, by an ink-mark that has now faded and cannot be recognized on the films or photocopies, or by a feature of the paper itself that has broken off.

One of the most striking features in what might be called the later “graphic transmission” of the PsP—especially as evidenced by the manuscripts lowest on the stemma—i.e., a transmission of consonants and their conjuncts, vowels, *visargas*, *danḍas*, etc., which collectively, i.e., as words and compounds composing meaningful sentences, were often not understood by the scribes, is the care that many of the scribes took to reproduce the *akṣaras* as graphically portrayed in the exemplar before them, which allowed for, as stated and exemplified above, on occasion, the later correct recognition of certain *akṣaras*, or, conversely, led to the intrusion of unwanted graphics. The more unwelcome side of the scribes’ proclivity to preserve the graphics that struck them as curious is that the manuscripts not rarely present *akṣaras* that can only have been intentionally ambiguously written. This holds especially true for the Nepalese wavy medial vowel indicator, for the *akṣaras na* and *ta* as first members of conjuncts, and for *ya* and *pa*, *va* and *ca*, to name only a few. Obviously in some cases the scribes did not want to commit themselves to the interpretation of an *akṣara* that they were unsure about or that may have already been written ambiguously in their exemplar, and so recorded the grapheme in a vague, unclear form that was capable of yielding more than one interpretation. This frustrates the process of recording variants, but when the *akṣara* looked, for example, even a bit more like “*pa*” (correct reading) than “*ya*,” I usually gave the scribe the benefit of the doubt.

Although it is an indisputable fact that many of the more recent Sanskrit manuscripts written in Nepal often bear numerous petty and appalling errors which can only have their root in the incompetence and carelessness of the scribes,⁹⁴ there is no question that further

⁹⁴ Siegfried Lienhard (1988: XXVII) writes of a dismaying situation as concerns bilingual manuscripts in Nepal: “While the Sanskrit in very old Nepalese manu-

research into the causes and conditions influencing manuscript corruption is needed, especially for the earlier, more carefully copied manuscripts, some of the readings of which might be more easily or more confidently restored when the broader palette of causes of corruption is taken into consideration. Both specific and overarching paleographic studies of Indian and Nepalese scripts are desiderata, the results of which will greatly contribute to our knowledge of the evolution of the scripts and possibly aid in the dating of manuscripts.⁹⁵ As Isaacson has stated,⁹⁶

scripts is handled with care and Sanskrit texts are copied correctly, or at least fairly correctly, the Sanskrit in many younger bilingual manuscripts has often been deplorably ill-treated. The glaring imperfections in manuscripts of this type betray, in fact, a carelessness and a gradual deterioration in the knowledge of Sanskrit that are unparalleled.”

⁹⁵ Certainly also of importance in the context of a discussion on causes of textual corruption is the consideration of the spoken and written language(s) of the scribes. J. Brough (1996: 132ff.) adverts his reader to the idiosyncrasies of Newar scribes, among which may be found the introduction of Newari spellings for Sanskrit words which have been incorporated into the Newari language, e.g., Skt. *janma* spelled *janma*, *jalma*, *jarlma*, *jarnma*, *jarmma*, *jamma*, *jartma* or *jatma*, and the application of stylistic features occurring in written Nepalese script, the most prominent being the overuse, or perhaps rather the ornamental usage, of superscript *r*. Regarding superscript *r* Brough (ibid., 133) writes: “Since the following consonant is regularly doubled, a bond seems to have been established between a double consonant and a superscript *r*, and as a result any double consonant may attract to itself a superscript *r*. The alternations of spellings with and without the *r* then would seem to have led to its occasional use over other conjuncts and even over single consonants, and to its equally frequent omission where it is historically required; and it is difficult to avoid the impression that the sign was felt to be a mere ornament of the handwriting – perhaps playing a similar prestige role to that of the *b* in *doubt* or the *c* in *scissors* when these spellings were first introduced into our own orthography.” Brough also lists *i* and *ī*; *u* and *ū*; *ṛ* and *ṛi*; *e*, *ya* and *ye*; *o*, *va* and *vo*; *ja* and *ya*; *jña* and *gya*; *ṭa* and *ta*; *ra* and *la*; *śa* and *sa*; *ṣa* and *kha*; *kṣa*, *cha*, *khyā* and *kha* as orthographical variants. It is possible that some of the variants found in the mss A-N which are difficult to explain from a purely graphic point of view could be traced to Nepali- or Newari-speaking scribes at some point in the manuscript tradition who understood some, or even a good deal, of the Sanskrit they were copying, and who inadvertently applied Newari spellings to words also found in the Newari language. Mention should also be made here of the use of the two-dot *visarga* used in Newari-language manuscripts as a punctuation marker; the regular *visarga* is sometimes distinguished from it by being formed with two circles or a figure 8 (see Brough 1996: 140). This usage, as might be expected, creeps into Sanskrit manuscripts being copied by

While the usage of European medieval scribes has been studied intensively and the types of errors which they are prone to commit analysed, similar studies for Sanskrit (and other Indic) manuscripts are rare and, in view especially of the immense quantity and variety of material, inadequate. Of course many classes of mistakes are common to European and Indian scribes, being simply such as any human will inevitably sometimes fall into when copying a text, *bhrānteḥ puruṣadharmatvāt*. But there are significant differences none the less; in general the Indian situation is much more complex, with large variation in scribal usage according to region and period, and with many more varieties of script to be dealt with. The publications of facsimiles and diplomatic transcriptions of Indic manuscripts should be encouraged to facilitate further study of these and other codicological and palaeographical questions.

All corrections within the paper manuscripts A-N have been carried out by the scribes themselves, not by a proofreader. Most of the scribes write a dropped *akṣara* or word above or below the line and indicate with a *kākapada* its insertion point. Ms B occasionally frames the dropped *akṣaras* with an “X” on each side and also sometimes writes the dropped *akṣaras* in the upper or lower margin, indicating the place of insertion by writing the line number beside the marginal addition and a *kākapada* at the intended point of insertion. Mss B, C, J and N exhibit a tendency to metathesis and correct the errors by placing the number “1” over the *akṣara* that should be in first position and the number “2” over the *akṣara* to be read second. Where the metathesis is of two words, the extent of each word is marked with short vertical lines and the respective number written above the word. Cancellation of *akṣaras* is usually indicated by way of two or three dots above the *akṣaras*. Ms J’s scribe on occasion draws a short diagonal line through or attached to single *akṣaras* or parts thereof; the scribe of ms N often does not cognize that these

Newar scribes, and may explain, for example, ms H’s tendency to present forms like *itiḥ* and ms F’s presentation of *bruvateḥ* in the phrase *apare tu bruvate*.

⁹⁶ Isaacson 1995: 44f., n. 119.

strokes are cancellation markers and copies the cancelled errors into his manuscript. Dropped lines are usually enclosed between two “X”s and written under the final line of text, their insertion points marked with smaller “x”s or *kākapadas*.

Manuscript Relationships

As shown by the Stemma diagram (p. 88), the relationships between the older manuscripts are slightly more complex than those of the more recent ones. In order to determine the relationship between the palm-leaf manuscripts P and Q as well as P’s and Q’s relationships with the paper manuscripts, it was also necessary to consider the testimony of the Tibetan translation of the PsP. Its relevance for the establishment of the upper levels of the stemma was immediately evident in the particular readings ms Q shares with the Tibetan translation but not with ms P.

Prior to analysis, the fact that ms Q and the Tibetan translation have common readings not shared by ms P suggested that Q might be more reliable than P in these instances, and that where Q attests a word, phrase or sentence not found in P but for which the Tibetan translation attests an equivalent, one might be justified in inferring that the same word, phrase or sentence had dropped from P due to scribal oversight. Indeed, in a number of instances these general assumptions proved to be grounded and correct, but it was clear that it would have been ill-advised to accept and apply them globally and without reflection. My suspicions regarding some of Q’s and the Tibetan translation’s shared readings had in fact been raised even before I had seen Dr. Yonezawa’s meticulously documented hand-copy of ms Q, when my only access to the manuscript readings was via Koji Matsumoto’s 2005 U. of Taishō B.A. thesis, in which he reported many of Q’s readings for the first third of the first chapter of the PsP. In an article published in 2008 I expressed doubts about whether ms Q’s question and answer *katham kṛtvā yasmād evaṃ*

tenoktam, its question *kiṃ kāraṇam*,⁹⁷ and two of its references to the MA were integral to the text of the PsP, wondering in particular if the latter references might have been inserted into Q's text or added as marginalia to an earlier manuscript in Q's line and later incorporated into the main text of a manuscript copied from it.⁹⁸ These doubts

⁹⁷ Cf. my earlier comments in MacDonald 2008: 26f.: "Of interest is the fact that Ms. Q attests text for a few phrases and sentences not to be found in Ms. P but that do occur in the Tibetan translation. Prior to learning of the existence of these readings in Ms. Q, I had been unable to determine if the Tibetan translators had actually read these phrases and sentences in their Sanskrit manuscript(s) or if they had independently added them to their translation, justifying them as minor but helpful syntactical additions and supplementary explanatory material. In most of the cases the extra material is by no means vital to the text – at least to the text as written for Candrakīrti's intended audience. Ms. Q's attestation of the material now confirms that the translators must have encountered the words and phrases in at least one of the manuscripts at their disposal. I am not, however, at this point entirely convinced that all of this material stems from Candrakīrti's hand, and more such instances will have to be located and analyzed for one to arrive at a more definite conclusion. While, for instance, it is possible that the words *katham kṛtvā yasmād evaṃ tenoktam* in the passage in Ms. Q corresponding to LVP 19.8–20.2, viz. *athāpy avaśyaṃ svato 'numānavirodhadoṣa udbhāvanīyaḥ || so 'py udbhāvita evācāryabuddhapālitenā | ka-tham kṛtvā yasmād evaṃ tenoktam na svata utpadyante bhāvās tadutpāda-vaiyarthyaḥ iti vacanāt* (text in bold not in LVP), may have dropped out of Ms. P (or a manuscript before it) owing to an eyeskip from the *ka* of *katham* to the *na* of *na svata*, the extra phrases make for a certain redundancy, especially since the following *vacanāt* indicates that Buddhapālita has *stated* the contradiction with an inference. The *kiṃ kāraṇam* that appears in Ms. Q after the next sentence – and the loss of which from Ms. P would be difficult to explain paleographically – likewise seems unnecessary given that the following sentence begins with *tathā hi*."

⁹⁸ Cf. MacDonald 2008: 27f.: "A more definite example for what appears to be deliberate interference with the text exists for a section of a sentence that follows a quotation from the Madhyamakāvatāra (see LVP 36.10): in Ms. P we read ... *ityādinā parata utpattipratīṣedho 'vaśeyāḥ*, whereas Ms. Q attests ... *ityādinā parata utpattipratīṣedho mādhyaṃakāvatārād aveśaḥ*. The suspicion that the name of the text here is most probably an interpolation is supported by an earlier passage also containing a quotation from the Madhyamakāvatāra (see LVP 13.9), which in Ms. P is followed by the words *ityādināvaśeyā* but in Ms. Q is followed by *ityādinā mādhyaṃakāvatārādidvāreṇāvaśeyā*. That the Prasannapadā manuscript relied on by the author of the *LT, like Ms. P, did not name the source of the quotation is obvious from the fact that the *LT's author cites *ityādinā* (*LT: *ityādineti*) and then glosses it with a compound identifying the source, i.e., *madhyamakāvatāragranthena*.... Many later students of the Prasannapadā would not have been as familiar with the contents of the Madhyamakāvatāra, and so its title was added,

increased when the hand-copy of Q revealed that the question and answer *kathaṃ kṛtvā yasmād evaṃ tenoktam*, the question *kiṃ kāraṇam*, and the first of the two MA references were not found in Q's main text, but were rather written in Q's margins, marked to be inserted at the appropriate spot in the main text. The discussion below takes as its primary focus these and other suspect marginal notations, and further dubious material within Q's main text, most of it attested by the Tibetan.

Of course, were both ms Q and the manuscripts relied on for the Tibetan translation to belong to a different transmission line than ms P, P's lack of the above and other specific textual material attested by Q and the Tibetan would at least be partially explained. My analysis of all of P's and Q's textual variants for the first chapter of the PsP and comparison of their respective text with the Tibetan translation, however, revealed that both ms P and ms Q ultimately descend from the same hyparchetype (ms β; see Stemma), and that the Tibetan translation was at least in part, and in many of the pertinent cases, related to Sanskrit text descending from another hyparchetype (ms γ). One scenario that was suggested by these relationships was that the material in question shared by Q and the Tibetan translation had been attested by ms β but was dropped by P's scribe; in the case of Q's above-mentioned marginal questions and MA reference, for example, it would have to be assumed that exactly the same material had by chance been dropped by both P's and Q's scribes, but was later returned to the PsP text by Q's proofreader. Tentatively supportive of the hypothesis that the material shared by Q and the Tibetan translation had dropped from the main text of P, and in a few cases from both P and Q, was the fact that some, but not all, of the relevant material Q shared with the Tibetan is attested by the later "better" paper manuscripts, which also ultimately descend from β. The first main problem encountered by this scenario, however, was that P's hypothesized loss of the relevant material was often difficult to explain from a paleographical and/or logical point of view. The

either in Ms. Q or in an earlier manuscript in its line, in the latter case possibly as marginalia that was later incorporated directly into the text. I expect that the same thing has occurred in the other passage above where Ms. Q identifies the *Madhyamakāvātāra* as the source of the citation but Ms. P does not."

subsequent consideration that this material—as I had proposed for the readings discussed in the 2008 article—in fact did not represent text dropped by P’s scribe, i.e., had never been part of P’s text, called for contemplation of the possibility that it had also not been in P’s exemplar, or in ms β either. But if it had not been in β , how could its appearance in Q’s main text and margins be explained?

Further analysis and reflection led to the conclusion that the material in question had indeed not been included in ms β ’s text, and had instead entered β ’s line of descent to Q from an external source. This brings us to the distinguishing feature of ms Q (or at least of ms Q’s first chapter): A number of the words, phrases and sentences in Q’s main text and margins—those in the latter seeming to supply material for the oversights of ms Q’s scribe—which at first glance appear to be integral to the text of the β lineage and were assumed to be traceable back to β , have their origins in at least one, I presume two, PsP manuscripts from the γ line. To be more specific, ms Q contains readings from the hyparchetype β as well as from 1) a manuscript (ms δ) which attests readings different from those of β owing to its descent from γ , and into which new readings had been introduced, many of which were passed on to a manuscript descending from β to Q (= ms η), and from 2) a manuscript (ms θ) which had received, in addition to the earlier readings and interpolations in its line (viz., those in δ), a few new readings that were passed on to Q when it (ms θ) was read against Q during the writing of Q or sometime after Q had been copied from Q’s exemplar.⁹⁹ Q’s line has thus experienced contamination. To put it another way: Certain circumspect scribes and/or scholars in Q’s line, whether because they were aware of problems in the text of the manuscript at hand or of different readings

⁹⁹ I assume two instances of contamination because, to give one example, one of the marginal additions in Q contains a citation that would surely have been included in the Tibetan translation had it been attested in one of the Sanskrit manuscripts used by Pa tshab. While the Tibetan translation does include the Tibetan equivalent for the interpolated citation *utpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā tathāgatānām sthitaivaiśā dharmānām dharmatā*, it does not contain the citation *kāmābhāvaḥ paraṃ sukham*, which in Q immediately follows the former. Further, the fact that much of Q’s extraneous material has already been incorporated into Q’s main text, as well as the existence of many variant readings (and scribal errors) in Q’s main text, suggests that numerous readings from γ ’s line were already in Q’s exemplar.

in other manuscripts, or of both, or because it was common procedure for them to check for alternative readings, sought out additional manuscripts of the PsP for the sake of comparison, and emended and supplemented the PsP's text in reliance on the new readings.

It is fortunate that ms Q itself, and not a copy of it, is the manuscript in present-day Lhasa which was copied by Yonezawa, because Q's margins provide a snapshot of elements from the second wave of contaminating influences (i.e., from ms ̸) "caught in the act," even though they—inasmuch as each, alongside the other *akṣaras* legitimately dropped from Q's text but recovered by the scribe, is adorned with numbers indicating the respective line for insertion—initially give the impression of being nothing more than simple scribal oversights. Had the Lhasa manuscript been a copy of Q, these elements would surely have been integrated into this copy's main text, and less easily unmasked and identified as yet another group of interpolations. The marginal material indeed attracts the editor's attention by its placement and the fact that its *akṣaras* often constitute complete words, phrases, and even sentences.

Evidence of contamination in Q of course does not necessarily imply that the text received from manuscripts other than Q's β-line exemplar is foreign to the PsP, and it is only the careful consideration of each variant that allows us to decide whether a reading should be included in the critical edition. My allocation of some of the readings shared by Q and the Tibetan translation to the variant level might be objected to on the ground that the Tibetan translation is older than both P and Q and thus likely to contain more reliable, original readings. At this point it is prudent to recall that Pa tshab nyi ma grags reports in the colophon to his translation that the Tibetan version of the PsP was made in reliance on two Sanskrit manuscripts: 1) a Kashmiri manuscript in dependence on which he and his *pañḍita* collaborator and advisor Mahāsumati produced the translation in Kashmir toward the end of the eleventh century, and 2) a manuscript from *nyi 'og shar* (eastern Aparānta)¹⁰⁰ which he, together with the

¹⁰⁰ The area designated as Nyi 'og remains unclear. Erb (1997: 114, n. 125) notes that Tāranātha states that Bhang ga la and O ḍi vi śa belong to eastern Aparānta.

Kashmiri *paṇḍita* Kanakavarman, used to revise the translation in Lhasa in the early twelfth century. We can infer from this double-checking that concerns about the accuracy of the transmitted text of the PsP were already present in the minds of Pa tshab and his collaborators; a second manuscript would not have been consulted had they not encountered problematic readings in the first. The Tibetan translation is thus in one sense a critical edition, or, in less favourable terminology, is also contaminated, containing readings, it would seem, derived from two transmission lines of the PsP.¹⁰¹ Pa tshab's and Kanakavarman's excellent knowledge of Sanskrit and close familiarity with Madhyamaka thought would have insured that any problematic words and phrases in the Kashmir-made version of the PsP translation were emended when it was reworked in Lhasa, but as is also often the case with modern editors, decisions for or against the unique readings found in one of the manuscripts may not always have been clear-cut, with the result that some original material was elided, or erroneously altered, and extraneous material was introduced.

Given that, as stated, many of ms Q's interpolations are reflected in the Tibetan translation, it can be inferred that both ultimately received these from the same manuscript(s). For the sake of convenience I make ms δ the source of both Q's and the Tibetan translation's extra readings (see Stemma), but I expect that the process of transmission was more complicated, i.e., involved more manuscripts. At this stage of research I speculate that only one of the two Sanskrit manuscripts relied on by Pa tshab and his collaborators bore all of the extra readings (i.e., I do not presume that each contained some), but I am unable to hypothesize whether the transmitter of the interpolations was the Kashmiri manuscript or the Aparānta manuscript.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Although the Tibetan translation contains many of Q's interpolations, it also often supports ms P's readings against those of ms Q.

¹⁰² There is one hint in Pa tshab's PsP commentary (Tshig gsal ba'i dka' ba bshad pa) which points to the transmitter of the extra material possibly being the Aparānta manuscript checked in Lhasa. Pa tshab informs his readers there that at the PsP's initial reference to the connection, subject matter, and purpose (*sambandhābhidheya-*

Those of us who have worked with the Tibetan translation of the PsP would without hesitation agree that Pa tshab and his collaborators produced a fine and highly reliable rendering of the work, definitely praiseworthy among the translations of the second diffusion of Buddhist literature into Tibet, but awareness of the Tibetan translation's editorial history ought to deter uncritical appropriation of its readings when the Sanskrit text of the PsP is missing or obscure, and restrain one—in particularly unfounded cases—from arguing for peculiar material in the available manuscripts solely on the basis of the translation's support, especially when arguments for the material's being foreign to Candrakīrti's composition and reasons for its suspected interpolation are readily available.¹⁰³ The discovery that the Tibetan translation contains readings from more than one Sanskrit manuscript of the PsP forces the editor investigating the alternative readings in the available manuscripts of the Sanskrit text to proceed with extreme care and to seek out evidence beyond that immediately at hand.

Some of the changes and accretions that were introduced to ancestors of the Kashmiri or Aparānta manuscript may now defy discovery, especially when text in our most important point of comparison ms P

prayojanāni) of the MMK, the Kashmiri manuscript reads merely °*prayojanāni* (correct reading), whereas the Aparānta manuscript reads °*prayojanatatprayojanāni* (incorrect reading, the result of determined change) (Tshig gsal ba'i dka' ba bshad pa, fol. 56b6f.: *kha che'i dpe la de'i dgos pa ces bya pa med pas de'i lan yang dkyus las mi gsal la | rgya dpe la yod pas de'i lan yang shugs las 'debs so* |). The reading °*prayojanatatprayojanāni* is exactly the (incorrect) reading attested by the paper manuscripts, transmitted to them from ms δ. Ms Q reads (incorrectly and as a result of determined change) *prayojanaprayojana*, causing one to wonder if *tat* of the paper manuscripts was a later explanatory addition or if Q (or ms η) accidentally dropped the *tat*. While the Aparānta manuscript may not have contained exactly the same reading as the one received by Q from δ, the desire of a scribe/scholar to bring in the later, i.e., post-Candrakīrti, concept of the “purpose of the purpose” has affected both. If the Aparānta manuscript did contain the extra material found in Q, this would mean that the interpolations were brought into the Tibetan translation only when it was revised in Lhasa. My thanks to Chizuko Yoshimizu for the Tshig gsal ba'i dka' ba bshad pa reference.

¹⁰³ One should also note that citations, as I have explained elsewhere (MacDonald 2015), were not translated from the Sanskrit but were copied in from the Tibetan translations of their source texts. They are therefore not necessarily trustworthy witnesses for the restoration of the majority of the PsP's Sanskrit citations.

is missing or damaged. It is also possible that foreign material had already accumulated before the copying of ms β, or even before ms α, which can make its alien nature more difficult to detect. Ms β must, for example, have contained the reading *saṅkleśavyavadāna-nibandhanam*¹⁰⁴ (in a passage referring to things being the cause of defilement of beings) for it to appear in P, Q and the paper manuscripts, but as I argue, *vyavadāna* must be an accretion, because it does not make sense in the context, having surely been added by a scribe or scholar who was influenced by the usage of both *saṅkleśa* and *vyavadāna* in a compound in an earlier sentence (*saṅkleśavyavadānanibandhanam*); it does not appear in the Tibetan translation and was thus presumably not attested by ms γ.

But how do we explain the fact that the paper manuscripts, which like P and Q descend from β, attest a few of the readings found in Q—such as the first reference to the MA—that can only be a result of Q’s contamination from the γ line? Given that the paper manuscripts do not descend from Q, it has to be concluded that their most immediate common ancestor ms ι, like Q, was read against a manuscript from the γ line (again for the sake of convenience indicated in the Stemma as ms δ) which contained the interpolated readings,¹⁰⁵ and that some of these were added to ms ι and passed on to its descendants. Ms ι’s adoption of readings from its second manuscript, viz., ms δ, was much more limited than ms η’s and that of the manuscript used for the Tibetan translation: the paper manuscripts lack, for instance, the sentences *katham kṛtvā yasmād evaṃ tenoktam*, the question *kiṃ kāraṇam*, and numerous other insertions attested by ms Q. The fact that some of the readings in the paper manuscripts and the Tibetan translation only appear in Q’s margins, that is, have not been integrated into Q’s main text, means that they must have entered ms Q during the second wave of contamination, by way of ms θ, which would seem to indicate, at least on the basis of the stemma as I have reconstructed it, that even though ms ι and the Tibetan translation received these specific readings from ms δ, ms Q did not,

¹⁰⁴ See the final sentence of PsP_M §77.

¹⁰⁵ It is of course possible that ms ι was read against an already contaminated manuscript of the β line.

presumably because ms η 's scribe did not appropriate all of δ 's readings (thus their non-appearance in ms Q's main text), and that they reached Q only when Q was collated against ms θ .¹⁰⁶

The sole extant manuscript not affected by influence from the γ line, namely ms P, has not, however, escaped contamination from another corner: As could be discerned from the unique errors it shares, on the one hand, with ms Q, and on the other, with the paper manuscripts, P has received readings from two descendants of the hyparchetype β , namely, mss ϵ and ζ . Since neither of these have been affected by the γ line, the contamination in P's case is usually less disturbing than that in Q's,¹⁰⁷ but its presence needs to be kept in mind; editorial decisions have been aided by the fact that manuscripts stemming from both of P's sources, viz., Q, which is a descendant of ms ζ , and the main paper manuscripts, descendants of ms ϵ , could be consulted.

The diagram on p. 88 depicts the relationships of the manuscripts relied on for my critical edition of the PsP's first chapter text, as well as these manuscripts' relationships with relevant non-extant, hypothesized manuscripts. I am aware of two other stemmata: 1) the stemma presented by de Jong (1979: 542) for de La Vallée Poussin's three manuscripts (my L, M and N) and ms D, and 2) that set forth by Kragh (2006: 63) for ms P and the mss B, D, J and L (the four "better" paper manuscripts) used for his edition of PsP chapter seventeen on MMK XVII.1-20. Kragh's analysis of the variants for chapter seventeen substantiates the stemma presented earlier by me (see Kragh 2006: 63) but, in Kragh's opinion, appears to indicate that ms J has some minor contamination.¹⁰⁸ I have not found any clear evidence on the basis of the PsP chapter one variants for additional

¹⁰⁶ Ms θ was not the source of ms ι 's extra readings because it had unique readings found neither in the Tibetan translation nor in the paper manuscripts.

¹⁰⁷ Since I only have access to chapter one of the hand-copy of ms Q, I am unable to determine if the determined change found in a few of ms P's MMK verses can be traced back to ms ζ .

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Kragh 2006: 63-67 as well as the second stemma Kragh (*ibid.*, 68) presents, which shows contamination of J via a manuscript that also passed on readings to ms P (his ms ϵ). The evidence for contamination that Kragh presents is rather sparse and his hypothesis would require confirmation from other chapters of the PsP.

contamination in J—that is, other than that from ms δ, which occurs in all the paper manuscripts—and am thus not (yet) convinced by Kragh’s hypothesis. It goes without saying that my depiction of the stemma, especially of the manuscripts of its upper regions, (intentionally) simplifies what must have been a much more complex web of manuscripts and relationships between manuscripts.

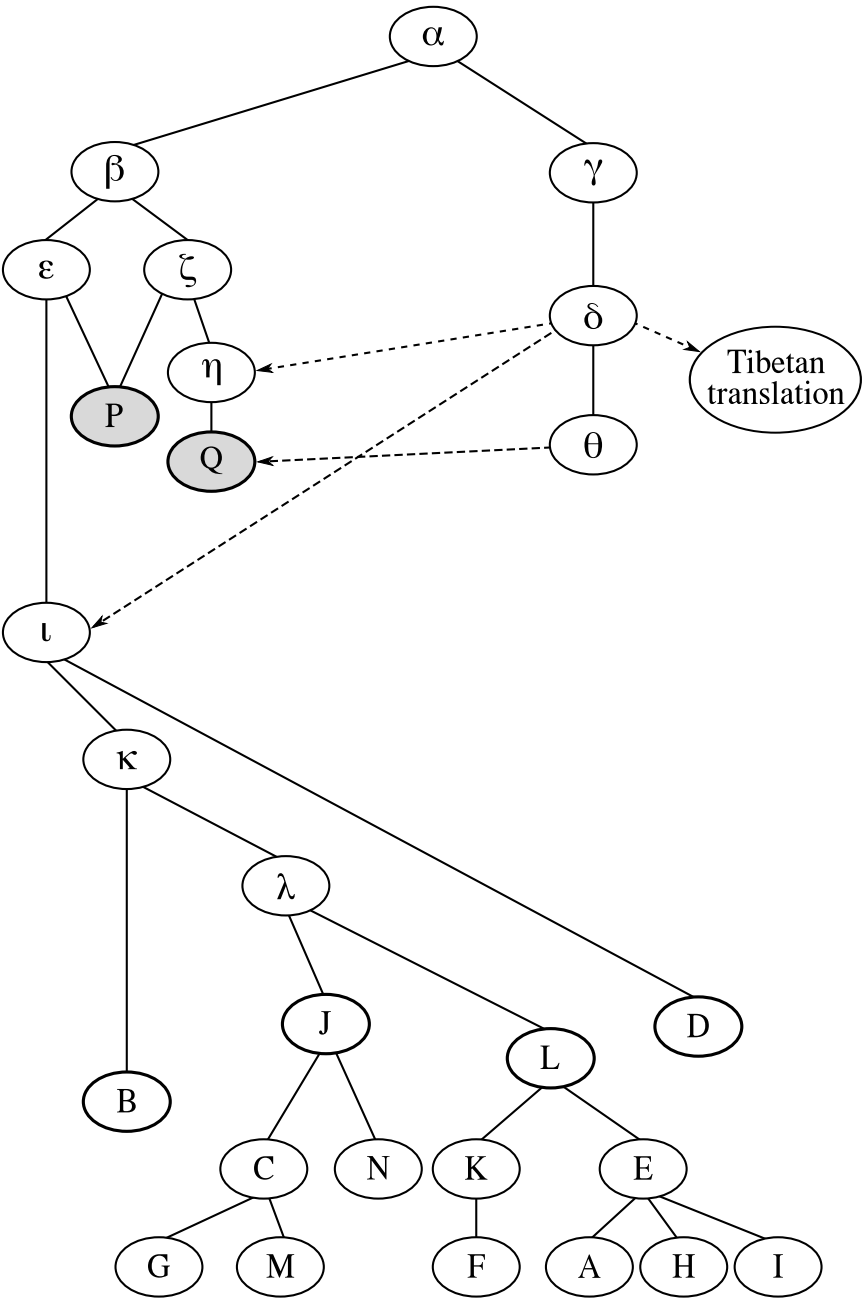
Stemma Key

Bold sigla with grey shading: extant palm-leaf manuscripts

Bold sigla without shading: main extant paper manuscripts

Broken lines indicate contamination; arrows indicate the direction of the contamination.

Stemma



The relationships between the paper manuscripts were fairly easy to determine owing to the fact that the majority of these manuscripts settle into two main manuscript “families.”¹⁰⁹ Only the palm-leaf manuscripts P and Q and the paper manuscripts B and D find themselves outside the family groups, although B and D relate, like the main manuscripts of the two families, namely, mss J and L, back to ms ι. A perusal of the variants shows that the family J consists of mss C, G, J, M and N, and that the family L consists of mss A, E, F, H, I, K and L. Mss C, G, J, M and N, for example, all omit *uttaram*¹¹⁰ and lack *ādheyavacanaḥ kecicchadbaparyāyah*, whereas all the other manuscripts attest these words.¹¹¹ Mss A, E, F, H, I, K and L all omit *anānārtham*¹¹² and the words *cakṣuḥ* and *pratītyam*.¹¹³ Another clear indication of the separation of the families is found in A, E, F, H, I, K and L’s omission of the two words *kiṃ tarhy* and in C, G, J, M and N’s recording of these same words as *ki tahy*.¹¹⁴

That ms J is the superior witness for its family is obvious from the numerous instances in which it provides the sole correct reading for

¹⁰⁹ Here and throughout the following discussion I use the words “family” and “families.” This usage should not imply a lack of awareness of the criticisms and shortcomings of aspects of, particularly, Karl Lachmann’s “genealogical method,” or of those of the system set forth by Lachmann’s main apologist Paul Maas, namely, among other criticisms, that the methods do not allow for horizontal “cross-fertilization” via conflation or contamination, do not allow for the possibility of authorial revision, etc.; see, for instance, Tanselle 1990: 305-311; Reynolds and Wilson 1974: 192-194; Greetham 1992: 323-325. I use the words “family” and “families” because they capture and make clear the close relatedness—within themselves—of two prominent manuscript groups, i.e., the J group and the L group: the manuscript evidence leaves no doubt that all second and third level manuscripts of each group derive originally from respectively J or L. (None of these manuscripts show signs of horizontal cross-fertilization amongst themselves, although all have been affected by the contamination passed on to them by ms λ [received over κ from ms ι].) The fact that the manuscripts within each group are closely related both in time and geographical space only further justifies the employment of the term “family.”

¹¹⁰ See PsP_M §18, verse.

¹¹¹ See PsP_M §20.

¹¹² See PsP_M §3, verse.

¹¹³ See end of PsP_M §7.

¹¹⁴ See PsP_M §71, penultimate sentence.

the family. Mss C, G and M can be grouped together on the basis of their common omissions, insertions and errors. C, G and M share numerous omissions that do not occur in J; for example, they omit the second *prati* where *prati prati* is attested in J,¹¹⁵ omit *nivartayeyam*¹¹⁶ and repeat *hrasvaṃ prāpya*,¹¹⁷ and all three attest *aṅgīkṛtārthaviṣeṣa*.¹¹⁸ A telling passage for their relatedness occurs with the recording of an error that J's scribe has committed but then attempts to correct: instead of writing *cetyaśabde cakṣuḥ* he writes *catyacakṣuśabdeḥ*, but seeing his reversal of the last two words, marks the extent of *cakṣu* with short vertical lines and writes the number "2" over it, then does the same for *śabde*, writing over it the number "1." These numbers are, however, overlooked when J is used as exemplar for the C, G and M group: all three attest the uncorrected version *catyacakṣuśabdeḥ*.¹¹⁹

That G has not been used as the exemplar for C or M can be inferred from the many deviant readings in it which are not repeated in C or M.¹²⁰ Ms G omits, for example, the word *kāraṇam* that both C and M attest,¹²¹ and the words *yāvad ye sūtrāntāḥ*, attested by both C and M.¹²² Ms M also presents many readings which preclude its having been used as the exemplar for either C or G; it omits, for example, a *tad*¹²³ and then later a *tathā*¹²⁴ attested by all the other manuscripts, and introduces errors such as *svabhāto* for *svato*.¹²⁵ Ms C, however,

¹¹⁵ See PsP_M §8, second view presented in PP citation.

¹¹⁶ See PsP_M §48, VV citation. See also their extensive dropping of material at PsP_M §28, beginning.

¹¹⁷ See PsP_M §14.

¹¹⁸ See PsP_M §7, sentence beginning *aṅgīkṛtārthaviṣeṣe 'pi sambhavati*.

¹¹⁹ See PsP_M §7, sentence beginning *taddhitānte cetyaśabde cakṣuḥ*. The correction, like all other such corrections in ms J, is written in the scribe's own hand, and is not a later addition.

¹²⁰ See, e.g., *māhātmyam* for *sāmyam* at PsP_M §49, first sentence.

¹²¹ See PsP_M §65, MMK VIII.4ab.

¹²² See PsP_M §74 (C and M both attest *ya* for *ye*).

¹²³ See PsP_M §41, MMK XVIII.10ab.

¹²⁴ See PsP_M §50, sentence beginning *ko hi bhavatām abhipreto 'tra*.

¹²⁵ See PsP_M §48, sentence beginning *athākāśaḡo gṛhyate*.

does not have omissions which are not also shared by G and M, and since both G and M share the mistakes of C, and add to these mistakes and to the correct readings in C their own individual errors,¹²⁶ it can be concluded that G and M descend from C.

Ms N also descends from J but it does not share C's omissions and errors, etc. It instead attests numerous other omissions and adds many new errors of its own to the textual transmission. No other manuscripts used for this study share these peculiar drops and errors and thus this particular transmission lineage ends with N.

Ms L, like J, often offers the single correct reading for its entire family, which allows for the conclusion that A, E, F, H, I and K stem from L. The manuscript family based on L breaks down into two sub-families. One is constituted by mss F and K, the other by A, E, H and I. Mss F and K frequently share errors, such as *pratīmanupādaḥ* instead of L's *pratītyasamutpādaḥ*,¹²⁷ and omissions, for example, the dropping of the words *na prakṛto*,¹²⁸ which do not occur in A, E, H or I. Ms F can be seen to stem from K in that it shares K's errors and additionally brings its own peculiar errors and lacunae to the text.¹²⁹ The same phenomena occur in the A, E, H and I sub-family. Mss A, E, H and I share errors, for example, *bhavām* for *bhāvānām*,¹³⁰ and omissions, for example, (with the exception of one word) an entire sentence,¹³¹ which the other manuscripts do not. Mss A, H and I all attest their own peculiar separative errors and omissions¹³² that are

¹²⁶ See, e.g., See PsP_M §50, sentence beginning *ko hi bhavatām abhipreto 'tra*, where *abhipreto* has been recorded in C as *ehipratā*, copied as *ehipratā* in G, and been further corrupted by M's scribe into *ehipratā*.

¹²⁷ See PsP_M §3, sentence beginning *tad atrānirodhādyaṣṭaviśeṣaṇaviśiṣṭaḥ*.

¹²⁸ See PsP_M §41, Śālistambasūtra citation.

¹²⁹ See, e.g., ms F's extensive lacuna in the homage verse at PsP_M §16-17, starting with the second word of the sentence beginning *yathābhihitaviśeṣaṇasya*.

¹³⁰ See PsP_M §6, last sentence.

¹³¹ See PsP_M §29, starting with *punarutpādānapekṣam* in the paragraph commencing *iha svātmanā vidyamānam*.

¹³² See, e.g., ms A's extensive lacuna at PsP_M §39, starting with *caitanyaavat* of the sentence commencing *prayogavākyaṃ*; ms H's omission of *paraprasiddhena* at PsP_M

not repeated in E or in each other and therefore cannot have served as exemplars for each other. The errors and omissions of ms E, on the other hand, do appear in A, H and I, allowing for the conclusion that these latter three stem from E.

Mss J and L contain shared errors, but neither derives from the other because both contain their own individual errors and omissions. Ms L, for example, fails to present a substantial part of a sentence¹³³ that does appear in its entirety in ms J, and J omits, for example, the words *te 'vocaṇ*,¹³⁴ both of which occur in L. The numerous common errors they exhibit and indicative passages such as the long repeated section of text they share,¹³⁵ against B, D, P and Q, point to their stemming from ms λ.

Ms B cannot have served as the exemplar for J and L because, even though it presents many of J and L's shared errors, it has particular errors, such as *ubhayo* for *ubhayato*,¹³⁶ and omissions that do not occur in J or L, such as the loss of an entire quotation along with part of the following quotation.¹³⁷ It also cannot have descended from ms λ because it does not attest specific omissions and dittographies found in both J and L which must have been present in λ. The common errors of B, J and L, however, that are not to be found in D, P or Q, do suggest that ms B and ms λ descend from ms κ.¹³⁸

While ms D does present errors that are also common to B, J and L, it cannot have been ms κ because it has numerous errors and, on

§57, second sentence of reply; ms I's extensive drop at PsP_M §30, starting with *punarabhivṃyaktim*.

¹³³ See PsP_M §76, starting with *pratītyabhāvanāṃ* of the sentence commencing *yas tu viparyāsānugamān*.

¹³⁴ See PsP_M §78, paragraph commencing *atha teṣāṃ pañcānāṃ bhikṣuśatānāṃ*.

¹³⁵ See PsP_M §79, starting with *chandarāgaparyavasthiteṇa* of the paragraph commencing *tadyathā bhagavan sa puruṣo 'satsamāropeṇa*.

¹³⁶ See PsP_M §63, PP citation.

¹³⁷ See PsP_M §72, starting with *etad dhi bhikṣavaḥ*.

¹³⁸ See, e.g., PsP_M §94, beginning of response. B, J and L drop *ucyate* and then include it in the long dittography—not attested in the other manuscripts—which follows. Note also the dittography in all three at PsP_M §95, first sentence of response (dittography starts with *svalakṣaṇasya*).

occasion, omissions, such as the loss of *yan na labhyate*,¹³⁹ and repetitions¹⁴⁰ that do not appear in any one of the other three. D also cannot have descended from κ due to the fact that it does not contain many of the errors shared by B, J and L, such as, for example, two long dittographies¹⁴¹ that must have existed in κ. D's uniqueness and the errors it shares with B, J and L suggest that both D and κ descend from ms ι.

Ms P cannot have been among the earlier sequence of manuscripts ms D descends from because P presents a number of errors not found in D, such as *uparggeṇa* for *upasargeṇa*¹⁴² and the loss of *bhavanti*.¹⁴³ Ms P further presents instances of determined textual change,¹⁴⁴ none of which appear in D or the rest of the paper manuscripts that can all be traced back to ms ι. Ms P cannot descend from ms ι because it does not contain certain errors shared by all the paper manuscripts, for example, *paramārthaḥ* (attested in A-N) for its *paramārthataḥ*¹⁴⁵ or the loss of *santraset* from all of the better paper manuscripts, i.e., from B, D, J and L.¹⁴⁶

Ms Q cannot be ms ι because it has numerous errors and omissions that do not occur in D or the other paper manuscripts, such as a long eyeskip involving two sentences (including the end and beginning of the respectively previous and following sentences).¹⁴⁷ Ms Q cannot descend from ms ι because it does not contain certain errors shared

¹³⁹ See PsP_M §76, Ratnakūṭasūtra citation, second sentence.

¹⁴⁰ See, e.g., PsP_M §78, starting with *deśayati* in the fourth sentence (*yaṃ hi bhagavān ...*) in the paragraph commencing *atha tāni pañca bhikṣuśatāni*.

¹⁴¹ See n. 138.

¹⁴² See PsP_M §6, verse.

¹⁴³ See PsP_M §77, end.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. *infra*, ms P description; MacDonald 2000: 168f.

¹⁴⁵ See PsP_M §52, final inference.

¹⁴⁶ See PsP_M §79, in the sentence starting *sa tatra mānaṣaṃ paridāhaṃ sañjānīyād* in the paragraph commencing *yathā cāhaṃ bhagavan*.

¹⁴⁷ See PsP_M §39, starting with *utpannāni* of the PP citation.

by all the paper manuscripts, for example, *pramāṇam* (A-N) for *praṇāmaṃ*¹⁴⁸ and *vivarjitas* (A-M; N: *vivarjjitas*) for *vivakṣitas*.¹⁴⁹

Mss P and Q have errors in common but neither descends from the other because both have numerous unique errors and omissions. Ms P, for example, attests the readings *cānye* for *cānena*,¹⁵⁰ and *viḡatāvidyātaimirāṇāṃ sarvajñānāṃ viṣaye svabhāvāpekṣayā* for *viḡatāvidyātimirāṇāsravajñānaviṣayasvabhāvāpekṣayā*,¹⁵¹ the latter presented correctly as a single compound by ms Q, and has dropped words such as *tāni*.¹⁵² Ms Q, on the other hand, has lost, among others, the words *na tv asti*¹⁵³ and the two full sentences mentioned above,¹⁵⁴ which are attested by ms P, and presents many erroneous readings, such as *sasvabhāvabhāvavāda*^o for *sasvabhāvavāda*^{o155} and *ke* for *kena*.¹⁵⁶

The fact that mss P, Q and ı have common errors, such as *yathā* for *yadā*,¹⁵⁷ and share additions, such as *vyavadāna*¹⁵⁸ (and the probably interpolated verse etymologizing the word *śāstra*),¹⁵⁹ as well as losses, such as of the words *ahetutaḥ*,¹⁶⁰ *siddhasāadhanam*¹⁶¹ and *vyavahāra*,¹⁶² indicates that P, Q and ı descend from the hyparchetype

¹⁴⁸ See PsP_M §3, just before MMK I.1.

¹⁴⁹ See PsP_M §8, in the sentence commencing *tenedānīm prāpya sambhavaḥ*.

¹⁵⁰ See PsP_M §52, beginning.

¹⁵¹ See PsP_M §71, third sentence from end.

¹⁵² See PsP_M §34, first word of the sentence commencing *tāni ca vyākhyāyamānāni*.

¹⁵³ See PsP_M §143, introduction to MMK I.7.

¹⁵⁴ See n. 147.

¹⁵⁵ See PsP_M §82, first sentence of response.

¹⁵⁶ See PsP_M §86, objection.

¹⁵⁷ See PsP_M §48, response (*na caitad evam*), second word of the sentence beginning *tad yadā*.

¹⁵⁸ See PsP_M §77, final sentence.

¹⁵⁹ See PsP_M §2.

¹⁶⁰ See PsP_M §83, end.

¹⁶¹ See PsP_M §27, response to Sāṅkhya/PP objection.

¹⁶² See PsP_M §117.

β. Accordingly, the fact that the Tibetan translation does not have these or certain other errors, additions and losses common to P, Q and ι allows us to postulate that these changes were not in hyparchetype γ.

Ms P contains another group of errors that it shares only with the paper manuscripts, i.e., not with ms Q, such as the wrong readings *svataḥ* (Q has the correct reading *tat*),¹⁶³ *astitvam* (Q is correct with *nāstitvam*);¹⁶⁴ P and the paper manuscripts also share correct readings, such as *cāham* (Q's *nāham* is incorrect).¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, both P and Q, against the paper manuscripts and the Tibetan translation, present MMK IV.1ab where MMK IV.2ab is expected.¹⁶⁶ P and Q have also dropped, for example, the words *karmāṇi*¹⁶⁷ and *vā*,¹⁶⁸ which are attested by the paper manuscripts and the Tibetan translation. P must therefore have received readings from two sources: one that passed its errors, etc., on to the pair P and ι, as well as one whose errors are found in the pair P and Q. Ms P thus contains readings from both ms ε and ms ζ. Given that ms P was checked by a proofreader against its exemplar, and that all of the problematic readings are written directly in P's text, it seems likely that the readings from ms ε and ms ζ were already in P's exemplar. For the sake of the stemma's transparency, however, I have not included a separate sigla that would represent P's exemplar.

Ms Q, in attesting a number of the mistakes that both P and ι (= the paper manuscripts) do, clearly belongs to the group of manuscripts in β's descending line, but it also, as stated earlier, presents in its main text and in its margins a number of extra readings found only in the Tibetan translation. Ms Q and the Tibetan translation exclusively

¹⁶³ See PsP_M §29, response, sentence commencing *atra hi tad*.

¹⁶⁴ See PsP_M §104, end.

¹⁶⁵ See PsP_M §79, first sentence of second paragraph of citation (*yathā cāham bhagavan*)

¹⁶⁶ See PsP_M §36.

¹⁶⁷ See PsP_M §76, objection, second instance of *karmāṇi*.

¹⁶⁸ See PsP_M §83, response, end (sentence commencing *kuto vaiṣāṃ saṅkhyā*)

share, among others, the reading *kṛtakatvānityatvāt*,¹⁶⁹ three references to the MA,¹⁷⁰ and extra citations.¹⁷¹ The non-occurrence of these readings in mss P and ı, the fact that it is easy to explain why they were included, and especially the unacceptability of the citations point to their absence from β and their entry into the PsP manuscript tradition via the γ line. It is less probable that they originated in the ζ→Q line and were passed on from this line to a manuscript feeding the Tibetan translation because with this scenario Q would receive all the additional and unacceptable material in question directly from its exemplar and as a result would attest it only within its main text and not partially in its margins. The origin of the first wave of material from a manuscript outside the β line has therefore been postulated as ms δ. Ms δ thus represents a manuscript in γ's descending line that carried the interpolated readings and passed them on to the Tibetan translation and in part, to Q (one expects that in reality more than one manuscript was involved). In order to show that the first wave of contamination from the γ line into the β line occurred pre-Q, ms η is posited as the recipient of the readings from ms δ; ms η in turn donated its own text along with the extraneous material to Q.

Given that, as just explained, some of ms Q's foreign material occurs in its margins and not in its main text and thus could not have been included in ms η, we are led to posit ms θ as the donor of this material. That much of the same foreign material is attested by the Tibetan, however, indicates that this text may have been attested by ms δ but was not taken over when ms η appropriated other words, phrases and sentences from ms δ's text. Alternatively, it entered a manuscript closely related to ms δ and from here reached the Tibetan translation; for the sake of convenience, ms δ is made the source of the extra material in the Tibetan translation. Further material such as the quotation *kāmābhāvaḥ paraṃ sukhaṃ*, which is included in ms Q's marginal material but does not appear in the Tibetan translation

¹⁶⁹ See PsP_M §29, first sentence of the paragraph commencing *tatra yathānityaḥ* (PsP Tib: *byas pa mi rtag pa'i phyir*).

¹⁷⁰ See PsP_M §21, end; §61, end; §104, end of response.

¹⁷¹ See PsP_M §74, where the Akṣayamatisūtra's statement in which the topics of *neyārthasūtras* has been added.

(or in the paper manuscripts), was presumably added to a descendant of ms δ after the Tibetan translation had been completed, and was subsequently passed on to ms θ .

The paper manuscripts attest, but to a much lesser degree, some of the readings shared by Q and the Tibetan translation, such as two references to the MA and a couple of extraneous citations.¹⁷² Ms ι , like ms Q, has thus experienced contamination from the γ line. For our purposes, this contamination is indicated as having its source in ms δ .

Archetype α is posited as the ancestor of all of the extant copies of the PsP. Where mss P, Q and all the paper manuscripts share the error *na* for *sa*,¹⁷³ the Tibetan translation also attests a wrong negation, which indicates that its exemplars were problematic at this point, and probably also attested the negation *na*. MMK I.12c₂d is missing from P, Q and all the paper manuscript and, as I argue, was probably not in the exemplars used for the Tibetan translation or in the original Tibetan translation. These problems indicate that β and γ stem from α .

¹⁷² See PsP_M §71, where an additional *sūtra* citation has been added after the Udānavarga I.3 citation, and PsP_M §112 (see note to the first word of the paragraph), where the first two verses of CŚ XIII have been inserted.

¹⁷³ See PsP_M §28, response, sentence commencing *sa cāyaṃ paraṃ prati*. The *akṣara* in question in ms Q is not Q's usual *na*, but it is closer to a *na* than any other *akṣara*; it definitely cannot be read as a *sa*.

